



## Global Zero Focus of Research Activities and projects of the Interdisciplinary Research Group on Disarmament, Arms Control and Risk Technologies (IFAR<sup>2</sup>) at IFSH

How can the political development that evolved from the new US policy regarding nuclear weapons be maintained and strengthened? What consequences arise from the successful Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) in May 2010? What influence do these developments have on a world without nuclear weapons? These are the issues that determined the activities and projects of IFAR<sup>2</sup> during the last months.



*Ian Kearns (RUSI/London), former Ministers of Defense Sir Malcom Rifkind, Min. of State Werner Hoyer, Lord Des Browne (both London) at the Foreign Office*

To awaken political attention to the issue of nuclear non-proliferation in Germany and Europe and encourage the networking of experts and decision makers has been an important aspect of IFAR<sup>2</sup>'s activities in recent years. After the speech president Obama delivered in Prague 2009 and the further setting of course in US policy, activities concentrate on the deepening of the international debate in Germany, too. The IFSH, for example, was host of a high-ranking delegation of the European Leadership Network for Multilateral Nuclear Disarmament and Non-Proliferation (ELN) – a new association of former decision makers and diplomats who championed nuclear disarmament. On November 8th, 2010 Lord Des Browne, former British Minister of Defense, spoke on Great Britain's role in nuclear disarmament at the University of the Federal Armed Forces at a panel discussion jointly organized by the Helmut-Schmidt-University and the IFSH and moderated by Prof. Michael Staack and Prof. Götz Neuneck. On November 9th, 2010 Browne, the former British Foreign and Defense Minister Malcolm Rifkind, Ian Kearns from the Royal United Services Institute as well as Götz Neuneck met Minister of State Werner Hoyer at the Federal Foreign Office in Berlin.

The British delegation discussed further possibilities of promoting nuclear disarmament together with Egon Bahr, Hans-Dietrich Genscher and Richard von

Weizsäcker – who together with Helmut Schmidt spoke up for a world free of nuclear weapons in a newspaper commentary in January 2009. During a dinner they debated with members of the subcommittee on disarmament, arms control and non-proliferation in the German Bundestag how Germany's role in nuclear disarmament can be strengthened. Besides there have been further meetings with Members of the Bundestag. IFSH and ELN agreed to cooperate closely on issues of nuclear arms control and non-proliferation in the future.



*John P. Holdren, Director of the Office of Science and Technology (OSTP) of the White House, Catherine M. Kelleher and Götz Neuneck in Rome*

The issue, if and how a world without nuclear weapons can be reached, is also being debated internationally. Thus, Global Zero was the subject of the 18th Amaldi Conference, taking place from 4-6 November 2010 in Rome. The conference was organised by the Italian Academia Nazionale dei Lincei together with further national scientific academies. Götz Neuneck, who as a commissioner of the Union of the German Academies of Sciences and Humanities was involved in setting up a programme, spoke about the prospects of Global Zero and missile defence. The science advisor of President Obama, John Holdren, who is also the director of the Office of Science and Technology Policy of the White House, gave the Panofsky-lecture. The possibility to reduce the role of tactical nuclear weapons in the European security policy is the focus of a project which is jointly run by the IFSH, the Arms Control Association (ACA) and the British American Security Information Council (BASIC). Since March

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2010 experts and decision makers have discussed under which conditions progress in reducing tactical nuclear weapons in Europe is possible in seminars in Brussels, Warsaw and Ankara. Before the adoption of the new strategic concept of NATO at the Lisbon Summit on 19/20 November 2010 several working papers on this issue have been published, among others by the commissioner of the Federal Government for disarmament and arms control, Ambassador Peter Gottwald. Actually, Andrei Zagorski (MGIMO, Moskau) is preparing a study about the difficulties of the Russian tactical nuclear weapons in cooperation with CORE. The results will be presented in Berlin next year.

Oliver Meier and Paul Ingram, director of BASIC, jointly published a proposal for a Nuclear Posture Review of NATO in the October issue of Arms Control Today. On October 22nd, 2010 Oliver Meier spoke about this subject as a panelist at the conference "Wo hin mit der NATO? Relikt des Kalten Krieges oder Instrument für den Frieden", which was organised by the German Bundestag faction Bündnis90/Die Grünen. At a panel, he discussed with the former NATO commander general Egon Ramms and Frithjof Schmidt, Member of the German Bundestag, about "The future role of NATO – collective security and disarmament". On November 8th, 2010 Oliver Meier presented arguments in favor of decreasing the role of nuclear weapons within NATO's new strategy at a conference on the role of tactical nuclear weapons at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington. The conference was jointly organized by the Heinrich-Böll-Foundation and ACA. Prior to the NATO summit Oliver Meier also participated in a NATO summit in Brussels which was organized by several non-governmental organizations. There he debated together with Guy Roberts, head of department for nuclear weapon policy of NATO, and Klaus Wittmann, brigadier (ret.), about the future role of nuclear deterrence. An overview of the sponsored project to decrease the role of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe is available at: [www.ifsh.de/IFAR\\_english/projekt/projekt.htm](http://www.ifsh.de/IFAR_english/projekt/projekt.htm).

