

# IFSH *news* 101

ACTIVITIES • RESEARCH PROJECTS • PUBLICATIONS • STAFF NEWS

Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg

OCTOBER/NOVEMBER 2013

## Deep Cuts Commission meets in Hamburg

From 28-29 October 2013, the Deep Cuts Commission convened in Hamburg to discuss further arms control measures between the U.S. and Russia.

The workshop, organized by IFAR<sup>2</sup>, was kicked-off by IFSH Director Michael Brzoska. In the ensuing key note speech by Federal Government Commissioner for Disarmament and Arms Control, Ambassador Rolf Nickel underscored the paramount importance of track II initiatives such as Deep Cuts. Further on he pointed to the current impediments to international arms control and stressed the need to think out of the box. Nickel urged participants from the U.S., Russia, and Germany to bring forward concrete recommendations on how to overcome the technical as well as political obstacles.



*Deep Cuts Project Partners (from left to right): Project Coordinator Ulrich Kühn (IFSH), Deputy Director of the IFSH Götz Neuneck (IFAR<sup>2</sup>), Greg Thielmann (ACA), Andrei Zagorski (IMEMO).*

During the two-day workshop participants discussed a whole range of current arms control issues. The question of how to successfully address the increasing trust deficit between the West and Russia took center stage. Particularly participants from Russia questioned whether arms control is the right means to regain trust. Especially the missing economic component in the U.S.-Russian relationship was critically examined. According to participants, the inactivity of the NATO-Russia Council (NRC) reveals a deep-seated institutional deficit. To overcome this deficit, regional CBMs (particularly for the Baltics) as well as broadening existing mechanisms such as the NRC's Cooperative Airspace Initiative were evaluated.

During the technical sessions on bilateral and multilateral arms control, concrete recommendations

with a view to further reductions were discussed. Participants mostly agreed that another round of bilateral strategic reductions would most likely bring the two countries down to 1,000 deployed warheads each. The participants stressed the need for corresponding transparency measures by France, the UK, and China. The existing asymmetries in tactical nuclear weapons were hotly debated. Even though the U.S. Senate in its ratification document to New START urged the administration to pursue negotiations on reducing Russia's arsenal, workshop participants expected the chances as rather dim for the time being. Instead, an incremental approach starting with transparency measures such as agreement on a common factual baseline should guide the way.



*Götz Neuneck (left) and Ambassador Rolf Nickel (right).*

With regards to missile defense, participants stressed increased cooperation mechanisms bolstered by economic incentives. In concrete terms, participants recommended the construction of a Joint Early Warning Radar in Central Russia together with the establishment of a bilateral technical commission on missile defense. On conventional precision-guided systems

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(e.g. Prompt Global Strike) participants discussed the pros and cons of ballistic and cruise missile systems. There was consensus that even though these weapons display only a niche capability, they could become serious obstacles on the way to achieving deep nuclear cuts.

The trilateral group agreed that it is about time to revise the existing nuclear doctrines to reflect current realities. The general opinion was that the paradigm of deterrence should be overcome in order to achieve deep cuts. Based on these considerations, workshop participants discussed different doctrinal aspects such as adjusting employment strategies and giving up the principle of prompt launch capability. Another recommendation was to establish a continuous dialogue between the U.S. and Russia on their respective doctrines.

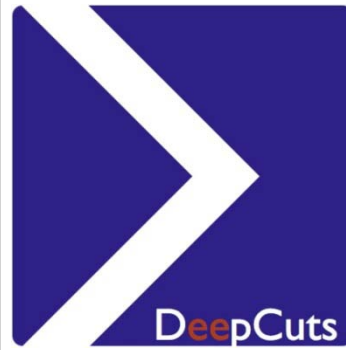
On the issue of conventional arms control in Europe the respective working group stressed the need for increased political commitment from Moscow and Washington in order to create positive momentum. Participants called on Germany to exercise strong leadership on the issue. Particularly the standstill on CFE would call for a great willingness for political compromise instead of a purely technical handling of the problems.



*Workshop Participants*

After intense discussions, the dinner reception on 28 October at the Senate Guesthouse of the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg was a welcome opportunity to relax. Even though the windstorm "Christian" made it difficult for participants to reach the occasion, Cancellor of State Horst-Michael Pelikahn could welcome the guests from abroad almost in time. In his address, the Cancellor underscored the long-standing commitment of the IFSH and the city of Hamburg to peaceful conflict resolution. Mr. Pelikahn encouraged his guests to continue the critical work of the Deep Cuts Commission through 2014.

