

**From the nuclear death to the abolition of nuclear weapons
“Hamburger Zeitspuren”: a new book about the risks of a new nuclear age**

In a sensational speech delivered before 20.000 people in Prague on 5 April 2009, President Obama outlined his vision of a world free of nuclear weapons. This was the first time that a US-President admitted such a possibility, announcing concrete steps to be taken under the American leadership. Will indeed a new disarmament initiative put an end to decades of arms race? A short edited volume published in the series titled “*Hamburger Zeitspuren*” provides informations on this topical issue.

On 27 March 2008 the IFSH, under the aegis of Hamburg’s Academy of Science and in cooperation with the Friedrich von Weizsäcker Centre for Natural Science and Peace Research (ZNF) and the Research Centre for Contemporary History in Hamburg (FZH), had dedicated a symposium to the historical, political and scientific foundations of the nuclear debate. This event had been organised to commemorate a major demonstration against the Bundeswehr’s nuclear rearmament which took place on 17 April 1958 on Hamburg’s Rathaus Platz.

The 132-page edited volume, which collects the lectures held during the symposium, opens with some pictures of the demonstration and historical posters of following gatherings, where - among others - Helmut Schmidt, Gustav Heinemann and Martin Niemöller spoke. In his opening words, the president of Hamburg’s Academy of Science underlines that “memory is not an elitist pastime, but a political act concerning everybody. Remembrance facilitates thinking and encourages aware and attentive action”.

In his contribution to the book, Horst-Eberhard Richter, renowned psychoanalyst and one of the leading personalities of the peace movement, deals with the socio-psychological aspects of nuclear armament, the “peacelessness as psychological disease” and anxiety as an expression of the widespread cult of strength. As he significantly writes: “the abolition of nuclear weapons would mean becoming human again”.

Axel Schildt, director of the FZH, outlines the motives underlying the protests against the nuclear rearmament of the Bundeswehr at the end of the 1950ies, and explains why Hamburg became the focal centre of such events. The description of these activities is enriched by the introduction, throughout the volume, of images reproducing flyers, posters and caricatures.

Reinhard Mutz’s contribution focuses on the role of nuclear weapons in the Berlin crisis in 1948/1949 and 1958-1961 and describes the succession of events and their causes from the Berlin Blockade and Airlift to the building of the Wall. Although in 1948 a nuclear intervention would have been possible, moderation prevailed during the Cold War under the threat of a nuclear escalation.

Martin Kalinowski’s article describes, on the one hand, the efforts to tackle the nuclear threat after WWII with the introduction of arms control instruments, and, on the other hand, the successes and failures of the Nuclear-Non-Proliferation Treaty and the difficulties of contemporary non-proliferation policies. A reference is also made to the permanent stationing of nuclear weapons on German soil.

Finally, Götz Neuneck gives an overview of the development of arms race, which is well represented by the movements of the Doomsday Clock displayed on the cover of the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, showing the increase of warheads and missile both in the East and

in the West. The contribution describes the doctrine's evolution as well as the goal setting, concluding with an assessment of existing, severe nuclear threats.

"We, people of Hamburg, do not want to grant a carte blanche to self-destruction": this and other extracts from the speech delivered by the then Major of Hamburg Max Brauer are included in the annex.

This short publication is particularly recommended to those who are interested in the history and the context of nuclear armament, especially against the background of Obama's recent speech in Prague.

"Fight the nuclear death. The 1957/1958 protest movement in a historical and contemporary perspective", published by the Forschungsstelle für Zeitgeschichte in Hamburg, the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy (IFSH) and the Carl-Friedrich von Weizsäcker Centre for Natural Science and Peace Research at the University of Hamburg, Dölling und Galitz Verlag, Hamburg 2009.

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A new momentum for nuclear disarmament Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Forum in Berlin

On 22 April 2009 the Friedrich Ebert Foundation carried out a workshop on the impact of the international debate about a revival of nuclear arms control after President Obama's speech in Prague. The perspectives of different key states were highlighted. Götz Neuneck chaired a panel entitled "In Search of a Common Vision". Among the participants were Baroness Shirley Williams, advisor of UK's Prime Minister Gordon Brown, Xia Liping from the Tongji University in Shanghai, Rajesh Rajagopalan from J. Nehru University in New Delhi and Ambassador Nabil Fahmy of Egypt.

