

Annual Report

2011

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1. On the Work of IFSH 2011 – Director's Foreword

In 2011, IFSH celebrated its fortieth anniversary. Its foundation in June 1971 was followed, in the fall of 1971, by the first staff members taking up their work with the founding director, Wolf Graf von Baudissin on the Falkenstein in Hamburg Blankenese.

On the occasion of the anniversary, a celebratory event was held on 14 November 2011. In his commemorative speech, which is printed in this annual report, Detlef Bald particularly emphasized the relationship between the scientific work at IFSH and its political significance. This aspect was also dealt with in the podium discussion that followed in which, in addition to Egon Bahr, Alyson Bailes, the former SIPRI Director, Regina Mehl, the chairperson of the Peace and Conflict Research Association and Ex M.P. Winfried Nachwei took part.

Beyond the celebratory event, the 40 year anniversary, also offered a good opportunity, in a series of thematic seminars and conferences, to reflect on the processes of change in the work over the last years as well as the further perspectives of IFSH.

Since its founding, the basis of the work of the IFSH has been free scientific research. The IFSH should also – as stated unchanged in the Articles of Incorporation – deal “particularly with security policy problems within the framework of peace research”. IFSH thus has at heart a double mission, as its name suggests. It is expected to carry out scientific research with a sociopolitical, specific peace policy agenda.

That there may be tensions between scientific research and sociopolitical requirements has been shown through different conflicts in the history of IFSH. But fundamentally, this tension is also, at the same time, productive and opens up great possibilities. These possibilities have already been well used by the IFSH. That is shown by, among other things, the impressive scope of political consultations by IFSH staff members which, for the first time, are quantitatively enumerated in this Annual Report (2011: Participation 115 times in hearings and internal discussions in Parliaments, Ministries and international organizations), the public demand for IFSH expertise, which is reflected in, among other things, the statistics on interviews (2011: 183), lectures (139) and podium participation (33) and the role which the IFSH has taken in the organization of a series of international conferences with high level scientists and political participation, such as the Pugwash Annual Conference at the beginning of July in the Federal Foreign Office in Berlin, a conference on “Challenges for Cybersecurity: Threats, Strategies & Confidence-Building” in December, also at the Federal Foreign Office, and the conference in Vienna on the “Development of OSCE Field Activities” in May.

The IFSH is very well-positioned nationally and internationally for political consultation in some important thematic areas. Among these are topics such as the organization of security in Europe, questions of arms control and disarmament and questions about the use of military force. The current staff profits considerably from the social capital built up by their predecessors, above all, however, the first three Directors of the IFSH Wolf Graf von Baudissin, Egon Bahr and Dieter Lutz. Effective political consultation needs the respect and the trust of the addressees – conditions which must be created and cultivated in the hard competition among those offering consultation.

The central basis of well-founded political consultation is methodical and theoretically grounded scientific research. Its success is also the condition for sustainably securing the IFSH's *raison d'être*.

Beginning with the early years of its foundation, research was carried out at the IFSH. But the fundamental conditions for research have changed. With them, the expectations and evidence of success in scholarship have also changed. The requirements for methodical and theoretical scrutiny and reflection have significantly increased. Since methods and theories are, as a rule, anchored in scientific disciplines, a visible connection to the respective state of research is of great significance for the power of persuasion of scientific work. For peace research, in which parallel or, even better,



integrative employment of multiple disciplines makes sense, this is a great challenge. It strengthens the trend towards working in groups which, for a long time, has been the rule in natural sciences. Parallel to professionalization, which generally can be observed in peace research, the culture of evaluation of research work has changed. Also for applied research, which is central to the work of IFSH, quantitative and qualitative criteria, which come from basic research, are increasingly enlisted. Here the IFSH has made efforts in the last few years to increase the number of refereed publications. While further growth must continue to be aspired to, both in the refereed publications overall (2011: 34) and also in the list of those in particularly high-level journals (2011: 6 of the Thomson Reuters World of Knowledge-List), progress has been achieved compared to previous years.

The increased attention to and anchoring of the changed conditions for scientific work are of great significance for the perspective of IFSH: the achieving of a quality level, that makes the prospects for an application for membership in the Leibniz Association (Wissenschaftsgemeinschaft Leibniz, WGL) seem promising. In April 2011 the IFSH underwent a consultative evaluation by three external experts under WGL conditions. The experts were unanimous that good and, in some cases, very good research was being carried out within the IFSH. At the same time, they found a number of weaknesses on which IFSH must work to have a promising WGL perspective. Among these are in particular, an increase in the number of high-level publications, as well as a better elaboration of and focus on the unique features of the IFSH.

Active efforts were also made in 2011 for a stronger focusing of the work of the IFSH. The topics of the work program "Transnational Risks of Violence", adopted in 2008, are increasingly the focus of attention. The work program reflects the fact that new security problems have come into the limelight. Their emergence and position on the political agenda have a great deal to do with the global changes over the last decades: with the end of the Cold War, globalization of the exchange of goods, communication and media attention. Security threats no longer stop at borders. They affect people directly more than they do states. The IFSH has, in the past, been very successful in securing third party funding for these thematic areas, *inter alia* for the two projects supported by the Federal Ministry of Education and Research, PiraT and TERAS-INDEX. Since these projects are now being implemented, expenditures financed by third-party funding rose to 1,267 million Euros in 2011, while the amount of new funding was 0,829 million Euros, somewhat over half of the institutional support of 1,544 million Euros.

Furthermore, initial ideas for a new IFSH work program, which were elaborated by three parallel working groups, were presented to the IFSH Scientific Advisory Board in November 2011. This will be the basis for further discussion. In the fall of 2012, a draft will be presented to the supervisory committees of the Institute. The goal is setting priorities which combine fundamentals of peace research and security policy and link them to both new theoretical considerations and selected political issues.

The study of the question of the degree to which the instruments of security policy, created for traditional security policy, are appropriate for the changed and more complex situation, crystallized as the most workable concept. Whereby, for us, the criterion of appropriateness must be the contribution to building and strengthening peace. For peace, as in peace with potential and actual opponents, is the higher value as opposed to security, as in security from dangers, risks and opponents, which cannot be durable. On this basis, the IFSH can productively take up the areas of tension mentioned initially, in a new linkage between peace research and security policy and once again elaborate more clearly the quintessence of the work of IFSH.

For it is not only the basic conditions for research, but also the political conditions for the work of the IFSH that have changed in the last 40 years. Here, the IFSH has regularly repositioned itself, as written in a brochure prepared for the 40th anniversary. Individual thematic areas, such as conflicts in Central Asia, have been taken up, others, such as the work on an international police, have been dropped. Still other thematic areas, such as nuclear arms control and disarmament, have been worked on since the founding of the Institute but with varying foci.

The three substantial articles published in this annual report give insight into the "scientific workshop" of the IFSH. They are about "work in progress" at the IFSH and also in the world. Johann



Schmid, who, as the officer representing the Bundeswehr in the “military part” of the IFSH, urges in his article a renewal of the Clausewitzian theory of war with his analysis of the “war behind the wars”. Frank Evers, Wolfgang Zellner and Ulrich Kühn outline the planning for a series of “Track 2” conferences together with Russian, Polish, and French research institutes, in close communication with the respective foreign ministries, on the question of the creation of a security community in Europe. In addition, Ulrich Kühn presents an assessment of the prospects for a conference on a weapons-of-mass-destruction-free-zone in the Middle East that should take place in Helsinki in 2012. He brings “insider information” to this as he was “lent” to the Federal Foreign Office for eight months in 2011 and in August and September completed a two month United Nations training program for diplomats in Geneva and New York. On 21 October 2011, after completion of the program, he was awarded the “UN Fellowship on Disarmament” as one of the first non-diplomats world-wide,

In addition to the research and societal relevance of scientific research, cooperation with the university as well as teaching and promotion of junior researchers are of significance for a WGL perspective. Increasing numbers of scientists are working together on projects with colleagues at the University of Hamburg. Particularly notable is the involvement of the IFSH in the Excellence Cluster “Integrated Climate System Analysis and Prediction” (CLISAP) and the submission of an application for a proposal for renewal from 2012. The “Master of Peace and Security Studies” program, which the IFSH runs jointly with the University of Hamburg, was landed by the external experts in the evaluation of the IFSH in April 2011, as a particularly successful linkage of research and the promotion of junior researchers. 24 graduates finished in 2011. The doctoral program at the IFSH is more strongly combined with various graduate schools at the University of Hamburg, in particular that of the Business, Economics and Social Sciences Faculty, but also the Hamburg International Graduate School for the Study of Regional Powers (HIGS) and the School of Integrated Climate System Sciences (SICS). In 2011 two doctorates were awarded. For 2012 a higher number is expected.

Many factors make for the success of an institute such as the IFSH. Central are the support of the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg and the cooperation with the University of Hamburg. Furthermore, the IFSH is cooperating with many scientific partners domestically and abroad, such as in the Peace and Security Studies Master's Program, in projects, programs and beyond. In this year, in which the IFSH has celebrated its 40th birthday, we have organized a dozen conferences and workshops, the vast majority of them with strong international participation. A long-term and good cooperation links the IFSH with the Bundeswehr, which, for many years, has sent officers to the Institute who can work in complete scientific freedom. Finally, the engagement and competency of the IFSH staff must be mentioned. Continuity and renewal in a highly motivated team will also remain the basis for the success of the work of the IFSH in the future.

February 2012

Michael Brzoska

1.1 Lecture on the 40th Anniversary of IFSH

*Detlef Bald**

40 Years of Hamburg Peace Research. IFSH (1971-2011)



A noteworthy and remarkable path has been trod by the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg: 40 years of the Institute, a long history – who would have thought of this future for the IFSH at its founding on 11 June 1971? Forty years ago, as the Institute “opened its doors” in the fall of 1971, the first three scientists there enthusiastically and with great hope, supported “starting from zero” – as in a large family bound together by friendship¹. That was at the beginning, as the Institute, downstream and secluded in picturesque forests on the hilly banks behind Blankenese, was established at Falkenstein.

Hamburg was true to its reputation of being a cosmopolitan city, devoted to overseas trade, as it tackled this project of a “special institute” to try to find “the solution to broad complexes of questions about the design of the future”. At the peak of the Cold War and the nuclear threat, this was more than necessary. Only peace could guarantee the future. Trade needs peace. “Future research”: which “can work scientifically on the many individual questions of security policy” – thus the Hanseatic City was, with a clear declaration, in the vanguard of scientific policy in Germany and presented the concept of “free basic research” of “supra-regional significance”. It positioned itself in a well-known tradition: “The Hanseatic Cities are a good place for peace policy.”² It was observed succinctly that this metropolis “is particularly good as a location for a special institute of this type.”³ This sounded a bit euphoric and reflected the hope – when the planning started in October 1969 – of opening IFSH soon, before city political discussions, in the end, made a longer founding phase necessary.

The Institute celebrated the jubilee of its 40 years of existence in the fall of 2011. Congratulations on this are well-deserved: The Institute has carried out broad research and has advocated for and advanced peace and conflict research with abundant inspiration; it has affected related scientific disciplines; its name has a good reputation in Germany and stands for recognized repute. Internationally it is highly respected – this is reason enough to say thank you to the entire organization and the colleagues who have actually shaped it. They have rendered a great service and justified IFSH’s reputation; certainly there were some who affected it more than others. But emphasizing the efforts of individual persons would also mean de-emphasizing the others. Honoring everyone for their services must be done in another place and systematically.

And yet, I feel bound to say that: Without its former directors, this Institute would not have become what we today have reason to remember. The very individual, strong personalities with farsightedness and courage, with a cosmopolitan outlook and competency: Wolf Graf von Baudissin, Egon Bahr und Dieter S. Lutz – their names are intimately linked with this Institute and its history. Their authority rests on analytical, realistic and, at the same time, visionary qualities which fascinate us. They created identity and presence; they advanced developments or also just generously allowed them. They have defended academic freedom and stood up to public criticism, frequently in defence of their colleagues. They have given IFSH form and format. It is a stroke of luck that they were there.⁴

* Dr. Detlef Bald, formerly Scientific Director for “Military and Society” at the Social Science Institute of the Federal Army, is an historian, political scientist and publicist.

1 BDZ (Baudissin Dokumentationszentrum, Hamburg) 803001 Gräfin Dagmar Baudissin an B., 26. Nov. 1971.

2 Gernot Erler: Friedenspolitisches Handeln vor dem Hintergrund regionaler und globaler Herausforderungen, in: Hans Kloft (Ed.): Friedenspolitik und Friedensforschung. Die Friedensnobelpreisträger aus Deutschland, Berlin 2011, p. 79.

3 BDZ 809133 Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg, Schulbehörde an Stiftung Volkswagenwerk, 16. Okt. 1969.

4 Cf. Das Institut für Friedensforschung und Sicherheitspolitik an der Universität Hamburg, published on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of IFSH, Hamburg 1997

*On the political inspiration of the Federal President*

What was the occasion for academic innovations 40 years ago? What led to the founding of the Institute? It was a time of political unrest. An historic change in the still-early history of the Federal Republic was evolving. In his inaugural address to the joint houses of the German Parliament on 1 July 1969, Gustav Heinemann, the first Social Democratic Federal President in Bonn, urged understanding towards the East and détente in foreign and security policy and explained: “I see first and foremost the responsibility to serve peace. It is not war that is the challenge in which one has to prove himself, as my generation learned in school during the Kaiser’s time, but it is peace that is the challenge in which we all have to prove ourselves. Beyond peace there is no longer any existence possible.”⁵

Heinemann caused people to prick up their ears with his demand to take “peace” seriously and to accept it as fundamental for current policy. But his famous formulation “peace challenge” also “encouraged” Baudissin and gave the push to develop this Peace Research Institute.⁶ It was exactly this purpose that Heinemann pursued as he called to Germany: “It would be helpful if we would turn our due attention to peace research, which means scientific investigation not only of the military connections between armament, disarmament and securing peace, but also among all factors, such as, for example the social, the economic and the psychological.”

This solemn warning by the Federal President caused quite a stir, led domestically to an steep rise in the polarization of the society, to emotionalized partisan political controversies and, in particular, to strong opposition within educational policy. In military and conservative circles, Heinemann’s speech on the “peace challenge” was perceived as an outrageous provocation, while he was able to count on the agreement of many contemporaries in the highly politicized population of his time. In view of the widespread perception that security in the nuclear age is only guaranteed under the conditions of military escalation right up to a nuclear war, it must be the paramount task of politics to prevent such a catastrophe. Through Heinemann’s words, millions of people felt themselves taken seriously in their worry about security vis-à-vis the peace under nuclear deterrence of the nuclear threat.

Justifiably, the Federal President addressed the German deficit in peace research because this research had long since been established and politically respected in universities in other countries. The explosion of the first atomic bomb in 1945 was the turning point. American natural scientists had warned about this potential for destruction and tried to contain it⁷. The call by Albert Einstein remained unheard: In the age of nuclear weapons, science needed substantially new thoughts, a new way of thinking, if mankind wanted to survive. Peace research is, therefore, connected with a peace ethic that is linked with the nuclear age. Since Hiroshima, for the first time in history, a military destruction potential – of monstrous global dimensions – was capable of causing the destruction of humanity.

Words of warning, major speeches and proclamations, as well as important books, that warned pointedly against nuclear arms race, accompanied the 1950s. However, the sciences remained sidelined. Thus Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker’s speech in the year 1963 on the “Conditions of Peace in the Technical Age” signaled – not by accident – a decisive point and is seen by many as the beginning of peace research by individual researchers⁸. Among them were some names which, in the 1960s, already stood out in publications and became important for orientation to the-then contemporary theory and discussion in politics, social sciences and humanities: Horst Afheldt, Ernst-Otto Czempel, Theodor Ebert, Erhard Forndran, Egbert Jahn, Karl Kaiser, Ekkehart Krippendorff, Georg Picht, Dieter Senghaas, Fritz Vilmar – and naturally Johan Galtung should also be mentioned who, in the decades that followed, made his contribution here at the IFSH to understanding

5 Gustav W. Heinemann: Reden und Interviews, Bd. I, Bonn (o.J.), pp. 9ff.

6 BDZ 809109 Wolf Graf von Baudissin, Farewell lecture at the Bundeswehr University, Hamburg, 18. June 1986, S. 30.

7 Cf. Detlef Bald: Hiroshima 6. August 1945. Die nukleare Bedrohung, München 1999, pp. 29ff.; Ekkehart Krippendorff (Hg.): Friedensforschung, Köln 1974; Corinna Hauswedell: Friedenswissenschaften im Kalten Krieg, Baden-Baden 1997.

8 Published in: Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker: Der bedrohte Frieden. Politische Aufsätze 1945-1981, München 1983, pp. 125ff.



the structures of violence in the East-West conflict, but also came to the fore to turn attention to the power of the North vis-à-vis the South⁹.

Graf Baudissin – a General for Peace

In Hamburg, the first Director of the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy was not chosen accidentally. Certainly, he had been a lieutenant general and also in a leading position in NATO – which however is not sufficient qualification for a security policy institute, especially not for peace research, if one presumes the general security policy competency of officers of the general staff. Yet Wolf Graf Baudissin was different. He was certainly no military underling, no technocrat of violence. He can also not be adequately characterized as a military lateral thinker or an intellectual pioneer – as one likes to describe unusual abilities. This does not touch the core of why it was a happy stroke of fate that he became the founding director of the IFSH. Unusual expertise in *rebus militariis* distinguished him as hardly any other person. That applied initially to security policy analysis, which he learned in Bonn in the early 1960s, to highlight and examine the military profession with scientific expertise. He was impressed by the model of direct political consultation in the USA, concentrating scientific competency to resolve the political problems of security and armament. There, John F. Kennedy had just given an example to eliminate bipolar confrontation with the cooperation of scientific experts (first Pugwash Conference in Moscow 1960)¹⁰ in order to build mutual trust. A busy young politician, who, as the Hamburg Senator of the Interior, had written the best book of the time on alliance policy, drew some conclusions from these results¹¹. In Bonn, Helmut Schmidt sought to break open security policy encrustation through expert discussions from politics, the military and science; “German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP)” as well as the “German Council on Foreign Relations (DGAP)” had their uses and advantages. Schmidt, one of the initiators, got to know Graf Baudissin there, who also – to name only one other person, i.e. Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker – was invited, in the time that followed, to the confidential discussion group in Hamburg around Marion Gräfin Dönhoff.¹²

With a controversial publication, Baudissin, as an active general, had revealed his security policy knowledge as well as his basic peace ethic position as early as 1962, as he carried the nuclear war picture to its logical conclusion and branded the all-destructive “totality” of war with the famous words “from then on the silence of a cemetery reigns.”¹³ He clearly illustrated that defense with nuclear weapons means self-destruction. Baudissin’s sceptical position would scarcely have been understandable without his responsible-ethical justification – its closeness to the old Protestant Lutheran-influenced lesson palpable – that a country can defend itself, but that it is committed to peace. This already showed its effect on the “Heidelberg Theses” of 1959, as the Evangelical Church characterized the deployment of nuclear weapons as no longer the *ultima ratio* of defense but limited nuclear supported defense as only – “still” – a means of securing peace: politics must serve peace and disarm these nuclear weapons.¹⁴ But the desired new way of thinking – proscribing nuclear defense – remained a peace policy task.

⁹ Cf. Ulrike C. Wasmuth: Geschichte der deutschen Friedensforschung. Entwicklung – Selbstverständnis – Politischer Kontext, Münster 1998, pp. 117ff.

¹⁰ Cf. Bernd W. Kubbig: Kommunikatoren im Kalten Krieg. Die Pugwash-Konferenzen, die US-Sowjetische Studiengruppe und der ABM-Vertrag, Frankfurt/M. 1996.

¹¹ Cf. Helmut Schmidt: Verteidigung oder Vergeltung. Ein deutscher Beitrag zum strategischen Problem der Verteidigung, Stuttgart 1961 and later: Strategie des Gleichgewichts, Stuttgart 1969.

¹² Cf. Detlef Bald: Politik der Verantwortung. Das Beispiel Helmut Schmidt. Der Primat des Politischen über das Militärische 1965-1975, Berlin 2008, S. 70 ff.

¹³ Wolf Graf von Baudissin: Das Kriegsbild, in: Wehrwissenschaftliche Rundschau, 12/1962, S. 370f.; vgl. Axel Gablik: „... von da an herrscht Friedhofsruhe.“ Zum Realitätsgehalt Baudissinscher Kriegsbildvorstellungen, in: Martin Kutz (Hg.): Gesellschaft, Krieg und Frieden im Denken von Wolf Graf von Baudissin, Baden-Baden 2004, S. 45ff.

¹⁴ Cf. The article of Graf Baudissin: Bemerkungen zu den Heidelberger Thesen, in: Detlef Bald (Hg.): Europäische Friedenspolitik. Ethische Aufgaben, Baden-Baden 1990, S. 31ff., vgl. dort S. 103ff.

*The long founding phase*

As Baudissin then took over the lectureship on “modern strategy” at the University of Hamburg in October 1969, he offered an academic “engagement with strategic questions” which should “be nothing other than” – as he stressed – “a humble corollary to peace research.”¹⁵ At this point and three months after Heinemann’s speech – on 22 September 1969 – he applied to the Volkswagen Foundation for the development of – his choice of name – an “Institute for Security Policy at the University of Hamburg”. He threw the first stone into the water, which caused wide-reaching waves. Hamburg joined in this initiative on the 16 October with a complete concept application; after intense discussions between the authorities and Baudissin, the direction and structure of the Institute were outlined. For the first time, the name of the Institute – still valid today – was mentioned in a letter from the City of Hamburg to the Rector of the University on 9 December 1969: “Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg”.¹⁶ The Academic Senate agreed to this project submitted on 12 February 1970.¹⁷

From this point on, nothing actually stood in the way of the founding of the IFSH. Moreover, the German Science Council presented its recommendations on supporting peace and conflict research. But things did not go forward in Hamburg. Baudissin, whose personal integrity was attested to by all sides, gave reason or, better said, offered the opportunity to conduct the federal debates on the policy of détente locally to some extent.¹⁸ Even with the first lecture, Baudissin was caught up in the powerful contemporary maelstrom of orchestrated, scheming and ideological factionalism from left and right. The university controversy had subtle, but concealed, backing among the younger, pacifist representatives in the SPD faction of the Hamburg Parliament.¹⁹ This faction was, itself, torn. For the older ones, Baudissin went much too far with his concern about limiting arms. The “General” did not have a confidence-building effect on them; they mistrusted the “peace researcher”. But the most significant public and politically effective resistance against the research concept of the Institute was presented by Erik Blumenfeld in the CDU faction, who rose to be the most prominent speaker against peace research in Hamburg.

The protests caused a paralyzing stalemate. The expected “immediate” establishment of the IFSH foundation was pushed back to “upcoming”.²⁰ The conservative opposition against the expansion of science and education at the universities was typical of the heated controversies in the Bonn Republic over the solution to the German “educational catastrophe” that Georg Picht had recognized.²¹ Education became a point of argument in partisan politics at all levels and so, also, in Hamburg. To sum up: Educational and research politics led, as in the case of the founding of the IFSH, to a highly charged controversy. 1970 was the first time in the history of the Institute. It would not be the only time.

The struggle over the IFSH fits into the total picture of the societal arguments on security in which peace and conflict research suffered from the strong opposition of every conservative politician and publicist who, in essence, saw in military strength the most important factor for securing peace. They interpreted the contemplation of dismantling concepts of the enemy through mutual confidence-building, arms control and disarmament, through comprehensive cooperation as well as through concepts of a new European security order, as a sign of political weakness and they fought against it.

15 BDZ 68, 12 1/1 Wolf Graf von Baudissin: Warum ich über Strategie lese (Die Zeit, 1. Nov. 1968). Baudissin was initially at the Faculty of Economics and Social Sciences, then in Political Science in the area of philosophy and social sciences.

16 BDZ 809133 Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg, Schulbehörde an Stiftung Volkswagenwerk, 16. Okt. 1969; BDZ 184002 Egon Bahr said at his inauguration as Director of the Institute that Carl Friederich von Weizsäcker also committed himself to the founding of IFSH..

17 Protokolle des Akademischen Senats, vgl. Wasmuht: Geschichte, S. 255. (17)

18 Cf. Michael Staack (Hg.): Zur Aktualität des Denkens von Wolf Graf von Baudissin. Innere Führung, Hamburg 2011. Zu den Lehrveranstaltungen S. 27f.

19 BDZ 7132 Manuskript einer Sendung von Bernhard Wördehoff, NDR, 1. März 1971.

20 BDZ 71323 Behörde für Wissenschaft und Kunst an Graf Baudissin, 1. März 1971.

21 Scientific policy in the Federal Republic had already shown its tenacious sides at the beginning of the 1950s as the Ministries of Education and Cultural Affairs and the universities refused to introduce political science. It was only after the pressure of the occupying forces that professorships and institutes were established in Berlin, Frankfurt, Freiburg and Munich.



The Founding of the IFSH

On 11 June 1971 it finally came to pass: The bylaws of the “Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg” were issued and signed. The tasks were expressed broadly as: “dealing especially with security policy problems within the framework of peace research and thereby fulfilling the criteria of free research and teaching, promotion of junior researchers and publishing of the results”. This was then laid out in detail: “Problems of securing peace” as well as “security policy studies, especially European and German aspects.”²²

If this catalogue in the statutes is viewed from today’s perspective, what stands out is the strong concentration on security policy research on peace. The criteria of science, independence of the work, as well as the ability to critique the results by publicizing the findings, were specifically listed: free research and teaching only in connection with the principle of publishing the analyses prepared and the knowledge accrued by the projects. Something additional, going beyond the normal scientific canon, can also be recognized in the mission – to have an impact on public opinion. All possible media were almost enumeratively listed. This can be understood as a unique societal obligation and as a public responsibility towards the city and the Land, a particular responsibility towards politics and society; it should not be ignored. It gives the work of the IFSH a remarkable accent; this is its trademark. This mandate to the Institute should be tended well.

In those years of developing the Institute, shortly before Dieter S. Lutz came from Volker Rittberger in Tübingen to Hamburg as Deputy Director in 1976, I found my way to the IFSH for the first time. I must confess that as I traveled to Blankenese, I did not have a clear picture of the Institute. I did know, because I was involved in the educational reform of the Bundeswehr, what a great generator of the idea of leadership development and civic education (“Innere Führung”) and of the military educational concept Graf Baudissin was²³, but I was yet to become acquainted with his approach to security policy. Defamation against the educational policy of peace and conflict research in universities and also against the IFSH still circulated widely; alongside this, the detachment of the 68ers – and other radicals of the student movement – from the topic of the military altogether.

Where would this way to Falkenstein lead me? To a secret branch of the Bundesnachrichtendienst (Federal Intelligence Service) on former military premises or, in fact, to where I had been invited, to a scientific institute for peace research? Not even the most recent history was known, that in the time before the Institute moved to Falkenstein, the Hamburg Civil Protection Authority had established its headquarter in this building and that Hamburg history was written from there: During the dangerous flood catastrophe 1962, the-then Senator of the Interior Helmut Schmidt had used all available means of communication, as he established his command and control centre at Falkenstein. The historical reality in no way conformed to the allegations. I didn’t yet know that, when I accepted Graf Baudissin’s invitation to his Institute for Peace Research to talk about the problems of the German nuclear alliance-security policy. As I drew closer to the broad ascent to the spaciouly laid out, tasteful estate and became aware of the peaceful atmosphere which embraced every visitor so invitingly, I thought: What an ideal place to research! And the address – “Falkenstein” – nomen est omen – the message could only be: view things with clear eyes.

Stages of the Institute’s Development

Peace and tranquility were not, however, granted to IFSH permanently. Twice in its history, the IFSH was shaken, each time it was affected to its very foundation and was modified and expanded, as was peace research in general. The first time, the broad crisis of acceptance of nuclear rearmament held sway in politics and society: the large peace movement of the 1980s. Professional expertise was sought – perhaps for solutions or also for legitimation through science. Certainly there was here at the Institute sufficient competence to further prepare practicable models of arms control and to disentangle the vexing scramble of data on the weapons arsenal. But politics wanted more. Even in 1981, political pressure was exerted to such an extent that the otherwise friendly Graf Baudissin

22 BDZ 790202 Satzung der Stiftung, § 2, Hamburg, 11. Juni 1971.

23 Vgl. Detlef Bald: Die Bundeswehr 1955-2005. Eine kritische Geschichte, München 2005.



brusquely rejected the mayor's demand to interfere in the research. He would not countenance "a technocratic institute for disarmament questions", similar to that in Ebenhausen, which delivered confidential assessments for politics and the Federal Chancellery.²⁴

After a year of negotiations, a consensus was reached: On the one hand, the Institute would "further develop" the tasks related to "disarmament policy in Europe"²⁵ and, on the other hand, Hamburg gave the green light to approximately double the number of staff and to raise the Institute's budget by half. Thereby, the old complaint of Baudissin, that staffing at the IFSH had been "left hanging" was successfully resolved²⁶. This corresponded to the facts and the recommendations on the focus of the content presented by the German Science Council in May 1983: "These altogether limited personnel and financial resources are not sufficient to fill the existing research gaps on existential questions of peace policy [and DB] to work out achievable recommendations..." The IFSH and the city welcomed this development, approaching the topic of "cooperative arms control" in new projects, "taking into consideration specific European and German aspects."²⁷

The second great phase of unrest and testing of the IFSH lies not even ten years in the past. The Institute reacted to the Bologna Process and the Pisa educational catastrophe in a timely fashion; Dieter S. Lutz mobilized forces. Under his leadership, university teaching and the promotion of junior researchers were strengthened structurally. The doctoral seminar attracted more and fresh attention but, as a priority, the Master's studies program (M.P.S. – Peace and Security Studies) was developed and started in the winter semester of 2002. Everything seemed structured and well underway had politics not again played its game with educational policy. A changed political constellation in City Hall created friction over the future of the Institute which, viewed from outside of Hamburg, was scarcely evidence-based, but seemed rather to be a relapse into those relationships of three decades earlier, which pitted "right-wing" politics against critical science. Nonetheless, the professional performance of the Institute met with approval. Thanks to the never-ending power of persuasion of Reinhard Mutz, who represented the interests of the Institute, the IFSH succeeded in getting the necessary breathing space to work, to research and to teach. Then there were, once again, stability and programmatic changes and institutional strengthening followed as it moved into the research center "Beim Schlump" in the area of the university in spring 2007.