The results of the first workshop of the Deep Cuts Commission in Hamburg will be synthesized in a joint report to be issued in early 2014 and presented in the national capitals of the three countries.



Deep Cuts is a trilateral German-Russian-American research and consultancy project of the IFSH in close cooperation with the Arms Control Association (ACA), and the Institute of World Economy and International Relations,

Russian Academy of Sciences (IMEMO, RAN). Financially supported by the Federal Foreign Office and the Science Department of the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg, the three-year project addresses the current obstacles to further multilateral nuclear reductions. For more information go to: [www.deepcuts.org](http://www.deepcuts.org) or follow the Deep Cuts Commission on Twitter @deepcutsproject

**CONTACT: ULRICH KÜHN**

**KUEHN@IFSH.DE**

## **Emotions in Russia's relations with the West: ZEUS starts new DFG project**

Emotions are currently experiencing a revival in the theories of International Relations (IR). Scholars believe that one should pay more attention to emotions and emotionality (again) and that these factors should be considered more systematically, both with regard to theory and empirical analysis. A new 2-year research project at ZEUS takes up this trend. It deals with the question if and how emotions influence and form Russia's relations with Western countries. It is assumed that typical inconsistencies in Russia's foreign policy vis-à-vis the West, which cannot be attributed to rational decision making and action, are rather the result of the influence of socio-emotional factors, particularly the elite's need to see their picture of Russia's international status respected and acknowledged by others in the international environment. Thus, we see foreign policy not only or not primarily as a result of rational considerations (power accumulation, result of power struggles between domestic groups) or intersubjective social norms, but rather identify another driver that ranges beyond the conventional IR paradigms. This assumption rests on and draws upon insights from social psychology, identity theory and emotion research. They all suggest that respect expectations and status concerns in international relations imply an emotional component, insofar as they are embedded in emotional appraisals and expectations about how we want to be treated by others. It is hypothesized that in the case of Russia, status issues and respect expectations become relevant whenever the elites' self-concept and the re-

spective status definition is being challenged by the West.

### Claiming respect. Tracing the socio-emotional dimension of Russia's relations with the West.

Project leader and principle investigator: Regina Heller

CONTACT: REGINA HELLER

HELLER@IFSH.DE

## IFAR work on New Technologies and Cyber Security

After the revelations of the whistleblower Ed Snowden, the cyber security issue continues to dominate the headlines. The scope, depth and background of the global surveillance measures by Western intelligence agencies became clear and were widely discussed. Götz Neuneck held a plenary talk on "Prospects for a Possible Convention on Cyber warfare" at the 60th Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs in Istanbul and chaired the international working group "Disarmament, Conflict Resolution and New Weapon Technology", which consisted of scientists from 15 countries. The group convened in Istanbul for three days and issued a final report.



*Prominent conference participants (From left to right): The Iranian Minister of Foreign Affairs Mohammad Javad Zarif, the Turkish President Abdullah Gül and the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs Ahmet Davutoglu.*

In other presentations, the topic of cyber warfare and new weapons technologies were presented on 14 November 2013 in the Protestant Community in Wuppertal and on 21 of November at the Bundeswehr Commission in Hamburg. At the "Nacht des Wissens" Christian Alwardt held an IFAR lecture entitled "Drones and Killer Robots - the unmanned warfare". Also quite popular is the lecture series "Cyber security – Cyber war - Cyber peace", organized jointly with the ZNF and the Department of Computer Science at the University of Hamburg. Here, prominent speakers from science and industry, but also from the Foreign Office, the Civil Protection Agency and the Bundeswehr give

presentations which are recorded and posted on the Internet.

CONTACT: GÖTZ NEUNECK

NEUNECK@IFSH.DE

## MPS Ceremony with Ruprecht Polenz, Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Affairs

On 2 October 2013, this year's ceremony for the solemn presentation of diplomas for the 11<sup>th</sup> class of the master program "Peace and Security Studies" took place in the University of Hamburg. On that occasion, the new students of the 12<sup>th</sup> class were warmly welcomed by prominent persons. The main speaker was the Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the German Bundestag Ruprecht Polenz. Based on the maxim of Immanuel Kant: "Peace is not a natural state, it must be arranged," he emphasized the peace-creating power of the European Union, which is well worth preserving and strengthening.