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Arms control in outer space Lecture before the Bundestag's Sub-Committee for Arms Control and Disarmament

On 22 April 2009, Götz Neuneck, on invitation of Uta Zapf, chair of the Sub-Committee for Arms Control and Disarmament in the Bundestag, held a lecture on the possibilities of arms control in outer space. The discussion moderated by H. Raidl came to the conclusion that further research and debate on this neglected area of arms control are needed.

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GTZ workshop on civil-military synergy

On 21 April 2009, Hans-Georg Ehrhart participated in a workshop organised by the GTZ and dedicated to the topic of "Civil-Military Synergy". Ehrhart commented on a discussion paper which has been produced in the framework of a programme entitled "Peace and Security".

This paper shall contribute to the future positioning of the Federal Ministry for Economic Co-operation and Development in the sensitive question of civil-military cooperation in post-conflict societies.

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Justice, peace and nuclear disarmament Pugwash annual conference in The Hague

On 17-20 April 2009 Oliver Meier and Götz Neuneck took part in the 58th Pugwash International Conference on Science and World Affairs in The Hague. Among the high-ranking participants were former United States Secretary of Defense William Perry, Malcolm Rifkind (UK), Joris Voorhoeve (NL), Ruud Lübbers, Hans Blix and Chief Prosecutors Luis Moreno-Ocampo and Richard Goldstone.

Prof Neuneck, who is member of both the Pugwash Council and the Executive Committee, chaired a panel titled "The Non-Nuclear Weapons States and Nuclear Disarmament", which saw the participation of the director of the WMD Centre Wa'el El Assad (Jordan), State Secretary Espen Barth-Eide of Norway and Ambassador Reza Ziaran of Iran. This event was well-attended and succeeded in bringing together participants from conflicting states, such as Afghanistan, Pakistan, India and Middle East countries. A delegation from North Korea also attended the conference.

The conference website is available at <http://www.pugwash.nl/index.php>

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MPS students at NDR broadcaster

This year's Midterm Colloquium ended with a seminar on "War and Peace in the Media". On 9 April 2009 the NDR broadcaster invited the students of the Master of Peace and Security Studies to spend a whole day in its premises in Hamburg-Lokstedt. The seminar, headed by Clas Oliver Richter from the editorial department "*Ausland und Aktuelles*", enabled students to gain insights into the news world and the production and editorial work of the German news magazine *Die Tagesschau*. After a visit to the Tagesschau's TV studio, students were asked to prepare an own news magazine in groups. The seminar concluded with a Q&As session with the director of the department "*Ausland und Aktuelles*" Stefan Niemann and the Tagesschau's duty editor Andreas Hummelmeier.

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The study of enemy images Conference of the Midwest Political Science Association in Chicago

On 2-4 April 2009 Sybille Reinke de Buitrago took part in the 67th National Conference of the Midwest Political Science Association in Chicago, U.S. As part of the Foreign Policy Section, she presented a paper entitled "Taking Stock: The Study of Enemy Images Today". The

paper assessed the current literature and research on enemy images, pointing to gaps and existing trends. Furthermore, research results on enemy images in American foreign policy were presented.

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CORE presentation at the International Boundaries Research Unit in Durham, UK

On 1 April 2009, Marietta König presented a paper entitled “Self-Determination’s Belated Victory? Russia’s Recognition of Abkhazia and South Ossetia and its Impact for Upcoming Sovereignty Debates” at Durham University, UK. The presentation was a contribution to the international conference on “The State of Sovereignty”, which was organized by the International Boundaries Research Unit (IBRU). The panels dealt with a wide range of topics, such as maritime space management regimes, natural resources management, jurisdiction in the Arctic, border security management, case studies of disputed territories, innovative approaches to complex disputes, and the cartography of sovereignty, e.g. using maps and databases. The three-day conference, which was attended by over 200 academics and practitioners from more than 50 countries, simultaneously celebrated the 20th anniversary of IBRU. The conference presentations are available on the IBRU homepage.

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Presentation at the shadow NATO Summit “Options for NATO: Pressing the re-set button on the strategic concept”

On 31 March/1 April 2009, BASIC, the Bertelsmann Foundation, ISIS Europe and NATO Watch conducted a conference on “Options for NATO: Pressing the Re-Set Button on the Strategic Concept” in Brussels shortly before NATO’s 60th anniversary summit. The purpose of this event was to discuss the options for the upcoming review of the Alliance’s Strategic Concept. In his paper entitled “Securing collective defence without missile defence and tactical nuclear weapons – feasible and desirable?”, Oliver Meier argues that NATO’s nuclear sharing arrangements and the Bush administration’s plans to deploy elements of its national missile defence system in Poland and the Czech Republic are obstacles on the way to a thorough reform of the Alliance. Against the background of the diminishing importance of Article 5 commitment to collective defence, the insistence on nuclear deterrence and missile defence would point to the adherence to the increasingly irrelevant principle of military defence of NATO’s territory, rather than to a modernisation of the alliance.