Free and applied peace research

From the very start, the Institute had fulfilled the conditions of scholarship. Within a few years it was able to develop into an international-level dialogue partner, was well established on the stage of academic criticism and competition, output was high, expectations more than fulfilled. This evaluation is also valid when we cast a glance at the other large German Institute in Frankfurt where, at approximately the same time, on 30 October 1970, the "Peace Research Institute Frankfurt (PRIF)" saw the light of day in the academic world. Legally viewed, it had a comparatively easier, more favorable start. In particular, its start capital was characterized by some scientists such as Ernst-Otto Czempiel, Klaus-Jürgen Gantzel, Hans Nicklas and Dieter Senghaas who were already well-versed in international politics, proven and integrated into the university. Although PRIF has a broader peace concept for its work, a clear practice orientation was also part of the spectrum of its tasks. It was to "develop" innovative "transformation and resolution concepts."²⁸ In the arms dynamic of the East-West conflict, one sought in Frankfurt to be able to influence policy with its recommendations for solutions.²⁹ Similarly in Hamburg, the "cooperative transformation of the European system of international relations" was studied as the Hamburg Parliament was pleased to be able to note.³⁰

24 BDZ 790203 Wolf Graf Baudissin to Klaus von Dohnanyi, 18. Febr. 1982.

25 Regierungserklärung des 1. Bürgermeisters, 23. Febr. 1983.

26 Wolf Graf Baudissin: Probleme der Friedensforschung, in: Peter Lock (Hg.): Frieden als Gegenstand der Wissenschaft, Frankfurt/M. 1982, S. 9.

27 BDZ 184006 Senatsdrucksache (über den Ausbau des IFSH, Sept. ? 1983). In the budget estimate for the Institute, five additional positions for scientists were foreseen.

28 Articles of Incorporation of the HSFK, cited from Wasmuth: Geschichte, S. 243.

29 Gert Krell: Friedensforschung in Hessen. Zur Geschichte und Entwicklung der HSFK, Frankfurt/M. 1987, S. 16.

30 BDZ 150006 Bürgerschaft der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg, Protokolle, 8/2118, S. 3 (Fünf Jahre IFSH).



Political consultation was on the agenda of both institutions. Right from the start, practice orientation was part of peace and conflict research – to serve a political culture of peace. When visiting both Institutes, one could easily hear, in those years, how subtly one conducted meta-theoretical and methodical discourse here or, by contrast, could recognize there, the textual phases and thematic cadences, to characterize the specific distinctions between IFSH and PRIF. This assessment of one's own definition of one's position should be noted carefully but not exaggerated. For many a development can be quite simply explained, where or when an individual scientist chooses a topic from contemporary historical politics simply for pragmatic or personal reasons.

Thus practice orientation constituted peace and conflict research right from the beginning. "Everything has its time" as Dieter Senghaas characterized the phases and activities of peace research – and also advising political decision-makers as well as the political practice orientation.³¹ Graf Baudissin was open to it. He had acquired experience with it. Thus this was also his concern, in addition to clarification, although there was a hint of skepticism about the effect and scope of political consultation. As realistic as he was, he rather feared "a long arduous transformation process replete with setbacks." Nevertheless he saw its possibilities if it "leads to a deeper understanding of causes, courses and settlements of conflicts and brings up for discussion the existing conflict resolution pattern, then it provides assessment criteria and aids to decision-making which can be of great significance for a political and military leadership aware of the problems."³²

Little confidence can be sensed in this formulation. In the conjunctive alone, a little hope gleams, although at the same time, however, Graf Baudissin was acting as an advisor to Chancellor Schmidt in Helsinki to tie up the basket of "confidence building measures" for the Final Act of the 1974 Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. To some extent, of course, Graf Baudissin did place great importance on it because he was convinced that international mutual cooperation between the experts of the military elite would dismantle the walls of antagonism in their minds and undermine old thought patterns.³³ That would also be effective in the Federal Republic and help the Bundeswehr. Success could germinate slowly and contribute to promoting the "instrument of cooperative arms control" in diplomacy and the military bureaucracy.³⁴

As Egon Bahr took over the responsibility in the Institute in 1984, the shadows of the hot phase of nuclear build-up lay over Europe. Characteristic of these years were protests against nuclear armament with great societal turbulence and impressive demonstrations by the peace movement, as well as the never-ending expertise of peace research on nuclear scenarios and strategies for victory through nuclear weapons escalation – by the way, a topic that is not yet at an end. It also still affects Germany directly; in 2011 as well, the German Federal Government still insists on nuclear sharing for the Bundeswehr and NATO strategy. This topic is currently given far too little attention in peace research.

Nevertheless in the 1980s sectoral arms build-up, nuclear self-deterrence and structural inability to attack were the catchwords of a "Euroshima", the nuclear destruction of the continent of Europe as in Hiroshima. Conventional disarmament and denuclearization glimmered on the political horizon of hope. The answer to this confusion lay in the contemplation of peace and stability. The experiences with "change through rapprochement" inspired the model of international cooperation for "common security" in a new European peace order. Egon Bahr took this as a mandate to dedicate his decade as the Institute's director to this project of a European peace from the Atlantic to the Urals and to promote it to the body politic. The apparently so entrenched deterrent architecture of the Cold War showed cracks before the pillars of the threat finally broke apart in 1990. Egon Bahr found a likeminded colleague in Dieter S. Lutz in Europe-wide demilitarization to create a comprehensive peace order throughout Europe. He – the long-time Deputy Director – took over the complete responsibility for the IFSH in 1994. What should be kept in mind is that from the early days of its 40 year history to the present, the research focus of transformation through cooperation in

31 Dieter Senghaas: Der Frieden und seine Erforschung. Bilanz eines halben Jahrhunderts Friedensforschung, in: *Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik*, Jg. 35, 12/2010, S. 85.

32 BDZ 157001 Wolf Graf Baudissin an N., 12. Aug. 1974.

33 Cf. Detlef Bald: Hiroshima 6. August 1945. Die nukleare Bedrohung, München 1999, S. 152.

34 Wolf Graf Baudissin: Vertrauensbildende Maßnahmen als Instrument kooperativer Rüstungssteuerung, in: Jost Delbrück, Norbert Ropers, Gerda Zellentin (Hg.): *Grünbuch zu den Folgewirkungen der KSZE*, Köln 1977.



Europe has been a part of the IFSH; it is a topic – going well beyond the OSCE – and will remain a cornerstone of the research profile.

The Bundeswehr in the Research Concept

Another pillar of the tasks of IFSH was attending to the specific “German aspect” of security policy – the Bundeswehr. This is unique among all the peace institutes. The Bundeswehr is no far-away phenomenon to be observed, but rather a concrete aspect of monitoring, but, above all of scientific analysis. The military factor, as subject and object of security policy, emphasizes that peace research on security policy should not be limited to governance or armament data.

For understandable reasons, Graf Baudissin did not emphasize this topic – so closely was the “Bundeswehr” connected with his name. Therefore he concentrated on the higher ranking strategy determined by the alliance. Nevertheless, within the international cooperation in Helsinki, he did have in mind the small secondary aspect of creating in Germany a “peace-conscious, critical officer corps equipped with civil courage and, in this way” [creating] “a basis in the political system for the even more important task in the nuclear age of preventing war.”³⁵ As a former soldier Graf Baudissin was only too aware of the level of problems involved in expanding the general political and international competence of Bundeswehr officers and striving for a higher level.

From long insight into the work of the Institute, I can only pay tribute to the fact that a unique way of relating to the Bundeswehr was developed. The symbiosis found seems fruitful to me – also, of course, not without tension, but still in the interest of both sides to continue. From the research perspective it opens up a broad area of activity. Especially after the changes in 1990/94 with the creation of an “army of unity”, the discontinuation of the type of mass army in favor of a globally “army on operations” capable of intervention, has actually provided a broad range of problems of state, power and peace from which to conceive an individual research focus. Politics has developed programmatic contours of power which are challenging.

The German “responsibility in the world” was proclaimed by Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl on the day after reunification on 4. October 1991. Two decades later, in May 2011, the Minister of Defense, Thomas de Maizière, drew the conclusion for security policy, that this is about “Germany’s place in the world” and the “interests of a strong nation in the middle of Europe.” In what kind of nation-state context? Should the post-national logic of a power politics definition of interests, which justified global interventionism a decade ago, be abandoned in order to support human rights and humanism globally with military means?³⁶ With this formulation de Maizière declared that German “Armed Forces are an indispensable instrument of foreign and security policy of our country.” This role is new, never before represented in this way. Equally surprising, alliance solidarity was accorded the importance of “reasons of State” – thus did he officially present the tasks of the “army on operations”.³⁷ “Reasons of State” – what does this mean? German interests must be the subject of research; which interests are meant and how do they sustainably strengthen peace in Europe? What ethic can or should guide foreign policy? What do German “reasons of State” mean with respect to NATO and not for Europe? The “determination to promote peace” of the Constitution can also be an impetus here and determine its dimensions. Peace research is challenged to re-balance the scales between formal legality and humane legitimacy. The discourse on power and ethical demands, which both the German Constitutional Court and the Federal Presidents, Roman Herzog and Horst Köhler, demanded is a task of peace research. The complaints about a confusing security policy are legion. Peace research should tackle the issues and do basic research.

35 Jürgen Reusch: *Friedensforschung in der Bundesrepublik. Entwicklung, Positionen, Perspektiven*, Frankfurt/M. 1986, S. 88; the first staff member hired by IFSH was Lothar Wilker and afterwards Rüdiger Jütte, Arno Burzig, Annemarie Große.

36 Vgl. die Diskussion zwischen Ulrich Beck: *Über den postnationalen Krieg*, in: *Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik*, Jg. 24, 8/1999, S. 984ff. und Jürgen Habermas: *Bestialität und Humanität*, in: *Die Zeit*, 29. April 1999; die Weiterentwicklung: Ulrich Beck: *Empört Euch, Europäer. Zusammen gewinnen oder einzeln verlieren*, in: *Der Spiegel*, 34/2011, S. 128ff. und Jürgen Habermas: *Zur Verfassung Europas*, Berlin 2011.

37 Eckpunkte für die Neuausrichtung der Bundeswehr, Berlin, 18. Mai 2011.

*And tomorrow?*

What an idyll, what seclusion emanated from the house on Falkenstein. Yet this is over, it's history. Now – Beim Schlump – to where will the coming years lead? The bustle of the university and the modern scientific system have all kinds of stimuli, many will reveal the pitfalls of the system and also the pressures. The challenges need to be mastered. The university world of the IFSH is full of opportunities. It is all about the future: Michael Brzoska has plenty to do as the Director: integration and cooperation, discussions and events, rationalization and budgeting, networking and lecturing – these are not only empty words. Solid and adequate financial bases are necessary and, with some imagination, can be exploited strategically – difficult enough. There is a lot to tackle in order to manage and solve the personnel, logistical and administrative requirements of this large institute.

And then, the future of peace research at IFSH is also being debated: What thematic interests guide the theoretical reflection on the analysis of individual phenomena or what should critical peace research achieve scientifically? Which concept of peace guides the research, which can be meaningful for practical politics? Grappling with this is no glass bead game in an academic ivory tower – these are existential themes of the future. Peace research is “future research”, as said at the founding: Peace and security with a “European and German perspective” remain the focus. If, during the Cold War, making the nuclear threat and adversary scenario visible and politically manageable was the ideal way, today the question is: What is the ideal way to a decent peace order in Europe and towards a culture of peace? What remains – challenging – of the vision of a just peace?

As at the beginning on Falkenstein: seizing tradition, the sharp eye of the falcon for excellent, meaningful peace and future research



2. Current Topics in the Institute's Work 2011

2.1 OSCE Initiative IDEAS

Frank Evers/Ulrich Kühn/Wolfgang Zellner



The Initiative for the Development of a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian Security Community (IDEAS)

The Astana Commemorative Declaration

At their 2010 Astana Summit meeting, the OSCE States declared their belief in “the vision of a free, democratic, common and indivisible Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian security community stretching from Vancouver to Vladivostok”¹. According to Karl Deutsch, one of the fathers of this concept, a “security-community, [...], is one in which there is real assurance that the members of that community will not fight each other physically, but will settle their disputes in some other way.”² This means nothing less than a community without organized use of armed force, a community without the threat or use of warfare.

Of course, the heads of state or government, who agreed on the Astana Commemorative Declaration, have been well aware that a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian security community is a far distant visionary objective that in no way reflects the rather dire realities of today's European security landscape. Even in Astana, States were not able to agree on a comprehensive work plan that would have given substance to their Declaration, although the “Astana Framework for Action” was nearly completely negotiated before it failed due to disagreement on the Georgian-Russian conflict.

There are similar disagreements in other sectors of European security: The Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE Treaty) is on the verge of collapse, the progress made with the new Vienna Document 2011 is limited to technical-procedural issues, and there is still no US-Russian agreement on missile defense cooperation. The whole European arms control regime, once praised as a model for the world, is in the process of erosion and marginalization. The status of the unresolved conflicts in Europe is no better: With the exception of the Transdniestria conflict, where the parties at least resumed the official 5 + 2 negotiation format in November 2011, there is no progress on either Abkhazia or South Ossetia or on Nagorno Karabakh. And in view of the elections in Russia and in the USA, many have already adopted a wait-and-see attitude not expecting any serious business before mid-2013.

What does the vision of a security community mean against the background of such sobering realities? Is it simply a piece of propaganda for distracting the attention from the States' inability to agree on something meaningful? The situation is more complex than that. In the Astana Commemorative Declaration, the participating States not only envisioned a security community, but also admitted that “[s]erious threats and challenges remain. Mistrust and divergent security perceptions must be overcome. Our commitments in the politico-military, economic and environmental, and human dimensions need to be fully implemented. Respect for human rights, fundamental freedoms, democracy and the rule of law need to be fully implemented” (Para.7). Along these lines, the States have acknowledged that there are serious contradictions between their normative commitments and long-term objectives on the one hand and present realities and short-term policy options on the

1 OSCE, Summit Meeting, Astana 2010, Astana Commemorative Declaration, Towards a Security Community, para. 1

2 Karl W. Deutsch, et. al., Political Community and the North Atlantic Area, International Organization in the Light of Historical Experience, New York 1957.

other. Precisely because of these contradictions, a long-term strategic vision such as a common and indivisible security community is needed.

Visions do not translate themselves into reality automatically. They need actors to do so. And here, according to the renowned political scientist Emanuel Adler, the OSCE comes into the game not in the function of a security community as such, but as a “security community-building institution”.

The OSCE as a Security Community-Building Institution

For Emanuel Adler, “none has gone as far as the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) in transforming itself into an explicit and distinct security community-building institution. Regardless of its accomplishments, or lack thereof, we cannot understand what the OSCE has become or is trying to do unless we embed this understanding in the concept of pluralistic security community.”³

Thus, the role of the OSCE as a security community-building institution does not primarily depend on its actual ability to agree on this or that decision, but rather on its long-term capability of creating the normative, political and institutional foundations for a future security community. In so doing, the OSCE, “[r]ather than waiting for “the other” to change its identity and interests before it can be admitted to the security community building institution, [...] has incorporated, from the outset, all states that express a political will to live up to the standards and norms of the security community, hoping to transform their identities and interests.”⁴ The OSCE works with an inclusive approach, which is different from the strategies of the EU and NATO, organizations that employ a conditional approach where certain benchmarks first have to be met before membership is granted. However, its inclusive approach also means that the OSCE unavoidably collects all conflicts, problems and contradictions that then have to be dealt with within the Organization.

IDEAS – Conceptualizing the Vision of a Security Community

Since the Astana Summit meeting, not much conceptual work has been done on the vision of a security community within the OSCE context.⁵ This has been one reason for the creation of IDEAS – the Initiative for the Development of a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian Security Community. IDEAS is a Track II initiative jointly conducted by four independent research institutes from Germany, France, Poland and Russia, i.e., the Centre for OSCE Research (CORE) at the IFSH, the Fondation pour la Recherche Stratégique (FRS), the Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM), and the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (University) of the MFA of Russia (MGIMO). IDEAS aims at conceptualizing the idea of a security community. At the same time, the initiative takes forward the proposal of developing an OSCE network of academic institutions that has frequently been discussed in the past and was once again suggested by the OSCE Secretary General, Ambassador Lamberto Zannier, in his inaugural speech to the Permanent Council on 4 July 2011.

IDEAS enjoys the support of the foreign ministers of Germany, France, Poland and Russia. Within the framework of the 2011 Vilnius Ministerial Council meeting, they issued a Joint Communiqué: “The four ministers have asked four academic institutes to organize four workshops in Berlin, Warsaw, Paris and Moscow in 2012. These workshops will advance further the discussion on the future character of a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian security community. The institutes are invited to present

3 Emanuel Adler, *Seeds of peaceful change: the OSCE's security community-building model*, in: Emanuel Adler/Michael Barnett (eds), *Security Communities*, Cambridge/New York 1998, p. 119.

4 Emanuel Adler, *The OSCE as a security community*, in: *OSCE Magazine* 1/2011, p. 15.

5 A notable exception is the Head of the Permanent Mission of Poland to the OSCE, Ambassador Przemysław Grudziński. See Przemysław Grudziński/Jarosław Pietrusiewicz, *Building a modern security community in the area from Vancouver to Vladivostok*, in: *National Security* (Quarterly of the National Security Office of the President of Poland) 19/2011, pp. 51-63; Przemysław Grudziński, *Contract 2015: A Conceptual Framework for Regional Security*, in: IFSH (ed.), *OSCE Yearbook 2010*, pp. 75-84.



their final report and their recommendations to all OSCE participating States in Vienna in autumn 2012.”⁶

OSCE Secretary General Lamberto Zannier also commended the initiative: “I look forward to the results of this joint project. I am confident that its findings and recommendations will provide a fresh impetus for dialogue and for action, and ultimately help bring us closer to our shared goal of a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian security community.” This valuable support notwithstanding, the four institutes bear the full responsibility for the four workshops and the report.

IDEAS's Program in 2012: Four Workshops and One Report

IDEAS's workshop series will start with a kick-off meeting on 20 March 2012 in Berlin on the premises of the German Federal Foreign Office and continue with meetings in Paris, Warsaw and Moscow. The purpose of these workshops will be to learn more about the national perceptions of a security community and related issues.

The structure of the workshops will be quite different from the usual way of organizing meetings of this kind. The four institutes will not present any papers there, but rather will put questions to renowned experts from various academic backgrounds as well as current and former officials and parliamentarians. It is not planned to focus on specific issues narrowly defined in advance. Rather, the organizers will strive for a maximum degree of openness both in terms of subjects discussed and of opposing and contradictory positions. Getting to know the various reservations vis-à-vis the idea of a security community, the pros and cons, conditions, options and constraints, is much more important than ‘being right’. In the interest of having a rough structure for the discussion, each workshop will address three building blocks of questions.

Discussion Block 1: Basic Characteristics of a Security Community

Tackling the vision of a security community should start with ascertaining the theoretical foundations of this concept and examining whether and to what degree the concept is still applicable under the current conditions. This should be followed by an assessment of the objectives, threat perceptions, and political strategies of the major stakeholders involved. From the outset, a stark contradiction between States' declarations and their actual behavior has been obvious. At the declaratory level, all OSCE States have committed themselves to the concept of “comprehensive, co-operative, equal and indivisible security” (Astana Commemorative Declaration). Yet the actual reality in the OSCE space seems to be characterized more by zero-sum games and security dilemmas. The first task of the IDEAS meetings will, therefore, be to find out why States have not yet succeeded in translating their declaratory objectives into actual security behavior. To what degree do States take their declarations seriously? If they do (at least in part), what are the obstacles to implementing them? Why has it not been possible to overcome these obstacles? Under which conditions can a critical mass of political will be mobilized to achieve substantial progress and what do we mean when we speak about substantial progress? These more fundamental questions could lead, in a second step, to identifying what larger building blocks needed to achieve the desired goal are missing.

Discussion Block 2: The Institutionalization of a Security Community

The Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian security space is not short of security institutions (OSCE, NATO, EU, CSTO, SCO). Thus, a future security community should make use of and rely on these existing institutional platforms rather than replacing them. The challenge will be to bring the differing institutional objectives, means and strategies more in line with the desired goal of a security community. Simply dismissing or deconstructing either western institutions (EU, NATO) or their eastern counterparts (CSTO, SCO) is doomed to failure. While western institutions might remain inter-

6 Joint Communiqué, Vilnius, 6 Dec 2011, Ministers of Germany, France, Poland and Russia launch a scientific network to pave the way for a Security Community in the OSCE area, MC.DEL/16/116.

ested, as a long-term perspective, in further expanding towards the east, it is not realistic to expect that such a move would include Russia or the South Caucasian and Central Asian States.

Both eastern and western States and their institutions will have to reflect on whether their current disagreements are of a strategic nature or not. They will have to explain to each other their individual and collective views on threats and challenges that originate from outside Europe. They also have to clarify their long-term ambitions in the global arena and the repercussions of these on the OSCE area. Thus, it will be necessary to sort out the already existing pieces of the institutional puzzle, identify where there are gaps to fill, and create elements that integrate these pieces into a whole. Analyzing the existing institutions could therefore start with a proactive approach, asking which institutions already best provide elements of a future security community and what their institutional and political shortcomings are.

A discussion of this kind would inevitably deal with one missing piece of this puzzle, namely the integration of Russia into a common and indivisible security space together with the West. It would also deal with the values and norms on which such integration would be based. Dealing with this crucial issue requires a holistic approach, taking into account socio-economic, geo-strategic, psychological and normative factors. Workshop participants may ask themselves what cooperative proposals from and towards Russia are both adequate and feasible.

Discussion Block 3: Three Concrete Issue Areas

The questions under discussion in block 3 will focus on concrete issue areas that have relevance for heading towards a security community. These questions are the only ones where the workshops will differ from each other. Each of the first three workshops will deal with one of the following groups of questions; the last one in Moscow will combine them in a comprehensive manner.

- a) Crisis management and conflict resolution in the OSCE area remain top priorities for two reasons. First, unresolved sub-regional conflicts are still a major source of instability. In addition, the emergence of new violent conflicts cannot be ruled out. Second, recent crises have revealed painful institutional shortcomings in responding to these crises.
- b) Transnational security risks, challenges and threats are increasingly affecting state structures as well as human security. Terrorism, criminal networks or human trafficking require new sets of cooperative mechanisms and an enhanced quality of state-to-state interaction beyond traditional ways and means.
- c) Arms control and security cooperation instruments among the participating States are often viewed as outdated or inappropriate. This perception is wrong and misleading. Updated and/or adapted instruments could significantly contribute to changing security requirements, especially when it comes to sub-regional security arrangements.

All four workshops will be open for the participation of guests from academia and from the OSCE community. Building on their results and combining different concepts and opinions, representatives of the four institutes will jointly draft a final report elaborating on and operationalizing the vision of a security community. The report will be presented in Vienna in autumn 2012.

The goal of the IDEAS project is to generate impulses within the OSCE security discourse that go beyond current problems and open a broader perspective. This is all the more necessary in times like the present, in which even work to resolve current conflicts has largely stalled.



2.2 Understanding War

Johann Schmid

Understanding the Essence of War – for Security and Peace



1. *Understanding War?*

Bundeswehr soldiers are in combat at the Hindu Kush while Germany debates whether or not there is war in Afghanistan. Since nearly two decades, German soldiers are taking part in peacekeeping, peacemaking and stabilization missions in the crisis regions of this world and we are surprised that “peacekeeping” and “stabilization” can also mean combat. With peaceful and the best intentions and also without any immediate interests of its own, Germany is taking part in international missions to build up state structures in regions of war and conflict, such as Afghanistan, and it causes surprise that we can be forced by violent non-state actors into combat – even against our will. Without doubt no war as we know it in its interstate form from our own recent history. But an irregular form of war and conflict, which is much older than the nation-state and which, through its duration, its changing intensity and its actors’ elusiveness and readiness to sacrifice, becomes an unusual and, above all, a challenge of legitimacy.

Therefore, a question to ask is: Do we at all understand the context in which we act? Do we understand war in its current specific form and do we have an appropriate terminology to describe the essence of war? That war, in its very nature, means combat, i.e., a measure and competition of intellectual-moral and physical strength by means of the latter, and that one’s own peace orientation provides not *per se* protection from getting involved in war and, finally that serving peace can even require engagement in war, is a connection that seems to have been largely forgotten in Germany or is at least declaratory obscured or ignored. Precisely for a “peace power” and the development of “peace strategies”, an appropriate term and a corresponding understanding of war is, however, of overwhelming importance. Nevertheless the absence of war represents unchanged the central and singularly decisive criterion for the definition of peace. The fact that peace is exposed to a persistent and existential threat through the risk of war makes dealing with war a necessity for any kind of peace policy. One can only try purposefully to prevent what one understands.

2. *“On War” for Peace*

But what is war? No one has tackled this question more exhaustively and fundamentally than the Prussian general and war theorist Carl von Clausewitz (1780-1831). The training of thought and judgment in relationship to a comprehensive and profound understanding of war, always in the political context and with an eye to peace, was the goal that he set himself with his work “On War”¹. With this comprehensive theory of war, deriving from empirical practice, he worked out the fundamentals and connections related to its essence and, at the same time, developed a dialectic method of thinking, which remains suitable right up to the present day for observing this phenomenon in the sense of training one’s own capacity to make timeless judgments² and is, thereby, independent of the ever-variable empirical manifestations of war. His theory was quite consciously geared to avoiding unrealistic expectations in the sense of positivist teaching, instruction for action and supposed mathematical predictability. “On War”, thus, does not represent a kind of “textbook”

1 Carl von Clausewitz, [1832], *Vom Kriege: Hinterlassenes Werk des Generals Carl von Clausewitz*: 19. Aufl., Bonn, 1980.

2 In the following, in accordance with Clausewitz, called (“measure of judgment”, “practicing judgment”, “power of judgment”) judgment training.

but rather an “observation of things” for “training the mind in recognizing and independently judging war and its characteristics in their entirety.”³

With his original three-part definition of war as an “act of violence to force the opponent to carry out one’s own will”, Clausewitz made plain that, in addition to the political motive of “one’s own will”, war consists particularly of the frequently ignored elements of physical “violence” and “force”, which means combat with the goal of making the opponent helpless. As unpleasant as this may be, it is a reality, which one - and especially one who wants to maintain or create peace and thereby end or limit war - must face. At the same time, Clausewitz makes reference with this definition to the fact that conducting war and, thereby, combat requires an “opponent”. Thus he shows up all those falsehoods which today, for example, imagine themselves in a “war against terror” and thereby try to “combat” not an opponent but a method of combat. That the opponents in the current manifestations and dimensions of war, from cyber to insurgents acting covertly in Afghanistan, are difficult to identify and to capture, should not lead to this central fact being forgotten.

With his hypothesis of the „wonderful trinity” Clausewitz made clear that the essence of war always includes the three “competing tendencies” of violence, coincidence and politics, which should always be considered in any form of war, even if today we try (unsuccessfully) to neutralize the coincidence factor through calculation and to ignore the factor of violence. For Clausewitz, the goal of war lies in its political nature and this makes war its means, no matter whether the political goal emanates from a state, a guerilla movement or a warlord. That the violence factor, growing out of “blind natural instinct” and thereby out of emotional-moral grounds always includes the tendency to extremes, right up to combat taking on a life of its own, lifts the Clausewitzian determination of war as a “continuation of politics with other means” from a pure description of facts to a peace policy requirement, which decisively turns against war as an end in itself or even as a life form. War as a means, according to Clausewitz, must always serve a higher political goal and is ultimately to be oriented towards peace. Therefore, the way in which it is conducted must also be oriented to this end and should be limited correspondingly.

That war – even in the advanced age of information – is far from being calculable and that it represents – unchanged – a “game of possibilities and coincidences”, cannot be emphasized clearly enough with an eye to current war and conflicts and the widespread tendency to scientific hubris. Clausewitz illustrated this connection by emphasizing the significance of moral factors in war as well as with his model of friction, whose primary causes he sees in the risks of the independent will of the opponent and particularly in the uncertainty of all information in war.

The most consistently misunderstood part of the work “On War” is Clausewitz’ strategic approach with a view to irregular-revolutionary forms of war, such as revolutionary and guerilla war. Clausewitz emphasizes that political-strategic success here is shown not primarily by crushing the enemy armed forces, but much more by the moral “defeat” of the opposition’s political will. That this goal is achieved above all by exhausting the opposition’s will over time in combination with exacting a “price” that is too high in victims, costs and time and that it depends on making clear to the opposition the improbability of its success, is of highest relevance, especially with an eye to the current wars and conflicts. The strategic challenge of the Afghanistan wars of the last 30 years could scarcely be described more aptly.

3. *Actor related*

But who should rediscover the intellectual inheritance of Clausewitz and use it to work out a terminology and a theory of war for the purpose of peace?

An answer to this question can be found in the most well-known formulation of Carl von Clausewitz himself, according to which war is nothing other than a continuation of politics with other means. This instrumentality of war in the service of a higher political goal is that which so aptly characterizes war in the present day as well. That war in the ethical-moral sense may always be

3 Vgl. Werner Hahlweg, Das Clausewitzbild Einst und Jetzt. Mit textkritischen Anmerkungen, in: Carl von Clausewitz: Hinterlassenes Werk Vom Kriege. Neunzehnte Auflage, Jubiläumsausgabe, Bonn 1991, S. 8-9.



only the means of last resort in politics and in no case a desirable political tool is obvious in this connection. Because war represents a fundamental and exceedingly political matter, regardless of whether one wants to prevent, end or limit it or is forced to conduct it, it is the most noble task and obligation of politics to deal with this phenomenon seriously, comprehensively and thoroughly and to develop a correspondingly educated judgment on which basis responsible decisions about war and peace and the participation or non-participation in military missions are possible. As Carl von Clausewitz stressed, it is important to understand the “nature of this means” (war) with its possibilities, its special characteristics but also, in particular, its limitations so as not to come in conflict with this and to avoid being overwhelmed, having false expectations or making inappropriate use of this “means”.

