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Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg

APRIL/MAY 2010

Peace Report 2010 in Berlin and Brussels New Afghanistan policy and ways out of civil war

The western Afghanistan policy has failed, a broad majority in Germany disapproves of the Afghanistan mission of the German Bundeswehr and the debate about a withdrawal of the troops is in full swing. Whether the strategy of the U.S. under President Obama which was presented in 2009 will achieve its goal to fight the insurgents and at the same time create the space for a legitimate and functioning Afghan state remains disputed/is controversial – ample reason for the Peace Report 2010 to analyze the situation in its focal point Afghanistan.



From left to right: Jochen Hippler, Bruno Schoch, Christiane Fröhlich, Susanne Kastner MdB, Margret Johannsen, Andreas Heinemann-Grüder (Photo Ilona Laschütza)

The West has been a party to the war in Afghanistan for over eight years. In view of the difficulties to end this war, it resembles many civil wars, insurgencies and other varieties of intrastate violent conflicts. They often continue for years, demand a high death

toll and in weak states destroy the foundations of society. Bringing such wars to a lasting end requires creative strategies that aim at transforming violent actors into political adversaries, competitors, even partners. This necessitates offering incentives to militants who one wishes to reintegrate, and reforms of the state so as to provide those who govern with more political legitimacy.

This is the conclusion drawn by the Peace Report 2009, which the representatives of the five editing institutes presented at the Federal Press Conference in Berlin on 18 May 2010. The editors were able to discuss their results and recommendations with the chairpersons of the German Bundestag's Committees on Foreign Policy Ruprecht Polenz (CDU) and Defence Susanne Kastner (SPD), parliamentarians of the Alliance 90/The Greens' Working Group on International Politics and Human Rights, the head of the Alliance 90/The Greens Claudia Roth, the Department of Peace Development and Crisis Prevention in the Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, the Representa-

tive of the Federal Government for matters of Disarmament and Arms Control Ambassador Peter Gottwald and the Head of the Foreign Office's Department for the United Nations and Issues of Global Reach Ambassador Georg Birgelen. An informal lunch at the Chancellor's Office offered an opportunity to exchange views on results and recommendations of the Peace Report.

A meeting with the Secretary General of Pax Christi Germany Christine Hoffmann and with representatives of Misereor, the International Association of Lawyers against Nuclear Arms (IALANA) and the Federation of German Scientists (FGS) as well as a public discussion round with Women in International Security (WIIS) and the Protestant Academy in Bern completed the Peace Report's tour of the capital. A panel discussion at the Forum Peace and Security Policy 2010 of the State Agency for Civic Education Rhineland-Palatinate, which took place in the Ehrenbreitstein Fortress Koblenz, was the first of several guest appearances in a number of German institutions for political education.

Besides its focal point on Afghanistan and its main chapter dealing with the transformation of civil war into political competition, the Peace Report considers steps towards realizing the ambitious goal of Global Zero. It takes a stand on the question of the Iranian nuclear programme and discusses its significance in the struggle between the Iranian regime and the reform movement. A further chapter explores the effects of the global financial and economic crisis on military budgets and arms exports, on the implementation of the millennium development goals and the food supply in poor countries as well as its impact on already fragile states.

IFSH contributions to the Peace Report 2010 were authored by Michael Brzoska, Regina Heller, Oliver Meier, Goetz Neuneck and Arne C. Seifert. Stephan Albrecht from Hamburg University and Henner Fürtig from GIGA contributed as guest authors, while Margret Johannsen acted as IFSH's co-editor and coordinator of the project.

Early in June, the Peace Report reached out to Brussels. The Office of the Protestant Church of Germany hosted a panel discussion on Global Zero and the International Security Information Service (ISIS) Europe

organized a round table on the military intervention in Afghanistan.

CONTACT: DR MARGRET JOHANNSEN JOHANNSEN@IFSH.DE

International workshop "Europe and **Central Asia, Partners in Global** Governance" in Barcelona

From 3-4 June 2010, Elena Kulipanova participated in the Workshop "Europe and Central Asia, Partners in Global Governance" in Barcelona. The workshop was organized by the Barcelona Centre for International Affairs (CIDOB), Real Instituto Elcano und Casa Asia



Elena Kulipnova, (second fr. left) with the participants of the workshop

under support of the European Commission and the Spanish EU Presidency. Experts from Central and Europe gathered to discuss selected issues during the three sessions on security architecture in the Euro-

Asian space, energy and environmental challenges, and on social developments. The aims of the workshop were inter alia to identify the main topics for the future research agenda and to lay foundations for an informal network of experts to regularly exchange ideas and information.