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France’s changing role within NATO 19th HSFK Spring Academy on Security Policy

On 27/28 March 2009 Hans-Georg Ehrhart participated in the 19th Spring Academy on Security Policy organised by the Peace Research Institute Frankfurt (HSFK) and the Atlantic Academy Rheinland-Pfalz. In his presentation titled “Adieu Grande Nation? France’s changing role within NATO”, Ehrhart described the steps and backgrounds which led to

France's return in the Alliance's integrated military structures in April 2009. A commentary can be found on the IFSH website (www.ifsh.de).

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CORE researchers meet Moldova's Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs and representatives of UNDP and OSCE Mission

CORE deputy head Dr Frank Evers and CORE researcher Dr Diana Digol met Valeriu Ostalep, Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs and European Integration of the Republic of Moldova, in Chisinau on 27 March 2009. Talks focussed on personnel development problems within the ministry as well as reasonable prospects of setting up ministerial training capacities, an area in which CORE has been providing consultancy services. The background of the meeting are the efforts to implement the "MFAEI Institutional Development Plan for 2009 – 2011".

The visit programme also included meetings with Matilda Dimovska, UNDP Deputy Resident Representative in Moldova, and Alexandru Pelivan, Project Manager at UNDP Moldova, as well as Claus Neukirch, Deputy Head of the OSCE Mission to Moldova, and Rita Tamm, Senior Rule of Law Adviser. These meetings focussed on the political situation in Moldova on the eve of parliamentary elections on 5 April as well the national and international efforts to enhance the rule of law. Regarding the latter, CORE, on behalf of the German Federal Foreign Office, is currently elaborating an analysis on the OSCE rule of law implementation formats. The background of this is an OSCE decision on "Further Strengthening the Rule of Law in the OSCE Area" adopted in December 2008 at the Sixteenth Meeting of the OSCE Ministerial Council in Helsinki, with Germany being one of its major promoters.

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Disarmament in the 21th Century Conference of the EU Institute for Security Studies in Paris

"A New Farewell to Arms: Giving Purpose to Disarmament in the 21st Century" was the title of the first meeting of the Working Group on the Future of Disarmament, which took place at the EU Institute for Security Studies in Paris on 23-24 March 2009. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss the future of efforts to control weapons of mass destruction. The working group aims at writing a joint report on options for strengthening the EU's role in multilateral non-proliferation and arms control efforts. In his presentation, Oliver Meier discussed whether the ideas and concepts emerged during the failed talks on a verification and compliance protocol to the Biological Weapons Convention could be used in future initiatives to strengthen the efforts to control biological weapons.

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The prospects of conventional arms control in Europe Berlin-Seminar of the German Foreign Office in Zagreb

On 25/26 March 2009 the Arms Control Department of the German Foreign Office carried out a workshop on "Conventional Arms Control and Disarmament in the Current Strategic Environment" in the RACVIAC-Centre for Security Cooperation in Zagreb. The workshop - one of the series of *Berlin Seminars* on conventional arms control - included ten expert presentations on the Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty (CFE), and saw the participation of around 60 diplomats from the OSCE participating states. The CFE regime urgently needs to be reformed and further developed, also with the support of the Obama Administration. Wolfgang Zellner and Götz Neuneck participated in the event as lectures.

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Trilateral workshop on development in Africa

On 18/19 March 2009, Bernt Berger participated in a workshop titled "Perspectives of African Development from the United States and China" in Stellenbosch, South Africa. The event was organised by the Centre for Chinese Studies in Stellenbosch in cooperation with the Beijing University and the University of California. The purpose was to find topics of common interest and create the basis for future research projects. The programme included the possibility of visiting development projects and grassroots organisations in Stellenbosch and Cape Town.