Nonetheless, politics and war cannot to be comprehended apart from their respective societal context. This connection applies, to an even greater extent, to the comprehensive approach to security and peace, characterized by the “broad concept of security” and “networked security” in the 21st Century. To enable coherent, comprehensive, networked action within this framework, a well-grounded judgment and fundamental understanding of the phenomenon of war should be required of the various societal and military actors. Only on such a basis is a coherent collaboration among the multitude of all actors involved, in the sense of “networked security”, possible in any meaningful way. This applies all the more strongly the more independent the individual actors understand themselves to be and the less they allow themselves to be coordinated in, for example, the framework of “networked security” or the “comprehensive approach”. Through the multitude of actors called upon from politics, the military and society, together with the increasing independence of the individual actors, the need for war-theory expertise and the corresponding “judgment training” will be greater than ever and should not, therefore, be left to chance.

From the background of this comprehensive need for scientifically grounded “judgment training” related to the phenomenon of war for the purpose of security and peace, science, especially that of peace and conflict research, is accorded decisive significance and responsibility. What is required is basic war theory research in the sense of a comprehensive, theoretically grounded treatment and engagement with war as a central object of scientific observation. Here, it cannot only be about topics in the context of or at interfaces to war and also, not only on specific individual aspects of the same.⁴ On the contrary, what is required is a science that makes war as such, that is, in accordance with its essence and as an entirety, an object of scientific observation and, on this basis, develops the necessary expertise for political consultancy and societal education. Will science do justice to this challenge in the context of war and peace? Is it up to and willing to create a type of judgment training and to advise political, societal and military actors using an approach grounded in war-theory, related to practice and oriented to peace?

4. *War – a gap in the research*

World-wide a great deal is researched and written about war. In this context the work of Carl von Clausewitz, “On War” provides the intellectual-philosophical basis for both his adherents and his opponents and is studied and used from the USA to China and increasingly also by economy and business.

In Germany too the spectrum from war to peace is researched and worked upon a great deal. From the conditions for peace through conflict prevention right up to research on the causes of war and post-conflict rehabilitation, just to mention a few areas, a broad field of relevant topics is worked over. Nevertheless, it is striking that the research density as well as its depth declines the closer one approaches the essence of war as a central object of observation in the spectrum from peace to conflict. It would be an understatement, with respect to the theory of war and the corresponding basic war theory research to speak only of a research deficit. If one leaves out the few commendable

4 This kind of research is, of course, relevant and necessary. However, because it is actually carried out, by contrast to basic war-theory research, it is only relevant for the purpose of the present article insofar as it makes clear that basic war-theory research/the theory of war cannot be replaced by it.



individual actors in this area, then this is rather a question of a marked research gap.⁵ The clearest indication for this is the fact that, whenever these research gaps are mentioned, reference is made to research that is, to be sure, relevant and commendable in the context, on certain interfaces or with reference to specific individual questions on war, i.e. to the research on the causes of war. Nevertheless the fact that, despite so much research and expertise related to war and such detailed coverage of uncoupled, specific individual aspects and questions applying to war, an understanding of war in its entirety and its essence cannot be achieved, is routinely overlooked. Despite a great deal of research in the context of war and intensive research on the details that interface with war, war, as such, at its core and its essence, remains “under-researched.”⁶

Had Kant's “eternal peace” already become reality, one could view this as pardonable negligence by science considering what would then be only a historically relevant research object. The reality itself is quite another thing. If one proceeds from the assumption that only what one understands can be consciously prevented, limited or ended and that a scientific-theoretical consideration of the object requires an understanding of this, then the (widespread) scientific-theoretical non-consideration of the essence of war and its theory is a risk. Responsible, scientifically grounded policy advice geared to peace, which focuses on developing strategies to maintain peace, to prevent war and, where this is not possible, to help limit, confine and end it, as well as to help ensure a responsible use or non-use of military means, is missing a very essential condition: expertise from the area of war theory. And thereby a comprehensive, theoretically grounded, scientific understanding of war in accordance with its essence. While other areas of research have developed vigorously over the past two centuries and have been adapted to current conditions, this applies in only a limited way to the area of theory and philosophy of war and in any case only to certain areas. All in all, however, – and particularly in Germany – a “research regression” can be noted. Questions about whether there is a theory of war at all make this all too clear. They are, on the one hand, false because they disregard the intellectual inheritance of Clausewitz, but, on the other hand, they have a certain justification because they point out that this inheritance has been largely forgotten, misjudged or incorrectly understood.

This current deficit in expertise in the area of the theory of war is all the more painful as war in our society has long since returned “from below, through the soldiers who are at war.”⁷ On behalf of politics and, thereby, at the service of our society, the deployment of soldiers of the Bundeswehr but also of civilian actors in the context of war, “warlike relations” and diverse conflict situations has long since become reality. More than 300,000 members of the Bundeswehr have taken part in various missions abroad up till now. For nearly a decade and a half, Germany has been willing politically to take part in geographically unlimited multinational missions in the context of war or warlike relationships – also beyond constitutional obligations to the (direct) defense of the country – for the sake of peace. The risk of a ground war was consciously taken for the first time in 1999 – even though it did come to that then – in the context of the Kosovo intervention. Science in Germany, however, does not seem (apart from a few exceptions) to be willing and ready to make war a central and independent object of scientific-theoretical research and to build up expertise in the area of the theory of war as a basis for appropriate judgment training for security and peace policy eval-

5 “What is missing, then, is a scholarly project that takes war as its central object of analysis and is adequate to it” Barkawi and Brighton emphasize, with a view to the worldwide scientific lack of attention to the essence of war (“the absence not only of the institutions of war studies but of the idea of such a discipline”). Cf. Tarak Barkawi/Shane Brighton, *Powers of War: Fighting, Knowledge, and Critique*, in: *International Political Sociology* (2011), S. 126-143.

6 Jäger and Beckmann, therefore, very appropriately emphasize the significance – which cannot be overstated – that wars take on for the development of societies and states, which do not always receive the attention that should be bestowed on this phenomenon. In a scientific respect – so their additional conclusion – war is not dealt with to the degree that would correspond to its real life significance. Cf. Thomas Jäger/Rasmus Beckmann, in: Jäger/ Beckmann (Hrsg.): *Handbuch Kriegstheorien*. Wiesbaden, 2011. p. 9.

7 Cf. Winfried. Nachtwei, MdB, retld., Podiumsdiskussion, Senatsempfang, 40 Jahre IFSH. Hamburg, 14.11.2011: “In recent years war has returned in the Federal Republic from below, namely through the soldiers, who are at war, guerilla war, a war of terror etc.” Cf. Also Nachtwei: *Die Auslandseinsätze im Rückblick – Was wir für die Zukunft lernen sollten*. Lecture at the 2011 Nurnberg Security Conference on 24. June 2011: „In Afghanistan, Bundeswehr soldiers have been confronted for two or three years with a guerilla and terror war. For the first time in the history of the Federal Republic, its soldiers are in combat.”



uation of current wars and conflicts – not to mention further development or actualization of the theory of war.

The question of whether science, with its widespread ignoring of the theory of war, can do justice to its task of giving responsible political advice and educating society at large, especially with a view to peace, the use or non-use of military means and in terms of an evaluation of its mission in the service of peace, answers itself. Thus science, to a great degree, concedes to the media, the interpretation of war and peace. What is important, therefore, is reestablishing the connection to the theoretical-philosophical reflection level that Carl von Clausewitz left behind with his work “On War” more than 200 years ago. This demands a serious and deep content and methodological consideration and analysis of “On War”.

5. *Causes and implications of scientific unconcern*

But what are the reasons that science does not concern itself with the theory of war and what consequences does this have? Here three primary causes particularly stand out:

First, the fact that the research gap shown, with reference to a scientific and theory-supported documentation of war, is widely ignored, negated and thereby, not even recognized. Thus the necessary awareness for its redress is, at the same time, lacking.

Secondly, the need for scientific documentation of war and a theory of war oriented to the essence of the matter is actively negated with the supposedly convincing argument that one no longer conducts wars and only wants peace. Overlooked here is the fact that the very development of peace strategies as well as the prevention, limitation and ending of war aimed for, compellingly presupposes an essential understanding of the object of war (to be avoided) and thereby a theory of war as the foundation of a corresponding judgment training.

Third, is that despite the fundamentally guaranteed freedom of research and teaching, science is not free from constraints, limitations and intellectual blockades which arise from fads and conformist and proactively adapted thinking in the sense of the so-called “mainstream”⁸. “Understanding war for security and peace” and “also thinking peace from war” are not currently in keeping with the scientific policy “mainstream” in Germany.

The implications of this non-consideration are manifold. They are shown in, among other things, the word choice that broadly ignores or masks war and its essential nature – combat. They manifest themselves in an only moderately developed “strategic community” and a general “strategy weakness in security policy.”⁹ They lead to well-meant but occasionally unrealistic and, therefore, unsustainable ideal-ideological goals and justifications for security policy action. At the same time, such kinds of fragile dynamic motives do not make it easy over time to rationalize and justify investing one’s own energy as well as one’s own people vis-à-vis the “wherefore” of its mission and its victims.

Viewed historically, a more appropriate judgment in relation to the essence of war could have contributed to preventing the unintentional sliding into wars and conflicts and, thereby, hindered or limited the extent of wars. Thus the outbreak and extent of the First World War, are essentially characterized by the almost-exclusive attack orientation of many participating nations and armies of the time, even those which politically had a more defensive goal. Conducting war was equated with attack and defense was not perceived as an equally valuable form of dealing with it. This represented a striking misjudgment not only of the technical weapons realities of that time, but, especially of the essence of war, characterized by the dialectic and constant interaction of offense and defense. A glance at “On War” would have been sufficient to recognize the specific strengths of defense and thereby the value of a well-fortified defense as a political option.

8 Cf. Egon Bahr: Podiumsdiskussion, Senatsempfang, 40 Jahre IFSH, Hamburg 14.11.2011.

9 Cf. i.a. Winfried Nachtwei, Die Auslandseinsätze im Rückblick – Was wir für die Zukunft lernen sollen. Vortrag 24.06.2011.

6. Conclusion

To summarize, the question arises of the extent to which sending one's own soldiers as well as civilian forces to an increasing number of conflict-affected, war or war-like missions without being able to base the assessment of the respective war/conflict also on a sound scientific theory of war, is in line with responsible action. A further question arises of how one's own claim to being a "peace power" can be taken into account when, at the same time, the greatest and most vital risk for this, namely war, is so widely ignored.

Whoever wants peace needs the power of judgment and a concept of war and must understand the essence of war in order to contribute meaningfully to preventing, ending and limiting it in its many forms. This requires expertise in the area of war theory and thereby makes scientific engagement with war – also in the sense of basic war-theory research – a necessity

What can be done to overcome the existing research gaps in this area?

Since building up scientific expertise is a time-intensive process, this can neither be achieved immediately or in the near future. The most important prerequisite for remedying this deficit is, therefore, first to recognize the deficiency, to discuss it and to develop the enduring will to overcome it. Creating awareness of the significance and relevance of this object thus represents the first step in overcoming the research gaps mentioned.

In terms of content it is important to reconnect with the intellectual-philosophical level of reflection that Carl von Clausewitz bequeathed us in his work "On War". This requires profound attention to and discussion of his work, both in terms of content and methodologically, in order to be able to use it as an intellectual starting point for the training of one's own ability to make judgments about war.

In a practical follow-up step, the Clausewitzian work could then be systematically studied for its security and peace policy relevance and applicability. On the basis of concrete theses and thematic complexes, i.e. "War and Politics", "Strength of Defense" or "Strategic Goal: Peace", "On War" could be used purposefully for the training of judgment and thinking in the context of security and peace. This would be new territory, both for the research on Clausewitz as well as on peace.



2.3 Weapons of Mass Destruction Free Zone in the Middle East

Ulrich Kühn

A weapons of mass destruction free zone in the Middle East: A pipe dream or a concrete goal?



On 14 October 2011, UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon named the Finnish Secretary of State, Jaakko Laajava, as facilitator for the conference on the establishment of a weapons of mass destruction free zone (WMDFZ) in the Middle East, planned for 2012. Finland will not only provide the facilitator, but with Helsinki, also the venue for negotiations. Thereby, an important hurdle on the way to possible negotiations in 2012 has been removed. After almost 40 years, there is a real chance that the states concerned will, for the first time, make concrete the intention of a WMDFZ in the Middle East. Whether, however, the planned conference will really take place and, if so, when, will significantly depend on the readiness of the parties involved to negotiate and on the day-to-day political developments in the Middle East.

Background

The goal of a WMDFZ in the Middle East is linked in an extremely complex way with the most varied regional, international and multilateral political domains. In addition, strong economic interests are involved. But this is not all. On the one hand, the interests of the parties involved are quite diverse and, on the other hand, parties are not limited geographically to the Middle East.

Is this about nuclear weapons or about weapons of mass destruction?

First of all, it must be clarified what the parties involved understand concretely under a WMDFZ. The fine, but enormously important differences in interpretation already begin with the formulations used. The resolution agreed upon in October 2011 by the UN First Committee is titled “Establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the region of the Middle East”¹. Nevertheless, the operative Article 9 of the resolution invites all parties to consider possible measures on the way to establishing “a zone free of weapons of mass destruction in the region of the Middle East.” The decisive difference here can be seen in the transition from the nuclear to the more broadly expressed level of all weapons of mass destruction – that is, also chemical and biological. While the countries of the Arab League and also Iran, give priority above all to the nuclear prohibition and thereby aim concretely at the (as yet) only country in the region (Israel) possessing nuclear weapons. It is, on the other hand, Israel and especially the U.S. that insist on a more broadly expressed prohibition of *all* weapons of mass destruction in the region. Both approaches are closely connected with the negative history of the development, the possession and the use of weapons of mass destruction in the Middle East.

Development, possession, deployment: The negative history of the region

Israel is today the only state in the region that is equipped with nuclear weapons. Although this fact is, meanwhile, generally known, Tel Aviv has stuck to its policy of nuclear ambiguity. While Israel has faced belligerent attacks by its neighbors multiple times, it still views its own weapons-grade plutonium reserves as the ultimate military option². What Israel succeeded in doing, above all with the support of France, a whole range of other Middle Eastern states have often attempted. Iraq, Libya, Syria, Egypt and currently, very likely Iran, have either attempted clandestine nuclear weapons programs or at least conducted relevant experiments. Iraq under Saddam Hussein came furthest with this. It was also this state which used chemical weapons both during the First Gulf

1 Establishment of a Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone in the Region of the Middle East, Draft Resolution, UN Doc. A/C.1/66/L.1 v. 10.10.2011.

2 This is enough for ca. 100-200 nuclear warheads. Cf.: <http://www.nti.org/country-profiles/israel/nuclear>.



War against Shiite Iran and against its own Kurdish minority in the North. There were or are also remaining stocks of chemical weapons in Syria and Libya. And even Egypt, apparently free from any suspicion, has, up to now, steadfastly refused – though out of pure political calculation with respect to Israel – to ratify the Biological Weapons Convention (BWC) and to sign the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC). Against the background of the Iranian nuclear program, a whole succession of states in the region has recently more or less openly brought potential military counteractions into play. Counted among these is a nuclear ‘umbrella’ provided by the U.S.

If the original conflicts within the Middle East are initially disregarded, all things considered, a striking picture of a region with high break-out potential emerges. The structural susceptibility to crisis in the region has significantly lowered the thresholds to the development, possession and use of weapons of mass destruction. This could apply to all three categories of weapons of mass destruction. Consequently the negative history would argue in favor of a comprehensive extension of a prohibition of *all* weapons of mass destruction.

Constant crises as negative linkage potential

The most varied attempts to acquire nuclear, chemical or biological military options are, initially only the extreme effect of an almost structural susceptibility to crises in the entire region. Here only two (persistent) crises and their influence on the discussion about a WMDFZ will be extrapolated as an example.

The aforementioned efforts of Iraq led, as a consequence of the first US intervention, not only to a whole range of sanction measures, but also had their effects on the verification and monitoring mechanisms of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). Consequently this organization, often referred to as the ‘UN watchdog’, expanded its monitoring repertoire with strongly intrusive measures – outlined in the Additional Protocol. In 2003, the distortive statements of the US secret and military services then created the background for Washington’s second intervention in the oil-rich Gulf State. Although meanwhile free of any weapons of mass destruction, Iraq has to date not been able to calm down. With the unlawful invasion of the US Army – in contradiction to international law – Washington’s image in the region was further damaged. For a substantial proportion of the Arab public, the U.S. is in no way perceived as a benevolent hegemon, but rather as an opportunistic economic power player with close ties to Israel. This – partially justified – image could limit the direct intercessory potential of the U.S. in negotiations on a WMDFZ in the Middle East.

The Middle East peace process which, meanwhile, has come to an almost complete standstill, comprises the second large crisis nexus. Before one can even speak about establishing a WMDFZ in the Middle East – so runs the Israeli version – all states in the region must officially recognize the right of Israel to exist, renounce the support of terrorist groups and prepare for an arrangement for the two-state principle. The Arab League agreed, particularly under pressure by the Palestinian Authority, to an approach that is exactly the reverse of this. First, Israel must give up its nuclear weapons to seriously and sustainably promote the peace process. This dilemma prevents, above all, the possibility of making separate progressive steps. As long as the peace process does not move ahead, possible negotiations on a WMDFZ in the Middle East will be used as a potential platform for exactly this conflict. Through so-called negative linkages, ultimately one continually blocks oneself.

External influences and economic interests

Apart from the purely regional susceptibility to crises, the Middle East has, for at least 200 years, always been a geopolitical playing field for external great powers, which only very rarely produced a stabilizing effect. The U.S., in particular, has involved itself in the region militarily multiple times over the past 20 years. Thereby it is pursuing primarily concrete economic interests. In addition to Washington, Russia and France have, over the last few decades, also established themselves in the area of civilian nuclear cooperation. The pioneer role of France as a nuclear equipment supplier has already been mentioned in connection with the Israeli reactor near Dimona in the Negev desert. However, Russia also has substantial economic interests in the area of nuclear energy cooperation. In addition to the facility in the Iranian Bushehr, built by Russian experts, the state Rosatom con-



cern has recently signed contracts and protocols of intentions with Algeria, Egypt, Jordan and Qatar. In the foreseeable future, this will push many countries in the region in the direction of nuclear energy production. Reasons are the development potential freed up by the revolutions in Arab countries in combination with a strong growth in population and the extremely lucrative margin of profit from the raw oil business. Thereby, the marketing opportunities for external suppliers will increase. At the same time, the danger of hidden weapons programs and nuclear proliferation could also grow.

The local power shifts to the advantage of the states on the Persian Gulf, stemming, first and foremost, from the raw materials trade in natural gas and oil, has also led, to a significant increase in the military potential of the Gulf States. Not long ago, representatives of the US and Saudi Arabia signed the biggest weapons deal in recent history. Here again, the uncertainty about the Iranian nuclear program plays an important role. The already existent regional supremacy of Teheran could, in the interpretation of diverse Iranian neighbor states, be exponentially strengthened through a 'Shiite nuclear weapon'. Since Iran has, up to now, not reacted to offers of talks, to sanctions or to threats, the USA and its partners in the region have taken the potentially devastating route of a long-term military build-up. Thereby the potential for crisis in the region is once again increasing in direct relationship to a (possible) program of weapons of mass destruction.

Besides the aforementioned external great powers, there is also an entire range of additional states with considerable interests in the Middle East. For the third level of the study, possible negotiations on a WMDFZ in the Middle East have proven to be important especially for the U.S., Russia and Great Britain.

The multilateral context: the NPT regime

At the multilateral level, the process of establishing a WMDFZ in the Middle East is linked very closely with the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). Only two years after the non-proliferation regime came into effect in 1972, it was Egypt and Iran which, in 1974, jointly brought to the General Assembly a resolution on the establishment of a nuclear-weapons free zone in the Middle East³. Since 1980 the resolution has been accepted every year in consensus. It was Egypt again that, in 1990, first demanded a zone free of all weapons of mass destruction and charged the UN Secretary General with the compilation of a relevant report⁴. The topic ultimately achieved overriding importance for international disarmament efforts through the NPT Review and Extension Conference in 1995. The unlimited extension of the treaty then agreed upon in the consensual final document was linked to the package deal on the implementation of a WMDFZ in the Middle East. In the resolution on the Middle East, the states were urged to make the greatest possible efforts towards the quick establishment of a zone free of nuclear and all other weapons of mass destruction as well as their delivery vehicles. Great Britain, Russia and the U.S. were entrusted with the preparations for negotiations.

This negotiation compromise touches multiple times on the fundamental consensus imbedded in the treaty on a separation into nuclear weapons 'haves' and 'have-nots'. While the 'haves' avow that they will disarm their nuclear weapons arsenal, they require that the 'have-nots' will forgo developing or acquiring such weapons or sharing sensitive knowledge and materials – in short: disarmament for non-proliferation. Since the establishment of the treaty, the fundamental discussion has focused on the question of the degree to which the 'haves' fulfill this obligation. The establishment of a WMDFZ in the Middle East is accorded a significant position, because, on the one hand, such a zone would enormously strengthen non-proliferation efforts and, on the other hand, such a step would contribute to concrete nuclear disarmament – namely, of the non-NPT-member, Israel. In addition, there is the fact that with the 1995 agreement by all NPT members to the indefinite extension of the treaty, the five NPT possessor states made an enormously important step towards the cementing of non-proliferation norms. Thus the basic understanding of 1995 was threefold. First, the possessor states were given the unlimited agreement to voluntary limitation by the

³ A/RES/3263 (XXIX).

⁴ A/RES/45/52

majority; second, the majority were given the agreement to serious disarmament by the minority; third, an important group within the majority (the states of the Middle East) were given the agreement to making the greatest possible efforts towards a rapid establishment of a weapons of mass destruction free zone (including their delivery vehicles). Up until today, this basic consensus has not lost any of its currency. All the same, between 1995 and 2010 it has only been very differently served.

The NPT Review Conference of 2000 again produced, for the first time since 1985, a consensual final document. Decisive for this was, above all, a joint declaration of the five possessor states in which they obligated themselves, for the first time, to total nuclear disarmament. Beyond this, the final document strengthened the intention of establishing a WMDFZ in the Middle East. Under the influence of the aversion of the Bush administration to arms control policy and its unwillingness to take on the problems of the Middle East, the 2005 Review Conference ended in total strife. Only as a result of the initiative of President Barack Obama to work towards a world free of all nuclear weapons – in short, “Global Zero” – and the positive effect of the US-Russian New START Treaty, was it possible for the 2010 Review Conference to agree to take concrete steps on the way to a WMDFZ in the Middle East⁵. The success of the 2010 Review Conference was due primarily to the will of the US government to preserve the basic consensus of the regime described. After the failure of the conference of 2005, this was urgently needed. Thereby, Washington did not explicitly prevent the singling out of Israel and the request connected with it to accede to the non-proliferation regime. Although U.S. officials tried – even during the conference – to qualify this point of view⁶, it is not just since 1995 that the U.S. has been obligated to proactively support efforts to establish a WMDFZ in the Middle East.

Standpoints and possible options

With the NPT Review Conference of 2010, a new window of opportunity for the possible creation of a WMDFZ in the Middle East was opened. The developments of the Arab Spring could – in the best case – be beneficial. The naming of the experienced Finnish diplomat, Laajava is a further step in the right direction. At the same time the conference is not yet a reality.

The current standpoints of the most important actors

For the parties involved, what will be decisive is avoiding the question of what should come first – a WMDFZ or a stable security situation in the region – and search rather for parallel solutions. Decisive also will be, whether the exclusion of individual states (Israel or Iran) can be effectively prevented. An additional complication is that in the U.S., Russia, China and France there will be presidential elections. A date before the first NPT preparation meeting in May 2012 seems extremely unlikely. Many of those participating are, therefore, already talking about the more realistic option of the year 2013. Against this background, reports of a possible preference for just a short meeting at a higher level are emerging from the circles of the delegations of the three co-sponsors (Great Britain, Russia and the U.S.).

For Washington what seems to have the highest priority is keeping any resultant damage from a conference which could certainly end in strife, as limited as possible. Thereby what is important for the U.S. is preventing both potential destabilizing effects for the entire region, as well as for the NPT regime itself. Thus Washington insists that the conference may only function exclusively according to the consensus principle, said then National Security Advisor, General James L. Jones in a statement on 28 May 2010⁷. For Great Britain, the second co-sponsor of the Middle East resolu-

5 Cf.: UN Doc. NPT/CONF.2010/50 [Vol. I], Abs. IV

6 See the statement of the US Arms Control Representative, Ellen Tauscher, who let it be known that the involvement of the USA would be “seriously jeopardized because the final document singles out Israel in the Middle East section, a fact that the United States deeply regrets.” See: <http://mobile.reuters.com/article/politicsNews/idUSTRE64R5RO20100528> [last accessed: 31.12.2011].

7 <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/statement-national-security-advisor-general-james-l-jones-non-proliferation-treaty> [last accessed: 17.12.2011].



tion of 1995, Head of the Counter Proliferation Department at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Liane Saunders, said on 26 October 2010, that the conference only represents a single building block in the further connection with the Middle East peace process⁸. Israel, on the other hand, in its first position statement rejected the demand for a conference and pointed to the primary role of the Middle East peace process⁹. Meanwhile, however, Tel Aviv, under strong U.S. influence, seems to be prepared to take part in the conference. However this does not mean at all that Israel would undertake formal negotiations. The Egyptian position seems, as yet, to be largely uninfluenced by the current internal political developments. Nevertheless, as diplomatic circles report, few concrete suggestions have come from Cairo up until now. On the contrary, there are clear signs of impatience and unhappiness with the role of the co-sponsors. Iran has not, until now, taken an official position. Against the background of uncertainty about the Iranian nuclear program and the regional effect described, it is, however, questionable whether a conference without Iran can achieve solid results. The EU and, thereby, also Germany, has a benevolent observer role in the process. In July 2011 the EU held a seminar on confidence-building measures in the region. A clear success there was the presence of all states concerned.

Possible options

There are possible options and even concrete suggestions *en masse* for the later establishment and implementation of a WMDFZ Middle East.¹⁰ Thereby, it must first be clarified who would actually take part in such a zone. The participation of all members of the Arab League, Israel and Iran would, of course, be desirable. Turkey as a regional power (and NATO member) should at least be given an observer's role. In terms of content, it would be important to avoid the dilemma described. A possible leeway for avoiding the priority dilemma could lie in a return to the very encouraging results of the joint working group "Arms Control and Regional Security" (ACRS) (1992-1995). This regional working group, including Israel, chose a broader negotiation approach in the early and mid-1990s. Thereby, confidence and security building measures, along with transparency initiatives should first lay the groundwork for later concrete disarmament steps. Although these talks were cancelled due to Israeli refusal to seriously discuss its own nuclear program, they could still represent a promising [re]starting point. For this very reason, the IAEA held a forum on exactly these questions at the end of November 2011. Although all participating states praised the constructive atmosphere and the measured tone, Iran's absence was a bitter setback.

A further important building block on the way to a WMDFZ Middle East is a possible multinational answer to the increasing energy hunger of the entire region. Instead of each developing its own civilian nuclear program, the participants of the region could aim, in connection with a WMDFZ, for a multinational fuel cycle with mutually secured delivery contracts. The financial advantages of such a project would only be topped by the confidence-building aspects. Nevertheless, the division of the financial burdens, administrative responsibility and the geographical location of the project already offer sufficient opportunities to argue splendidly on the diplomatic floor.

IFAR² and the topic described

In the reporting period, the Interdisciplinary Research Group on Disarmament, Arms Control and Risk Technologies (IFAR²) dealt multiple times and in depth with the topic described. In cooperation with the Federal Foreign Office of Germany, IFAR² sent an IFSH staff member – Ulrich Kühn

8 Liane Saunders, Keynote Address, „Opportunities and Challenges towards a Middle East WMD Free Zone Conference in 2012, at: <http://www.cisd.soas.ac.uk/Editor/assets/cisd%205th%20london%20conference%20on%20a%20middle%20east%20wmdfz%202010.pdf> [last accessed: 17.12.2011].

9 Cf.: http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/Government/Communiques/2010/Statement_Government_Israel_NPT_Review_Conference_29-May-2010.htm [last accessed: 17.12.2011].

10 Cf. i.e.: Toward a Conference on a Nuclear Weapon or WMD Free Zone in the Middle East. Some points for consideration, Pugwash paper, 26 September 2011. Building a Weapons of Mass Destruction Free Zone in the Middle East. Global Non-Proliferation Regimes and Regional Experiences, UNIDIR/2004/24. Harald Müller/Claudia Baumgart-Ochse, A weapons of mass destruction-free zone in the Middle East: an incremental approach, Background Paper (EU Non-Proliferation Consortium), Brussels, 2011.



– to the Federal Foreign Office as a political desk officer for a limited period. The goal of this cooperation was the planning, preparation and implementation of the 59th International Pugwash Conference in Berlin. Among the central topics of this multi-day conference were again the open questions of the Middle Eastern peace process and the establishment of a WMDFZ Middle East. With high level participation by official and civil society representatives, the participants discussed the various aspects, obstacles and possible recommendations for solutions. The quite controversial discussions served, above all, as an opportunity for unimpeded exchange of views. Götz Neuneck and Ulrich Kühn shared responsibility for elaborating the three-day program in the run-up to the conference.

