

## Workshop “The Future of Conventional Arms Control in Europe”

On 2/3 July 2013, the German Federal Foreign Office, the Centre for OSCE Research (CORE) at the IFSH, and the Federal Academy for Security Policy (BAKS) convened a workshop on the crucial issue of “The Future of Conventional Arms Control in Europe: Goals, Ways and Means”. As the President of the Academy, Ambassador Hans-Dieter Heumann, stressed in his welcoming remarks, the BAKS building in Berlin-Pankow is a historical place, in which the round table of the late German Democratic Republic met as did the famous “2-plus-4” negotiators, who set relevant security policy parameters for a unified Germany.



*Ambassador Rolf Nikel, Federal Government Commissioner for Disarmament and Arms Control, German Federal Foreign Office (standing at the desk) and Wolfgang Zellner, Deputy Director, Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg; Head of Centre for OSCE Research (CORE), Hamburg.*

The workshop brought together more than 60 participants from about two dozen countries, two thirds government representatives and one third from think tanks and academic institutions. It took place at an appropriate moment: Within the OSCE, the Ukrainian Chairmanship has made conventional arms control (CAC) one of its focal points. Prior to that, in March 2013, OSCE Secretary General, Ambassador Lamberto Zannier, organized a Security Day devoted to this issue. And finally, NATO’s High Level Task Force, the Alliance’s body specifically devoted to conventional arms control, is now discussing a new NATO concept

## Peace researcher by destiny: Reinhard Mutz celebrates his 75th birthday

In June 2013 Reinhard Mutz celebrated his 75<sup>th</sup> birthday. He has never liked it when too much attention was put on his person and he often successfully eluded public acknowledgement of his achievements. Nevertheless he is one of the most distinguished peace researchers of this country. His reputation as a consistent, critical and sometimes politically inconvenient mind with a fine rhetoric and unerring argumentation reaches far beyond this community. His view that lasting peace and security can only be achieved together and in cooperation and that the pursuit of military solutions to solve political problems counteracts German and European interests appears to be a central theme of his scientific work.



His strong principles are reflected by his biography. He was born in 1938 on the eve of the Second World War. As a child he saw the horror of destruction, as an adolescent the rise of the Cold War in Europe. He decided to be trained as an officer of the Bundeswehr. At that time the construction of the Berlin Wall began. In 1962 Reinhard Mutz began studying political science, history and sociology in the Western part of Berlin.

### Contents

Workshop “The Future of Conventional Arms Control in Europe” .....	1
Peace Researcher by Destiny: Reinhard Mutz celebrates 75 <sup>th</sup> birthday .....	1
TERRAS-INDEX extended .....	3
Project on Nuclear Arms Control launched .....	4
OSCE Network of Think Tanks founded .....	4
Staff News .....	5
Publications .....	5
Imprint .....	5

*WORKSHOP, FROM PAGE 1*

that will hopefully open up perspectives for future CAC consultations and negotiations.

In his keynote speech, the Federal Government Commissioner for Disarmament and Arms Control, Ambassador Rolf Nickel, outlined Germany's position: "We are proponents of a broad based approach. Nuclear arms control and conventional arms control go hand in hand. Progress on conventional arms control could also facilitate progress on nuclear disarmament in Europe and vice-versa." More specifically, Ambassador Nickel stressed that we "need to re-establish a common understanding of the relevance of conventional arms control in today's European security environment. While the need has been widely recognized, we have yet to work on creating common ground." Precisely this was what the workshop tried to achieve in its five sessions.



*The Presidency of the CAC Workshop: Jens Lütkenherm, Head of Division, Division Conventional Arms Control and CSBM in Europe, German Federal Foreign Office, Ambassador Hans-Dieter Heumann, President of the Federal Academy for Security Policy, Berlin, Oliver Meier, Associate, German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP), Berlin, Ambassador Rolf Nickel, Federal Government Commissioner for Disarmament and Arms Control, German Federal Foreign Office, Wolfgang Zellner, Deputy Director, Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg; Head of Centre for OSCE Research (CORE), Hamburg*

Session I "Scope and Goals of Conventional Arms Control in Europe" asked what threats and threat perceptions should be addressed by CAC, and in what way non-strategic nuclear weapons and missile defence influence the options for CAC. Session II "Ways and Means: Substantive Issues at the European Level" asked which elements of the CFE Treaty should be maintained, which new elements should be added, and whether the focus should be more on transparency or on limitations. It was interesting to observe that while the representatives of most States favoured a transparency-focused approach, for the representatives of some relevant states, among them Russia and Turkey, Eu-

rope-wide limitations still represented an indispensable element. Session III "Ways and Means: Substantive Issues at a Sub-Regional Level" focused on what CAC might contribute to the regulation of neighbourhood relations between large and small states, as well as in post-conflict situations. Finally, Sessions IV and V tried to find "The Way Ahead" and to sketch "A New Agenda for CAC in Europe". Here key questions concerned the appropriate format, participants and area of application of future CAC negotiations, as well as the superordinate question of what role CAC can play in a co-operative security policy on the way towards a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian security community.

