

## **Ifsh news July-September 2007**

### **The future of the international military presence in Afghanistan**

#### **A panel discussion at the IFSH**

On 24 September 2007 the IFSH sponsored a panel discussion dealing with the future of the international military presence in Afghanistan. Just ahead of the decision of the German Bundestag on the prolongation of the mandates related to the missions of the Bundeswehr in this country, Michael Brzoska, (Director of the IFSH) discussed this hot topic with Knut Kirste (NATO), Niels Annen (SPD Member of Parliament), Hans-Georg Ehrhart (IFSH) and over fifty guests, including the new Consul General of the USA, Karin E. Johnson. Kirste, while criticizing the inadequate coordination of the international community, emphasized the necessity of a civil-military approach. According to Niels Annen, the reconstruction of Afghanistan is not feasible without the international military presence. However, he stressed the different approaches and legitimacy of ISAF and OEF. Hans-Georg Ehrhart presented a rather negative summary of the achievements reached by the international community so far. He remained sceptical about the prospects of success and argued for the elaboration of a mid-term exit strategy.

Contact: Dr Hans-Georg Ehrhart

ehrhart@ifsh.de

### **Focus on Afghanistan: what is going wrong with Hindukush?**

#### **A comment by Reinhard Mutz**

Following September 11, Afghanistan was the first example of an externally enforced regime change. Since then it has been the experimental ground for a pacification policy that relies on the permanent coexistence of civilian and military instruments. The continuation of war after the Taliban's overthrow did not pay off. The violent opposition returned to the offensive: in 2006, attacks and battles quadrupled compared to the previous year, often causing more victims among civilians than among military forces; the number of suicide attacks increased sevenfold, trend upwards.

President Karzai has complained about not even being consulted about the ongoing armed operations, which pull the rug out from under his feet. In May 2007 the senate in Kabul asked NATO to suspend all combat operations. Evidently however, no Afghan authority has enough power to implement its decisions, if these differ from the intentions of external actors. Moreover, proper consideration is not always given to the fact that, according to the relevant UN resolutions, Afghanistan is still a sovereign state, not an international protectorate. It is itself in charge of the security of foreign professionals working for the country's economic reconstruction. ISAF's soldiers are only supposed to assist the Afghan government in fulfilling this task. They do not have a mandate for the arbitrary conduct of war. In the acronym ISAF "A" stands for *assistance* not for *attack*.

With the extension of its competency to Afghanistan's conflict areas, ISAF assumed for itself the role of Operation Enduring Freedom, the American fight against the Taliban. Thus the crucial distinction between ISAF (legitimate and useful) and OEF (rather problematic), which has largely characterized the public debate in Germany, became inappropriate. The real dividing line now runs between North-ISAF and South-ISAF.

While the German army does not participate in ground operations in the South, its tornado units contribute to enemy reconnaissance and provide combat support. The mandates for

ISAF and the deployment of tornados, which have been kept separate so far, will be merged and jointly submitted to the German parliament for approval. In this way the government will prevent parliament from voting separately on two contradictory military operations.

Contact: Dr Reinhard Mutz

mutz@ifsh.de

### **Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker Forum on the Responsibility of Scientists in Hamburg**

The physicist, philosopher and peace researcher Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker died on 28 April 2007. To commemorate his work the German Association of Scientists (VDW), in cooperation with the IFSH, the Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker Centre for Natural Science and Peace Research (ZNF) and the Department of Philosophy of the University of Hamburg, organised a two-day conference at the University of Hamburg. Dr Roland Salchow, Secretary of State for the Ministry of Science and Research of the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg and chairman of the IFSH's Board of Trustees, welcomed the participants and lecturers in Hamburg's town hall. In his speech Dr Salchow stressed the lasting impression left by Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker on many people and himself through his multifaceted public activities.