In various articles, lectures and media appearances, Götz Neuneck, Michael Brzoska, and Oliver Meier analyzed the discussion around the Iranian nuclear program and evaluated the results of the 2010 NPT Review Conference. Thereby, Götz Neuneck functioned as the advisory participant of the German delegation to the Review Conference. Franziska Baumann discussed the results of the conference against the background of Global Zero in IFAR² Working Paper No. 15. Anne Finger and Ulrich Kühn, together with Götz Neuneck, focused in their work particularly on the implications of this postulate. Last, but not least, the studies of Götz Neuneck, Christian Alwardt and Hans-Christian Gils on missile defense in Europe contributed to a better technical understanding of the current missile delivery programs in the Middle East. In addition, Götz Neuneck took part in a discussion on the same topic in a working group led by Bernd W. Kubbig.

Conclusion

With the absence of Teheran from the IAEA forum on confidence-building measures, the first effects of the Agency's Report of November 2011 on the Iranian nuclear program, in which the UN watchdog accused Iran of running a military nuclear program,¹¹ were seen. Should the U.S., contrary to expectations, actually be able to push through a fifth round of UN sanctions against Teheran, the chances of Iran's participation in the planned conference in Helsinki would very quickly diminish. Public deliberations of the Israeli government about an eventual military attack against the Iranian nuclear sites could ultimately destroy all these approaches overnight. Thereby, the possible negative effects for the region would, in all probability, also clearly reverberate at the 2015 NPT Review Conference. Thus, the creation of the WMDFZ Middle East would once again slip out of the area of concrete policy into the sphere of worthwhile wishful thinking. Such a negative scenario must be prevented, especially against the background of the described susceptibility to crises of the entire region.

11 Implementation of the NPT Safeguards Agreement and relevant provisions of Security Council resolutions in the Islamic Republic of Iran Report, by the Director General (GOV/2011/65), 8 November 2011



3. Research Units – Research and Consultancy Projects

3.1 Centre for OSCE Research (CORE)

The Centre for OSCE Research (CORE) is the only institution specifically dedicated to research on the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE). In keeping with the OSCE's comprehensive understanding of security, the research topics range from questions of European security, arms control, conflict management and transnational risks of violence to activities in human rights, democratisation and the rule of law. Regionally, CORE focuses on Eastern Europe, the Caucasus and Central Asia.

Content focal points 2011

CORE activities in 2011 were oriented to the Intermediate-term Work Program of IFSH „Transnationalization of Risks of Violence as a Challenge for European Peace and Security Policy“ and concentrated thereby on two central conflict axes within the framework of the overlapping cluster “Change, Conflicts and Effects”, namely the relationship of Russia to the West and the conflict constellation in Central Asia, which is characterized by a complex superimposition of domestic, international and transnational factors

Russia and the West

While Russia and Western actors (EU, NATO, states) have mostly been able to agree on a common approach in combating transnational risks of violence (terrorism, drugs, Afghanistan), it is still difficult for them in the classic international conflicts (sub-regional conflicts, spheres of influence, arms control). A new project prepared in 2011, which will compare the behavior of Russia in different security-relevant organizations, will explain this difference. This will be complemented by an analysis of the CFE negotiation process, which will work out which factors contribute to the success or failure of multilateral arms control negotiations. At a strong policy-oriented level, preparations for a German-French-Polish-Russian “Initiative for the Development of a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian Security Community” were begun, which were to start with a workshop on 20 March 2012 in Berlin at the Foreign Ministry.

The Central Asian Conflict Syndrome

In Central Asia, domestic instabilities (civil war in Tajikistan 1992-1997, massacre in Andijan in 2005, pogroms in Kyrgyzstan (transnational risks of violence, drug trafficking, State-crime-nexus, Islamic radicalization, *Spill-over* Afghanistan) combine in a complex way with intraregional rivalries and conflicts (Kazakhstan-Uzbekistan, Uzbekistan-Tajikistan) and the attempts by external powers to expand their influence. A new project on the Diversification in the Kazakhstani, Turkmen and Uzbek Foreign and Security Policies will study how the three states deal with these challenges. A research application was filed in 2011, but was not yet decided upon during the reporting period.



UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon congratulates Ulrich Kühn on his successful completion of the UN Fellowship on Disarmament

A pilot project on the Central Asian states' Afghanistan policies was implemented. Its results will serve as a springboard for a larger research project on the same subject. These activities were complemented by dissertation projects on multilateral cooperation in Central Asia and on the development of domestic governance structures in Kazakhstan, which, after some progress in 2011, will be completed in the first half year of 2012.

Transfers and Consultancy

The research projects were complemented by transfer and consultancy projects, among them *Policy Papers* for the (German) Federal Foreign Office, a joint workshop with that Ministry on the topic of OSCE field operations, training for staff of the Irish Foreign Ministry to prepare for the OSCE Chairmanship in 2012, the publication of the “OSCE Yearbook” and other OSCE-related services.

Larger Research Projects

CORE-10-F-01 : Hegemonic Change and Security in Central Asia. On the Diversification in the Kazakhstani, Turkmen and Uzbek Foreign and Security Policies (1991-2013). A comparative analysis

Staff involved: Anna Kreikemeyer, Wolfgang Zellner.

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

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

In the first half of 2011 a project application was submitted to the Volkswagen Foundation which was not yet decided upon during the reporting period.



Wolfgang Zellner (l.) and Uli Kühn at the conference „European Security Governance Institutions“ in Moscow

CORE-10-F-02: Multilateralism in Russian Foreign Policy: Genuine Search for Partners or Undercover for Unilateral Ambitions?

Staff involved: Elena Kropatcheva, Wolfgang Zellner.

While some Russia experts describe Russian foreign policy as incoherent, erratic and generally more confrontational and anti-Western, others speak of continuity and a parallelism of cooperative and confrontational behavior. Thereby, there is no clarity about the essence and the driving force of Russian foreign and security policy. In order that this can be better understood, Russian behavior in or towards security-relevant international organizations (IO) should be researched. There is a range of individual publications, however a comprehensive theory-led study is lacking.

The central questions of this project prepared in 2011 are: To what degree and for what purpose does Russia use multilateral security IOs? Which factors determine Russia's specific actions? How effective is Russia in using multilateral security IOs? These questions will be studied in selected topic areas using the examples of the Collective Security Treaty Organization, of the NATO-Russia Council, the OSCE, the Shanghai Organization for Cooperation and the UN Security Council. An application for a two year pilot project was submitted in December 2011 within the framework of the post-doc promotion of the Junior Staff Initiative of the University of Hamburg.



CORE-10-F-06: Small Players in a Great Game. The Afghanistan Policies of the Central Asian States

Staff involved: Diana Digol, Wolfgang Zellner.

Afghanistan and the five Central Asian states represent two destabilizing potentials, which are in the same strategic context but are not, however, connected – or are only minimally so. In the best



Panel discussion at the 40th Anniversary of IFSH with Winfried Nachtwei, Alyson Bailes, Andreas Flocken, Egon Bahr and Regine Mehl (from left to right)

case, these two potentials for conflict can be kept separate and de-escalated step by step. In the worst case they would combine and escalate together. To avoid further conflict escalation, one must understand how the dynamics of the two potentials for conflict are intertwined with each other. The question in this context that has been worked on the least involves the Afghanistan policies of the Central Asian countries.

Hence, the project's central research questions are which policies the Central Asian states conduct with respect to Afghanistan, whether these policies are coordinated with their neighbors and the other parties interested in the conflict (NATO, USA, Russia, etc.) and

what domestic interests are behind these policies. Our starting hypothesis is that the Afghanistan policies of the Central Asian states – beyond the general support of the Western alliance – vary considerably depending on the concrete fears of the individual states.

In the first half year, using funds supplied by the DSF (German Foundation for Peace Research), a five month pilot project was conducted, in the framework of which the staff member responsible for the project undertook a one-month research trip to Kazakhstan and Tajikistan. The pilot study is to serve as the basis for a larger research project.

CORE-10-F-04: The CFE Negotiations: Lessons for Multilateral Arms Control

Staff involved: Ulrich Kühn, Wolfgang Zellner.

With the end of the Cold War, a conventional arms control regime was established in Europe, which can be considered unique, both with respect to the extent of its material regulations as well as its transparency and verification provisions. In the last ten years, this regime has been undermined to such an extent, that its collapse can no longer be ruled out. Nevertheless, a revival of the CFE process still seems to be possible. Despite countless individual arguments, a comprehensive understanding of this process is lacking.

Thus the central research questions are: which factors have facilitated or complicated the CFE negotiations and which lessons can be learnt from CFE for future multilateral arms control negotiations?

A revised project application submitted to the DSF in 2011 was not approved. The project will now be conducted by Ulrich Kühn as a dissertation project through the Evangelisches Studierendenwerk Villigst e.V.

CORE-10-F-05: IDEAS – The Initiative for the Development of a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian Security Community

Staff involved: Frank Evers, Wolfgang Zellner, Ulrich Kühn

At the summit in Astana in December 2010, the OSCE states committed themselves to: „the vision of a free, democratic, common and indivisible Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian security community stretching from Vancouver to Vladivostok” (Astana Commemorative Declaration, para. 1). Thereby it is more than clear that today's security policy realities in Europe in no way correspond to this vision.

IDEAS is a Track II initiative jointly carried out by four independent research institutes from France, Germany, Poland and Russia, namely the Centre for OSCE Research (CORE), the Fondation pour la Recherche Stratégique (FRS), the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO), and the Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM), which set the goal of conceptualizing a vision of a security community within the framework of a series of four workshops in Berlin, Paris, Warsaw and Moscow and a study building upon this. At the same time, IDEAS takes further the proposal of developing an OSCE network of academic institutions as suggested by OSCE Secretary General Lamberto Zannier.

In the reporting period, the foundation was laid for cooperation among the four institutes, the supporting foreign ministries of the four states and their Permanent Representations at the OSCE. Furthermore, preparations for the inaugural workshop on 20 March 2012 at the (German) Federal Foreign Office in Berlin were begun. A trilateral German-Polish-Russian initiative pursued in 2010 has been integrated into IDEAS.

CORE Projects

Call number	Title
CORE-10-F-01	Hegemonic Change and Security in Central Asia. On the Diversification in the Kazakhstani, Turkmen and Uzbek Foreign and Security Policies (1991-2013)
CORE-10-F-02	Russia and International Governmental Security Organizations: Patterns of Engagement and Instrumentality
CORE-10-F-04	Bargaining for Conventional Stability: The Rise and Crisis of the CFE Treaty
CORE-10-F-05	Joint German-Polish-Russian Initiative: Report on the Future of European Security
CORE-10-F-06	The Afghanistan Polices of the Central Asian States
CORE-10-P-02	OSCE Yearbook (German, English, Russian)
CORE-09-NF-05	Power, State-building and Public Administration Reform in Kazakhstan
CORE-09-NF-06	Multilateral cooperation in and with Central Asia: Reciprocal adaptation and learning processes in cooperation relations between international institutions (EU and ADB) and Central Asian states
CORE-10-B-01	CORE Framework Project
CORE-10-B-03	Post Soviet Security Dialogue Network
CORE-10-B-04	OSCE-related Information Services
CORE-10-B-02	OSCE-Related Training Course for Officials from the Foreign Ministry of the country that will hold the Chairmanship in 2012



Dr Detlef Bald gives a lecture on the history of the IFSH at the 40th Anniversary of the Institute



3.2 Centre for European Peace and Security Studies (ZEUS)

The Centre for European Peace and Security Studies (ZEUS) is concerned, within the framework of the *Medium Term Work Program* of IFSH, with the contribution of European Union foreign, security and defense policies and its partners (non-EU countries, international organizations, regional organizations, NGOs and other societal actors) to working on these risks. Central to this is the question of how the EU – in a time of the post-national constellation – can impede the emergence and expansion of the risks of violence, prevent their transformation into violent conflicts or deal constructively with visible transnational violent conflicts.

The development and implementation in particular, of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) and its specific strategies, structures and instruments define the parameters for research at ZEUS. In addition, the roles and security policies of relevant member states are also analyzed as are those of important partner countries.

ZEUS makes its own contributions to the overall research focus in the *Medium Term Work Program* of the IFSH, through scientific publications, policy analyses, national and international conferences as well as public statements.



Panel Discussion organized by the IFSH and the Humanist Union on Libya in April 2011

The following questions will be given particular attention in the projects: With which political challenges resulting from transnational risks of violence does the EU see itself faced? What norms and values underlie their strategies and political approaches? What structures, strategies and instruments is the European Union developing for the prevention – and the management of – transnational risks of violence? What roles do the conceptions of civilian-military cooperation and the nexus between security and development play here? How is the problem of radicalization dealt with? How and with whom does the EU interact, in which geographical spaces and functional political fields? What effects have been achieved up until now and

to what can these effects be attributed? What conclusions can be drawn for the future action of the EU in dealing with transnational risks of violence?

In the year 2011, the EU continued its activities in the area of security sector reform in the Balkans, in Africa and the Middle East, as well as in Afghanistan. The same applies to its efforts to contribute to the stabilization of the neighboring regions within the framework of the European Neighborhood Policy and to improve its relationship to the strategic partner, the Russian Federation. Similarly, it remains involved in the area of combating piracy and terrorism. These topics are also reflected in the scientific research projects and dissertations of ZEU in the year 2011.

The research at ZEUS on the prevention, limitation and managing of transnational risks of violence is aimed at the further development of an individual analysis approach with the designation “Security Governance”. This approach is comprised of multi-level strategies, instruments and policies of the EU, complex constellations of actors on the parts of the EU and third actors, as well as their horizontal interaction with the coordination of negotiations on collective dealings with a common security problem. The basic working definition of Security Governance is: “Security Governance is an attempt at guaranteeing security through coordinating between more or less autonomous state and non-state actors, whose dealings are interdependent.” Here, approaches from impact research (evaluation research, regime analysis, qualitative analysis) are integrated. Thereby, the unintended effects on the conditions and actors in the respective target states, as well as on the EU, are themselves researched.

Larger Research Projects

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

Staff involved: Hans-Georg Ehrhart, Hendrik Hegemann, Bernhard Rinke

The project makes the assumptions that transnational risks of violence and conflicts are of a complex nature, that in an international context they need differentiated management, and that while the EU has at its disposal a wide variety of institutional and material instruments for conflict prevention and crisis management, they still need to be networked. Against this background, the goals, role and the EU's way of functioning as a postmodern crisis manager are being studied. Both in internal relations and in relations with the outside world, there arise countless coordination and cooperation problems, which demand improved security governance.

This project combines empirical analyses on individual aspects of security governance in the EU such as, for example, civil-military relationships or security sector reform, the nexus between security and development or its role in counter insurgency within the framework of a comprehensive approach. Researched empirically will be which (internal and external) coordination and cooperation problems arise in dealing with violent conflicts and whether or how these can be overcome. The underlying hypothesis says that effective and efficient dealing with transnational conflicts requires Security Governance.

The study will be guided theoretically by the assumption of the governance approach. The focus is on forms and mechanisms of management coordination of autonomous actors dealing with a common security problem. Efforts will be made to refine the theoretical concept of security governance. Thereby a methodological pluralism, which includes sources and literature studies as well as interviews, will be the basis.

The progress of the project in 2011 consisted of the publication of several articles and edited volumes. Moreover, project staff held lectures on relevant topics of the project work. Finally an international DSF-financed workshop with the theme, "EU Security Governance in the Post-National Constellation: Conceptual, Empirical and Practical Challenges", was held. The cooperation partners of the project are: The Institute for Strategic Future Analysis of the Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker Foundation; Queen's University Centre for International Relations; German Armed Forces Staff College; the Department of Social Sciences at the University of Frankfurt; the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Osnabrück; the Institute for Political Science, University of Erlangen, the NATO Public Diplomacy Division, ISIS Brussels.



Margret Johannsen gives a lecture on the Arab Spring at the Nacht des Wissens (Night of Knowledge) 2011

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

Staff involved: Margret Johannsen

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

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



Margret Johannsen at the Workshop
„Ways out of violence“ in February 2011

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

dangered two-state solution for ending the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. In this respect the EU policy towards Hamas is a pointed example of unintended effects of political action.

The project was guided theoretically by the assumptions on state building as a concept within the framework of rationalistic institutionalism. Methodically, it is based on the evaluation of documents as well as interviews with Palestinian and European actors. The progress of the project consisted in the publication of three articles and a book chapter. The Institute for National Security Studies in Tel Aviv and the Peace Research Institute Frankfurt work as cooperation partners in the project.

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

Staff involved: Hans-Georg Ehrhart, Kerstin Petretto, Patricia Schneider

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

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

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

From a theoretical point of view, the research project draws on the security governance approach and on the risk research, among other things. Because of the interdisciplinary orientation of the comprehensive twelve partner project, the security analytical perspective will be combined with the political, economic, legal and technical science perspectives as well as the methods of strategic future analysis, and the perceptions of the practice partners will be integrated into the formulation of the recommendations for action. The progress of the project in the reporting year consisted of the publication of further Working Papers, the submission of two journal articles and the organization of several workshops.

The following serve as collaboration partners: Deutsches Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung (DIW) [German Institute for Economic Research], Technische Universität [Technical University] Ham-



Participants at the joint workshop of IFSH, TUHH, and Bucerius Law School in March 2011 on „Maritime violence as a challenge for whole-of-government Approaches to security“.

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

ZEUS-08-F-04: Justification with the same Arguments? – Analyzing Arguments in Favor of Restricting Human and Civil Rights under the Pretext of Combating Terrorism in the USA, EU and Russia

Staff involved: Regina Heller, Martin Kahl, Daniela PISOIU

The targeted change of normative expectations, which opens up a spectrum of necessary and permissible actions and, thus, has a behavior-regulating effect, represents a significant preliminary stage for the erosion of established norms and the behavior resulting from this. The project has, as its subject, the argumentation of government actors in the USA, the EU and Russia, aimed at legitimizing the curtailment of human and civil rights while combating terrorism at national and international levels.

Because of the significance of the USA, the EU and Russia in their totality, it must be assumed that the same or similar persuasive arguments of governmental actors in the three different legal spaces will have an erosive effect on the world-wide applicability of human and civil rights. It will be examined whether the arguments intended to legitimate the limitation of human and civil rights in combating terrorism on national and international levels are similar or have, over time, come closer to each other. The goal is to determine whether, in relationship to these rationales for “extraordinary” measures in the combating of Islamic-motivated terrorism, a coalition of governmental “norm challengers” has developed.

From a theoretical point of view, the research project draws on the securitization approach, the research on norm changes as well as convergence research. With the help of a qualitative content analysis, the arguments and the development of possible patterns in the rationales and justifications of measures planned or already carried out in the time between 2001 and 2010, will be studied.

The progress of the project in the reporting year included the publication of an article, lectures, the presentation of the project at the ISA conference and the AFK and DGfA meetings as well as conducting a workshop. The following serve as cooperation partners: The Chair for International Politics and Conflict Research at the University of Konstanz; Berghof Conflict Research: The Faculty of Political Science II at the University of Kaiserslautern; the Chair for International Politics at the University of Frankfurt am Main; the Institute for Theology and Peace in Hamburg; the Institute for Social Sciences, and the Faculty of Political Science, University of Kiel.

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

Staff involved: Regina Heller

With the help of new explanatory approaches, the project will explain the essence of Russian foreign policy with respect to the West. Previous attempts to identify the driving forces behind an often contradictory and, from a Western perspective, sometimes strikingly “emotional” or “irrational” Russian foreign policy, have had only limited success. The project will identify blind spots and find new theoretical ways to illuminate them.

Relationships between Russia and the West are extremely complex and have multiple fields of action and interaction structures. Thereby, both rational and understandable material (political and economic) interests and motives for action as well as less rational on the Russian side can be identified. The *basic assumption* in this project is that, in addition to rational cost-benefits considera-



tions, “subjective” interests and motives also play an important role and these significantly influence the dynamic and quality of Russia’s interactions with the West.

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

The progress in the project during the reporting period consisted of the submission of a manuscript (book chapter), conducting a workshop, the presentation of a paper at the VW Workshop and further work on a draft for an application for a DFG research project. The Institute for Political Science at the University of Frankfurt and Tampere University (Finland) function as cooperation partners.

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

Staff involved: Matenia Sirseloudi

With the emergence of Jihadist-motivated terrorist violence, the risk of attacks with a high number of victims and grave material damage has increased significantly. Otherworld-oriented assassins apparently take into consideration neither their reference groups nor themselves – the more devastating the attack, the greater the supposed homage to the God, in whose name the attack is carried out. Considering these consequences of terrorist attacks, the battle against terrorism has shifted ever more strongly into the run-up of the actual terrorist act. Similar to other areas of collective violence, such as great escalation of conflicts, genocide and massive violations of human rights, prevention, as opposed to reactive management, is acquiring ever stronger significance. Thereby, the recruiting and radicalization processes which the individual goes through on the way to terrorist acts, moves into the focus of attention. At the same time the foreign and security policy management of the Federal Republic has unintentional consequences for domestic security in the form of radicalization processes. The involvement of the Federal Republic in international conflicts (particularly in the area of combating terrorism) carries with it a potential for radicalization. Coherent and convincing indicators for this potential for radicalization can be developed.

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

The progress of the project in 2011 consisted in the publication of three articles, lectures, the further development of the theoretical concept and the method of compiling indicators, the creation of a data bank and conducting a school project on examining the identity constellations of vulnerable youth. Furthermore, two workshops were conducted with the partner, the Bonn International Center for Conversion (BICC) and the three sub-contractors (University of Augsburg, University of Erfurt and the Terrorism Research Initiative) as well as the associate partner, the State Bureau of Investigation (LKA) in Hamburg.



Workshop „The subjective dimension of Russia’s partnership with the West. Filling theoretical and empirical voids“, 15-16 September at the IFSH

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

Staff involved: Johann Schmid

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

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



Professor Reinhard Wolf and Regina Heller at the Workshop „The subjective dimension of Russia’s partnership with the West”.

to a systematic development of a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon of war – and also its difference to other forms of organized violence – uniting theory and practice. Thereby, it will take into account the growing need for an appropriate evaluation of extremely varied and permanently changing forms of war and violent conflict in the global space and make a contribution to the fundamental theoretical classification and limitations of the multifaceted phenomenon of war. Thus, it is connected not only with analytically but also with politically relevant questions. Especially against the background of the Alliance orientation of Germany, it is crucial to be able to make an independent and well-grounded judgment with respect to the evaluation of the current wars and conflict events and those

that can be expected in the future, in order to help shape Alliance policies on the basis of what makes sense and what is doable and to be able to create, in a targeted way, the necessary means and instruments for this.

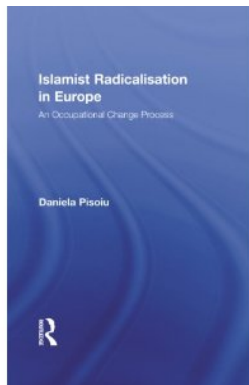
To achieve this goal, selected forms of current war and conflict events will be analyzed on the basis of, among other things, the theory and philosophy of Carl von Clausewitz, so as to lead to starting points for their evaluation and the development of management strategies under the conditions of violent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

The progress of the project in the reporting period was documented through a journal article, two book chapters and a book project. The following work as cooperation partners: Federal Armed Forces Transformation Center; German Armed Forces Staff College; the University of the Bundeswehr; the Political-Military Association, Inc (PMG); the University of Cologne, Economic and Social Sciences Faculties, the Chair for International and Foreign Policy; RWTH Aachen University, Institute for Political Science, Department of International Relations and Strategic Studies.

ZEUS-11-F-03: Development of a consistent model on Islamist and right-wing extremist radicalization and de-radicalization processes

Staff involved: Daniela Pisoiu/Daniel Köhler

Currently, both the political and scientific sides are mainly attempting to explain and understand *Islamist* radicalization processes, as well as to prevent and combat them. Individual extreme rightist radicalization processes are, by comparison, studied much less often. A comparative analysis of Islamist and extreme rightist radicalization processes is needed both theoretically and empirically. The assumption that a general model for different forms of individual radicalization processes can be valid will be researched and a theory of individual radicalization based on primary data will be developed. In addition, radicalization will be conceptualized thereby as an intentional and gradual



process which differs fundamentally from previous structural approaches which have shown empirical weaknesses. The great advantages of this model are its ideologically neutral approach and the fact that it puts the focus on socio-psychological processes instead of socio-economic or personality characteristics. Empirically, previously observed similarities between radicalization processes of Islamists and right-wing extremists will be systematically researched.

The research project follows three goals: Individual right-wing extremist radicalization processes will be thoroughly researched empirically and the pre-existing research results on Islamist radicalization will be expanded. Furthermore, the project will develop a theoretical framework for the similarities in Islamist and right-wing extremist radicalization processes which have been surmised in the research but have not yet been systemat-

ically elaborated. The project will take the “developmental model” of Islamist radicalization as a promising approach and advance it. Thereby, for the first time, primary data will be compared and analyzed within a large framework. The research questions are:

- In which phases does the right-wing extremist radicalization process flow and what are the motivating factors?
- What are the common mechanisms and conditions of integration into and detachment from Islamism and right extremism?
- What political implications emerge from the model?

The project takes up development concepts on Islamist radicalization and integrates further scientific approaches: Theories on the psychology of terrorists, the social movement theory and criminological theories on participation in crimes. The project does not look at individual radicalization in a deterministic manner nor as a sudden change of heart, but rather as a progressive process in small steps. Furthermore, it concentrates on individual motivations and less on structural factors. Particular significance is attributed to discourse as a fundamental element of decision-making. The project has an explorative character and follows the “grounded theory” method. Acquisition of data is primarily through interviews. The project application was submitted at the end of 2011 to the DFG. The primary collaboration partners are EXIT-Germany, ASTIU-Germany, Exit-Sweden und HCEIT-Canada.

ZEUS-11-F-04: Pre-radical subcultures and radicalization

Staff involved: Daniela Pisoiu

While the term „subculture“ is frequently used in a not very differentiated way to describe various kinds of associations, larger social groups, networks, cells or amorphous aggregates of ideas and convictions, the role of pre-radical subcultures in radicalization processes has not, up to now, been systematically studied and conceptualized. Two theoretical concepts, which have been developed in terrorism research, only marginally consider this problem area: social networks and “framing”. According to these concepts, entering into groups that are prepared to or actually do commit violence is made easier by prior involvement in pre-radical organizations and groups. On the other hand, individuals have developed into violent political actors without previously having been involved in the respective groups: “Lone-wolves” or those also radicalized by internet.

The research project deals with the questions of what role subcultures play in the radicalization process, Thereby, the following questions will first be asked and then expanded:

- Which different kinds of subcultures/groups/associations exist in the left, right and Islamic scenes in Europe?
- Which explanatory models, which describe/explain the mechanisms and concepts for the process of integration into subcultures, can be fallen back upon and how can they be classified in the “developmental model” of Islamic radicalization?
 - Are the underlying mechanisms of the two processes stimulus-oriented, deterministically, socially or discursively determined?

- How does the transition from the subculture/group/association to “established” organizations take place?
- Is this transition recursive?
- What role can the subcultures play in de-radicalization and detachment processes?

The theoretical approach of the project is interdisciplinary and rests on three research areas: terrorism research, criminology and research on social movements. Radicalization is understood as a development process, whereby participation occurs in small steps and in interaction with the near and far social environment. Motivation variables are, hereby, of decisive significance. The criminological approach is found at the intersection with terrorism research and includes approaches on “rational choice”, on social learning on the basis of selective stimuli for subculture theories, on theories of differential association and on cultural transmission of criminality. Among the approaches to social movements “rational choice”, collective identity and framing are considered. The project proposal was submitted at the end of 2011 and has, meanwhile, been approved.

ZEUS-Projects

Call number	Title
ZEUS-10-F-01	Russia and the West: New approaches to an explanation of Russian foreign policy
ZEUS-10-F-02	Terrorism and radicalization – Indicators for external influencing factors
ZEUS-10-F-03	Theory and practice of violent conflicts
ZEUS-10-F-04	The transformation of sub-state violent actors between the struggle for independence and state-building as a challenge for the Middle East policy of the EU
ZEUS-09-F-01	Security Governance as a challenge for coping with transnational conflicts
ZEUS-08-F-04	Justification with the same Arguments? – Analyzing Arguments in Favor of Restricting Human and Civil Rights under the Pretext of Combating Terrorism in the USA, EU and Russia
ZEUS-08-F-07	Piracy and Maritime Terrorism as a Challenge for Maritime Trade Security: Indicators, Perceptions and Options for Action
ZEUS-11-F-03	Development of a unified model on Islamist and right-wing extremist radicalization and de-radicalization processes
ZEUS-11-F-04	Pre-radical sub-cultures and radicalization
ZEUS-08-P-08	Encyclopedia of European Security
ZEUS-10-P-01	Comprehensive approach and counterinsurgency in Afghanistan
ZEUS-10-NF-02	Multilateralism in South-East Asian Counterterrorism
ZEUS-09-NF-01	Governing Transatlantic Counterterrorism: Form and Effectiveness of Combating Transatlantic Terrorism
ZEUS-09-NF-02	The relevance of rationalist approaches in the analysis of terrorism and anti-terror policy
ZEUS-08-NF-01	The internationalization of terrorist violence – Causes and conditions
ZEUS-07-NF-01	Conflict prevention and crisis management of the EU: Limits and chances for coherent management in the European multilevel system
ZEUS-07-NF-03	Change of Elites in Bosnia-Herzegovina in Transition
ZEUS-07-NF-06	A comparative assessment of police missions in the European Security and Defence Policy (Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Democratic Republic of Congo and the Palestinian territories). Is there a European police reform in the making?
ZEUS-07-B-01	International Baudissin Fellowship-Program
ZEUS-11-B-02	The Comprehensive Approach of the EU towards Somalia



3.3 Interdisciplinary Research Group on Disarmament, Arms Control and Risk Technologies (IFAR²)

The Interdisciplinary Research Group on Disarmament, Arms Control and Risk Technologies (IFAR²) addresses the complex interaction between the dynamics of armament, potential weapons deployment, debates on strategy as well as the potential of arms control, non-proliferation, and disarmament as instruments of security and peace policy. The increasing complexity of such questions is taken into account in the form of an interdisciplinary research group.