CONTACT: ELENA KULIPANOVA LENA KU@HOTMAIL.COM

Presentation on NPT Conference 2010 by **George Perkovich**

On 31 May 2010, George Perkovich gave a presentation on the results of the 2010 Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) at the IFSH, which was jointly organized by the American consulate and the IFSH. George Perkovich is vice president for studies and director of the Nuclear Policy Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington as well as an expert for nuclear disarmament. He also served as a speechwriter to the current vicepresident Joe Biden. Götz Neuneck, who attended the NPT Conference as an expert of the German delegation, commented on the speech of Perkovich. There is general consent that the Final Document of the NPT conference provides a good framework for further initiatives within the Global Zero process. A first stateof the **IFSH** can be found http://ifsh.de/IFSH_php/akt_stellungnahmen.php

Academic Network South East Europe on a field trip to Bosnia and Herzegovina

Will general elections in October 2010 help Bosnia and Herzegovina to surmount the political deadlock? It is certain that its neighbouring states and the international community play an important role for the Bairamovic (Photo NM)



At the University of Sarajevo: (from left to right) Prof. Izet Beridan, Patricia Schneider, Naida Mehmedbegović (NM), Zlatan

stability of the country and that German and European interests do have an influence. To see how under these circumstances a deeper cooperation with three chosen universities in the area of political sciences in Sarajevo and Banja Luka and a joint workshop can be organised, Patricia Schneider and Naida Mehmedbegović travelled to Bosnia and Herzegovina from 25th to 29th May 2010. In order to search for an answer on these and other questions, they consulted among others the representatives of the German Embassy, OSCE, EU-FOR, OHR/EUSR, UNDP, International Commission on Missing Persons, Transparency International, Heinrich Böll Foundation, ACIPS, local ministries and scientists within the framework of the GAES-funded project "Academic Network South East Europe".

CONTACT: DR PATRICIA SCHNEIDER AND NAIDA MEHMEDBEGOVIĆ NAIDA.M@IFSH.DE

18th Meeting of the OSCE Economic and **Environmental Forum, Part II**

The 18th Meeting of the OSCE Economic and Environmental Forum was put under the headline: "Promoting good governance at border crossings, improving the security of land transportation and facilitating international transport by road and rail in the OSCE region". The Meeting's second and main part was conducted again in its traditional place - the Czernin Palace in Prague, on 24 - 26 May 2010. It was a positive observation that the Forum's organizers at the Office of the Coordinator of OSCE Economic and Environmental Activities did obviously pay special attention to directing key speakers' contributions and subsequent discussions towards the security dimension of the subject. The Forum took place against the background of continuing conceptual discussions between the national delegations to the OSCE in Vienna on the future orientation of the economic and environmental dimension. A respective decision of the same title (MC.DEC/4/09) had been adopted at the Athens Ministerial Council in December 2009. Frank Evers, CORE Deputy Head,

took part in the Forum as member of the international academic community.

CONTACT: Dr Frank Evers Evers-de@t-online.de

News about the Iranian nuclear programme

On 17 May 2010, the FDP organized an expert hearing on the Iranian nuclear programme in the German Bundestag in Berlin. Speakers were Ambassador Andreas Michaelis, the Federal Government Commissioner for Near and Middle East Policies and Maghreb, Walter Posch of the SWP and Götz Neuneck. The event was of particular relevance due to the surprising agreement between Iran, Turkey and Brazil, about the extraterritorial swap and enrichment of Iranian uranium.

CONTACT: PROF. DR GÖTZ NEUNECK NEUNECK@IFSH.DE

2nd Ecumenical "Kirchentag" in Munich

The IFSH was represented at the 2nd Ecumenical "Kirchentag" in Munich by Michael Brzoska who gave a keynote speech on the subject of the security dilemma in developing countries. This speech introduced the panel discussion organized by the Joint Conference of the Churches on Development on the question of the relationship between security and development in conflict and post-conflict zones.