The secondment of IFSH staff member Ulrich Kühn demonstrates the close cooperation of IFAR<sup>2</sup>, the Federal Government and the Bundestag in questions of arms control. There is also a close cooperation with the German Bundestag. On December 6th, 2010 Michael Brzoska, director of the IFSH, took part as an expert in a hearing of the subcommittee for defence and foreign affairs of the Bundestag. Götz Neuneck participated with further experts in a hearing of the subcommittee on disarmament and arms control that dealt with the issue of missile defense. On October 20th, 2010 the speaker of the faction Bündnis90/Die Grünen, Agnieszka Malczak discussed with staff members of the IFSH possibilities of making progress in terms of nuclear disarmament at the research colloquium.

Despite the disappointing results of the NATO summit in terms of disarmament, IFAR<sup>2</sup> will continue to deal with issues of nuclear arms control and how Germany in particular can support disarmament. IFAR<sup>2</sup> is proud to have Anne Finger, a new staff member, in the team. Within the framework of her PhD project she will deal with the Non-Proliferation Treaty and the nuclear system. Moreover, the IFAR<sup>2</sup> team members and CORE will deal with the question of what impact the military imbalances between NATO and Russia have on nuclear disarmament in Europe.

One characteristic of IFAR<sup>2</sup> is its expertise in natural science which can be applied especially in the field of verification, non-proliferation and missile defense. In 2009 the study "Missile Defence in Europe" was commissioned by the AG Friedens- und Konfliktforschung of the Hamburger Akademie der Wissenschaft and accomplished by Christian Alwardt, Hans-Christian Gils and Götz Neuneck at the end of November 2010. On November 23rd, 2010 they presented the 150 pages study to the expert audience in the Hamburger Akademie der Wissenschaft. After an introduction by the vice president of the Akademie, Prof. Cord Jakobeit, Götz Neuneck, head of the IFAR<sup>2</sup> research group, presented the most important results of the study. Since the NATO summit in Lisbon missile defence is considered to be a core element of NATO's new strategic concept. The results have been discussed with Roberto Zadra, Deputy Director of NATO WMD Center in Brussels. It became clear that many of the important questions in terms of missile defense in Europe are still unsettled, i.e. the architecture, the operational capability, and the costs. In particular a possible cooperation with Russia in the sector will be subject of forthcoming studies.

A study on verification and ratification of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) is under progress. The study is conducted under the direction of Götz Neuneck and Martin Kalinowski (ZNF) for the Deutsche Physikalische Gesellschaft (DPG). Therefore, Oliver Meier and Götz Neuneck participated in a CTBT meeting of experts at the Foreign Office on October 15th, 2010. The activities of IFAR<sup>2</sup> support the continuing importance of disarmament and arms control for international and national politics.

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## Illusion Statebuilding

### DAVO Dissertation Prize awarded to MPS Alumnus of the year 2003

Florian Kühn, alumnus of the first year of MPS in 2003 and senior researcher and lecturer at the Institute for International Politics at Helmut Schmidt University in Hamburg, gave a lecture at the IFSH's research colloquium on November 3rd, 2010. He presented the results of a research project he conducted and published as a book with Berit Bliesemann de Guevara in October 2010 entitled *Illusion Statebuilding* (Hamburg: edition Körber-Stiftung). The authors describe how statebuilding leads to the establishment of 'Potemkin States', that is, state institutions which may be able to play their role in the international realm, but lack en-



MPS-alumnus Florian Kühn with prize winner Pierre Hecker at the award ceremony of the DAVO dissertation prize

entanglement with their respective societies in ideational, social, political and economic regards. In both cases of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Afghanistan, which are compared in the book, intervention proved to be unable to render itself unnecessary in the local context. As a result, Western norms like political self-determination and democracy become marginalized in the process. This is tantamount to 'organized irresponsibility': International interventionists lack responsibility towards the population in the intervened countries but also fail to answer for their policy to the domestic electorate and tax payers. The authors argue that instead of continuing with this practice, pointing to humanitarian needs and security imperatives, an open debate in Western countries is necessary to expound the problems of ethical and security questions as well as cost-benefit relations of international interventionism. Only by debating these issues informed choices can be made in case a crisis evokes need for action.