Its work methods involve a combination of natural- and social-science techniques and expertise. Through intensive cooperation with other institutions of various disciplines, basic research is conducted in the natural science/technical dimension of arms control. In addition to classic arms control, the members of this working group deal with topics such as “climate and security” and Cybersecurity. In addition, IFAR² participates in a range of expert networks, which bring together expertise from the areas of research and practice and concentrate research efforts.

The content of the IFAR²-projects and activities in 2011 was focused on arms control in Europe, the debates on NATO's new Strategic Concept, in particular in the area of nuclear policy and missile defense in Europe, as well as the discussion on the achievability of a world without nuclear weapons (Global Zero). At the beginning of the year, the study, “Russia's Tactical Nuclear Weapons: Posture, Politics and Arms Control”, by Andrei Zagorski, was presented at the Hamburg State Representation Office in Berlin and in the Palace of Nations of the United Nations in Geneva. On behalf of the Friedrich-Ebert Foundation, IFAR and CORE developed a comprehensive study, “Chances of Arms Control in Europe”, in German and in English, which was discussed at a seminar in May in Berlin with Russian and American participation and was also presented in Brussels. The project on NATO nuclear policy, supported by the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, was prolonged by one year. IFAR² was the joint organizer of workshops on NATO nuclear policy in Tallinn, Brussels and Berlin and published, on the project home page, additional research papers on the nuclear weapons policy of NATO. Important workshops with strong Russian and American participation on the possible cooperation of Russia on the NATO missile defense plans took place at the Center for International Cooperation and Arms Control at Stanford University, in Brussels (EastWest-Institute) and at the Geneva Center for Security Policy with IFAR² participation. Ulrich Kühn was working at the Federal Foreign Office in the first half of the year in order to prepare – organizationally and thematically – the 59th Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs “European Contributions to Nuclear Disarmament and Conflict Resolution”. Götz Neuneck, who is a member of the Pugwash Council, was jointly responsible for program planning and implementation as the authorized German representation. Anne Finger and Christian Alwardt largely organized the “International Student and Young Pugwash Conference”, which took place two days before the main conference, under the title of “Conflict and Cooperation – The Global Impact of Regional Security Efforts” with 32 young participants from 18 countries. The DSF project, “New ways in nuclear proliferation and arms control” was successfully concluded with an international workshop in June at the Hamburg State Representation in Berlin. Within the framework of the CLISAP-Excellence Cluster, a workshop on aerosol increase through a possible nuclear war and the consequences arising from this (“nuclear winter”), as well as an international, two-day workshop, “Geo-engineering the Climate – An Issue for Peace and Security”, was carried out in cooperation with KlimaCampus, the ZNF, the research group Climate Change and Security (CLISEC), and Adelphi Research. Together with CLISEC, Adelphi Research and the Federal Foreign Office, IFAR organized a four-part series of seminars on the effects of climate change on large regions (Africa, South Asia, Central Asia and South America), with strong international participation, at the Federal Foreign Office in Berlin. In addition, a new research application, CLISAP II, was prepared.



Foreign Minister Guido Westerwelle with Egon Bahr and Götz Neuneck at the „59. Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs – European Contributions to Nuclear Disarmament and Conflict Resolution”

In connection with the research project, “Cyber Warfare: Legal Frameworks and Constraints and Perspectives for Transparency and Confidence Building”, which was conducted jointly with UNIDIR, the research institute of the United Nations in Geneva, IFAR² organized a small national workshop in Hamburg and an international workshop in Berlin. On the 13-14 December, a conference „Challenges in Cyber Security – Risks, Strategies, and Confidence-Building” took place at the Federal Foreign Office. IFSH was co-organizer together with the Federal Foreign Office, UNIDIR and the Free University of Berlin and Götz Neuneck was represented in the scientific program committee, while Kerstin Petermann took on the organizational coordination. Around 200 participants as well as delegations from the USA, Russia, China and the European Union took part.



Götz Neuneck (r.) with John Holdren, senior advisor to President Barack Obama on science and technology issues, at the White House (August 2011)

Anne Finger took part in a one-week ISODARCO Winter Course (International School on Disarmament and Research on Conflicts) on the topic “Eliminating Nuclear Weapons and Safeguarding Nuclear Technologies” in Andalo.

Thanks to the nomination by the German Federal Government, Ulrich Kühn completed a two month training program at the United Nations in the area of disarmament affairs in New York and Geneva. He was the first German participant in the United Nations Disarmament Fellowship Program who was not a government employee. On 21 October he was honored with the UN-Fellowship on Disarmament. Katarzyna Kubiak took part in a three week summer school on “Public Policy and Nuclear Threats” at the University of California San Diego and, at the closing panel on CTBT in Washington D.C., gave her talk “CTBT Entry into Force Taken Hostage by Regional Conflicts”.

Also in 2011 IFAR once again welcomed a variety of international experts and decision-makers as guest speakers at IFSH. Steven Pifer of the Brookings Institution in Washington, D.C. and Nikolai Sokov of the Vienna Center for Disarmament and Non-Proliferation, among others, lectured at the Institute’s Research Colloquium on themes of nuclear arms control.

In addition to the basic conceptual and policy advising scientific activities, the work of IFAR² lay in the topical areas of arms control, disarmament, non-proliferation and security aspects of climate change, as well as contributions to the current international debates and the strengthening of international expert networks.

Larger Research Projects

IFAR-10-P-01 Deterrence, Disarmament and Tactical Nuclear Weapons in Europe

Staff involved: Michael Brzoska, Anne Finger, Oliver Meier, Götz Neuneck, Christian Alwardt

In 2011 the IFAR² staff undertook a range of activities to promote debates on the reduction of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe. In July, the *William and Flora Hewlett Foundation* extended the project, originally limited to twelve months, the goal of which was a reduction in the significance of tactical nuclear weapons in European security. This project, which involves the IFSH collaborating partners, the *Arms Control Association* (ACA) and the *British American Security Information Council* (BASIC), should contribute, in particular, to creating the conditions under which NATO and Russia can take joint steps towards the disarmament of tactical nuclear weapons and enable the removal of all US nuclear weapons from Europe. The background to this is the promise of the (German) Federal Government to do its utmost for a withdrawal of US nuclear weapons stationed in Germany and Europe, in order to strengthen non-proliferation and move global disarmament efforts forward. After the Lisbon NATO summit in November 2010, during which a new strategic concept was agreed upon, the project partners undertook a variety of activities in 2011. Thereby, IFAR brought together decision-makers and experts from various NATO states within the framework of seminars in Tallinn, Brussels and Berlin. The debate on the limited role of nuclear weapons in European security was analyzed in various publications (*inter alia* in *Arms Control Today* and in the *Peace Assessment*) and a new series of *Nuclear Policy Papers*, written by experts and



decision-makers, was analyzed. Project staff commented on and evaluated current developments, *inter alia* at meetings and conferences of the Heinrich-Böll-Foundation, the Friedrich-Ebert-Foundation. The project Website also provides an overview of relevant activities: http://www.ifsh.de/IFAR_english/projekt/projekt.htm.

In addition, Oliver Meier took part as an expert in the working group on non-strategic weapons of the Euro-Atlantic Security Initiative (EASI) in Washington. The EASI is a high-level initiative, which, under the chairmanship of Wolfgang Ischinger, Igor Ivanov and Sam Nunn, tries to promote an inclusive Euro-Atlantic security system. The working group on non-strategic nuclear weapons has developed options for progress in the control of these short-range nuclear weapons, which are made available to decision-makers. Furthermore, at the end of August, Oliver Meier took part in a strategy meeting of various non-governmental organizations in Den Haag, organized by IKV Pax Christi, during which consultations with NATO representatives on further steps to nuclear disarmament took place.



Presentation of IFSH-studies on tactical nuclear weapons and missile defense at the Palais de Nations in Geneva. From left to right: Andrei Zagorski, Kerstin Vignard, Götz Neuneck, Pál Dunay

Lectures by Steven Pifer (Brookings-Institution, Washington D.C.) und Nikolai N. Sokov (Vienna Center for Disarmament and Non-Proliferation) at the IFSH elucidated the American and Russian discussion.

On 21 February 2011, the IFSH presented the study “Russia’s Tactical Nuclear Weapons: Posture, Politics and Arms Control” by Dr. Andrei Zagorski, Professor at the Moscow State Institute for International Relations, at the Representation of the Hamburg in Berlin. At this event, Götz Neuneck also presented to the Berlin public the results of the study on missile defense in Europe. The first version of the study, written on behalf of the Hamburg Academy of Science, has been

available since November 2010. On 22 February 2011, the results of both studies were presented together with the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR) in the Palace of Nations at the headquarters of the United Nations in Geneva and discussed with about 50 participants from the embassies of the Geneva Disarmament Conference.

In the thematic aspect of missile defense in Europe, the year 2011 was marked by the analysis of the current political search for cooperation between NATO and Russia. An article for the 2011 Peace Report summarized the current state of the debate. In an article for the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, concrete recommendations for step-by-step cooperation were presented. IFAR expertise flowed into the high level discussion rounds of the EastWest Institute in Brussels in March 2011 and in December in Geneva (Geneva Center for Security Policy). Furthermore, the study on missile defense in Europe, prepared for the Academy of Science in Hamburg in 2010, was revised for publication.

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

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

The focal point was the thematic and organizational implementation of the 59th Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs “European Contributions to Nuclear Disarmament and Conflict Resolution”. From 1 to 4 July 2011, some 300 experts, scientists and decision-makers from 43 countries came together in plenary sessions and six working groups in the conference area of the Federal Foreign Office to discuss a broad spectrum of conflict topics in which nuclear weapons play a special role. One year after the successful NPT Review Conference on May 2010, panels and working groups took place on the status of nuclear disarmament, the Middle East, South Asia and Afghanistan with the presence of ten Foreign Ministers and Vice-Foreign Ministers. IFAR was

represented at the conference with six participants. Furthermore, IFAR continued dealing with Iran's nuclear program, missile proliferation and the problems of civilian use of nuclear energy.

In cooperation with the Friedrich-Ebert Foundation (FES) the IFSH organized the Seminar "Russian Interests and Western Priorities: The Future of Arms Control in Europe" on 12/13 May at the FES headquarters in Berlin. The goal of the seminar was to discuss political and technical questions of nuclear and conventional arms control in Europe and develop options for overcoming the existing conflicts and barriers to cooperation in these political areas.

The question of the effects of military disparities between NATO and Russia on European security and, in particular, on the progress of disarmament is at the heart of the study "Chances for Arms Control in Europe" conducted together by IFAR and CORE on behalf of the Friedrich-Ebert Foundation (FES).

Michael Brzoska, Anne Finger, Oliver Meier, Götz Neuneck and Wolfgang Zellner describe how the conventional superiority and the missile defense plans of NATO as well as Russian maintenance of tactical nuclear weapons contribute to a mutual blockade in arms control. They argue that without a fundamental improvement in the political relationships between NATO and Russia, significant progress in disarmament cannot be expected. The results of the study were also presented in Carlisle, Pennsylvania (USA) and in Brussels.



IFAR members kept themselves continually informed about the current problem cases of nuclear proliferation. Particular attention was devoted to the Iranian nuclear program. On 17 February 2011, at the Japanese Embassy in Berlin, Oliver Meier discussed with Ambassador (retd) Nobuyasu Abe, Director of the Center for the Promotion of Disarmament and Non-Proliferation at the Japan Institute of International Affairs, possibilities for furthering Japanese-German Cooperation on nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament. At the invitation of the Heinrich-Böll Foundation, Oliver Meier participated in two events on non-proliferation and arms control in Moscow. On 5 December he spoke to members of the Higher School of Economics about the current development in the argument over the Iranian nuclear program. On 6 December, at a public event at the Sakharov Center, he discussed the effect of the Iranian nuclear program on disarmament and non-proliferation with Anton Khlopkov from the Center for Energy and Security Studies.

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

Staff involved: Michael Brzoska, Oliver Meier, Götz Neuneck, Ulrich Kühn

The research on the achievability and the conditions for a nuclear-weapons-free world was advanced by IFAR 2011, above all through the aforementioned projects on European security (see IFAR-10-F-01) on non-proliferation (IFAR-10-D-02) as well as the conditions and problems of a nuclear-weapons-free world (IFAR-09-F-01). In addition, the working group carried out the first work on verification of the destruction of nuclear weapons. Oliver Meier lectured on the "Perspectives of nuclear arms control after the new START Treaty" at the 5th Symposium on nuclear and radioactive weapons that took place from 20-22 September at the Fraunhofer Institute for Technological Trend Analysis in Euskirchen.

A further focal point was in the area of the strengthening of international networking within which IFAR² contributes research articles on questions of nuclear disarmament. On 24 and 25 January 2011, Götz Neuneck and Oliver Meier took part in a seminar of the Royal United Services Institute (RUSI) and a gathering of the European Leadership Network for Multilateral Disarmament and Non-Proliferation (ELN) in London. The topic of the RUSI seminar, which took place at the Royal Society, was "NATO and US Nuclear Weapons: What Would Happen after the Bombs Have Gone?" At the ELN gathering on the topic of "NATO Deterrence and Defence Posture after Lisbon", numerous former Foreign and Defense Ministers, among them Douglas Hurt, Volker Rühle, Margret Beckett, Ruud Lubbers and Des Browne, took part. IFAR² also prepared the Berlin Meet-



ing of the ELN in Berlin on 29 and 30. July 2011 in which Lord Des Browne, Egon Bahr and Richard von Weizsäcker, among others, took part (see IFAR-09-F-01). Minister of State Hoyer emphasized the efforts of the German government to contribute to further nuclear disarmament within the framework of European security. Ulrich Kühn and Götz Neuneck wrote English-language publications on the ways and impediments to a world without nuclear weapons.

From 6-9 December 2011, representatives of thirteen countries met in London at the invitation of the British and Norwegian governments to discuss the results of the “United Kingdom-Norway Initiative” (UKNI). This concerned a multi-year project in the course of which both countries conducted the transport, destruction and storage of a mock-up nuclear warhead. Thereby, multiple technical and procedural problems are being overcome, such as, for instance, the disassembly of a nuclear state’s warhead under the eyes of an inspection team without revealing the design details of the warhead. Malte Götsche of the ZNF and Götz Neuneck took part in the meeting at the invitation of the Federal Foreign Office and presented their projects.

IFAR-08-F-01: Between Control and Cooperation: Technology Transfers and Efforts around Non-Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction

Staff involved: Michael Brzoska, Oliver Meier, Götz Neuneck, Cooperation with Arms Control Association

The background of the project is the increasing spread of proliferation-relevant technologies through globalization and secondary proliferation, as well as the tightening of control regulations by technology holders, especially as a consequence of the perception of increased threats of terrorist attacks with nuclear, biological or chemical weapons of mass destruction since the attacks of 11 September 2001.



Egon Bahr and Denise Völker at the 40th Anniversary of the Institute

The project was concluded with a seminar on the 16 and 17 June in the Hamburg State Representation in Berlin. At this international workshop, 30 experts from the realms of science and politics discussed how international technology transfers can be organized so that the risk of proliferation of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons can be limited and, at the same time, the peaceful use of these technologies can be promoted. Many of the contributions will be published in a book edited by Oliver Meier which will appear in Routledge’s Global Security Study Series. This volume shows that the significance of international cooperation in the control of dual-use technologies has increased. The contrasts between countries in the north and the global south on the question of how the relationship of cooperation and control should be shaped are still great. The project has shown that many developing countries continue to fear that non-proliferation is being used as a pretext to deny them unhindered access to key technologies. Beneath this political level, however there are promising approaches of cooperation in the peaceful use of dual-use technologies. It will be a matter of strengthening these approaches so that they expand the legitimacy of non-proliferation and thereby the room for maneuver for more effective controls. The emerging countries have an important role because they can play a mediating role between north and south.

IFAR-08-F-03: Climate Change and Security (CLISAP C-3)

Staff involved: Michael Brzoska, Christian Alwardt, Martin Kalinowski, Götz Neuneck, Jürgen Scheffran, Denise Völker, cooperation with other CLISAP-Partners.

The research at IFSH in the thematic area of climate change and security took place within the framework of the CLISAP-Excellence Cluster of the University of Hamburg with two foci. In the area of identifying “hot spots”, in which climate change and vulnerability to violent conflicts meet, Denise Völker continued her research on the study of the effects of forest protection measures on conflicts in the Amazons within the framework of a longer research stay. Christian Alwardt worked

out further elements for a model for the water conditions in rivers as a basis for the assessment of potential future water conflicts and published a basic paper on the topic of “Water as a Resource.” In addition, much new work of colleagues from the University of Hamburg, the Climate Service Center, and the GIGA was discussed in the C-3 group, led by Jürgen Scheffran. Here suggestions were made for the submitting a follow-up application to the CLISAP-Excellence Cluster. Thereby, it was agreed to focus on the analysis of the effects of climate in Africa in the years to come. Due to this focus, a further application was developed for regional research (within the framework of a call-for-proposals by the BMBF) in which conflicts and human security in Africa, going beyond the climate question, are in the foreground.

The second area being researched is related to the question of the effects of the identification of climate change as a security problem („securitization“). In 2011, Michael Brzoska updated his research on the question of whether the representation of climate change as a security problem, that was strongly emphasized and controversially discussed internationally in the years 2007/2008, was already the entry point for national planning documents for armed forces and other security forces. He wrote a book chapter on this, which dealt with the relevant discourses in the USA, Great Britain, China and Russia.

Beyond these focal points, preparations for a conference on large scale measures for climate change – also called geo-engineering or climate engineering – were made in 2011. Thereby, it was also made clear during the November 2011 conference itself, that the already-intensive research on geo-engineering may have considerable consequences for regional and international security as it makes the regional and national risks of very different effects of unilateral measures concrete.

Finally, there was intensive work done on editing and completing two books. The first, which was published by Nomos in the fall of 2011, was based on the February 2010 annual meeting of the Consortium for Peace and Conflict Research (AFK) on the topic of climate change and violent conflicts. The second was published by Springer in the spring of 2012 and has chapters – accepted after a review process – on a larger international conference on climate change and security, organized in November 2009 by IFSH, among other organizations.

IFAR Projects

Call Number	Title
IFAR-10-F-01	Deterrence, disarmament and tactical nuclear weapons in Europe
IFAR-10-F-02	New ways to nuclear non-proliferation and arms control
IFAR-09-F-01	Globalizing Zero: Conditions and problems of a nuclear-weapons-free world
IFAR-08-F-01	Between Control and Cooperation: Technology Transfer and Efforts at Non-Proliferation of WMD
IFAR-08-F-03	Climate Change and Security
IFAR-10-P-03	The future of missile defense in different countries
IFAR-10-P-05	Nuclear Energy, Security and Non-Proliferation
IFAR-10-P-06	Security relevant technologies: RMA and Cyberwar
IFAR-09-P-05	Weaponization of space and space surveillance
IFAR-08-P-04	Verification and Monitoring of International Agreements
IFAR-09-NF-01	Conflict Factor Forest Protection? Analysis of the Effects of Forest Protection Measures on Conflict Formation in Selected Regions of the Amazon Basin
IFAR-08-NF-02	Seasonal Modeling of Regional Water Flow Amounts from the Viewpoint of Climate Change
IFAR-08-B-01	Consultation for the Arms Control Department of the Federal Foreign Office
IFAR-08-B-02	Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs



3.4 Pan-Institute Projects

Larger Research Projects

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

Staff Involved: Michael Brzoska (Project Manager), Raphael Bossong, Eric van Um

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



Pan-institutional Projects

Call Number	Title
IFSH-08-F-01	A New Agenda for European Security Economics (EUSECON) (Project manager: Michael Brzoska)
IFSH-07-P-01	Peace Report (Project manager: Margret Johannsen)
IFSH-10-P-01	Working Group on the Research on the Effectiveness of International Institutions (Project manager: Martin Kahl)
IFSH-09-NF-01	Hamburg Graduate School “Regional Power Shifts” (Project manager: Michael Brzoska)
IFSH-08-B-01	“European Security and the Future of the Bundeswehr” Commission at IFSH (Project manager: Michael Brzoska)
IFSH-07-B-02	Academic Reconstruction of South Eastern Europe (Naida Mehmetbegović Dreilich)



4. Comprehensive Activities

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

In 2011, the working group on the research on the effectiveness of international institutions at IFSH continued to work on the question of how the effectiveness of political actions could be documented scientifically. Shedding light on the connection between causes and effects is attempted in research with divergent goals and by means of very different methods and research designs. Thus the focus is, on the one hand, on short-term cause-effect relationships and, on the other hand, rather on the larger historical development process.

In the working group, approaches from various scientific disciplines are discussed and attempts made to develop them further. The members of the working group wrote a series of discussion papers on various questions and political areas of significance for effectiveness research. The results of the discussions will be made useful for the IFSH's own research.

In addition, the publication of a book, which will present a summary of the state of research on the effectiveness of international institutions, is foreseen in 2012. A variety of authors – also from outside of the IFSH – have already been recruited for this.

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

The “European Security and the Future of the Bundeswehr” Commission, founded in 1999 and composed of scholars, politicians and the military, held two work sessions in the reporting period and also produced a joint working paper: „Strukturoptimierung reicht nicht – Bundeswehrreform braucht Politikreform“ (published at: www.ifsh.de/dasifsh/bundeswehrkommission).



Senator Dorothee Stapelfeldt, Egon Bahr and Michael Brzoska at the 40th Anniversary of the IFSH (14 November 2011)

The current members of the Commission are: Professor Dr Michael Brzoska, Scientific Director IFSH (Chairman); Dr Jürgen Groß (Executive Director); Dr Detlef Bald, (ret.) Social Science Institute of the Bundeswehr; Jörg Barandat, Lt. Col., General Staff, Federal Foreign Office; Dr Hans-Georg Ehrhart, IFSH; Dr Hans-Günter Fröhling, Lt. Col (ret.), Internal Leadership Centre; Dr Sabine Jaberg, German Armed Forces Command and

Staff College; Lars Klingbeil, MP; Agnieszka Malczak, MP; Professor Dr Berthold Meyer, Peace Research Institute Frankfurt; Burkhardt Müller-Sönksen, MP, Dr Reinhard Mutz, former Acting Scientific Director IFSH; Winfried Nachtwei, former MP; Dr Bernhard Rinke, University of Osnabrück; Jürgen Rose, Lt. Colonel; Paul Schäfer, MP; Professor Dr Michael Staack, Helmut Schmidt University/University of the Federal Armed Forces Hamburg.

4.3 Research Group DemoS at IFSH

In the reporting period, the external research group, “Democratization of Armed Forces (DemoS)”, which works since its establishment in 2006 on the “leadership development and civic education” concept (Innere Führung) of the Bundeswehr – a traditional topic area of the IFSH – is currently preparing a publication within the framework of the project “Posttraumatic Stress Disorder among Bundeswehr soldiers” which is expected to appear in 2012. There was also a lecture at IFSH on this topic given by sociologist, Dinah Schardt (University of Heidelberg).

Mitglieder der Forschungsgruppe sind: Dr. Detlef Bald (vorm. Sozialwissenschaftliches Institut der Bundeswehr), Oberstleutnant (retd). Dr. Hans-Günter Fröhling (vorm. Zentrum Innere Führung), Dr. Jürgen Groß, Prof. Dr. Berthold Meyer (Universität Marburg), Oberstleutnant (retd) Prof. Dr. Claus v. Rosen (Baudissin-Dokumentationszentrum Führungsakademie der Bundeswehr).



4.4 Selected Events, Conferences and Visitors

In 2011, the Institute celebrated its 40th anniversary. On this occasion, emphasis was placed on workshops and conferences in which the entire IFSH work output was presented and discussed.

On **28 January** an IFSH and ISZA (Institute for Strategic Future Analyses of the Carl-Friedrich-von-Weizsäcker Foundation) workshop took place at which an interim report of the ISZA, within the framework of the project PiraT (Piracy and Maritime Terrorism as a Challenge for Maritime Trade Security), was presented.

On **4 February** a public workshop organized by the University of Hamburg and the IFSH on the topic of “Security Governance of the EU” took place.

From **21 to 23 February** a joint seminar with the Institute for International Law of Peace and Armed Conflict at the University of Bochum (IFHV) and the Institute for Development and Peace at the University of Duisburg-Essen (INEF), on the topic of “Piracy and International Law”, took place.

On **2 March**, the Ambassador of Bangladesh in Germany, Dr Masoud Mannan, visited the IFSH and held a lecture on “Bangladesh’s Experience in International Peacekeeping Around the Globe”.

On **28-29 March** the IFSH, the Bucerius Law School (BLS) and the Hamburg University of Technology (TUHH) held the workshop, “Maritime Violence as a Challenge for Networked Security” within the framework of their joint PiraT Project.

On **20 April**, the IFSH and the Humanist Union organized a public discussion event on the topic of “War in Libya: The wrong way or a humanitarian obligation?”

On the **12./13. May**, the IFSH, in cooperation with the Friedrich-Ebert-Foundation (FES), organized a workshop with the title “Russian Interests and Western Priorities: The Future of Arms Control in Europe” in the Office of the FES in Berlin.

On the **16-17 May**, the PiraT Workshop, “Limiting Maritime Violence: Positions and Goals of German Policy” took place in the BAKS in Berlin with representatives from politics, public authorities and cooperation partners.

The IFSH was co-organizer of a seminar on the future nuclear weapons policy of NATO on the **22 and 23 May** in Brussels. The event took place within the framework of the project on reducing the role of tactical nuclear weapons, supported by the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation. Responsibility for the event was shared by the IFSH along with the Arms Control Association, the British American Security Information Council and the International Security Information Service Europe.

To contribute to the discussions on direct activities of the OSCE in their participating States, the Centre for OSCE Research (CORE), together with the Federal Foreign Office, conducted a workshop on the “Development of OSCE Field Activities” on **26 and 27 May** at the OSCE Headquarters in the Vienna Hofburg

The PiraT-Milestone Meeting took place in Hamburg on **31 May**. There, all scientific partners presented their progress and cooperation results to the BMBF, represented by the VDI TZ. PiraT was selected by the BMBF in June 2011 as the project of the month and was featured prominently on the BMBF Homepage.

In order to find solutions for the blockade of further development of arms control treaties, in particular in Europe, twenty experts and high level diplomats from Germany, Italy, Greece, Great Britain, Poland, the Czech Republic, Turkey, the USA and Russia met in Potsdam from **6 to 9**



Patricia Schneider at a panel of the section international politics of the German Political Science Association, 6-7 October 2011 in Munich, with Anja P. Jakobi (PRIF) and Georgios Kolliarakis (Frankfurt University)



June. With the support of the IFSH and the Federal Foreign Office, Götz Neuneck and Wolfgang Zellner organized and led the event.

On **16 and 17 June** a TERAS-INDEX Workshop took place at the IFSH with cooperation partners BICC, LKA Hamburg, the University of Erfurt, the University of Augsburg and TRI Vienna.

On **16 and 17 June** the IFSH organized an international workshop with the title “Between Control and Cooperation: Dual-Use, Technology Transfers and the Non-Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction” at the Hamburg State Representation in Berlin

On **24 June** the research network Natural Science, Disarmament and International Security (FONAS) organized, together with the IFSH, a workshop on the topic “Arms Race in Cyberspace?” in which some 40 participants from the sciences, ministries and practice explored the question of what is understood by Cyberwar and what means of limitation are possible.

In the run-up to the 59th “Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs”, the “7th International Student/Young Pugwash (ISYP) Conference” took



Workshop „Ways out of Violence“ (11 February 2011)

place on **29-30 June** in Berlin. Under the title, “Conflict and Cooperation – The Global Impact of Regional Security Efforts”, 32 up-and-coming scientists from 17 countries discussed and presented their own research work. The ISYP Conference was financed by the Federal Foreign Office and the German Foundation for Peace Research (DSF). Christian Alwardt and Anne Finger took on the conference organization and preparation on behalf of the IFSH.

From **1 to 4 July** the “59th Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs – European Contributions to Nuclear Disarmament and Conflict Resolution” took place in Berlin. The conference was made possible in cooperation with the Federation of German Scientists (FGS/VDW) and the

Federal Foreign Office as well as Oxfam and the Simons Foundation. As a member of the Pugwash Council, Götz Neuneck was responsible for the conference, in which Michael Brzoska, Wolfgang Zellner, Oliver Meier, Christian Alwardt, Anne Finger and Katarzyna Kubiak from the IFSH also took part. Ulrich Kühn (IFSH) was seconded to the Foreign Office from the IFSH for the conference preparation.

On **15 and 16 September** an international workshop took place at the IFSH, jointly organized with the Universities of Frankfurt am Main and Tampere (Finland) and financed by the Volkswagen Foundation, on the topic “The subjective dimension of Russia’s partnership with the West. Filling theoretical and empirical voids”

On **16 September** some 50 students of the New York University Berlin visited the IFSH. Götz Neuneck introduced the history, approaches and work of the Institute. He joined in a discussion on the achievability of a world without nuclear weapons

On **29-30 September**, ZEUS organized the international workshop. “EU Security Governance in the post-national constellation.”

On **11 October**, the 9th class of the Master’s study program “Peace and Security Studies” graduated at the University of Hamburg. Commencement speaker was the journalist and former director of the Foundation for Science and Politics, Dr. Christoph Bertram, who spoke on the topic “The Crux of Scientific Policy Consultation”. 23 students in all received their diplomas.