As one participant remarked, the workshop showed that we are becoming better and better at asking the right questions on conventional arms control. Hopefully, this will soon be followed by shared concepts and approaches. The Head of CORE, Wolfgang Zellner, pointed out in his concluding observations, that there is a tendency among States and researchers to perceive three distinct fields for CAC in Europe: European security relations, neighbourhood relations between small and large states, as well as conflict situations. While there is convergence in some fields, Zellner added, strong contradictions persist in others. This is particularly true for the so-called flank rule – specific regional limitations in the North and the South of the area of application foreseen by the CFE and the ACFE Treaty – that is seen as a key issue by Turkey, whereas Russia and many other states perceive it as outdated. A more conceptual deficit, according to Zellner, concerns the notion of 'verified transparency', an objective of future CAC in Europe shared by most states. Here it would be desirable to know in more detail, how this concept would work in practice. Zellner concluded that, in his view, neither Russia nor the USA would decisively press ahead on the CAC process. For them, this is an important, but not an urgent issue. "Consequently, the Europeans must do more, if they want to have progress in CAC," Zellner said.

**CONTACT: WOLFGANG ZELLNER**

**ZELLNER@IFSH.DE**

*MUTZ, FROM PAGE 1*

For more than twenty years this city was going to be his scientific and private home. A city that symbolizes the separation of Europe and the conflict between the highly armed military blocs of the East and the West unlike any other place in Europe. The combination of security policy and arms control became the focus of his academic work. As assistant professor in the field of peace and conflict research, as project director and later as substitute professor, Dr. habil. Reinhard Mutz played an essential part in the establishment of peace research at the Freie Universität Berlin. He did not give in when encountering institutional headwind. His work

received academic recognition. The field of peace research at the time was still young in the Federal Republic of Germany and Mutz's work contributed to shape it.

In November 1984 he started working as senior researcher at the IFSH. Shortly before, Egon Bahr had become the new director of the institute. They shared an interest in creating a reliable system of a common and cooperative security. One of them was considering it from the side of the necessity of change through rapprochement, the other from arms control and stabilizing confidence building. Their fruitful partnership proved to be greatly beneficial to the creativity in the peace and security policy research at the IFSH. A partnership of equals was also characterizing Reinhard Mutz's relationship to Egon Bahr's successor Dieter S. Lutz.

He saw to it that the principles of a common and cooperative security would be pursued even after the East-West Conflict had ended and a new world order was forming. Down-to-earth and bearing in mind reality, he observed the emerging utopias of a global peace order with scientific curiosity as well as skepticism. He strongly opposed the political tendency to accept the military as part of the German foreign policy instruments as a "normality" and to expand its range under the disguise of German interests. With strong words, precise argumentation and unimpressed by the slow change in attitudes inside the security policy debate, he became a popular critic of military power for political use and a demanded guest author in the political and medial discourse, in national daily newspapers, in weekly newspapers like *Der Spiegel*, on radio and on television.

An open letter he wrote in collaboration with Dieter S. Lutz to the members of the German Bundestag in 2001, in which they both expressed their opinion that the character of the NATO mission in the Kosovo War violated international law, struck at the very heart of the security policy debate of the time. The reactions consisted of heavy and partly polemic rejection on the one hand but support and open approval on the other. One of the supporters was Helmut Schmidt. This letter was a lively example of the academic integrity and consistency that characterize Reinhard Mutz. Thoroughly, sometimes meticulously he prepared his statements and presentations. He needed time for this, in urgent cases it sometimes felt like too much, but in the end every word was precise and every sentence hit the mark. It was like this when he was still an active scientist and it is still like this today when he is writing columns, for instance his comments on military aid given to Syrian rebels by NATO-States.