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NATO – taking stock and future prospects Fifth Petersberg Colloquium on Security in Bonn

Hans-Georg Ehrhart represented the IFSH at the fifth Petersberg Colloquium on Security which took place on the Petersberg near Bonn on 14 March 2009. The main topic under discussion was "NATO – Taking stock and future prospect". Among the panellists were Bernard de Montferrand (Ambassador of France), General Jürgen Bornemann (NATO Military Committee) and Ambassador Eberhard Pohl (Special Envoy for Security Policy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs).

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IFSH Project within the 7th EU Research Framework Programme International coordination meeting in Hamburg

The members of the consortium of MULTIPART - *Multistakeholder Partnerships in Post-conflict Reconstruction: The Role of the EU* - the project funded by the EU in the framework of the 7th Research Programme, met in Hamburg on 9/10 March 2009. The IFSH coordinates the work on the security chapter of the project. The purpose of the coordination meeting was to present and discuss preliminary findings and plan further work. The participants were Prof Michael Brzoska (Director of the IFSH), Hans-Georg Ehrhart (Director of ZEUS and

coordinator of WP 4a), Jens Narten (IFSH, project officer), Prof Plamen Pantev (Director of the Institute for Security and International Studies/ISIS), Velko Attanasoff (ISIS), Hans Hoebeke (Royal Institute for International Relations/EGMONT), Line Risch (EGMONT), Francesco Strazzari (Scuola Superiore Sant'Anna/University of Amsterdam) and Simone Tholens (University of Amsterdam).

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73th Annual meeting of the German Physical Society in Hamburg

The 73th German Physical Society's (DPG) annual meeting took place on 3-6 March 2009 at the University Campus in Hamburg. The Working Group on Physics and Disarmament (AGA) contributed to this event with key speeches and plenary presentations. Götz Neuneck, AGA's speaker, could secure the participation of Prof David Holloway from Stanford/California, who held the prestigious Max-von-Laue Lecture with the title "Bohr, Oppenheimer and Sakharov: Physicists and Politics in the Cold War and the Responsibility of Scientists Today". The lecture was attended by more than 600 participants. Jan Stupl, Marcel Dickow, Götz Neuneck and Hans-Christian Gils were involved in the programme, which also saw the participation of guests from the USA and the UK.

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The future of armed forces joint operations Bundeswehr workshop in Berlin

On 2-4 March 2009 Götz Neuneck attended the workshop "MidTerm Study 2025 – The Future of Armed Forces Joint Operations" conducted by the Bundeswehr Transformation Center and the Institute for European Policy in the Julius-Leber-Kaserne in Berlin. The opening event was followed by working group discussions, where different operation scenarios were presented and analysed.

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2nd German-French Dialog for the Future Policy brief on European strategic airlift capacities

In 2008 the ZEUS PhD student Isabelle Maras took part in the 2nd "German-French Dialog" organized by the German Society for Foreign Policy (DGAP) and the French Institute for International Relations (Ifri). The initiative aims to establish a network of German and French young executives and is funded by the Robert Bosch Foundation. During the three seminars which took place in France and Germany in the course of the year, the participants discussed with experts and practitioners about current political and societal issues. Based on the policy analyses and talks, Policy Briefs were drafted in binational teams. In this framework, Isabelle Maras and Barbara Kunz (project manager at the Bertelsmann Foundation in Gütersloh (Germany) and Ph.D student in International Relations at the Stockholm University) worked on a Policy Brief entitled "Objectives and means: why France and Germany should promote a European strategic airlift capacity" that

has been recently published in both languages: **Kunz Barbara, Maras Isabelle (2009), "Mittel zum Zweck: warum Deutschland und Frankreich sich für europäische Lufttransportkapazitäten einsetzen sollten", in Brunkhorst Ulla, Sold Katrin (Hrsg.), Frankreich-Themen 2008, Nomos-Verlag. The Policy Briefs can be downloaded on the IFSH homepage (www.ifsh.de).**

PUBLICATIONS

Peace Report 2009 How to end wars?

Afghanistan and Pakistan are keeping international politics on edge, and an end to the fighting is not in sight. In Africa, the Caucasus and the Middle East, ceasefires will probably turn out to be the calm before the next storm. Such findings urge the key question of the Peace Report 2009: How can wars and violent conflicts be brought to an end, and how can they not?

Weak or failed states have been the battle grounds of the recent armed conflicts, and their societies have been the point of contention. At stake are concepts of political order and the political support of the people. Military force is rarely decisive in such contests. Yet it is still widely assumed that more troops lead to more security and that wars can be decided by means of military superiority. The emphasis on military power often covers up the lack of conceptual political thinking. The majority of current wars, however, cannot be brought to a lasting end without legitimate and functioning governance structures that are present at the basis of society.