On **16 and 17 November**, the IFSH, in cooperation with the Arms Control Association and the British American Security Information Council, organized an international symposium under the title “Improving transparency on tactical nuclear weapons: Building blocks for a NATO-Russia dialogue”. The Federal Foreign Office supported the event, which took place within the framework



of a project – supported by the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation – on reducing the role of tactical nuclear weapons in European security

On **14 November**, a Senate reception took place on the patio of the Hamburg State and University Library on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the IFSH. After words of welcome from Senator Stapefeldt and University Vice-President Stiehl, a lecture by Detlef Bald on the establishment and history of the Institute followed. In the subsequent podium discussion on the topic of “40 Years Peace Research – 40 Years Security Policy – 40 years IFSH”, Egon Bahr, Alyson J.K. Bailes, Winfried Nachtwei and Regine Mehl debated, with moderation by Andreas Flocken

From **18-19 November**, the Centre for European Peace and Security Studies at the IFSH organized an international workshop on the topic, “The ‘Dark’ Side of Normative Argumentation” within the framework of the project “Subjecting Freedom” sponsored by the German Research Foundation (DFG).

On the **13-14 December**, the IFSH, together with the Federal Foreign Office, the Free University (FU) of Berlin and the Institute of the United Nations for Disarmament Research in Geneva (UNIDIR), organized an international conference on the topic of Cyber security. Representatives of various governments (among them the USA, Russia, the European Union and China), of industry and civil society discussed “Challenges in Cyber Security – Risks, Strategies, and Confidence-Building”.

4.5 Research Colloquium 2011

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

Regionalmächte und ihre Strategien: Imperium, Hegemonie und Leadership, Sandra Destradi, GIGA, Hamburg (12.1.2011)

Abrüstung taktischer Nuklearwaffen, Oliver Meier, IFSH (19.1.2011)

Staatsaufbau nach dem Systembaukastenprinzip – Grenzen und Möglichkeiten des externen State-Building, Jan Asmusen, ECMI Flensburg (26.1.2011)

Gewalt und Staatsbildung in Nachkriegsgesellschaften am Beispiel Lateinamerika, Sabine Kurtenbach, GIGA, Hamburg (9.2.2011)

Aktuelle Lage am Horn von Afrika, Stefan Brüne, GIZ Frankfurt/Main (16.2.2011)



Margret Johannsen giving a lecture in the Französischer Dom (French Cathedral) in Berlin on the occasion of the presentation of the 2011 Peace Report (24 May 2011)

Aktuelle Lage: Ägypten/Nordafrika/Naher Osten, Margret Johannsen, IFSH (23.2.2011)

Bangladesh's Experiences in Peace Keeping around the Globe, Botschafter Mosud Mannan, Berlin (2.3.2011)

Germany in the UN Security Council, Michael Brzoska, IFSH (9.3.2011)

Demokratischer Krieger? Der militärische Einsatz von Staatsbürgern in Uniform in der vernetzten Sicherheit, Oberst im Generalstab Ralph Thiele, Köln (23.3.2011)

Vernetzte Sicherheit – Glaubensbekenntnis, PR-Gag oder Strategie? Einige subjektive Beobachtungen aus einer zweijährigen militärischen Beratertätigkeit auf der Schnittstelle Auswärtiges Amt zum Verteidigungsministerium, Jörg Barandat, Auswärtiges Amt (30.3.2011)

Die EU und Russland im postsowjetischen Raum: Strategische Partnerschaft oder Nullsummenspiele? Prof. Dr. Hannes Adomeit, College of Europe, Natolin Campus, Warschau (20.4.2011)

Sicherheitspolitische Lage, Diskussionsstand in Berlin und die Umsetzung in die Lehre, Oberst Meyer zum Felde, Berlin (27.4.2011)

Ruling Party Cohesion and Political Coercion in Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan, Eli Feiman, Brown University (4.5.2011)

Mehr Aufsicht, weniger Zurechenbarkeit? Fallstudien zur Performanz deutscher und britischer Nachrichtendienstkontrollen, Thorsten Wetzling, Johns Hopkins University, Washington (11.5.2011)

Das politische Verhalten des Westens und die Verwaltung des Ausnahmezustands – Der Zusammenprall von Freiheitsbegriff und Feindbild, Yan St. Pierre (18.5.2011)



US-India Strategic Alliance and the portents for peace in South Asia, Subrata Ghoshroy, MIT (25.5.2011)

Worse, not better? Early Warning and Conflict Prevention in the Post-Lisbon EU, Christoph O. Meyer, King's College London (1.6.2011)

Konflikt, Krise, Niedergang – Überlegungen zur Fokussierung zeithistorischer Forschungen, Bernd Greiner, HIS, Hamburg (15.6.2011)

Interaktion von zivilem und militärischem Engagement in Konflikten – Herausforderungen für zivilgesellschaftliche und staatliche Akteure, Christine Meissler, BAKS, Berlin (22.6.2011)

Moderne Kriegspropaganda? Newsmanagement in Deutschland und den USA zur Rechtfertigung von Kosovo-, Afghanistan- und Irakkrieg, Magnus-Sebastian Kutz, Universität Hamburg (29.6.2011)

Global Crime Governance: Entstehung und Formen internationaler Kriminalitätsbekämpfung, Anja Jakobi, HSKF (14.9.2011)

Invasion der Körperscanner. Entscheidungslogiken politischer Akteure bei der Bekämpfung des 'neuen' Terrorismus, Martin Kahl/Hendrik Hegemann, IFSH (28.9.2011)

Economics of Peace in Nepal, Hari Bansh Jha, GIGA, Hamburg (19.10.2011)

Südafrikas Intervention in Lesotho und Burundi: Auf dem Weg zur regionalen Ordnungsmacht?, Kerstin Rother, MPS (26.10.2011)

Next Steps in Nuclear Arms Control, Steve Pifer, Brookings Institution, IFSH/ZNF-Kolloquium (2.11.2011)

Konfliktfaktor Waldschutz? – Auswirkungen von Waldschutzmaßnahmen auf Konfliktformationen in Amazonien, Denise Völker, IFSH (9.11.2011)

The future of Russian nuclear arms control policy, Nikolai Sokov, Vienna Center for Disarmament and Nonproliferation (16.11.2011)

Der Imperialismus der Ökonomie in der Sicherheitsforschung, Tim Stuchtey, BIGS, Potsdam (23.11.2011)

„Versöhnungsprozesse in Afghanistan/Süd-West-Asien, Botschafter Günter Overfeld, Vize-Präsident des EastWest-Institute Brüssel und Direktor von „Regional Security and Preventive Diplomacy“ und „Aktuelle Projekte des Parlamentarian Network for Conflict Prevention“, Angelika Beer (30.11.2011)

GEOMAR – Helmholtz-Zentrum für Ozeanforschung, Prof. Dr. Peter Herzig, Direktor des Leibniz-Instituts für Geowissenschaften, Kiel (7.12.2011)



Lecture „Security of the Silk Road“ by Anna Kreikemeyer at the 4th Night of Knowledge (29 October 2011)

4.6 Lectures of Fellows and Staff (selection)

Michael Brzoska

- Internationale Beziehungen und Friedensforschung, Vortrag an der LMU, München, 8. Oktober 2011.
- Trends in Rüstungsforschung und Rüstungsbegrenzung, Universität Bremen, 9. November 2011.
- The European Union as an Actor for Peace and Security, Vortrag an der School for Advanced International Studies, East China Normal University, Shanghai, 22. November 2011.

Hans-Georg Ehrhart

- Operation Atalanta a part of the EU's Comprehensive Approach to Somalia, Vortrag auf der internationalen Konferenz „EU Security Governance in the post-national Constellation“, am 29. und 30. September 2011 in Hamburg.
- Die GASP/GSVP nach Lissabon, Vortrag auf der Jahrestagung des Wissenschaftlichen Forums für Internationale Sicherheit an der Führungsakademie der Bundeswehr, Hamburg, 27. Oktober 2011.

Frank Evers

- Der 2010 OSZE-Gipfel in Astana. Steht die OSZE vor einer Identitätskrise, Vortrag am Zentrum für Internationale Friedenseinsätze (ZIF), Berlin, 24. Januar 2011.
- Erneuerungsbedarf von OSZE-Feldaktivitäten im Südkaukasus und in Zentralasien, Vortrag auf einem gemeinsamen Workshop von CORE und dem Auswärtigen Amt zur Entwicklung von OSZE-Feldaktivitäten, Wien, 26./27. Mai 2011.
- Die Diskussionen im Rahmen des OSZE-Korfu-Prozesses über europäische Sicherheitsbedrohungen und –herausforderungen sowie die Ergebnisse des OSZE-Gipfels in Astana 2010, Vortrag an der Diplomatischen Akademie Armeniens, Eriwan, 29. August 2011.

*Hendrik Hegemann*

- Invasion der Körperscanner': Entscheidungslogiken politischer Akteure bei der Bekämpfung des 'neuen' Terrorismus, vorgestellt bei der Konferenz „Gefährliche Zeiten!? Sicherheitskultur im Wandel“, Goethe-Universität Frankfurt, 9.-10. Juni 2011 (mit Martin Kahl).
- Governing the Fight against Terrorism. Comprehensive Counterterrorism Cooperation and the Contested Agency of International Organizations, International Studies Association's Annual Convention, Montreal, 16.-19. März 2011.

Regina Heller

- Why and how subjective needs matter in Russian foreign policy. Vortrag auf dem Workshop “Russian Policy and Foreign Policy Driven by What? Emotions versus Interests”, Aleksanderi-Institut der Universität Helsinki, 25. Mai 2011.
- The “dark” side of normative argumentation. Vortrag auf der Jahrestagung der Arbeitsgemeinschaft Friedens- und Konfliktforschung (AFK), Villigst, 8. April 2011.
- What are the costs of ‘non-Europe’ in transboundary crisis?, Vortrag auf der Konferenz “Searching for solidarity. Developing EU capacities for crisis and disaster management”, Brüssel, 24. März 2011.

Margret Johannsen

- Mit Terroristen reden? Ja, mit wem denn sonst? Schwierige Fragen im Nahost-Konflikt. Literarisches Café des Christianeums, Hamburg, 22. Februar 2011.
- Aufbruch in der arabischen Welt und die Rolle Europas. Evangelische Akademie zu Berlin, Französischer Dom, Berlin, 24. Mai 2011.
- Der „Arabische Frühling“. mennoForum, Hamburg, 21. Oktober 2011.

Martin Kahl

- ‘Invasion der Körperscanner’: Entscheidungslogiken politischer Akteure bei der Bekämpfung des ‘neuen’ Terrorismus, vorgestellt bei der Konferenz „Gefährliche Zeiten!? Sicherheitskultur im Wandel“, Goethe-Universität Frankfurt, 09-10. Juni 2011 (mit Hendrik Hegemann).
- EU External Security Governance – Non-hierarchical and Effective?, Universität Hamburg, 4. Februar 2011.
- Security Governance und nicht-staatliche Gewaltakteure – eine Problematisierung, Universität Osnabrück/Deutsche Stiftung Friedensforschung, Osnabrück, 31. Januar 2011.

Anna Kreikemeyer

- „OSZE Feldoperationen in Zentralasien“ und „Feldaktivitäten zentraler OSZE-Institutionen in Zentralasien“, Vorträge im Rahmen eines Trainingskurses für Beamte des irischen Außenministeriums in Vorbereitung auf den OSZE-Vorsitz Irlands 2012, Dublin, 16. Mai 2011.
- East of Vienna – West of Vienna, 4th GCSP–OSCE Academy–NUPI–NESA–GCMC Seminar „Central Asia 2011“, an der OSZE Akademie, Bishkek, 1. September 2011.
- Conflict management by the OSCE. Chances and Barriers of Institutional Conflict Management from a Political Scientist's Point of View, Vortrag auf der Konferenz „Internationale Praxis und Training von Mediatoren im Lichte europäischer Erfahrungen“ beim Forum „Petersburger Dialogue“, St. Petersburg, 17. Dezember 2011.

Elena Kropatcheva

- Psychological Factors in Russian Foreign Policy, Political Psychology Networking Conference, Central European University, Budapest, November 2011.
- Russia's OSCE Policy and the Role of the OSCE in the European Security, BISA Working Group on Russian/Eurasian Security, London, Juni 2011.
- The Meaning of the OSCE Field Activities for the Organization's Profile in European Security, workshop on OSCE Field Operations, organized by the German Foreign Office and CORE, OSCE, Wien, Mai 2011.

Ulrich Kühn

- Thinking the Unthinkable: A Nuclear Weapons-Free Zone in Europe. Vortrag vor dem United Nations Fellowship on Disarmament Program, Genf, 29. August 2011.

Isabelle Maras

- L'assistance à la réforme de police dans le cadre de la Politique européenne de sécurité et de défense commune (PSDC) en République démocratique du Congo: La gouvernance de sécurité à l'épreuve des faits, 4th International Congress of the Francophone Associations of Political Science (AFSP), “Être gouverné au 21^e siècle”, Brüssel, 20.-22. April 2011.
- Promoting Interests over Values? The Case of the CSDP-supported Police Reform in the Democratic Republic of Congo, 2011 ISA Annual Convention “Global Governance: Political Authority in Transition”, Montreal, 16.-19. März 2011.
- Governing EU Assistance to Police Reform: The Case of the Democratic Republic of Congo, Joint workshop RECON/IFSH on Security Governance, Hamburg, 4. Februar 2011.



Ambassador of Bangladesh Mosud Mannan at the Research colloquium on 2 March 2011 (with Regina Heller)

*Naida Mehmedbegović Dreilich*

- Geschichte, Krisenentwicklung und internationales Krisenmanagement am Beispiel Kosovo und Bosnien, Vortrag im Haus Rissen im Rahmen des Seminars „Krisenregion Kosovo und Bosnien“, Hamburg, 8. November 2011.

Oliver Meier

- Between Control and Cooperation, Vortrag auf dem Workshop “Dual-use, technology transfers and the nonproliferation of weapons of mass destruction”, des IFSH, Berlin, 16.-17. Juni 2011.
- Perspektiven nuklearer Rüstungskontrolle nach dem New START-Vertrag, Vortrag auf dem 5. Symposium Nukleare und radiologische Waffen, Euskirchen, 20.-22. September 2011.
- The IAEA Report, Iran’s Nuclear Program and the future of Non-proliferation, Vortrag auf dem Jour Fixe der Heinrich Böll Stiftung, Moskau, 6. Dezember 2011.

Götz Neuneck

- Russia’s Tactical Nuclear Weapons: Posture, Politics and Arms Control, UNIDIR und IFSH-Briefing, Palais des Nations, Genf, 22. February 2011.
- Options for Cooperation between NATO and the Russian Federation in the Area of Ballistic Missile defense, CISAC, Stanford University, 28 April 2011
- New Weapon technologies, Ethical and Political Perspectives, 34th Round Table on Current Issues of International Humanitarian Law, “International Humanitarian Law and New Weapon Technologies”, International Committee of the Red Cross, Ministero della Difesa, Institut for Humanitarian Law, San Remo, 8.-10. September 2011.

Kerstin Petretto

- Piraten: Bremser oder Katalysatoren von Staatsaufbauprozessen – oder einfach Kriminelle?, Workshop „Zum Umgang mit nicht-staatlichen Gewaltakteuren – Stand und Perspektiven der Forschung“, Deutsche Stiftung Friedensforschung, Osnabrück, 19.-21. Januar 2011.
- Piraterie als Herausforderung für die Seehandelssicherheit. Jahrestagung der Arbeitsgemeinschaft Friedens- und Konfliktforschung (AFK), Villigst, 7.-9. April 2011.
- The Challenge of Piracy, Vortrag bei Expertenanhörung der Fraktion der Grünen/EFA im Europäischen Parlament „The EU’s approach to Somalia: Where do we stand?“, Brüssel, 29. Juni 2011.

Daniela Pisoiu

- More security for less liberty? Arguing for counterterrorism measures: a comparative study, American Politics 10 Years after 9-11, Jahrestagung der Politikwissenschaftler in der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Amerikastudien, Atlantische Akademie Rheinland-Pfalz, Kaiserslautern, 12. November 2011.

Sybille Reinke de Buitrago

- Conceptions de la sécurité: Les approches allemande et française des politiques de sécurité au sein de l’Union européenne. 7. Rencontre Franco-Allemande d’Histoire Militaire . Paris, 20. Juni 2011.
- Die Macht von Sprachbildern. Jahreskolloquium der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Friedens- und Konfliktforschung zum Thema „Macht in Konflikten – Macht von Konflikten“, Schwerte (Ruhr), 7.-9. April 2011.
- The Conception of Security in Multilateral Fora: A Comparison of South America and Southeast Asia. International Political Science Association & European Consortium for Political Research First Joint Conference, São Paulo, Brasilien, 16.-19. Februar 2011.

Sebastian Schiek

- State-Building and State Reform in post-Soviet Kazakhstan, Vortrag auf der Annual Conference of the European Society for Central Asia Studies, Universität Cambridge, 20.-22. September 2011.

Johann Schmid

- Europa – militärisch einsatzfähig für internationale Konflikte? Europa-Multiplikatoren-Seminar, Europäische Akademie Nordrhein-Westfalen, Bonn, 23. Mai 2011.
- Vernetzte Sicherheit und COIN: Komponenten einer künftigen Sicherheitsstrategie? Vortrag für LGAN 2009, Studienphase, Führungsakademie der Bundeswehr, Hamburg, 29. Juni 2011.
- Zur aktuellen Konfliktlage in Afghanistan: Krieg, Aufstand, Gewalt? Einführungsvortrag zur Tagesveranstaltung „Afghanistan, quo vadis?“ der Evangelischen Akademie Loccum, 7. November 2011.

Patricia Schneider

- The Transnational Governance of Maritime Security, Vortrag auf der von der HSKF und dem Exzellenzcluster „Normative Orders“ an der Goethe-Universität veranstalteten Konferenz „The Transnational Governance of Violence and Crime“, Frankfurt am Main, 4.-5. November 2011.
- Maritimer Terrorismus und Security Governance: Tätergruppen, Anschlagstypen und ergriffene Abwehrmaßnahmen, Vortrag auf der 3. Offenen Sektionstagung Internationale Politik der Deutschen Vereinigung für Politische Wissenschaft (DVPW), München, 6. Oktober 2011.
- Maritime Terrorism: Dangerous or Laughable? International Studies Association (ISA), Montréal, 16.-19. März 2011.



Stefan Brüne of GIZ gives a lecture at the research colloquium on 16 February 2011

*Matenia Sirseldoudi*

- Definitionsmacht im Jihad-Narrativ, Vortrag beim AFK-Kolloquium 2011 „Macht in Konflikten – Macht von Konflikten“, in der Evangelischen Akademie Villigst, 7.-9. April 2011.
- Terroristenbiographien, Vortrag beim 2. Workshop TERAS-INDEX -Terrorismus und Radikalisierung – Indikatoren für externe Einflussfaktoren, Hamburg, 16./17. Juni 2011.
- Westlicher Einfluss und Repression in der arabischen Welt, Vortrag beim 3. Workshop TERAS INDEX – Terrorismus und Radikalisierung – Indikatoren für externe Einflussfaktoren, Bonn, 8./9. Dezember 2011.

Eric van Um

- Security economics in the European context – implications of the EUSECON project, bei der 3. Offenen Sektionstagung Internationale Politik der DVPW, München, 6.-7. Oktober 2011 (mit Michael Brzoska und Raphael Bossong).
- Why militant groups fight each other: The role of support, political objectives and revenge, Präsentation bei einem EUSECON Workshop, DIW Berlin, 8. April 2011.

Wolfgang Zellner

- Externe Demokratisierung in (semi-)autoritären Staaten zwischen normativem Anspruch und realpolitischen Zwängen, Vortrag beim Graduiertenkolleg „Verfassung jenseits des Staates. Von der europäischen zur globalen Rechtsgemeinschaft?“ an der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, 12. Januar 2011.
- Zukunft des europäischen Rüstungskontrollregimes, Vortrag im Rahmen einer Anhörung zum Thema „Abrüstung als Krisenprävention“ der Unterausschüsse Abrüstung, Rüstungskontrolle und Nichtverbreitung, Vereinte Nationen, internationale Organisationen und Globalisierung und Zivile Krisenprävention und vernetzte Sicherheit. Berlin, 26. September 2011.
- Exploring New Fields of Cooperation between ARF and OSCE, Vortrag auf dem ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), High-Level Workshop on Confidence-building Measures and Preventive Diplomacy in Asia and Europe, Auswärtiges Amt, Berlin, 28./29. November 2011.

4.7 Functions of IFSH Staff in Professional Bodies*Christian Alwardt*

- Member of the Chair of the Research Association, Natural Sciences, Disarmament and International Security (FONAS)

Michael Brzoska

- Member of the Academy of Sciences in Hamburg
- Chairman Foundation Advisory Board, Deutsche Stiftung Friedensforschung [German Foundation for Peace Research]
- Chairman of the Foundation Council of the Ludwig-Quidde-Foundation
- Member of the Advisory Board, Hamburger Stiftung zur Förderung der Demokratie und des Völkerrechts [Hamburg Foundation for the Promotion of Democracy and International Law]
- Member of the Advisory Board NATO Watch, Brussels
- Member of the Scientific Advisory Board of the Institute for Theology and Peace
- Member of the Board of Directors of the Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker Centre for Science and Peace Research [Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker-Zentrum für Naturwissenschaft und Friedensforschung, Universität Hamburg]
- Corresponding member, Weapons' Export Section, Joint Commission of the Churches for Development Policy
- Editor of the scientific book series „Demokratie, Sicherheit, Frieden (Democracy, Security, Peace)“
- Editor of the journal, „Sicherheit und Frieden (S+F) [Security and Peace]
- Associate Editor of the Journal of Peace Research
- Associate Editor of Economics of Peace and Security Journal

Hans-Georg Ehrhart

- Co-Editor of the textbook series „Elemente der Politik“ [Elements of Politics]“, VS-Publishers Wiesbaden (responsible for international relationships)
- Member of the study group “European integration”
- Member of the Cercle Stratégique Franco-Allemand
- Liaison professor (Vertrauensdozent) of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation
- Member of the Working Group on Security Policy at the Friedrich-Ebert Foundation

Regina Heller

- Member of the Scientific Advisory Board of the Cologne Forum for International Relations and Security Policy, Inc. (KFIBS) e.V.
- Member of the Coordinating Committee of the Minor Course of Studies, Eastern Europe at the University of Hamburg
- Editor of the journal „Sicherheit und Frieden (S+F) [Security and Peace]“

Margret Johannsen

- Co- Editor of the Peace Report

*Martin Kahl*

- Steering Committee for the Security Research Program of the German Government (BMBF)
- Reviewer for the Security Research Program of the BMBF
- Editor in Chief of the journal, „Sicherheit und Frieden (S+F) [Security and Peace]
- Member in the Expert Circle National Contact Point, EU Research Program

Elena Kropatcheva

- Member of the Board of the German-Russian Association in Hamburg

Isabelle Maras

- Member of the Editorial Board of the journal *Eyes on Europe* (IEE, Université Libre de Bruxelles).

Naida Mehmedbegović Dreilich

- Coordinator of the Academic Network South East Europe

Oliver Meier

- International representative and correspondent, U.S. Arms Control Association

Götz Neuneck

- Board of Trustees German Physics Association (DPG)
- Speaker for the Research Group on Physics and Disarmament of the German Physical Society
- Member of the Executive Council on „Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs“
- Member of the Scientific Advisory Board of the German Foundation for Peace Research [Deutschen Stiftung Friedensforschung] (DSF)
- Co-Chairman of the Research Association, Natural Sciences, Disarmament and International Security (FONAS)
- Member of the Advisory Board of the IPPNW
- Pugwash Representative of the Federation of German Scientists [Vereinigung Deutscher Wissenschaftler](VDW)
- Member of the Working Group “Fissile Material Cut-off” of the Federal Foreign Office
- Amaldi Representative of the Academy of Sciences

Patricia Schneider

- Editor and Co-Publisher of the journal „Sicherheit und Frieden (S+F)“ [Security and Peace]
- Co-Leader of the Hamburg group with the leadership of a monthly doctoral colloquium of THESIS – Interdisciplinary Network for Doctoral Candidates
- Managing director of THESIS – Interdisciplinary Network for Doctoral Candidates

Wolfgang Zellner

- Member of the Editorial Board of the journal *Helsinki Monitor. Security and Human Rights*
- Member of the Advisory Board of the journal *Wissenschaft & Frieden [Science & Peace]*.

Guests at the 40th
Anniversary of
the IFSH:

Top left:
Prof. Helmut
Greve,
Vicepresident of
the University
Hans Siegfried
Stiehl; top right:
Antje Möller,
Rolf von Lüde,
Barbara Duden;
bottom left: Jür-
gen Lüthje, Ro-
land Salchow;
bottom right:
Herbert Wulf,
Volker Matthies





5. Teaching and Promotion of Junior Researchers

The „Master of Peace and Security Studies“ at the University of Hamburg, conducted in cooperation with IFSH since 2002, is at the heart of academic teaching and coaching at IFSH. Almost all members of the scientific staff at the Institute are involved in teaching and mentoring in this course of studies. The Master's program has been unconditionally accredited until 2011. In January 2012 the inspection for re-accreditation will take place.

Beyond this Master's program, IFSH supports a comprehensive program to promote junior scientific staff development. IFSH attaches particular importance to the advancement of women. Among



Christoph Bertram giving a lecture on „The Crux of Scientific Policy Consultation“ at the MPS ceremony (11 October 2011)

the traditional components of teaching and coaching are the cooperation of recognized junior scientists in third-party funded research and consultation projects, the integration of student assistants into the scientific and academic work of the Institute as well as the training of interns. In 2011 34 students (19 female, 15 male) completed an internship at IFSH (distribution over the work areas: ZEUS: 26, CORE: 5, IFAR²:3).

IFSH works cooperatively with, to mention just a few examples, the European „Human Rights and Democratization program“ (Venice), and the Eastern European program at the University of Hamburg. Within the

framework of the cooperation with the East China Normal University (ECNU) in Shanghai, agreed upon in 2007, Michael Brzoska held lectures at the ECNU in November 2011.

In the reporting period, staff members at IFSH have, in addition to their teaching (for details on courses run by the Institute's scientific staff, see Chapter 5.5 and the statistical annex), written numerous first and second assessments for diploma and master's theses, conducted diploma and master's exams and taken part in doctoral procedures. Regina Heller was responsible for the organization and implementation of the weekly research colloquium of the Institute. Michael Brzoska directs the doctoral candidates' colloquium.

5.1 Degree Course „Master of Peace and Security Studies (M.P.S.)“ at the University of Hamburg

In October 2011, the 10th academic year of the M.P.S. Master's program began with student orientation and an excursion to Berlin.

On 11 October 2011 the 9th graduating class was bid farewell in an official ceremony. 23 graduates from eight countries (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Germany, Ireland, Japan, Moldova, Nigeria, Portugal and Switzerland) received their Master's diplomas: Lisa Acker, Anna-Karina Bayer, Kirsten Alexandra Eberhardt, Kenneth Gbandi, Mélanie Gerber, Ellen Holder, Yumi Igarashi, Daniel Köhler, Kristian Kouros, Daniel Kulms, Fabian Kümmeler, Katryna Martens, Edith Novy, Nerkez Opačin, Stefanie Probst, Cátia Ranchordas Dawood, Victoria Redmond, Nicolai Rudac, Fereshta Sahrai, Rebecca Maria Schmitz, Kristina Tonn und Julia von Studzinski. One student will only be able to finish her studies at the beginning of 2012 due to illness. Mirjam Mahler, from the 8th class, became a mother for the second time during that scholastic year and therefore finished her studies in 2011.

After introductions by Professor Holger Fischer, Vice-President of the University of Hamburg and Dr Kristina Böhlke, State Secretary of the Ministry for Science and Research of the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg, Dr Christoph Bertram, Foundation Council Chairman of the „Berlin Institute for Population and Development“ and columnist for Zeitonline, gave a lecture on the topic of „The Crux of Scientific Policy Consultation“.



For the 10th academic year 2011/2012 26 students from 13 countries were enrolled (Austria, Australia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, China, Croatia, Denmark, Germany, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Lithuania, and Mexico); the percentage of women was just under 77 % (20 students). This program is conducted by the University of Hamburg in cooperation with the IFSH as well as with 15 other research and academic teaching institutions of the Cooperation Network of Peace Research and Security Policy (KoFrieS), including the Association of Friends and former M.P.S. students. The Bundeswehr named a female Major as a participant in the course.

Coordination of the content and organization of the program is the responsibility of IFSH, which also headed the M.P.S. program in this reporting year. Director of Studies is Götz Neuneck. The academic coordinator in 2010 was Naida Mehmedbegović-Dreilich. Members of the program's joint committee included the Scientific Director of IFSH, Michael Brzoska (Chair), Götz Neuneck and Wolfgang Zellner. On the admissions committee and on the board of examiners for the course of studies, besides the persons named above, was Naida Mehmedbegović-Dreilich. In addition there are external members from the participating departments of the University of Hamburg and the cooperating institutions (KoFrieS).



The new Master of Peace and Security Studies 2011

Institutional members of the Cooperation Network Peace Research and Security Policy (KoFrieS) are, in addition to IFSH (ZEUS, CORE and IFAR):

- Institute for International Law of Peace and Armed Conflict, Ruhr University Bochum;
- Bonn International Center for Conversion (BICC);
- Berghof Conflict Research, Berlin;
- Peace Research Institute Frankfurt (HSFK);
- Institute for Theology and Peace, Hamburg;
- German Armed Forces Command and Staff College (FüAk), Hamburg;
- Protestant Institute for Interdisciplinary Research (FEST), Heidelberg;
- Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker-Zentrum für Naturwissenschaft und Friedensforschung, Hamburg (ZNF);
- German Institute of Global and Area Studies, Hamburg (GIGA);
- Institute for Development and Peace (INEF) at the University of Duisburg-Essen;
- European Centre for Minority Issues (ECMI), Flensburg;



- International Institute for Politics and Economics, Haus Rissen, Hamburg;
- Center for International Peace Operations (ZIF);
- Institute for Political Science at the Helmut Schmidt University - University of the Federal Armed Forces Hamburg
- Three faculties of the University of Hamburg (law, economic and social sciences and humanities) and the
- M.P.S. Alumni and Friends Association

Dr Axel Krohn (German Armed Forces Command and Staff College) was re-elected by the consortium as representative to the Joint Committee for the study year 2011-2012.