Prof Hartmut Graßl, vice-chairman of VDW, and Prof Arno Frühwald, Dean of the Faculty of Natural Sciences, opened the conference. In the first session Weizsäcker's former fellows, students and colleagues – Prof Klaus-Meyer-Abich, Prof Klaus Gottstein and Walter Schindler to mention a few – reported on specific periods of his life and different fields of activity. The IFSH was represented by Prof Michael Brzoska and Prof Götz Neuneck. Michael Brzoska moderated the discussion during the first part of the conference. Götz Neuneck talked about Weizsäcker's work related to the responsibility of scientists as well as his criticism of deterrence and nuclear weapons. Further lectures were given by, among others, Prof Ulrich Gähde (University of Hamburg), Ilona Stölken-Fitschen (New York), Prof Ulrich Bartosch (Eichstätt) and Prof Martin Kalinowski. All in all about 100 people participated in the conference.

Contact: Prof Dr Götz Neuneck

neuneck@ifsh.de

### **Roundtable with parliamentarians from Turkmenistan**

On 21 September 2007 Wolfgang Zellner and Anna Kreikemeyer (IFSH/CORE) participated in a roundtable discussion with four parliamentarians from Turkmenistan in Berlin. The members of Turkmenistan's Parliament Majilis (Kasymgulov Babajev, Vice-Chairman of the Mejlis, Maral Paltajeva, Chairman of the Committee for Economy and Social Policy, Bibi Amanova, Member of the Committee for Cooperation with Village Administrators, and Bjashim Annagurbanov, Member of the Committee for Economy and Social Policy) spent one week in Frankfurt and Berlin in the framework of a guest programme promoted by the Federal Government and organised by the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and had many networking opportunities. Discussions with representatives of CORE focussed on the modernisation of Turkmenistan's education system, the promotion of international academic exchanges and the prospects for cooperation between Turkmenistan and the OSCE.

Contact: Dr Anna Kreikemeyer

annakreikemeyer@gmx.de

## **IFSH participates in the 7th EU Framework Programme for Research**

Five of seven research proposals for the 7th EU Framework Programme for Research in which the IFSH has been involved were classified as eligible (scores of 10 to 15). However, due to the high over-subscription of resources, only those projects that have been awarded a score of at least 13 are likely to be funded. This is the case for two projects in which the IFSH is involved.

Contact: Prof Dr Michael Brzoska

brzoska@ifsh.de

## **Symposium: „Nuclear and Radiologic Weapons“**

From 18 to 20 September 2007 Götz Neuneck and Oliver Meier (IFSH/IFAR<sup>2</sup>) participated in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Symposium on „Nuclear and Radiologic Weapons“, which is organised by the Fraunhofer Institute for Technological Trend Analysis in Euskirchen every two years. This symposium is the sole chance for scientists, experts and officials from the departments of the interior, the army, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as well as the radiation and civil protection authorities in Germany to meet and exchange ideas, focusing on disarmament, nuclear security, nuclear terrorism and radiologic incidents.

Oliver Meier gave a lecture on „Nuclear modernisation programmes and the proliferation of nuclear weapons“, while Götz Neuneck talked about “Activities to modernise nuclear arsenals in a context of deterrence“. Furthermore Götz Neuneck moderated a part of the conference and Oliver Meier participated in the final panel discussion on „Modernisation of nuclear weapons without nuclear tests: how long will “we” stick to it?“

Contact: Prof Dr Götz Neuneck

neuneck@ifsh.de

## **Congress on European Defence**

On 17/18 September 2007 Christian Mölling (external IFAR<sup>2</sup> Fellow) participated in the “6<sup>th</sup> Congress on European Defence, European Forces in Operation – Lessons Learned and Lessons to be Learned for Parliaments, Governments and Armed Forces” in Berlin. He took part in the panel entitled “The European Security and Defence Policy – A Pillar of the Transatlantic Security Architecture?”