This is the conclusion drawn by the Peace Report 2009, which the representatives of the five editing institutes presented to the Federal Press Conference in Berlin on 26 May 2009. The editors were able to discuss their results and recommendations with the chairpersons of the Bundestag's Committees on Economic Cooperation and Development Thilo Hoppe (The Greens), on Defence Ulrike Merten (SPD), on Foreign Policy Ruprecht Polenz (CDU) and numerous parliamentarians. A more extensive meeting took place in the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation with State Secretary Erich Stather. A meeting with the German-South Asian Parliamentary Group of the Bundestag and a public event in cooperation with Women in International Security (WIIS) and the Atlantic Initiative completed the Peace Report's guest performance in the capital.

Beyond its primary thematic focus, this year's Peace Report sounds out the new prospects for Russia's integration into the European security structures as well as for disarmament and arms control opened up by the Obama government. In this connection the report recommends, inter alia, to withdraw all nuclear weapons from Germany and to commit to the principle of no first use of nuclear weapons. Another chapter deals with the conflict potential of the international financial crisis as well as the policies and instruments of constructive non-military conflict transformation.

Contributions to the Peace Report 2009 are authored, among others, by Michael Brzoska, Hans-Georg Ehrhart, Margret Johannsen, Martin Kahl, Oliver Meier and Wolfgang Zellner of the IFSH. Annette Weber (SWP) contributed as guest author, while Margret Johannsen for the first time acted as IFSH's co-editor and coordinator of the project. The editors gratefully acknowledged the decade-long commitment of Reinhard Mutz, who had been part of the project from its very start, at first as Egon Bahr's right-hand man and later on as the IFSH's editing representative until 2008.

In June, the Peace Report 2009 was the subject of two events, one in the Protestant Academy Arnoldshain, the other one in the Bonn House of History, in a joint enterprise with the German Society for Foreign Policy. In July, the Peace Report will be presented and discussed at the International Security Information Service (ISIS) Europe in Brussels.

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Götz Neuneck: Das iranische Nuklearprogramm: Sachstand und Perspektiven [The Iranian Nuclear Programme: The State and Prospects], in: Michael Staack (Hrsg.): Die Zukunft der nuklearen Ordnung, Edition Temmen, Bremen 2009, pp. 152-175.

This book chapter describes the development of Iran's nuclear programme, which can be traced back to the Shah, and the nuclear infrastructure which has been built. The controversy over Iran's nuclear programme as well as possible solutions to it are presented in details.

Oliver Meier: "NATO, Arms Control and Nonproliferation: An Alliance Divided?", in: Arms Control Today, Vol. 39, No. 3, April 2009, pp. 29-35.

The article analyses the debate on the future role of NATO in disarmament, arms control and non-proliferation ahead of NATO's 60th anniversary summit. The importance of arms control for cooperation with Russia, the future role of nuclear weapons and an operative role of the Alliance in non-proliferation and disarmament are described.

Oliver Meier: "EU Nonproliferation Chief Sketches Transatlantic Agenda", in: Arms Control Today, Vol. 39, No. 3, April 2009, p. 30.

The article is a summary of a longer interview in which the EU's Representative on the Nonproliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction discusses the future transatlantic arms control agenda. The complete interview can be found at http://www.armscontrol.org/interviews/20090216_Giannella

Oliver Meier: „Nukleare Nichtweiterverbreitung durch Zwang? Der Beitrag nicht-integrativer Rüstungskontrollansätze zur Atomwaffenkontrolle“ [“Nuclear Non-Proliferation through Coercion? The Contribution of Non-Integrative Arms Control Instruments to nuclear arms control”], in: Michael Staack (Hrsg.): Die Zukunft der nuklearen Ordnung. Bremen: Edition Temmen 2009, pp. 63-93.

The article discusses the contribution of novel, non-integrative instruments in the fight against the spread of nuclear weapons. It is argued that non-consensual, coercive and supply-side oriented non- and counterproliferation instruments (most of which were developed by the Bush administration) should only play a limited role in nuclear non-proliferation and need to be brought in line with multilateral efforts.

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During the summer term 2009, Bernhard Rinke, research fellow at the IFSH, is serving as Acting Professor for International Relation in the Department for Social Sciences of the University of Osnabrück.

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