The aim of the two-semester program is to introduce highly qualified graduates in the social or natural sciences, from Germany and abroad, as well as academically qualified practitioners, to a demanding level of peace and security policy research and to the basic principles of practice-oriented methodology. Furthermore, the goal is to communicate methods and results in order to prepare students for jobs in peace research and teaching, or peace and security-policy related careers in national and international organizations, administrations, associations and companies as well as governmental offices. The languages of instruction are German and English. Within the



Götz Neuneck (left) and Vice-President of the University of Hamburg Holger Fischer at the MPS Ceremony

framework of the program, M.P.S. cooperates with other courses of study at the University of Hamburg, among them the “Euromaster”, the „Master of European Studies“ and the Eastern Europe Minor Field Program under the leadership of the Faculty of Law. The first semester is comprised of a modular teaching program, consisting of six modules: international peace and security policy; international law on peace and armed conflict; natural sciences and peace; peace ethics; economic globalization and conflicts; and a cross-sectional module. The second semester consists of theoretical and practice-oriented modules. The students take intensive courses that prepare them for the topics of their

Master’s theses. The institutes and organizations, which are part of the Cooperation Network, act, in accordance with their research profile, as the resident institutes for the students in the second semester. At the same time, they offer students a link between their studies and future career plans after successful completion of the program.

In 2011 the program was funded by various scholarships and grants. We would like to make special mention of the support provided by the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) and the Peace Research Sponsoring Association (VFIF).

5.2 European Course of Studies „Human Rights and Democratization“(Venice)

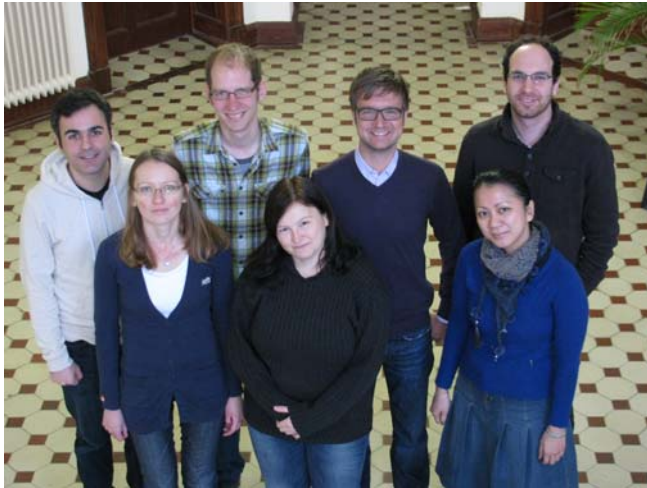
For many years, the University of Hamburg has participated in this post- graduate degree program supported by 40 universities and institutes in EU countries. Since 2006, the university has awarded a joint diploma as one of – currently - six universities. IFSH performed teaching, supervisory and examination tasks for the University of Hamburg within the framework of this program. Among these tasks are the seminars in Venice during the winter semester as well as teaching and supervisory tasks in the function as a resident institute for program participants during the second semester. Three students, Mariana Groba Gomes, Matti Inkeroinen and Sofia Antunes Lopez, was at IFSH and at the University of Hamburg during the 2011 summer semester. She was supervised by Michael Brzoska, Hans-Georg Ehrhart, Regina Heller and Martin Kahl. Hans-Joachim Gießmann was responsible as E.M.A Director for the participation of the University of Hamburg in this degree program. Diana Digol, Naida Mehmedbegović Dreilich and Regina Heller took over coordination for IFSH.



5.3 Teaching and Doctoral Cooperation with the East China Normal University (ECNU), Shanghai

The cooperation between the ECNU, IFSH and the University of Hamburg, agreed upon in October 2007 was continued in the reporting period. In November 2011, Michael Brzoska held lectures at the ECNU. The Chinese partner also sent two students to the Master of European Studies-Program of the School of Business, Economics, and Social Sciences of the University of Hamburg.

5.4 The IFSH Doctoral Supervision Program



IFSH doctoral candidates: Sebastian Schiek, Hendrik Hegemann, Ulrich Kühn, Eric van Um, Elena Kulipanova, Denise Völker, Fifi Muhibat (from top left to bottom right).)

The aim of this program is to enable doctoral students to successfully complete their dissertations under the intensive supervision of experienced IFSH researchers and, at the same time, to give them the opportunity of acquiring the key qualifications needed to carry out job-related activities within and outside of scientific/ research institutes. Depending on the topics of their dissertations, the students are integrated into one of the IFSH research units, so that they are able to actively participate in the scientific and academic life of the Institute. Regular doctoral seminars and weekly research colloquiums offer two platforms for the exchange of scientific views and the presentation of preliminary

results. To be able to enter the program, students are required to have a degree in natural or social sciences with an above-average grade point average, a broad knowledge of the basic principles of peace research and to have chosen a peace research-related topic for their dissertations. The IFSH cannot support dissertation work; however, support is given for applications to relevant foundations and institutions. Most doctoral students are affiliated with the University of Hamburg, but this is not a condition for participation in the PhD programme. Responsible for the program in the reporting period was Michael Brzoska, who also led the doctoral students' seminar.

5.5 Teaching by IFSH Staff in 2010

Winter semester 2010/2011

- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Seminar, „Neustart der Abrüstung? Globale und regionale Rüstungskontrolle in Europa“ (Christian Alwardt, Ulrich Kühn, Götz Neuneck, Wolfgang Zellner)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Vorlesung und Übung „Politische Ökonomie von Konflikten, Kriegen, Terrorismus und Rüstung“ (Michael Brzoska)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Vorlesung und Übung „Disziplinäre Methoden und interdisziplinäre Friedens- und Sicherheitsforschung“ (Mitveranstalter Michael Brzoska)
- Universität Hamburg/NF-Osteuropa/MPS/Euromaster, Seminar „Russland und der Westen: Russische Außenpolitik seit dem Ende des Ost-West-Konflikts“ (Regina Heller)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Vorlesung „Die Europäische Union als außen-, sicherheits- und friedenspolitischer Akteur“ (Hans-Georg Ehrhart)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Vertiefungsseminar, Blocklehrveranstaltung „Der Nahostkonflikt in den Internationalen Beziehungen“ (Margret Johannsen)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Vorlesung „Einführung in die Sicherheitspolitik“ (Martin Kahl)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Orientierungsveranstaltung „Disziplinäre Methoden der Friedens- und Konfliktforschung I“ (Martin Kahl)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Übung „Wissenschaftliches Schreiben“ (Anna Kreikemeyer)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Blocklehrveranstaltung „Internal challenges for the security of the Russian Federation“ (Elena Kropatcheva)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Blocklehrveranstaltung „International Politics in Central Asia“ (Lena Kulipanova)



- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S, Blocklehrveranstaltung „European Civilian Crisis Management Under Scrutiny: Confronting Political Pleas with Operational Practice“ (Isabelle Maras)
- Universität Hamburg, Arbeitsstelle Studium und Beruf, Seminar „Interkulturelle Kompetenz“ (Naida Mehmedbegović Dreilich)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S, Blocklehrveranstaltung (Berlin-Exkursion) „Deutsche Außenpolitik zwischen globalem Engagement und nationalen Interessen“ (Naida Mehmedbegović Dreilich)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S, Blocklehrveranstaltung „Intercultural Communication and Cooperation“ (Naida Mehmedbegović Dreilich)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S, Blocklehrveranstaltung „Bosnien und Herzegowina 15 Jahre nach Dayton: ein Land auf dem Scheideweg (Akademisches Netzwerk Südosteuropa, Teil 1)“ (Dennis Gratz, Naida Mehmedbegović Dreilich)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S. in Kooperation mit der Universität Sarajewo/Akademisches Netzwerk Südosteuropa, Seminar „General Elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Opportunity or Challenge for Internal and Regional Stability?“ (Patricia Schneider/Naida Mehmedbegović Dreilich)
- Hochschule für Angewandte Wissenschaften (HOPIKOS). Blockveranstaltung/Training „Interkulturelle Kompetenz“, (Naida Mehmedbegović Dreilich)
- Leuphana Universität Lüneburg, Blocklehrveranstaltung/Training „Erfolgreich im interkulturellen Kontext – Interkulturelle Kompetenz“ (Naida Mehmedbegović Dreilich)
- TU Hamburg Harburg, Blockseminar „Ethics For Engineers: Moral Issues in Scientific Work“ (Oliver Meier, Iris Hunger)
- Universität Hamburg, Vorlesung „Naturwissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Friedensforschung“ (Martin Kalinowski, Götz Neuneck)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S, Vertiefungsseminar „Abrüstung und Rüstungskontrolle in Europa: Stand und aktuelle Entwicklungen“ (Götz Neuneck, Wolfgang Zellner)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S, Vertiefungsseminar „Neustart der Abrüstung? Globale und regionale Rüstungskontrolle in Europa“ (Christian Alwardt, Ulrich Kühn, Götz Neuneck, Wolfgang Zellner)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S, Methodenseminar im Propädeutikum, Modul 3 (Naturwissenschaft und Friedensforschung) (Götz Neuneck, Martin Kalinowski, Anna Zmorynska)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Orientierungseinheit (Götz Neuneck, Naida Mehmedbegović Dreilich)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S, Blocklehrveranstaltung „Terrorismus und liberale Demokratie“ (Daniela Pisoiu)
- Leuphana Universität Lüneburg, Seminar „Einführung in die internationalen Beziehungen“ (Sybille Reinke de Buitrago)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Seminar „Krieg und Frieden verstehen auf der Basis clausewitzschen Denkens“ (Johann Schmid)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Vertiefungsseminar „Europäische Sicherheitspolitik: OSZE“ (Wolfgang Zellner)



MPS academic coordinator Naida Mehmedbegović Dreilich

Summer semester 2011

- Universität Hamburg, Hauptseminar „The European Union as an Actor for Peace and Security“ (Michael Brzoska)
- TU Hamburg-Harburg, Blockseminar „The Politics of Science“ (Anne Finger)
- Universität Hamburg, Arbeitsstelle Studium und Beruf, Seminar „Interkulturelle Kompetenz“ (Naida Mehmedbegović Dreilich)
- Hochschule für Angewandte Wissenschaften (HOPIKOS). Blockveranstaltung/Training „Interkulturelle Kompetenz“, (Naida Mehmedbegović Dreilich) 2 SWS
- Leuphana Universität Lüneburg, Blocklehrveranstaltung/Training „Erfolgreich im interkulturellen Kontext – Interkulturelle Kompetenz“ (Naida Mehmedbegović Dreilich)
- Universität Hamburg, Department Physik, Proseminar „Kernenergie – Atome für den Frieden? Physikalische Grundlagen, zivile und militärische Anwendungen“ (Götz Neuneck, Dieter Engels, Hartwig Spitzer, Jürgen Scheffran)
- Quo vadis Europe? Common Security in Europe in the 21st Century: Brüssel-Exkursion, Seminar Guidance Bonn, Eschweiler, Geilenkirchen, Brüssel, Brunssum, 17.-22.07.2011 (Johann Schmid, Patricia Schneider)

Winter semester 2011/2012

- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Seminar „Peace and Security Studies: Friedenspolitische und technische Aspekte im Hinblick auf eine nuklearwaffenfreie Welt“ (Christain Alwardt, Götz Neuneck, Anne Finger und Martin Kalinowski)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Vorlesung und Übung „Politische Ökonomie von Konflikten, Kriegen. Terrorismus und Rüstung“ (Michael Brzoska)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Vorlesung und Übung „Disziplinäre Methoden und interdisziplinäre Friedens- und Sicherheitsforschung“ (Michael Brzoska)



- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Vorlesung „Die EU als außen-, sicherheits- und friedenspolitischer Akteur“ (Hans-Georg Ehrhart)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Blockseminar „Aufstandsbekämpfung: Weg zum Frieden oder politische Illusion?“ (Hans-Georg Ehrhart/Johann Schmid)
- TU Hamburg-Harburg, Blockseminar „Ethics for Engineers“ (Anne Finger)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Übung „Wissenschaftliches Schreiben“ (Anne Finger)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Vertiefungsseminar „Der Nahostkonflikt in den Internationalen Beziehungen“ (Margret Johannsen)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Vorlesung „Einführung in die Sicherheitspolitik“ (Martin Kahl)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Orientierungskurs „Disziplinäre Methoden der Friedens- und Sicherheitspolitik“ (Martin Kahl)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., „Einführung in Wissenschaftliche Methoden“ (Martin Kahl)
- Hochschule für Angewandte Wissenschaften (HOPIKOS). Blockveranstaltung/Training „Interkulturelle Kompetenz“, (Naida Mehmedbegović Dreilich)
- Leuphana Universität Lüneburg, Blocklehrveranstaltung/Training „Erfolgreich im interkulturellen Kontext – Interkulturelle Kompetenz“ (Naida Mehmedbegović Dreilich)
- Universität Hamburg, Arbeitsstelle Studium und Beruf, Seminar „Interkulturelle Kompetenz“ (Naida Mehmedbegović Dreilich)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Blockseminar (Berlin-Exkursion) „Deutsche Außenpolitik zwischen globalem Engagement und nationalen Interessen (Naida Mehmedbegović Dreilich)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Blockseminar, „Intercultural Communication and Cooperation“ (Naida Mehmedbegović Dreilich)
- Universität Hamburg, M.P.S., Vorlesung „Naturwissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Friedensforschung“ (Götz Neuneck, Martin Kalinowski)
- Universität Hamburg, M.P.S., Methodenseminar im Propädeutikum (Götz Neuneck, Martin Kalinowski und Anna Zmorynska)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Orientierungseinheit (Götz Neuneck, Naida Mehmedbegović Dreilich)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Blockseminar „Cyber Attacks – Hype oder neue Bedrohung?“ (Götz Neuneck)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Blockseminar „Unendliche Weiten – Frieden und Krieg im All: Ist Rüstungskontrolle im Weltraum möglich?“ (Götz Neuneck, Thomas Reinhold)
- Leuphana Universität Lüneburg, USAC, Seminar „International Affairs since 1945“ (Sybille Reinke de Buitrago)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Seminar „Wer Frieden will, verstehe den Krieg!“ Krieg und Frieden verstehen auf der Basis clausewitzschen Denkens (Johann Schmid)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Blockseminar, Einführung in die Terrorismusforschung (Matenia Sirseldoudi)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Vertiefungsseminar „Europäische Sicherheitspolitik: OSZE“ (Wolfgang Zellner)

Training and Continuing Education, Guest Lectures

- Leuphana – Universität, Lüneburg, Vorlesung „The EU Police Missions: The 'European Way' to Address Policing Issues in a Post-Conflict Context“ (29.11.2011), University Studies Abroad Consortium (Isabelle Maras)
- „Interkulturelle Praktikumvorbereitung“, Training bei. InWent (Internationale Weiterbildung und Entwicklung GmbH (Naida Mehmedbegović Dreilich)





6. Services

6.1 Public Relations

In accordance with the charter of the ISFH, the Institute, in addition to focusing on peace research activities (strictly speaking), is to dedicate itself to “taking inventory of and continuously informing itself of strategic thinking [...] by way of lectures, newspaper and journal articles, radio and television programs, and the publication of its own scientific series” (quantitative data on the relevant activities is provided in detail in the statistical annex).

In 2011 a large number of requests were directed to the Institute. The circle of those inquiring was wide and mirrored the great public interest in the work of the IFSH. The media, in particular, was, of course, responsible for a high percentage of inquiries for background information, interviews and written reports. Radio stations – public-statutory as well as private – and the print media were responsible for the bulk of this public presence, but IFSH was also present on television.

During the reporting period, Institute staff members were interviewees and guests of the following television stations or programs: ARD (Tagesthemen, Monitor, Panorama, Kontraste), Eins extra, ZDF (heute, Frontal 21), NDR, 3SAT, RTL and Phönix.



Lecture by Anja Hajduk at the IFSH (9 February 2011)

The radio departments of NDR, WDR, HR, BR, SWR, MDR, SR, RBB and Radio Bremen were as much a part of the circle of the IFSH’s frequent “media customers” – as Deutschlandradio (German Radio), Deutschlandfunk (German Wireless) and Deutsche Welle. In addition, there were numerous queries from private radio stations and news agencies (dpa, Reuters dapd etc.). IFSH staff members were represented with articles and interviews in the following print media: Hamburger Abendblatt, taz, Freie Presse Chemnitz, Frankfurter Rundschau, Kieler Nachrichten, WAZ, tz München, Mitteldeutsche Zeitung, Spiegel-online, Der Tagesspiegel, Saarbrücker Zeitung, Freitag, Financial Times Deutschland, Zeitonline, Thüringer All-

gemeine, Neues Deutschland und FAZ am Sonntag. There were also international “appearances” in the Wiener Zeitung, Basler Zeitung, The European, St. Gallerer Tageblatt, Kurier (Wien) and Schweizer Fernsehen.

Beyond the media requests, the Institute has received requests for lecturers and material, from workers’ unions, political parties and their youth organizations, adult education centers, schools, church groups, Federal Armed Forces’ institutions and peace groups, among others.

Thematically speaking, the requests in 2011 have concentrated primarily on current conflicts. Here, should be mentioned, above all, Cybersecurity, piracy, questions of radicalization and combating terrorism, the Iranian nuclear program, Afghanistan, arms control in Europe and the European security architecture, especially the relationship between Russia and the West, the „Arab Spring“, the NATO intervention in Libya, the Israel-Palestinian conflict, and the Bundeswehr deployments abroad.

The rubric “Statements and Opinions” on the Institute Website reflects these topics, among others: http://ifsh.de/IFSH_php/akt_stellungnahmen_engl.php.

6.2 Peace Research Sponsoring Association (VFIF)

The Peace Research Sponsoring Association (VFIF) was founded on 28 January 1997 at the initiative of Dr Heinz Liebrecht and the then-member of the Hamburg State Parliament, Georg Berg.

The association endeavors to support the Institute’s work by acting as a broker, sharing results with the political and public spheres and raising additional funds. Members are invited to the events of IFSH and the Association and receive the newsletter, “IFSH-News”.



The board of directors consists of the following members:

Reinhard Mutz (Chairperson)
 Andrea Wist (Deputy Chairperson)
 Prof. Dr. Herbert Wulf (Secretary)
 Prof. Dr. Hans-Joachim Gießmann (Treasurer)
 Prof. Dr. Michael Brzoska (IFSH Director)

In the reporting period, the Association supported some events of the Institute and was involved, above all, in promoting young academics, *inter alia*, through the establishment of grants for M.P.S. students and postgraduates, and the allocation of travel costs.

6.3 Library, Documentation and Homepage

Library

The IFSH Library is open primarily to IFSH scholars, PhD students and the students of the MPS program and to the staff of the Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker Centre for Science and Peace Research (ZNF). However, the library may also be used by students of the University of Hamburg and the interested public.

The library collection comprises 29,351 volumes and 117 magazines (as of 31.12.2011). There was a total of 608 acquisitions, 53 of which were acquired through third-party funding and 409 of which were donated or acquired via exchange of literature. 231 volumes and 153 articles were borrowed from libraries in Hamburg or obtained through inter-library loan services and document delivery services.

The Library's collection has been accessible through the campus catalogue of the University of Hamburg – selections of the inventory of the library since 1971 and the complete inventory since 1994. In the long term, it is planned that the inventory acquired before 1994 also be completely incorporated into the campus catalogue.



Part of the IFSH Library is the OSCE Depository Library

Documentation Unit

Since 2000 the IFSH has participated in the “World Affairs Online – Expert Information Network on International Politics and Regional Geography” (FIV) – a cooperative network of one Scandinavian and twelve independent German research institutes.

The joint project of these institutes is the data base, World Affairs Online (WAO), which is one of the largest social science literature data bases in Europe. It has some 700,000 literature references – especially journal articles and book sections as well as gray literature – with a thematic focus on global and regional foreign and security policy as well as economic and social developments. The shared network of the FIV makes the documentation of IFSH literature on the OSCE as well as in-house publications accessible.

Since 2003 the IFSH has been involved in the development and maintenance of a professional information guide for internet sources in the area of peace research and security policy, initiated by the State and University Library of Hamburg within the framework of the project, “Virtual Specialized Library” supported by the German Research Foundation (DFG). Links can be viewed at <http://www.vifapol.de/systematik/pea/>. Within this framework the IFSH is also a collaborating partner of the network.

Two data banks, established in the course of the joint project with the Graduate Institute of International Studies (Geneva), which ended in 2008, are integrated into the CORE Homepage. Refer-



ences for over 3,600 OSCE and CSCE-related books and articles, as well as a multitude of internet sources with information on the OSCE countries are available there.

Homepage

The Internet presence of the Institute was fundamentally redesigned in 2011 and the layout was modernized. In the course of the redesign, the areas for “Projects” and “Research” were clearly highlighted in order to present the comprehensive activities of the Institute on an appropriate scale. There is now a quickly accessible comprehensive description of every one of the larger projects with third-party funding. The pages on research were also expanded and now enable visitors to the homepage to find a detailed overview of the various research clusters, publications and research-related activities at the Institute.

A redesign of websites of the research units ZEUS, CORE and IFAR is planned for next year.



Uwe Polley in the library stacks



7. Personnel and Bodies

The Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg (ISFH) is a civil law foundation. The Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg, represented by the Ministry for Science and Research, supports the foundation. The organs of the Institute are as follows: Chair of the Foundation, Board of Trustees, Scientific Advisory Board, and Institute Council. The Chair of the foundation is the Scientific Director.

7.1 Board of Trustees

According to the By-Laws of IFSH, the following are members of the Board of Trustees: The Head of the Ministry responsible for science and research as the Chairperson, the President of the University of Hamburg, four representatives named by the University of Hamburg, up to three representatives from public life in Hamburg, who are chosen by the Board of Trustees, as well as the Chairperson of the Scientific Advisory Board.

The **Board of Trustees** of the IFSH convened twice in the annual report period. In 2011, it comprised the following members:

- *Dr Dorothee Stapelfeldt*, Senator for Science and Research of the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg (Chair)
- *Prof. Dr.-Ing. H. Siegfried Stiehl*, Vice President of the University of Hamburg (Deputy Chair)
- *Niels Annen*, former MP
- *Prof. Dr Leoni Dreschler-Fischer*, Department of Informatics, Research Area Cognitive Systems
- *Jasper Finkeldey*, Student Representative
- *Prof. Dr Cord Jakobeit*, Chairperson of the Scientific Advisory Board
- *Prof. Dr Martin Kalinowski*, ZNF
- *Antje Möller*, Member of the Hamburg State Parliament
- *Prof. Dr Rolf von Lüde*, Department of Social Sciences, Institute for Sociology
- *Berndt Röder*, former President of the Hamburg State Parliament (until June 2011)



Opening words of the chairperson of the Board of Trustees, Senator Dorothee Stapelfeldt at the 40th anniversary of the IFSH

7.2 Scientific Advisory Board

In the reporting period the **Scientific Advisory Board** convened once. In 2011, it comprised the following members:

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



Professor Michael Staack is a member of the Scientific Advisory Board

7.3 Institute Council

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



7.4. Gender equality

During the reporting period the gender equality officer of the IFSH presented the Equality Report. It can be viewed on the Institute Website under: <http://www.ifsh.de/index.php/gleichstellungsbericht.html>.

7.5 Staff Members at the IFSH 2011:

Institute Administration:

Director: Professor Dr Michael Brzoska

Deputy Director: Professor Dr Götz Neuneck

Deputy Director: Dr Wolfgang Zellner

Senior Researchers:

Dr Hans-Georg Ehrhart

Dr Regina Heller

Dr Martin Kahl

Ursel Schlichting, M.A.

Dr Patricia Schneider

Scientific Staff:

Christian Alwardt, Dipl. Phys.

Dr Raphael Bossong

Dr Diana Digol (until May 2011)

Dr Frank Evers

Anne Finger, Dipl.-Pol.

Hendrik Hegemann, M.A. (December 2011)

Dr Anna Kreikemeyer

Dr Elena Kropatcheva

Katarzyna Kubiak, Dipl. oec., M.P.S. (since November 2011)

Ulrich Kühn, M.A., M.P.S. (until August and since November 2011)

Naida Mehmedbegović Dreilich, M.A., M.P.S.

Dr Oliver Meier

Kerstin Pertermann, M.A. (since May 2011)

Kerstin Petretto, M.A.

Dr Daniela Pisoiu

Sebastian Schiek, Dipl. Pol. (since November 2011)

Matenia Sirseloudi, M.A.

Eric van Um, M.A., M.P.S.

Denise Völker, Dipl.-Ing., M.P.S.

Information Officer:

Susanne Bund

Representative of the Armed Forces:

Lieutenant-colonel in General Staff Dr Johann Schmid (since July 2010)

Senior Research Fellows:

Dr Margret Johannsen

PD Dr Reinhard Mutz

Professor Dr. Jürgen Scheffran

Dr Arne C. Seifert

Professor Dr Kurt P. Tudyka

Fellows:

Dr David Aphrasidze

Dr Heiko Fürst

Dr Stephan Hensell



Regina Heller is senior researcher and Gender Equality Officer



Dr Sybille Reinke de Buitrago

Guest Scholars:

Sabina Cudic (until February 2011)
Pavel Dvořák (April – July 2011)
Major Elvir Huskanovic (until March 2011)
Shafiah F. Muhibat
He Qisong (September-November 2011)
Dr Zhao Zhen (since October 2011)
Oleksandr Zhytnyk (since October 2011)

Doctoral Candidates:

Dauren Akberdiyev (since April 2011)
Christian Alwardt, Dipl. Phys.
Dennis Bangert, Dipl. soz. ök.
Andreas Bernath
Alexandr Burilkov (external)
Sabina Cudic, M.A. (external)
Anne Finger, Dipl.-Pol.
Thorsten Geise, Dipl. Pol., M.P.S (external)
Hendrik Hegemann, M.A.
Gunnar Jeremias, Dipl. Pol., M.P.S.
Carlo Koos, M.A., M.P.S. (since October 2011) (external)
Katarzyna Kubiak, Dipl. oec., M.P.S. (since February 2011))
Ulrich Kühn, M.A., M.P.S.
Elena Kulipanova, M.A., M.P.S.
Isabelle Maras, M.A.
Naida Mehmedbegović Dreilich, M.A., M.P.S.
Shafiah F. Muhibat
Katja Munoz, M.A.
Dieter Riedel (since April 2011)
Sebastian Schiek, Dipl. Pol.
Isabelle Tannous, M.A. (external)
Eric van Um, M.A., M.P.S.
Denise Völker, Dipl.-Ing., M.P.S.

Support:

Daniela Antons
Polina Baigárova (until July 2011)
Alexander Benthien (until March 2011)
Corinna Bock (since October 2011)
Jerome Cholet
Magali Hélène Dietrich (since July 2011)
Helga Eckardt (until March, May 2011)
Nina Elena Eggers (until September 2011)
Fabian Giglmaier (until March 2011)
Anna-Lena Hildebrandt (since July 2011)
Lena Jehle (until March, May 2011)
Barbara Kauffmann (until June 2011)
Kristian Kouros (April-Mai 2011)
Dan Krause (June-September 2011)
Tim Kröger
Inga Matthes (until August 2011)
Oliver Müser (until April 2011)
Tamara Nathan (since March 2011)
Abd ElKader Niang (until March 2011)



Oleksandr Zhytnyk,
Baudissin Fellow 2011



Mona Peter
Ilyas Saliba (until February 2011)
Johanna Stolze (until September 2011)
Selma Toporan (until August 2011)

Secretariat:

Madeleine Köhler (since June 2011 in parental leave)
Franziska Wellner (since March 2011)

Editing/Translation:

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

Library:

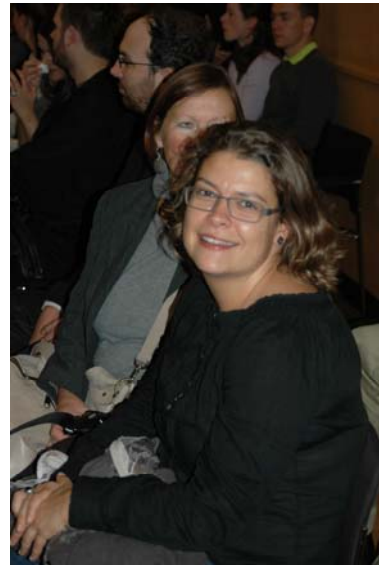
Ute Runge, Dipl. Bibl.

Documentation:

Uwe Polley, Dipl.-Pol.

Administration:

Britta Fisch
Max Paul
Jochen Rasch
Dr. Eckhard Schlopsna
Jutta Stropahl
Carsten Walter



Britta Fisch at the MPS ceremony

More information at:

http://www.ifsh.de/IFSH_english/personal/ma.htm



8. Publications

The members of staff published a total of 10 books in 2011 and, with 197 articles, among them 34 in reviewed journals and books (16 double-blind reviews and 18 peer-reviewed), participated in the public and scientific discourse.

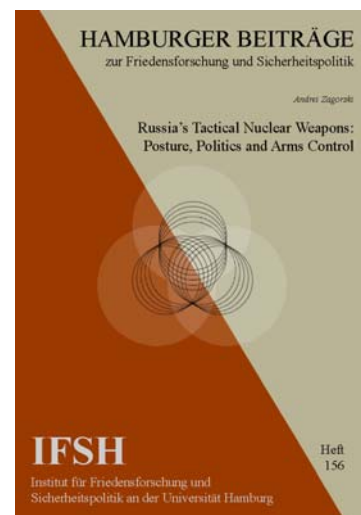
Since 1987, the Institute has been co-publisher of the annual German Peace Report and since 1995 has published the OSCE Yearbook in German, English and Russian.