CONTACT: PROF. DR MICHAEL BRZOSKA BRZOSKA@IFSH.DE

Conference on "The international Crisis and the Post-Soviet States" in Glasgow

Elena Kropatcheva took part in the conference "The International Crisis and the Post-Soviet States" at the University of Glasgow on 13 to 14 May 2010. The aim of the conference was to examine the implications of the financial crisis that began in late 2008 for the post-Soviet states, particularly Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova. Kropatcheva presented the paper "Ukraine's Foreign Policy Choices after Presidential Elections in 2010," in which she examined the implications of the global financial crisis on Ukraine's presidential elections and the foreign policy choices of the country. She considered whether the foreign policy after the "blue revolution" will be Russia- or Western-oriented, or whether the new president will be able to conduct a balanced "multi-vector" policy.

CONTACT: DR ELENA KROPATCHEVA KROPATCHEVA@IFSH.DE

Review conference of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty in New York

From 10 to 14 May 2010, two fellows of IFSH participated in the review conference of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty in New York. Goetz Neuneck was member of the German delegation and Oliver Meier as a non-governmental observer conducted research interviews with diplomats.

CONTACT: DR OLIVER MEIER OLIVER@ARMSCONTROL.ORG

Focus Afghanistan

The Körber Foundation organized a panel discussion within the framework of the series "Focal point Afghanistan" on 6 May 2010. The third and final debate was entitled "After Exit – what now?" The discussants were Hans-Georg Ehrhart (Head ZEUS, IFSH) and Christian Taaks (Head International Relations, Friedrich-Naumann-Foundation). The event, which was attended by 50 guests, was chaired by Andreas Bormann (NDR).

CONTACT: DR HANS-GEORG EHRHART EHRHART@IFSH.DE

Roundtable on NATO's future nuclear posture

On 29 April 2010, Oliver Meier chaired the concluding panel of an experts' roundtable on "NATO's future nuclear posture: strengthening non-proliferation and enhancing European security" which had been jointly organized by the Arms Control Association, the British American Security Information Council und the Friedrich-Ebert-Foundation in Brussels.

CONTACT: DR OLIVER MEIER OLIVER@ARMSCONTROL.ORG

Hearing of the European Parliament

On 26 April 2010, Hans-Georg Ehrhart participated in a public hearing of the Subcommittee on Security and Defence of the European Parliament. The topic was "EU civil-military cooperation: a comprehensive approach". Ehrhart gave a presentation on "Civil-military cooperation on the ground (Western Balkans, Afghanistan, DRC): lessons learnt". His co-panellists were Bas Rietjens (Netherlands Defence Academy), Francoise Krill (International Committee of the Red Cross), and Richard Wright (director DG RELEX, European Commission).

CONTACT: DR HANS-GEORG EHRHART E

EHRHART@IFSH.DE

Book Launch: "South Asia at a Crossroads" in New York and Washington D.C.

In May, the book "South Asia at a Crossroads – Conflict or Cooperation in the Age of Nuclear Weapons, Missile Defense, and Space Rivalries" (Democracy, Security, Peace, Vol. 197), recently released by the NOMOS-Verlag Baden-Baden, was presented to audiences in New York and Washington D.C. by the editors Subrata Ghoshroy and Götz Neuneck. The 330page book is based on a conference that was conducted two years ago together with the IFSH, MIT and the Federal College for Security Policy (BAKS) in Berlin. The presentation in New York took place in Germany's UN-mission. Ambassador Hellmut Hoffmann, "Alternate Head of German delegation to the NPT Review Conference" introduced the book to delegates, scientists and professionals. Richard Garwin, a longtime U.S. government consultant and former member of the Presidential Advisory Committee commented some contributions. The event in Washington, D.C. was carried out in the U.S. Institute for Peace. Commentators were Michael Krepon, founding director of the Stimson Centre, and Daryl Kimball, Executive Director of the Arms Control Association. Each event saw approximately 30-40 guests from different embassies, NGOs, State Department and think tanks. The gathering ended with substantive discussions on the various themes of the book. The event in Washington was followed by a reception and television interviews.