Contact: Prof Dr Götz Neuneck

neuneck@ifsh.de

## **The Future of the Middle East: Recent Challenges - Possible Consequences**

At the invitation of the Arab League and the Friedrich-Ebert-Foundation, Margret Johannsen attended an expert meeting on “The Future of the Middle East: Recent Challenges - Possible Consequences”, which took place in Cairo from 10 to 11 September 2007. On the agenda were the Arab-Israeli conflict, recent developments in Somalia, Sudan/Darfur and Iraq, and the nuclear challenges in the region. In her comments on a presentation by Amb. Mohamed Sobeih, Assistant to the Secretary General of the Arab League, entitled “The Peace Process in the Region and the Arab Peace Initiative”, Johannsen translated the notion of “common security”, developed during the Cold War, into the commitment of all regional actors in the

Middle East to conduct negotiations on the basis of the agreed land-for-peace principle. Working on the assumption that the current split between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip complicates negotiations on final state issues, including a two-state settlement, Johannsen argued that the European Union, and Germany in particular, should support the reconciliation process between the rival Palestinian factions by making it clear that they will not be involved in an attempt to undermine a new power-sharing agreement.

Contact: Dr Margret Johannsen

johannsen@ifsh.de

### **Conference: „The OSCE at a Turning Point“**

On 7/8 September 2007 Wolfgang Zellner, Head of CORE, participated in a conference entitled „The OSCE at a Turning Point“, organised by the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva in collaboration with the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, where he gave a presentation on the „Review of OSCE Field Operations“. This conference brings together, on an annual basis, diplomats and academics to discuss OSCE-related issues. Due to a number of pending issues relevant to the OSCE (Kosovo's future status, the CFE Treaty and Kazakhstan's candidature for the OSCE-chairmanship) that are to be decided on by the end of this year, the conference was attended by prominent participants: among others Amb. Julie Finley (Head of the United States Mission to the OSCE), Amb. Alexey Brorodavkin (Head of the Russian Delegation to the OSCE), Prof Adam Daniel Rotfeld (former Foreign Minister of Poland) and Amb. Wilhelm Höynck (former Secretary General of the OSCE). What clearly emerged from the discussion – which was cooperative in form but hard in substance – were not only the cleavages but also the will to reach compromises.

Contact: Dr Wolfgang Zellner

zellner@ifsh.de

### **Conference on the planned Indo-US nuclear deal in New Delhi**

From 31 August to 1 September Oliver Meier was invited by the Heinrich Böll Foundation to New Delhi to talk to the Coalition for Nuclear Disarmament and Peace (CNDP) and the Popular Education and Action Centre (PEACE) about the German view of the planned Indo-US nuclear deal. More than 300 participants were able to listen to presentations by speakers from India, Pakistan and Nepal as well as the USA and Germany. The speakers pointed out the implications and problems for peace and the environment that are linked to the planned removal of the nuclear-related sanctions on India. The event took place in the context of a controversial debate on the issue in the Indian parliament and attracted a great deal of media attention.

Contact: Dr Oliver Meier

oliver@armscontrol.org

### **„Master of Peace and Security Studies“ Final Colloquium at the IFSH**

From 20 to 25 August 2007 the Final Colloquium of the „Master of Peace and Security Studies“ study programme took place at the IFSH. In this context, final oral examinations were held and passed by all students. Over a period of two days students were familiarized with the use of microphones and cameras and had the opportunity to try out different interview and presentation techniques under expert guidance. Finally, students and

programme coordinators made a first assessment of the academic year. All students, without exception, commented that - considering the programme as a whole – they did not regret the decision to participate in the MPS master course. At the same time they made suggestions on how to improve the programme in future years. On 25 August, after a relaxed conclusion with a barbecue and animated conversations, the participants said goodbye to each other and arranged to meet on 17 October in Hamburg at the graduation ceremony granting the academic degree “Master of Peace and Security Studies” (M.P.S.).

Contact: Prof Dr Hans J. Giessmann

giessmann@ifsh.de

### **Lectures within the framework of the Federal Foreign Office’s Training for International Diplomats in Berlin**

On 14 June 2007 and 24 August 2007 Prof Götz Neuneck (IFSH/IFAR<sup>2</sup>) gave lectures on small weapons and nuclear proliferation during the Federal Foreign Office’s Training for International Diplomats in Berlin. The “International Futures” training programme is targeted not only at diplomats but also at executives with international experience. The August seminar was a module of the „Managing Global Governance Programme” organized by the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development. This programme brings together prospective diplomats and executives from ministries and industry and gives them the chance to learn more about key aspects of globalisation and appropriate political strategies.