In addition to the Peace Report and OSCE Yearbook, publishing, editing and text review work is continually undertaken. The editorial office of the journal “S+F. Sicherheit und Frieden/Security and Peace” of the Nomos Publishing Company is resident at IFSH. Editor-in-Chief is Martin Kahl. Regina Heller, Sybille Reinke de Buitrago, and Susanne Bund are members of the editorial team.

The series, “Democracy, Security, Peace” is edited by Michael Brzoska and is overseen editorially by Susanne Bund.

8.1 IFSH Series

The IFSH itself publishes two series for a wider public: the “Hamburger Informationen zur Friedensforschung und Sicherheitspolitik” (Hamburg Information on Peace Research and Security Policy) and the newsletter “IFSH-aktuell” (IFSH News). IFSH News is intended as a brief source of information with current position statements as well as notes on new projects, events, visitors and publications of the Institute. Since 2006 an abridged English version of IFSH News has been available, which is exclusively distributed electronically. IFSH aktuell is put together by Anna Kreikemeyer. Since the activities of the IFSH in the form of lectures and discussion events at the Hamburg Institute itself and the participation of staff members in international conferences have significantly increased, current news about these events are primarily and promptly published on the IFSH Website. Four contributions appeared on the Online rubric “Current Positions” (<http://www.ifsh.de/index.php/stellungnahmen.html>) in 2011. In addition, on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the IFSH, a brochure – “40 Years of the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy” was published, which gave an accounting of the important topics and working areas of the IFSH.



Furthermore, studies and working papers from the IFSH were placed on the net in various formats and, to some extent, printed in smaller quantities. Among these are – in addition to the Hamburger Beiträge (Hamburg Contributions to Peace Research and Security Policy), *Working Papers* of the Research Units CORE, IFAR and ZEUS as well as the PiraT project.

In the reporting period seven articles appeared in the online rubric “Statements and Opinions” http://www.ifsh.de/IFSH_english/publikationen/hambinfo.htm

All IFSH series are on the Institute’s Homepage and can be read and downloaded (<http://www.ifsh.de/>). They are available in printed form at no cost in limited numbers.

The publications of the Institute receive financial support from the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg.

8.2 Peace Report

Since 1987, IFSH has been co-publisher of the annual [German] *Peace Report*, the joint yearbook of the five scientific Institutes for peace research in the Federal Republic of Germany: IFSH in Hamburg, the Institute for Development and Peace (INEF) in Duisburg, the Protestant Institute for Interdisciplinary Research (FEST) in Heidelberg, the Peace Research Institute Frankfurt (HSFK)



and the Bonn International Center for Conversion (BICC). International conflicts and current threats to peace are continually observed and studied. The opinions of the editors are based on these individual analyses. They collect and weight the results and formulate recommendations for peace and security policy practice with a particular eye to options for action in European and German policy. Beyond assessing developments in political conflict, the *Peace Report* also aims at clarifying the connections between cause and effect, identifying means of resolution and encouraging readers to make their own judgments.

Peace Report 2011

The Arab Spring surprised politics, regional experts and peace researchers. The War against Terror, which trained its sights primarily on Islamic-motivated violence, apparently couldn't imagine that the Arab civil society would free itself from its rulers in revolutionary action. Reason enough for the *Peace Report* to place the Arab upheavals at the beginning of this year's Yearbook and to ask about the role of Europe. Its answers to the upheavals as well as to the repression, civil war and the refugee drama caused by that, show how far European foreign policy still is from being able to act effectively. National unilateralism still dominates. Re-nationalization and populism also affect the Euro crisis.



This is the result arrived at by this year's *Peace Report*, which, in 2011, was able to look back on twenty-five years of publication. The representatives of the five institutes which publish it presented the Yearbook on 24 May 2011 at a Federal Press Conference in Berlin. Following that, they discussed their results and recommendations with Members of Parliament, with the Committees for Defense and for Economic Cooperation and Development, with the Sub-Committees for Human Rights and Humanitarian Aid as well as Civilian Crisis Prevention and Networked Security, with the Transformation Partnership Egypt and Tunisia Departments in the (German) Foreign Ministry, with the Department of Peace Development and Crisis Prevention in the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, with Members of Parliament from Bündnis 90/The Greens, in the Working Group on International Policy and Human Rights, as well as the SPD MPs in the Working Group on International Policy.

Following up on its Arab Spring Spotlight, the *Peace Report* discussed, in its priority chapter, the state of the Peace Project Europe after three years of economic and financial crisis. Integration was, for a long while, considered to be *the* political achievement in a Europe which, for hundreds of years, had been so warlike, yet globalization and migration challenge nation-state societies of Europe. What must happen so that fear and egoism do not develop from the Peace Project? In addition, the *Peace Report* takes stock of the military interventions in Afghanistan and in other armed conflicts or humanitarian catastrophes and studies armament trends, chances for disarmament, the new strategies of NATO as well as the reform of the Bundeswehr.

Never before in its 25 years of existence were so many chapters written by women. The articles from IFSH came from Christian Alwardt, Hans-Georg Ehrhart, Hans-Christian Gils, Margret Johannsen, Anna Kreikemeyer, Elena Kulipanova, Oliver Meier and Götz Neuneck. Co-editing and Coordination was by Margret Johannsen.

8.3 OSCE Yearbook

The variety of topics and the international composition of the group of authors make the OSCE Yearbook a unique source of information for all who deal with the OSCE and questions of European security or are interested in the organization and its tasks. The OSCE Yearbook has been pub-



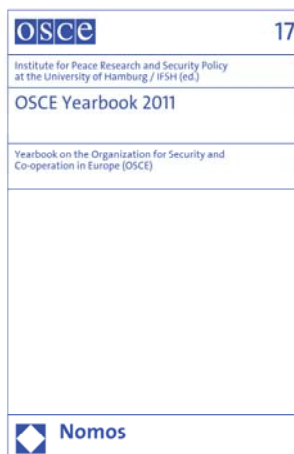
lished by IFSH annually since 1995, in German, English and Russian, in cooperation with Ambassador (retd) Jonathan Dean, Dr Pál Dunay, Prof. Dr Adam Daniel Rotfeld and Dr Andrei Zagorski. The editorial staff is based at the IFSH in Hamburg. Ursel Schlichting, Editor-in-Chief, is assisted in the tasks of editing and translating by Susanne Bund, Graeme Currie, Elena Kropatcheva, Ina Shakhrai, Keith Semple and Uwe Polley. The German and English editions are published by Nomos, Baden-Baden, while the Russian edition is printed by “Prava Cheloveka”, Moscow.

The German Federal Foreign Office funds the printing of the Yearbook and some of the staff costs associated with its production. Additional funds are earmarked for the distribution of free copies to members of parliaments, foreign ministries and OSCE institutions, and to universities, libraries, and other interested institutions. The OSCE Yearbook is used for teaching purposes at universities in CIS countries, at the OSCE Academy in Bishkek, at the MGIMO, and elsewhere. The articles of earlier editions of the OSCE Yearbook are available as complete texts (English and German until 2009) on the CORE-Website, <http://core-hamburg.de>.

Although the OSCE Yearbook is not an official OSCE publication, it has, for many years, enjoyed the support of the organization and its institutions, in particular the OSCE Secretariat in Vienna. Now, for the first time this year, we can look back on a very pleasant and successful cooperation with the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) in putting together the OSCE Yearbook.

OSCE Yearbook 2011

The foreword is by this year’s OSCE Chairman, the Lithuanian Foreign Minister Audronis Ažubalis; Wolfgang Zellner’s obituary of Max van der Stoep, the long-time OSCE High Commissioner for National Minorities, who died in 2011, follows. The chapters for the 2011 OSCE Yearbook, written by internationally renowned scientists, OSCE staff members as well as experienced diplomats, give comprehensive and deep insight into the activities of the largest regional security organization in the world. In the first section, “The OSCE and European Security”, Marc Perrin de Brichambaut first looks back at his six-year tenure as the OSCE Secretary General, before Pál Dunay undertakes an evaluation of the Kazakhstani OSCE Chairmanship in 2010. Ian Cliff’s chapter is dedicated to the continuation of the Corfu Process. In



the chapter on the OSCE participating States, Ian Kelly describes the involvement of the USA in the OSCE region. Elena Kropatcheva discusses the domestic policy development in Belarus after the presidential elections in 2010. Payam Foroughi, in his critical chapter, deals with the state of human rights in Tajikistan and the role of the OSCE.

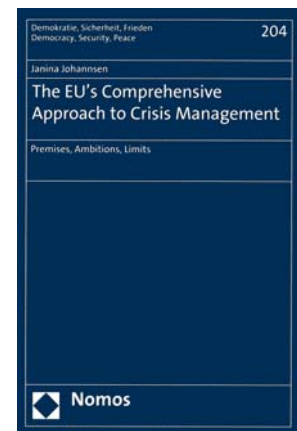
In the section on conflict prevention and dispute settlement, Claudio Formisno and Georgia Tasiopoulou present the work of the OSCE Mission in Kosovo; Claus Neukirch reports on the progress of efforts to resolve the conflict in Moldova. Carel Hofstra deals with the police reform in Armenia and Hans-Joachim Schmidt asks the disquieting question about the possibility of a reigniting of the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh. Finally, Arne C. Seifert provides some insight into the complex political processes in Central Asia.



The comprehensive presentation of the work by Pierre von Arx on the modernization of the Vienna Document on confidence and security building measures is the prelude to the second part of the Yearbook, which deals with the history, tasks and activities of the ODIHR on the occasion of its 20th anniversary. Its Deputy Director, Douglas Wake, first takes a look back to the impressive development of the ODIHR from the small “Office for Free Elections” at the beginning to one of the most successful institutions of the OSCE. Next, Christian Strohal, the long-time Director of the ODIHR, takes a critical look at the situation of human rights after the Astana Summit, while Jens-Hagen Eschenbächer and Bernhard Knoll analyze the immediate results of the summit from a human rights perspective. Detailed chapters on the basic documents on democracy and human rights, the independence of the judiciary in Eastern Europe, in the Caucasus and in Central Asia, the election observer activities of the ODIHR and the related cooperation with the Parliamentary Assembly, support for democracy, the contribution of the OSCE to equal rights, the situation of the Sinti and Roma in the OSCE area, human rights education, the cooperation of the ODIHR with civil society, national human rights organizations as well as the importance of the parliaments in meeting the OSCE obligations in the human rights area (Karin Esposito/Ruben-Erik Diaz-Plaja).

Two chapters deal last, but not least, with the external relations of the OSCE or its participating States. Rita Marascalchi and Oleksandr Pavlyuk discuss the possible effects of the events in North Africa on the collaboration of the OSCE with its Mediterranean Partners for Co-operation, while Timur Dadabaev analyzes the foreign policy of Japan towards Central Asia.

As always, a comprehensive appendix has data and facts on the 56 OSCE participating States, a chronology of the activities and events around the OSCE as well as a current selection of literature. The OSCE Yearbook is intended to contribute to the political and academic discussion on security in the national, regional and international context and to establish close connections between science, politics and the public.



8.4 Publications by IFSH Members of Staff 2011*

IFSH

- Institut für Friedensforschung und Sicherheitspolitik an der Universität Hamburg/ IFSH (Hrsg.), OSZE-Jahrbuch 2010, Baden-Baden 2011.
- Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg/IFSH (ed.), OSCE Yearbook 2010, Baden-Baden 2011.
- Jahresbericht/Annual Report 2010, Hamburg 2010, sowie unter: <http://www.ifsh.de/pdf/jahrbuch/JB2009.pdf> und <http://www.ifsh.de/pdf/jahrbuch/JB2009en.pdf>.
- IFSH-aktuell 85/2011. Januar-Februar 2011. Englische Fassung: IFSH News, unter: <http://www.ifsh.de/pdf/publikationen/ifshaktuell/ifshaktuell85en.pdf>.
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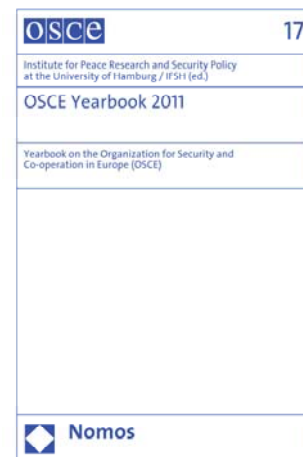
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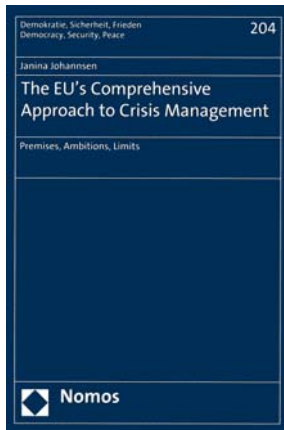
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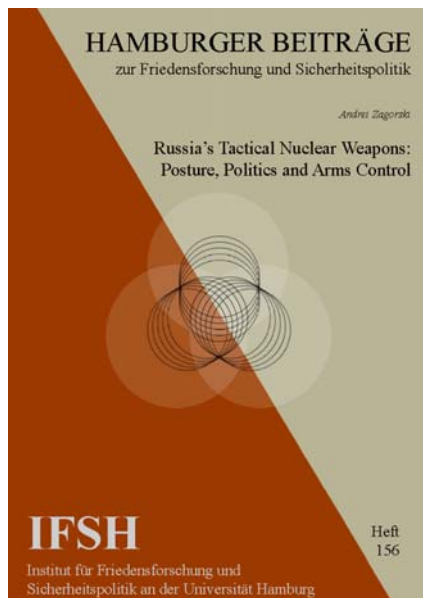


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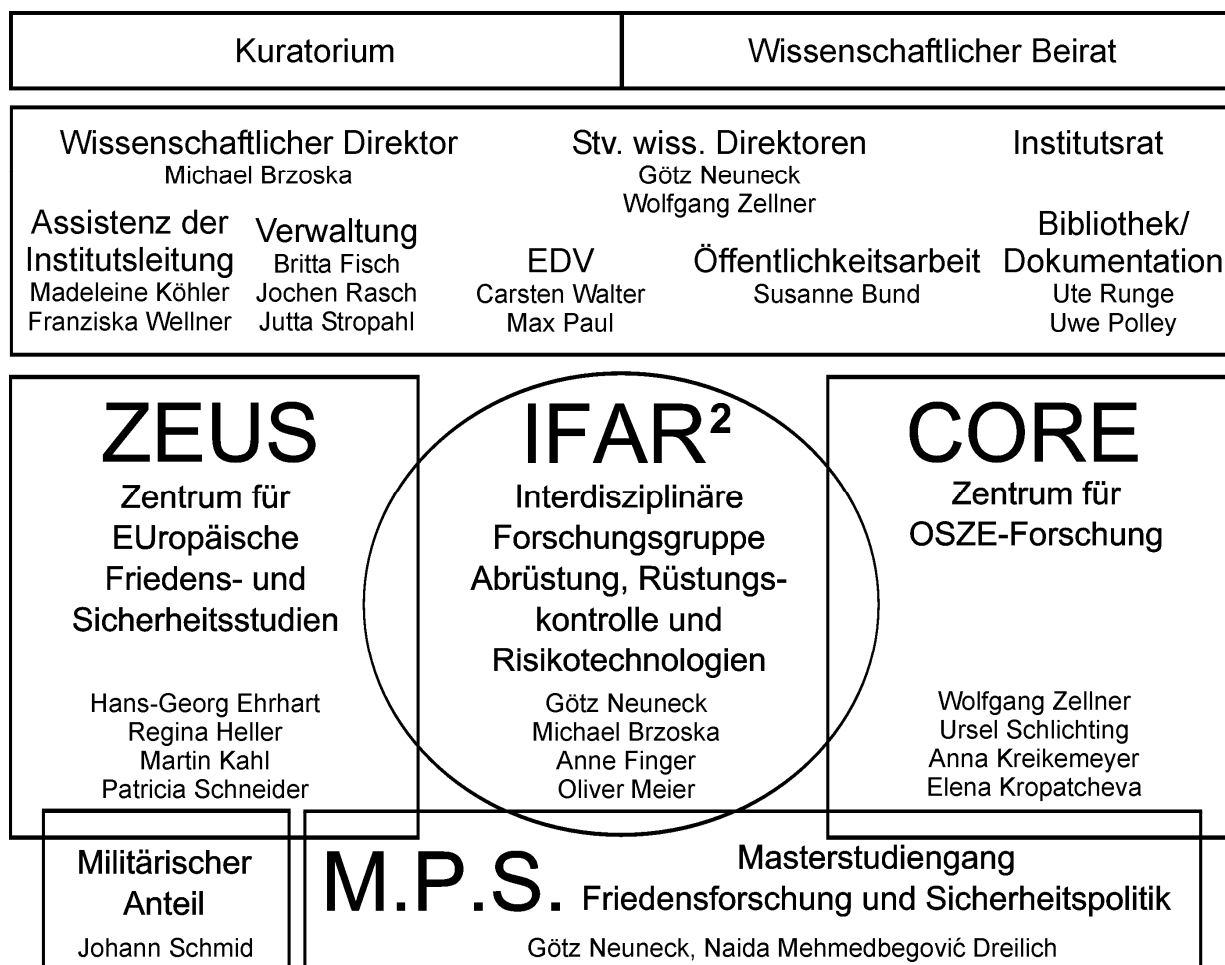




Statistischer Anhang Statistical Annex

Organization Chart

Status 31.12.2011 *



* Beschäftigte laut Stellenplan (einschließlich Teilzeit- und befristet Beschäftigte) ohne Drittmittel- und Honorarkräfte.



Conference and Media Activities

Themen/Topic	Vorträge/ Lectures	Podiumsdisk./ Podium Disc.	Tagungen/ Conferences	Interviews	Gesamt/ Total
Aktuelle sicherheits- politische Fragen (hier auch Terroris- mus)/Current security policy questions (also terrorism)	75	13	52	80	220
Abrüstung/KRST Disarmament/Arms control	17	6	44	33	100
Europ. Sicherheit/ European security	15	-	10	3	28
OSZE/OSCE	4	2	1	-	7
Regionale Konflikte/ Regional conflicts	14	6	5	39	64
Friedensforschung (auch IFSH)/Peace research (also IFSH)	8	3	2	8	21
Sonstiges/Others	6	3	13	20	42
Gesamt/Total	139	33	127	183	482

A Comparison of Conference and Media Activities 2007-2011

Jahr/Year	Vorträge/ Lectures	Podiumsdisk./ Podium Disc.	Tagungen/ Conferences	Interviews
2011	139	33	127	183
2010	118	29	117	190
2009	105	32	90	145
2008	150	37	133	200
2007	165	45	121	263



Number of Research Projects

	2008	Davon extern finanziert/ Externally financed	2009	Davon extern finanziert/ Externally financed	2010	Davon extern finanziert/ Externally financed	2011	Davon extern finanziert/ Externally financed	2012 geplant/planne d	Davon extern finanziert/ Externally financed
IFSH übergreifend/ Institute-wide	1	1	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1
CORE	1	1	4	1	5	0	5	1	5	1
ZEUS	11	3	8	4*	8	4	9	5**	10	6**
IFAR	6	5*	4	3	6	3	5	4***	7	4***
Gesamt/Total	19	10	18	10	21	9	20	12	23	12

* 1 partially financed by IFSH

** 3 partially financed by IFSH

*** 2 partially financed by IFSH

Junior Staff, Consultation and Smaller Projects

	2008	Davon extern finanziert/ externally financed	2009	Davon extern finanziert/ externally financed	2010	Davon extern finanziert/ externally financed	2011	Davon extern finanziert/ externally financed	2012 geplant/planne d	Davon extern finanziert/ externally financed
IFSH übergreifend /Institute-wide	3	1	4	1	5	2	5	2	6	1
CORE	16	10 ¹	14	10 ¹	10	7 ²	7	6 ¹	8	7 ¹
ZEUS	23	12 ¹	18	11 ²	19	13 ²	11	11**	13	12 ²
IFAR	12	3 ²	11	6 ³	15	5 ⁴	11	3	8	4
Gesamt /Total	54	26	47	28	49	27	34	24	35	24

¹ 5 partially financed by IFSH

² 3 partially financed by IFSH

³ 1 partially financed by IFSH

⁴ 2 partially financed by IFSH



Scientific Staff

Full time equivalents/ Status at year's end

	2007	externally financed	2008	externally financed	2009	externally financed	2010	externally financed	2011	Full-time equivalents	externally financed
Institute-wide	1	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	1	1	-
CORE	4	1	6	3	6	3 ¹	6	3 ¹	8	4,87	4 ¹
ZEUS	5		7	3	8	3	11	7 ¹	11	9,45	7
IFAR	2	3	4	3	4	3	5	4 ¹	8	4,73	4
Total	12²	4	18³	9	19⁴	9	23⁵	14	28	20.05	15
Women	3	0	6	3	7	4	12	6	14	9,96	8 ⁷
For Information only: Number of doctoral candidates	22		21	21	19	17	22	20	23	-	22
Women	12		12		11		12		10		

¹ 1 partially financed by IFSH

² Corresponds to 10.58 full time equivalents

³ Corresponds to 11.65 full time equivalents

⁴ Corresponds to 13.27 full time equivalents

⁵ Corresponds to 18.95 full time equivalents

⁷ 2 partially financed by IFSH

Guest Scientists

Cumulative number of persons over the respective years

	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Institute-wide	4	1	1	2	1
CORE	1	2	2	2	1
ZEUS	1	2	3	5	3
IFAR	1	-	1	1	2
Total	7	5	7	10	7
Women	2	3	2	2	3



Third Party Financing and Third Party Commitments

a) Actual Expenditures (in Euro) / IFSH 2007-2011, Third Party Financing and Donors

Research Units	Donor		Amount				
			2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
ZEUS	Science-driven third party allocations	DFG	-	1.500	245	76.229	94.015
		Foundations	18.375	60.521	18.370	9.750	14.536
		DAAD	35.339	33.898	32.623	41.327	
		BMBF				202.488	371.961
		EU		79	58.287	13.464	
	Federal Ministries						
	Federal States		-		-	-	
	EU		-			-	
	Private economy/IO/Foreign Admin.		5.460	780	-	5.241	
	Research Stipends		9.720	8.940	33.690	27.242	24.000
	Other			6.969	10.702	10.520	11.022
Total ZEUS			68.894	112.687	153.917	386.261	515.534
CORE	Science-driven third party allocations	DFG			-	-	
		Foundations	13.676				19.890
		DAAD			31.477		
		BMBF					
		EU					
	Federal Ministries		272.602	286.391	218.400	206.682	214.048
	Federal States		-		-	-	
	EU		-		-	-	
	Private economy/IO/Foreign Admin.		68.701	106.754	76.424	11.314	8.235
	Research Stipends		14.580	26.150	26.925	24.700	12.000
	Other						
Total CORE			369.559	419.295	353.226	242.696	254.173
IFAR	Science-driven third party allocations	DFG				-	
		Foundations	86.188	94.002	62.185	45.214	68.464
		DAAD					
		BMBF					
		EU					
	Federal Ministries		-	9.391	8.750		51.966
	Federal States		800	17.417	32.334		
	EU		-		-	-	
	Private economy/IO/Foreign Admin.		-	18.146			19.292
	Research Stipends		-			-	
	Other		-			7.339	1.494
Total IFAR			86.988	138.956	103.269	52.553	141.216
Institute-wide	Science-driven third party allocations	DFG	-		20.391	84.810	90.750
		Foundations	122.653	59.257	1.300		25.000
		DAAD					
		BMBF					
		EU		15.697	7.935	57.937	94.549
	Federal Ministries		75.000	52.550	35.100	32.175	70.200
	Federal States		-	5.000	6.799	11.025	9.198
	EU		-			-	
	Private economy/IO/Foreign Admin.		10.779	20.394	24.432	38.702	5.688
	Research Stipends		-		4.000	8.000	
	Other		49.452	75.355	80.350	67.491	60.451
Total IFSH w.			257.884	228.253	180.307	300.140	355.836
IFSH Altogether	Science-driven third party allocations	DFG		1.500	20.636	161.039	184.765
		Foundations	240.892	213.780	81.855	54.964	127.890
		DAAD	35.339	33.898	64.100	41.327	
		BMBF				202.488	371.961
		EU		15.776	66.222	71.401	94.549
	Federal Ministries		347.602	348.332	262.250	238.857	336.214
	Federal States		800	22.417	39.133	11.025	9.198
	EU					0	
	Private economy/IO/Foreign Admin.		84.940	146.074	100.856	55.257	33.215
	Research Stipends		24.300	35.090	64.615	59.942	36.000
	Other		49.452	82.324	91.052	85.350	72.967
Total IFSH			783.325	899.191	790.719	981.623	1.266.759


b) Third Party Commitments (in Euros) IFSH 2007-2011 Third Party funding and Third Party Donors

Research Units	Donor						
			2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
ZEUS	Science-driven third party allocations	DFG		1.500	226.200		
		Foundations	94.300	15.000			24.800
		DAAD	13.503	57.118	45.962	50.734	1.649
		BMBF				1.040.750	
		EU		110.960			143.765
	Federal Ministries						
	Federal States			-	-		
	EU		13.450		-	-	
	Private economy/IO/Foreign Admin.			-	-		10.000
	Research Stipends		9.720	40.700	40.618	15.622	24.000
	Other		50.000	18.900	6.000	9.900	53.000
TotalZEUS			180.973	244.178	318.780	1.117.006	257.214
CORE	Science-driven third party allocations	DFG		-	-		
		Foundations					24.890
		DAAD			41.590		
		BMBF					
		EU					
	Federal Ministries		289.290	296.695	220.650	239.572	225.739
	Federal States			-	-		
	EU			-	-		
	Private economy/IO/Foreign Admin.			-	-		14.666
	Research Stipends		14.580	26.150	26.925	24.700	12.000
	Other		92.954	127.958,5	71.742		
Total CORE			396.824	450.808	360.907	264.272	277.295
IFAR	Science-driven third party allocations	DFG			-		
		Foundations	69.500	147.400			47.988,5
		DAAD					
		BMBF					
		EU					
	Federal Ministries			15.000	8.750	41.585	75.000
	Federal States			35.000	28.600		
	EU		2.800	-	-		
	Private economy/IO/Foreign Admin.			6.252	-		30.888
	Research Stipends				-		
	Other		30.950		14.980	88.621	1.290
Total IFAR			103.250	203.652	52.330	130.206	155.166,50
IFSH Institute wide	Science-driven third party allocations	DFG		-	420.000		
		Foundations			3.300		25.000
		DAAD					
		BMBF					
		EU		343.600			
	Federal Ministries		70.000	52.550	35.100	37.500	70.000
	Federal States			10.550	10.000		
	EU				-		
	Private economy/IO/Foreign Admin.			-	-		
	Research Stipends			-	12.060		25.250
	Other		28.200	54.550	45.500	6.000	22.000
Total IFSH wide			98.200	461.250	525.960	43.500	142.250
IFSH Altogether	Science-driven third party allocations	DFG		1.500	646.200		
		Foundations	163.800	162.400	3.300		122.678,5
		DAAD	13.503	57.118	87.552	50.734	1.649
		BMBF				1.040.750	
		EU					143.765
	Federal Ministries		359.290	364.250	264.500	318.657	370.739
	Federal States			45.550	38.600		
	EU		16.250	454.560	0		
	Private economy/IO/Foreign Admin.		0	6.252	0		55.554
	Research Stipends		24.300	66.850	79.603	40.322	61.250
	Other		202.104	201.409	138.222	76.589	73.290
Total IFSH			779.247	1.359.888	1.257.977	1.554.984	828.925,5



Publications

	2007	Reviewed	2008	Reviewed	2009	Reviewed	2010	Reviewed	2011	Reviewed
Books	11	1	11		18	6	13	4	10	3
Book chapters	59	11	66	6	62	7	65	13	63	15
Articles in scientific journals	54	8	39	13	45	13	29	11	28	8
IFSH publications	18		18		22		16	-	27	1
Other	44		33		24	1	35	-	49	7
Total	186	19	167	19	171	27	158	28	179	34
in German	128	10	106	11	95	12	79	13	121	13
I ISI¹ journals		2		2		0		1		6
Publications per scientific staff member²	16,54	1,79	14,33	1,63	12,88	1,13	8,33	1,47	8,92	1,69

Publications by research units

	2007	reviewed	2008	reviewed	2009	reviewed	2010	reviewed	2011	reviewed
Institute-wide	41	8	30	6	34	5	27	4	61	3,5
in German	36	4	23	3	24	2	18	1	42	-
Publications per scientific staff member ²	41	8	30	6	34	5	27	4	61	3,5
CORE	35	1	41	4	45	4	48	9	37	4
in German	19	-	19	1	19	2	19	3	22	1
Publications per scientific staff member ²	10	0,28	9,46	0,92	7,5	0,66	10,66	2	7,59	0,82
ZEUS	78	8	64	3	65	14	56	12	60	23,5
in German	51	6	49	3	43	7	36	7	42	10
Publications per scientific staff member ²	18,75	1,92	15,38	0,72	18,41	3,96	7,59	1,62	6,34	2,48
IFAR	32	2	32	6	27	3	27	3	21	3
in German	18	1	14	4	10	3	11	2	14	2
Publications per scientific staff member ²	18,28	1,14	14,95	2,80	9,85	1,09	8,43	0,62	4,44	0,63

¹ Publications listed on the Thomson Reuters Work of Knowledge-List

² Calculated as the quotient of publications and number (in full-time equivalents) of scientific staff



Additional Indicators of the Research Work

	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Participation in Parliamentary hearings	8	11	15	15	19
Participation in internal discussions in Ministries, international organizations etc.	40	44	47	50	65
Participation in hearings/discussions in Ministries/Parliaments and international organizations abroad					31
Lectures	165	150	105	118	139
Podium discussions	45	37	32	29	33
IFSH Conferences	21	11	9	16	20
Teaching by staff (semester weeks, 2 semesters p.a.)	49	58	41	38	47,5
Completed doctorate*s	5	5	3	2	2
Completed Master's degrees*	24	27	28	28	23

* Number of students advised by IFSH staff