CONTACT: PROF. DR GÖTZ NEUNECK NEUNECK@IFSH.DE

Presidential election observation with the OSCE EAM in Austria in 2010

Diana Digol was a part of the OSCE/ODIHR election assessment mission deployed for the presidential election held in Austria on 25 April 2010. This was the first mission to observe the national election in Austria. The mission was led by Julian Peel Yates and consisted of 11 experts. Although no systematic observation of the procedures on the election day was carried out, the experts observed the overall conduct of election, including the legal framework for the election, the political campaign, the work of the election administration at central and regional levels, as well as the complaints and appeals process. The final report will be available in due time on http://www.osce.org/odihr-elections/

CONTACT: DR DIANA DIGOL DIGOL@IFSH.DE

MPS-excursion to international organizations in Vienna

From 18 to 23 April 2010, the annual field trip ,,International Organizations in Practice: Uniqueness, Cooperation or Overlapping?" to Vienna took place within the postgraduate programme Master of Peace and Security Studies. Organized and conducted by the MPSgraduate Theodora Vrancean and Götz Neuneck, 21 students of the current M.P.S. class had the opportunity to talk to and exchange ideas with diplomats, experts and academics about current problems and prospects of international organizations, national positions of Member States and the operative diplomacy in Vienna. The group attended lectures followed by discussions at the National Defence Academy, the Austrian Institute for International Policy, OPEC, the OPEC Fund for International Development, the European Agency for Fundamental Rights, the European Space Policy Institute and the Centre for International Migration Policy Development. Introduced by Ambassador R. Lüdeking, the head of the Permanent Mission of Germany in Vienna, UN briefings were held by representatives of the IAEA, the CTBTO, UNIDO and UNODC.

CONTACT: PROF. DR GÖTZ NEUNECK NEUNECK@IFSH.DE

Hamburg International Graduate School for the Study of Regional Powers

On 14 April 2010, the Hamburg International Graduate School for the Study of Regional Powers (www.regionalpowers.org) was officially opened at the German Institute for Global and Area Studies (GIGA). It has as its mandate the analysis of the causes, forms and repercussions of unfolding global power shifts and related conflicts arising about regional leadership. The IFSH is a partner of the graduate school, which is supported by the GIGA and the University of Hamburg. Michael Brzoska is currently supervising two PhD candidates (Thorsten Geise, Alexandr Burikov).

CONTACT: PROF. DR MICHAEL BRZOSKA BRZOSKA@IFSH.DE

EUSECON Project Workshop in Athens

From 12 to 13 April 2010, a workshop of the EUfunded project EUSECON (A New Agenda for European Security Economics) took place in Athens. EUSECON is a research project in the 7th Framework Programme of the European Commission and focuses on economic issues in the context of terrorism and organised crime. The IFSH is a partner institution within the project's consortium which is led by DIW



The participants of the workshop in Athens

Berlin. Michael Brzoska, Eric van Um and Dennis Bangert participated in the workshop and presented their research findings. Michael Brzoska gave an overview of research on the effectiveness of counterterrorism policies and stressed the fact that only little academic attention has been drawn to this field so far. Further research is hence a necessity in order to derive policy recommendations. Eric van Um presented a study on concepts of terrorist rationality and discussed implications for counter-terrorism policies.

CONTACT: ERIC VAN UM

VANUM@IFSH.DE

EU Workshop on missile proliferation

On 25 and 26 March 2010, the EU-Workshop "Strengthening the Hague Code of Conduct (HCOC) against Ballistic Missile Proliferation" was held in Vienna. On behalf of the EU, the "Fondation pour la Recherche Stratégique" of Paris had invited ten experts, among them Götz Neuneck, to elaborate and discuss proposals and recommendations for strengthening the single multilateral regime for the prevention of missile proliferation. The papers, to which IFAR contributed, are based on the EU Council Decision 2008/974/CFSP of 18 December 2008. Members of more than 40 delegations came to Vienna to discuss the interim results. A regional workshop and the preparation of a study are also planned in 2010.

CONTACT: PROF. DR GOETZ NEUNECK

NEUNECK@IFSH.DE

Presentation by Dean Wilkening at IFSH research colloquium

On 23 March 2010, Dean Wilkening, Senior Research Scientist at CISAC, Stanford University, California, gave a talk on "Options for European Missile Defense and its Implications" at the IFSH's Research Colloquium. In his talk, he explained the new plans of the Obama Administration for a European component to protect the United States against missile attacks, which respond to the particular concerns of Russia, and gave an assessment of the technical and security implications of the new missile defense technology.