The longtime joint editor of the Peace Report, the senior researcher, the deputy scientific director, and eventually after the death of Dieter S. Lutz temporary director, today is chairman of the association *Förderverein des Instituts für Friedensforschung* and

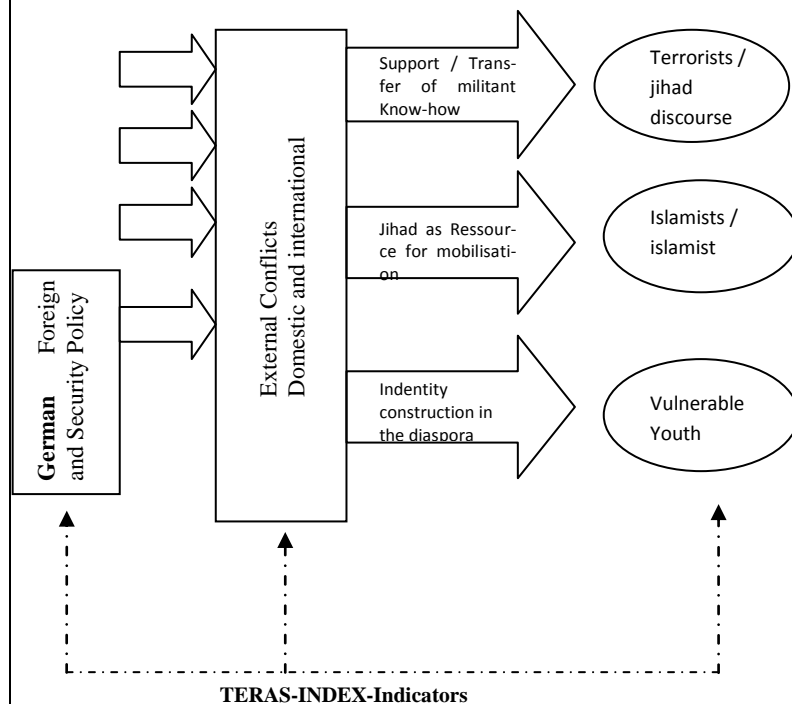
still an important figure.

Reinhard Mutz has been a respected and liked colleague. His calmness, his knowledgeable advice and his ever carefully weighed judgment will be kept in good memory. Not only the lucky ones who could win him as a friend like the author of this text himself, have always been able to depend on his reliability and his loyalty. All the best to you, Reinhard!

**CONTACT: HANS-JOACHIM GIESSMANN**  
**GISSMANN@BERGHOF-FOUNDATION.ORG**

## TERAS-INDEX extended

The collaborative project TERAS-INDEX (Terrorism and Radicalization – Indicators for External Impact Factors), funded by the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research, has been prolonged for one more year and got an additional funding of 200.000 Euro. The project is conducted by IFSH, BICC, TRI Vienna, the universities of Erfurt and Augsburg and the LKA Hamburg.



TERAS-INDEX analyses external impact factors on internal Islamist radicalization processes in European countries. It puts special emphasis on violent conflicts in the Muslim world, be they internal, such as social conflicts usually repressed by authoritarian regimes, be they internationalized, as in the case of the military interventions in Iraq or Afghanistan. Until now, the consortium mainly focused on the latter, in order to elaborate on factors such as the impact of military engagements of European countries in the Muslim world on Islamist radicalization processes in Europe. During the last decades the Muslim world has also been the arena for vehement internal societal conflicts between



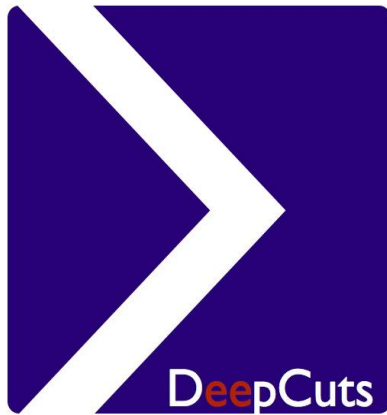
Islamist groups and authoritarian regimes. This has radicalized the Islamist oppositions and often led to an exodus of radicals to Europe, where they established radical-Islamist groups, sometimes even positioning themselves against the Western states. This was a marginal issue for TERAS-INDEX at first, as these conflicts were not expected to lead to violence. However, since the beginning of 2011, the dynamics of the so called "Arab Spring" have changed the situation; while Tunisia has gone through a relatively peaceful regime change, in Libya the uprising – militant and flanked by the West – overthrew Ghaddafi's authoritarian regime, Syria fell into a violent civil war, and Egypt seems to be in a difficult transition phase towards a democratic system, backed by powerful military actors.

Therefore, all research topics of TERAS-INDEX, such as the external behavior of Germany and five other European countries, as well as the radicalization processes in the different social milieus (Jihadis, Islamists and vulnerable youth) and the radical discourse, will be re-evaluated by taking into consideration these conflictive developments of the Arab Spring.