The book is based on research on Afghanistan that Florian Kühn conducted for his dissertation, which was likewise published in 2010, bearing the title "Sicherheit und Entwicklung in der Weltgesellschaft" (Wiesbaden, VS Verlag). It was awarded the dissertation price of the German Middle East Studies Association for Contemporary Research and Documentation (DAVO) in October 2010. Kühn traces the inter-connections of security and development and why they are increasingly understood to be mutually constitutive. This understanding is based, according to his analysis, on assumptions about statehood which frame the state in a liberal way, encompassing a capitalist and growth oriented economic system as main mode of its reproduction. Taking this

template as a starting point, he develops an analytical concept which allows to reconstruct the contemporary policy of international (which is, essentially, Western) interventionism: It is the Western Security Community which acts with a transformative impetus, securitizes political phenomena as external threats but fails to account for how this policy itself becomes a risk for others. This form of security policy by development is full of dilemmas in taking the state as a precondition for politics without realizing that the state is the result of a political process itself. The intervention, instead, prevents an open negotiation of the state's form.

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## Project PiraT at the Convention „Maritime Economy“ in Bremen

On October 14th, 2010 the convention "Maritime Economy" took place in Bremen, bringing together high-ranking representatives of industry, shipping companies, mariners, insurance companies, and politics. Being a fellow within the joint research project "PiraT – Piracy and maritime Terrorism as a Challenge for Maritime Trade Security" Kerstin Petretto was invited as speaker in the working group "Piracy – Renaissance of a Scourge". Her



Frigate Schleswig Holstein off East African Coast (Source: Bundeswehr)

speech and the subsequent debate mainly concentrated on pros and cons of available courses of action of maritime industry and politics to tackle the current threat in the Gulf of Aden and the adjoining Indian Ocean. Despite the deployment of numerous international marine forces the shipping traffic in the region is very much under risk. Capacities of the multinational forces are not able to effectively cover and protect the extended area that has become the playing field of Somali Pirates. Furthermore, efforts of shipping owners and companies to secure their ships with additional defence measures do only work to a limited extent: Many vessels are simply too slow and their freeboard too low, thus provide for an easy target for pirates that are well armed and increasingly attack with numerous speedboats from various sides. Participants therefore agreed that it is necessary to apply further measures for securing international shipping – and first and foremost to prevent seafarers being held as hostages for several months. Although the industry is well aware of the negative effects the paying of ransoms give rise to – foremost the blossoming business of piracy itself – there are hardly any other options available to free the hostages. Partic-

ularly military operations are very risky. So far, they have only been successful in those cases when the crew hid in a safe room and military forces were close to quickly intervene. The search for most favorable and balanced measures to prevent, deter and reduce Somali piracy will need the willingness to compromise from all actors and sectors, be them from politics or economy. There is the need for an intensive and open dialogue for converging differentiated interests and positions and to find acceptable and efficient solutions for all actors concerned. The staff of the interdisciplinary Project PiraT is intensively engaged in improving options of action specifically for the German actors concerned. Thereby, political risk analyses and technological security solutions are linked with legal and economic approaches. The overall goal is to develop inter-agency governmental options for action that will enable the implementation of non-military measures to strengthen maritime trade security.

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## German-Polish-Russian Seminar about the OSCE Summit

Only six days after the OSCE summit in Astana, the Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM), the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO) and CORE/IFSH conducted a seminar in Vienna to evaluate the OSCE summit in Astana. This new Russian-Polish type of event and the significance of the issue – it has been the first meeting within the OSCE context after Astana – brought together about 120 participants, among them many OSCE-heads of delegation, at the Diplomatic Academy. After the welcome by the Ambassadors Horsten (Germany), Grudzinski (Poland) and Azimov (Russia) the former Polish Foreign Minister, Adam Daniel Rotfeld (PISM), Andrei Zagorski (MGIMO) and Wolfgang Zellner (CORE/IFSH) held introductory statements. The seminar was moderated by the former Austrian foreign minister Dr Ursula Plassnik.



*Standing: Amb. Przemyslaw Grudzinski. Sitting: Andrei Zagorski, Foreign Minister ret. Ursula Plassnik, Foreign Minister ret. Adam Daniel Rotfeld, Wolfgang Zellner.*

The introductory statements already showed that the results of Astana can be evaluated in different ways. Whereas Zagorski assessed the summit critically, Zellner emphasized the positive aspects and results; Rotfeld emphasized the necessity to put the summit into an overarching European security framework. All three

speakers agreed that whether there will be success or not will be determined not only by the results achieved but especially by the political process that follows.