CONTACT: PROF. DR GOETZ NEUNECK NEUNECK@IFSH.DE

New Chair of the Board of the German Foundation for Peace Research

Michael Brzoska is the new Chair of the Board of the German Foundation for Peace Research. He succeeds Volker Rittberger who resigned after 14 years as chair for health reasons. The first chair of the foundation was the former director of the IFSH, Dieter S. Lutz. The foundation, located in Osnabrück, supports research projects as well as teaching and training in the area of peace and conflict research.

CONTACT: PROF. DR MICHAEL BRZOSKA BRZOSKA@IFSH.DE

New research project on the disarmament of "tactical nuclear weapons"

As a cooperation partner of the Arms Control Association and the British American Security Information Council, the IFSH/IFAR will realize a project funded by the Hewlett Foundation within the next twelve month. The project's aim is to reduce the importance of tactical nuclear weapons in European security. The project will in particular contribute to the creation of conditions in NATO and Russia relations for the disarmament of tactical nuclear weapons and discuss the withdrawal of all U.S. nuclear weapons from Europe.

CONTACT: PROF. DR GÖTZ NEUNECK

NEUNECK@IFSH.DE

Publications

CORE Working Paper 20: "OSCE Efforts to Promote the Rule of Law: History, Structures, Survey" released

The working paper on "OSCE Efforts to Promote the Rule of Law: History, Structures, Survey" describes the gradually evolving definition of rule-of-law promotion in the OSCE from 1973 to the present day and relevant OSCE structures. It also presents the results of a survey carried out by CORE among those responsible for the rule of law in the field operations in April and May 2009. It ends with conclusions and recommendations on the OSCE's promotion of the rule of law in terms of events, personnel questions, topics, and guidelines. The paper was commissioned by the Federal Foreign Office of the Federal Republic of Germany and part of a jointly conducted international workshop ("OSCE Rule-of-Law Assistance") of CORE and the German Federal Foreign Office in the Vienna Hofburg, 25-26 March 2010.

Götz Neuneck: Independent Scientists and Ballistic Missile Defense, in: John L. Finney and Ivo Slaus (Eds.) "Assessing the Threat of Weapons of Mass Destruction. The Role of Independent Scientists" IOS Press, Amsterdam, 2010. p. 207-232.

This article deals with the impact of independent policy advice on missile defense. The book brings together contributions in which scientists and experts described the possibilities and limits of political consulting in the field of weapons of mass destruction and delivery systems.

Oliver Meier: "NATO Chief's Remark Highlights Policy Rift", in: Arms Control Today, Vol. 40, No. 4, May 2009, p. 35-37.

The article analyses the debate about a reform of NATO's nuclear weapons policy against the background of the results of the informal meeting of NATO foreign ministers in Tallinn.

Subrata Ghoshroy/Götz Neuneck (eds.): South Asia at a Crossroads. Conflict or Cooperation in the Age of Nuclear Weapons, Missile Defense, and Space Rivalries, Nomos-Verlag, Baden-Baden 2010 (DSF 197), 330 pages.

The book is based on a conference that was conducted two years ago together with the IFSH, MIT and the Federal College for Security Policy (BAKS) in Berlin. It includes articles on nuclear security and disarmament, missile defense, space, energy security and regional stability in South Asia (see report about the book launch in this newsletter)

Staff News



In April 2010, Kerstin Petretto joined the IFSH as researcher in the joint research project "PiraT - Piracy and Maritime Terrorism as a Challenge for Maritime Trade Security". Kerstin studied Political Science, International Law and Cultural Anthropology at Ludwig-Maximilians-University, Munich. From 2005 to 2010 she worked as research assistant and fellow at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs of the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP), in Berlin. In her PhD thesis, shortly to be handed in at University of Leipzig, she reassesses the application of the Regional Security Complex Theory

to regions characterized by fragile states, namely the Horn of Africa. Her current research focus is on maritime security, non state actors of violence in international politics as well as state failure.

CONTACT: KERSTIN PETRETTO

PETRETTO@IFSH.DE

Imprint

Responsible for this issue:

Michael Brzoska, Susanne Bund, Madeleine Koehler, Anna Kreikemeyer, Janke Reuschel, Jochen Rasch