**CONTACT: MATENIA SIRSELOUDI      SIRSELOUDI@IFSH.DE**

## Project on Nuclear Arms Control Launched

Only recently, IFSH/IFAR<sup>2</sup> have launched the project on "Challenges to Deep Nuclear Cuts". The Deep Cuts Project, hosted by the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg (ISFH), is a trilateral German-U.S.-



Russian Study Project to Analyze the Next Steps in Nuclear Reductions. Together with Deep Cuts Project partners - the Arms Control Association in Washington and the Institute of World Economy and International Relations, Russian Academy of Sciences (IMEMO, RAN) - the initiative brings together a group of internationally renowned Commissioners to analyze how to address the key challenges to achieving further reductions in global nuclear weapons arsenals. Through a number of timely workshops and reports, the Commission's aim is to provide decision-makers as well as the interested public with concrete policy options based on sound analysis and research.

Amongst the Commissioners are well-known experts such as the former Chief of Staff and Vice Commander-in-Chief of the Russian Strategic Rocket

Forces, Victor Esin, former Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to the Russian Federation, Walter Jürgen Schmid, or former Assistant Director at Large at the U.S. Office of Science and Technology Policy, Steve Fetter.

From 28-29 October 2013, Commissioners will meet in Hamburg for a first workshop concentrating on questions of strategic stability, military doctrines, and further cuts to nuclear arsenals. The First Report of the Deep Cuts Commission will be issued in early 2014.

The project is actively supported by the Federal Foreign Office of Germany and the Wissenschaftsbehörde Hamburg.

Further information about the Commissions' work can be obtained from ([www.deepcuts.org](http://www.deepcuts.org)).

**CONTACT: ULRICH KÜHN**

**KUEHN@IFSH.DE**

## OSCE Network of Think Tanks Founded

In the context of the OSCE Security Days on 17/18 June 2013, more than a dozen research institutes founded an OSCE Network of Think Tanks and Academic Institutions, an idea first raised by OSCE Secretary General, Ambassador Lamberto Zannier. The network includes representatives from the Belgrade Centre for Security Policy, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, CORE, the Dutch Clingendael Institute of International Relations, the Foreign Policy Research Institute of Ukraine, Foraus – Forum Außenpolitik from Switzerland, the FRIDE Institute from Madrid, the Geneva Centre for Security Policy (GCSP), the Institute for World Economy and International Relations of the Russian Academy of Sciences (IMEMO), the International Peace Institute (IPI), Vienna, the Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies (KISI), the Latvian Institute of International Affairs, the OSCE Academy in Bishkek, the Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM), the Slovak Foreign Policy Association, and the University of Bath. The network aims at providing expertise for, stimulating discussions in and raising awareness of the OSCE. It is a flexible and informal structure, open for everybody and independent from the OSCE. Concrete projects will contribute to the shared objectives. The network was presented to the OSCE community during a special session at the Security Days, chaired by Wolfgang Zellner. The Head of CORE will also serve as the network's coordinator.

**CONTACT: WOLFGANG ZELLNER**

**ZELLNER@IFSH.DE**

## Staff News

**Michael Schöppner** joined the IFSH as a researcher on 1. August 2013 and works within IFAR<sup>2</sup> in cooperation with Prof. Götz Neuneck on the publication of a study on the verification of the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT). The German Physical Society (*Deutsche Physikalische Gesellschaft, DPG*) assigned the members of its nuclear-test-ban committee with the preparation of this study. The nuclear-test-ban committee of the DPG consists of members of the DPG and of its working group physics and disarmament, as well as external experts. The goal of the study is to promote the status of the CTBT and its verification regime, to determine the problems and hindrances for the treaty entering into force, as well as to point out the role of the treaty for nuclear disarmament. The study focuses on the physical and technical issues of the topic.



Michael Schöppner studies physics with focus on nuclear physics and geophysics at the University of Münster, the University of Technology Sydney and the Research Centre Karlsruhe (Diploma in Physics, 2008). Subsequently he completed the postgraduate programme on peace and security studies at the IFSH (M.P.S., 2009). From 2010 to 2012 he worked on a dissertation in physics at the Italian University of Roma Tre and received his PhD in the beginning of 2013. In his thesis he analysed the verifiability of the CTBT via atmospheric concentrations of radionuclides.