Contact: Prof Dr Götz Neuneck

neuneck@ifsh.de

### **ICCEES Regional Congress: “Transcending Europe’s Borders: The EU and its Neighbours”**

Regina Heller (IFSH/ZEUS) and Elena Kropatcheva (IFSH/CORE), in cooperation with the University of Glasgow and the UCD School of Politics and International Relations Dublin, organised a panel on „EU and Russia Flux Lines: Between Attraction and Repulsion“ at the ICCEES Regional Congress “Transcending Europe’s Borders: The EU and its Neighbours”, which took place at the Humboldt University in Berlin from 2 to 4 August 2007. Regina Heller presented a paper entitled “Rapprochement Through Interlinkage – How Strong is the EU’s Normative Gravity for Russia Really?”, while Elena Kropatcheva gave a presentation on “Russia or the EU? Ukraine Caught between Two Poles”.

Contact: Elena Kropatcheva M.A., M.P.S.  
Dr Regina Heller

ekropatcheva@list.ru  
regina\_heller@web.de

### **Workshop: Enemy „Islam – Enemy „West“. A critical reflection on mutual perceptions**

Sybille Reinke de Buitrago presented a paper on the perceptions of Islam in German security policy at the workshop “Feindbild "Islam"- Feindbild "Westen". Eine kritische Reflexion gegenseitiger Wahrnehmungen” [Enemy “Islam” – Enemy “West”: A Critical Reflection on Mutual Perceptions] at the ORIENTATION Network in Berlin on 6 July 2007. Other contributors spoke about the image of Islam in society, the perception of the West in Islamic countries and the function of images in general and enemy images in particular. The

workshop aimed at pointing out the new relevance of enemy images today, especially in relations between the West and Islam.

Contact: Sybille Reinke de Buitrago M.A.

sybille.rdeb@gmail.com

## **Publications**

### **Monographs**

**Dennis Gratz, Elitozid in Bosnien und Herzegowina 1992-1995 [The extermination of elites in Bosnia and Herzegovina between 1992 and 1995].** (Demokratie, Sicherheit, Frieden Bd. 182), Baden-Baden: Nomos 2007, 277 S., ISBN 978-3-8329-3024-0

The author investigates the elimination of political, economic, academic, intellectual and cultural elites during the wars in Bosnia and Herzegovina and its consequences for the peacebuilding process thereafter. The analysis focuses on the timeframe between 1992 and 1995 and is based on testimonies, documents and other sources, e. g. the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia and the Research Institute for War Crimes in Sarajevo. This study aims at analysing the extermination of elites in the context of „ethnic cleansing“, a phenomenon that has been less examined so far, and elaborating this concept from a sociological and penal point of view.

**Katrin Simhandl, Der Diskurs der EU-Institutionen über die Kategorien „Zigeuner“ und „Roma“. Die Erschließung eines politischen Raumes über die Konzepte von „Antidiskriminierung“ und „sozialem Einschluss.“ [The discourse of the EU institutions on the categories of „Gypsies“ and „Romanies“. The development of a political framework for the concepts of „anti-discrimination“ and „social inclusion“]** (Demokratie, Sicherheit, Frieden Bd. 183), Baden-Baden: Nomos 2007, 427 S., ISBN 978-3-8329-2893-3

The subject of this study is the discourse of the EU institutions on the categories of ‚Gypsies‘ and ‚Romanies‘. While numerous analyses of racist discourse already exist, this study examines a discourse characterised by the striving for anti-discrimination and social inclusion, thus describing a field that has not been adequately considered so far. Following an overview of the discourse analysis and the classification of the study in this field, the structure of the EU discourse on „Gypsies“/„Romanies“ is analysed. Its unclear basis is explained and its origin in the 70s and evolution up to the present day are outlined. The general development of the discourse in the EU context is illuminated and the interactions between the general level and the particular one, which is object of the study, are analysed. Finally, the study discloses a fundamental break in the discourse on „Gypsies“/„Romanies“ and shows how this break is part of a larger discourse formation.