In the following discussion it became clear that a successful outcome of the summit, which would have meant the conclusion of a working programme in addition to the accepted Astana Commemorative Declaration, was within reach. The working programme floundered narrowly on a few states, which in over “99 per cent” agreed. It was also reported about the engagement of most of the states in Astana. They seriously fought for a result, which has partly been achieved in the Astana Declaration. The 2-hours discussion left a different, more positive impression than the negative one conveyed by the media, which again celebrated the farewell of the OSCE. Yet, these differences gave discussants something to think about: it is important to create more visible added value. For CORE it has been another chance of being seen and heard in Vienna.

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## EUSECON Project Workshop at the IFSH

On November 23rd, 2010 a workshop of the EU-funded project EUSECON (A New Agenda for European Security Economics) took place at the IFSH. 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 organized crime. The IFSH is a partner institution within the project’s consortium which is led by DIW Berlin.

Participants from the IFSH and DIW Berlin presented findings from their current focus of research. These presentations, most of which had an economic focus, covered issues of human-induced insecurity threats and of terrorism in particular. Topics included, among others, an assessment of the development of European counter-terrorism policies and an analysis of piracy off the coast of Somalia. Subsequent to this presentation session, a discussion followed on the benefits of economic based research for European security policy and for the study of terrorism and counter-terrorism in particular.

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## Publications

### New Publication on the Transnationalisation of Risks of Violence



The “Transnationalisation of Risks of Violence as a Challenge for the European Peace- and Security Polity” is the focal point of the IFSH’s current working programme. Transnational risks of violence such as ethnic conflicts, organized crime (drug trafficking, money laundering), or terrorism are both a cause and a feature of a transition from a national to a post-national world. Much evidence suggests that, compared to interstate conflicts, transnational violence has gained in importance and will continue to do so. Transnational risks change the interplay between sub-national, national and international actors. In this context, the actors’ roles and relative importance as both cause of problems and problem solver shift. In the book “The Transnationalisation of Risks of Violence, edited by Martin Kahl (senior researcher at the IFSH), the authors define the phenomenon of transnational risks of violence in the context of the “post-national constellation” and examine its involvement in current conflicts, track different forms and complex entanglements of such risks and analyse the concepts, strategies and instruments that international organizations have adopted to combat transnational risks and promote security and peace. Contributors are Bernhard Zangl, Hans-Georg Ehrhart, Edwin Bakker, Marietta König, Monika Heupel, Jörg Monar and Wolfgang Zellner.

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*Martin Kahl (ed.): The Transnationalisation of Risks of Violence, Baden-Baden (Nomos) 2011, 153 p., ISBN 978-3-8329-6258-6*



*Hans-Georg Ehrhart: Home-ward bound, wherever: France’s return to the military integration of NATO from a German point of view, in: European Security, Vol. 19, No. 1, March 2010, pp. 97-112.*

The new constellation after the elections in France, the USA and Germany offer a window of opportunity for restructuring the transatlantic relations. Washington has become more multilateral and supportive to the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) provided it contributes to its global agenda. The Lisbon Treaty creates a better framework to the

Europeans to act together in this field. Paris has realized that the best way to reach its traditional goal of Europe becoming an autonomous global actor in the field of security is to become more ‘atlanticist’. France may have altered its tactical approach but its strategy regarding EU and NATO remains strongly path-dependent. From a German point of view, the best-case explanation is the preferred outcome: France’s return into the military integration of NATO leading to an enhanced ESDP and improved transatlantic relations based on a shared security culture and values.

## Staff News



Since November 2010, Anne Finger is a new member of IFAR<sup>2</sup>. Her current research interests are nuclear non-proliferation, disarmament and arms control as well as the Iranian nuclear programme. Anne Finger studied Political Science, Law and French at the Friedrich-Wilhelms University Bonn and the Free University Berlin. From 2006 to 2008 she was a member of the Research Division European and Atlantic Security at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP) in Berlin. In 2006 and 2007 she also taught courses on transatlantic security cooperation and international non-proliferation policy at the Institute for Political Science of the Ernst-Moritz-Arndt-University Greifswald. She continued teaching as a Visiting Research Fellow at the Queen’s Centre for International Relations (QCIR) in Kingston, Canada, from 2009 to 2010. In the context of her doctoral dissertation she deals with the changing conditions for international non-proliferation policy.

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Since November 16th, 2010 Ulrich Kühn is employed as part of the disarmament and arms control division of the Federal Foreign Office of Germany, Berlin. On the basis of a short-term contract his main focus will be organizing the upcoming 2011 international Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs in Berlin. In close consultation and cooperation with IFSH, and especially with Götz Neuneck, Ulrich Kühn will beyond that concentrate on topics such as nuclear non-proliferation, nuclear export controls, and further steps on strengthening the NPT regime.

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