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**CONTACT: MICHAEL SCHÖPPNER**      **SHOEPNER@IFSH.DE**

**Dr. Howard Löwen** joined the Centre for European Peace and Security Studies at the IFSH as a Senior Research Fellow at the beginning of July. Previously, he had worked as a research fellow at the GIGA German Institute of Global and Area Studies, the SWP and as an Associate Professor



for International Relations at the University of Nottingham in Malaysia. His main research includes international relations of Southeast and East Asia as well as political change in selected countries of the region. Against this background, Löwen has analyzed forms of regional (ASEAN, ARF, ASEAN+3, East Asia Summit), inter-regional (East-Asia EU, East-Asia America), and regional-global cooperation in the political fields of economy and security. At the IFSH, Löwen now works on security-policy cooperation between the European Union and Asian regional organizations.

**CONTACT: HOWARD LÖWEN**

**LOEWEN@IFSH.DE**

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Security and Peace

## Publications

### Volume 1/2013 of the journal „S+F. Sicherheit und

**Frieden, Security and Peace**”, edited by Hans Joachim Gießmann, focuses on the topic of “‘Terrorists’ or ‘Freedom Fighters’: How to Deal with Non-State Armed Actors”. The following articles are included: Hans J. Giessmann: “Human Rights in Non-International Armed Conflicts: A Counter-Terrorism Issue?”, Stefanie Herr: “*Einbindung durch Anerkennung? Nichtstaatliche Gewaltakteure und das humanitäre Völkerrecht*“, Eva Dingel: “Hezbollah’s Rise and Decline? How the Political Structure Seems to Harness the Power of Lebanon’s Non-State Armed Group”, Gary LaFree, Erin Miller and Sue-Ming Yang: “Terrorism in Indonesia, the Philippines and Thailand, 1970 to 2008”, Magnus Ranstorp: “‘Lone Wolf Terrorism’. The Case of Anders Breivik”, and Andrea Bianchi and Delphine Hayim: “Unmanned Warfare Devices and the Laws of War: The Challenge of Regulation”.

The Forum offers readers a discussion by Oliver Meier, Dieter Senghaas, Erhard Forndran, Götz Neuneck, and Jürgen Altmann about “Changes in arms control? Retrospect, lessons, perspectives”.

For more information please visit:  
<http://www.sicherheit-und-frieden.nomos.de/1/archiv/2013/issue-2/>.

**CONTACT:**

**MARTIN KAHL (MANAGING EDITOR)**

**KAHL@IFSH.DE**

**CSIS/IFSH/UNIDR (eds.), The Cyberindex. International Security Trends and Realities,** <http://www.unidir.org/files/publications/pdfs/cyber-index-2013-en-463.pdf>

The Cyberindex is a handbook which represents a “snapshot” of national, regional and international cyber-security activities to show decision makers and diplomats the complexity of “cyber-security” as well as its effects on international relations. The recently published, 140-page volume includes a rating of national



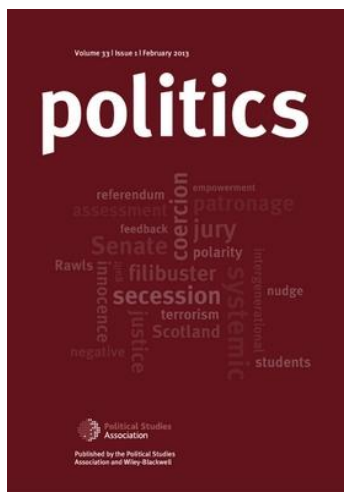
doctrines of important countries and the activities of regional and international organizations. The second part deals in detail with confidence building measures, their history and applicability in cyberspace. The authors are Theresa Hitchens, James A. Lewis and Götz Neuneck.

**CONTACT: GÖTZ NEUNECK**

**NEUNECK@IFSH.DE**

**Kropatcheva, Elena (2013), NATO–Russia Relations and the Chinese Factor: An Ignored Variable. Politics. doi: 10.1111/1467-9256.12019.**

NATO–Russia relations have usually been considered in isolation from the broader changing international context, but bipolarity no longer reflects reality. This essay revisits the NATO–Russia relationship by placing it in the context of ‘emerging powers’, in particular China. It demonstrates that the China factor has begun – often indirectly, but significantly – to affect Russia's NATO policy and NATO–Russia relations. Despite mistrust and problems, there is also considerable potential for cooperation among these three actors. While problems in NATO–Russia relations cannot be explained by the Chinese variable alone, it nevertheless offers new insights into some of the issues.



**CONTACT: ELENA KROPATCHEVA**

**KROPATCHEVA@IFSH.DE**

## Imprint

Responsible for this issue:

Anna Kreikemeyer

Susanne Bund