**Kurt P. Tudyka, Die OSZE - Besorgt um Europas Sicherheit. Kooperation statt Konfrontation [The OSCE – Concerned about European Security. Co-operation instead of confrontation],** Merus Verlag Hamburg 2007, 263 Seiten, ISBN 978-3-939519-03-4, € 14,90.

**Götz Neuneck/Michael Schaaf (Hrsg.), Zur Geschichte der Pugwash-Bewegung in Deutschland [The History of the Pugwash Movement in Germany],** Preprint 332, Max-Planck-Institut für Wissenschaftsgeschichte, 2007, 93 Seiten <http://www.mpiwg-berlin.mpg.de/Preprints/P332.PDF>

## Journal articles and book contributions

**Michael Brzoska, Collective violence beyond the standard definition of armed conflict**, SIPRI Yearbook 2007, Appendix 2C, S.94-106.

The traditional definitions of war and armed conflict cover only part of today's use of collective violence. This article discusses the shortcomings of such definitions and the need for new data sets to achieve a broad coverage of collective violence.

<http://yearbook2007.sipri.org/chap2/app2C>

**Michael Brzoska, Pozicija stran severnoj Evropy i ich rol' v evropejskom voenno-promyslennom prostranstve** [The position of North European countries and their role in the military-industrial sector], in: Oboronnaja Promyslennost' [Defence industry], Jan-Feb 2007, S. 37ff.

**Marcel Dickow, Security and Defence in the European Space Policy**, in: Flash Report #2, European Space Policy Institute Vienna, June 2007.

[http://www.espi.or.at/images/stories/dokumente/flash\\_reports/flash-report2-espi-esdp-june2007.pdf](http://www.espi.or.at/images/stories/dokumente/flash_reports/flash-report2-espi-esdp-june2007.pdf)

The EU has formulated its first independent space strategy which also includes the security dimension. This Flash Report describes the opportunities, consequences and contradictions of this approach.

**Oliver Meier, U.S. Cuts Tactical Nuclear Weapons in Europe**, in: Arms Control Today, Vol. 37, Nr. 7, September 2007, S. 32-33.

NATO still holds stocks of so-called tactical nuclear weapons in Germany. The article delineates the background and perspectives of a partial withdrawal of these weapons.

**Götz Neuneck, Droht ein Rüstungswettlauf im All? [Is an arms race in space an imminent threat?]**, in: 16. Forum Globale Fragen. Neue Wege der Rüstungskontrolle und Abrüstung [16th Forum Global Issues: New Ways in Arms Control and Disarmament], Auswärtiges Amt [German Foreign Office], Proceedings 5.-6. March 2007, Berlin, S. 44-50.

The presentation given during the panel on arms control in space at the 16<sup>th</sup> Forum Global Issues organised by the German Foreign Office deals with the problems and chances of future prohibition regimes in space in relation to technological aspects and arms control.

## Staff

The University of Hamburg has awarded Dr. Götz Neuneck, the head of IFAR and a lecturer of many years' standing, the title of full professor. Götz Neuneck, who is also responsible for the scientific component of the Master of Peace and Security Studies degree, was formally granted the title on 22nd August by Professor Monika Auweter-Kurtz, the President of the University.

Contact: Prof Dr Götz Neuneck

[neuneck@ifsh.de](mailto:neuneck@ifsh.de)

Annelisa Cotone has been employed as Multilingual Executive Assistant at IFSH since 1 September 2007. She took over the position of Heinke Peters who has gone into well-deserved retirement. Ms. Cotone is responsible for the organization and execution of

management activities, student support and foreign language assistance. Ms. Cotone studied International Relations and Diplomacy at the University of Trieste (Italy) and in Hamburg. Prior to joining IFSH she worked in Hamburg for a communication centre focused on development issues and completed internships at the Permanent Mission of Italy to the OSCE in Vienna and the Information Office of the European Parliament in Berlin.

Contact: Annelisa Cotone

cotone@ifsh.de

## **Imprint**

Responsible for this issue:

Michael Brzoska, Susanne Bund, Anna Kreikemeyer