*(From left to right) Michael Brzoska (IFSH), Claudia Leopold (University of Hamburg), Ruprecht Polenz (CDU), Cuncelor of State Horst-Michael Pelikahn, Götz Neuneck (IFSH).*

Earlier, the Vice President of the University Prof. Claudia S. Leopold had highlighted in her speech "the happy cooperation" between the IFSH, the MPS program and the university. The Cuncelor of State for Science and Research, Dr. Horst-Michael Pelikahn underlined the high proportion of women in the MPS program and expressed the hope that this will also affect higher levels of the institute. Members of the Farmsen Guitar Ensemble provided the musical background. The Director of IFSH, the program director and the keynote speaker wished the outgoing course all the best for their future careers.

CONTACT: GÖTZ NEUNECK

NEUNECK@IFSH.DE

## OSCE-Related Introductory Course for Mongolia in Ulaanbaatar, 23 – 27 September 2013

Between 23 and 27 September 2013, the Centre for OSCE Research (CORE) conducted an OSCE-related induction course for Mongolia. In 2012, the OSCE Dublin Ministerial Council meeting had welcomed Mongolia as the 57<sup>th</sup> OSCE participating state. Against this background, the idea of conducting an OSCE-related introduction course for various stakeholders in Mongolia has been developed. CORE has gathered considerable experience in providing such courses for Kazakhstani, Lithuanian, Irish, Ukrainian and Swiss diplomats since 2007. The course in Ulaanbaatar addressed more than thirty representatives of some eighteen Mongolian government offices, such as the Secretariat of the State Great Khural (parliament), the Office of the President, the National Security Council, MOD and the MFA, as well as academic institutions, such as the Institute for Strategic Studies, the Institute of International Studies and the School of Foreign Service. It was commissioned by the MFA of Mongolia and sponsored by the OSCE Division of the German Federal Foreign Office. The Mongolian Institute for Strategic Studies hosted the training course at its conference facilities. Generous support by the OSCE secretary general and helpful advice from the director of the ODIHR enabled a particularly high quality course.



*Participants of the OSCE-Related Induction Course for Mongolia in Ulaanbaatar*

The course was opened by Mr Gombo Tsogtsaikhan, State Secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia. The twenty lectures and sessions comprising the course were held by a team of CORE experts in cooperation with officers of the OSCE Secretariat and a former high-level representative of the ODIHR. The atmosphere during the five-day course was open-minded. The feedback from the Mongolian participants has been very positive.

**CONTACT: FRANK EVERS**

**EVERS@IFSH.DE**

## Staff News



**Azamjon Isabaev** has been a PhD candidate at the IFSH since 1 October 2013. He earned his Bachelor's and Master's degrees in International Relations at the University of World Economy and Diplomacy in Tashkent, Uzbekistan, in 2007 and 2009 respectively. After that, Mr Isabaev worked as research fellow at the Center for Political Studies in Tashkent. In 2013 he received a DAAD-Scholarship for PhD-Studies at the IFSH. Among his major scientific interests are regional security in Central Asia and regional and international pipeline politics.

Within the framework of his thesis, Mr Isabaev is investigating the question of stability and/or power relations in Central Asia after the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan. His research question relates to the impact of the "Afghanistan-factor" on shaping the foreign and security policies of Central Asian states. The dissertation is designed to explore the perceptions by the states of Central Asia of an "Afghan-threat", as well as projections of those perceptions on their security agendas.

**CONTACT: AZAMJON ISABAEV**

**ISABAEV@IFSH.DE**

## Publications

**Sybille Reinke de Buitrago: Media Discourse on Jihadist Terrorism in Europe, in: Journal of Terrorism Research, Vol. 4, No. 2, 2013, pp. 3-13.**



Discourse matters! How then do different European media discuss jihadist terrorism in Europe - are there differences in national media discourses or do media converge? The analysis of discourse in seven national print media following three selected attacks in 2010 shows that the attack type is a factor shaping media discourse across different media. Considering that terrorists also aim to impact discourses for their own agenda, important implications arise for policy reactions on the basis of the attack type, and not as desired by terrorists.

**CONTACT:**

**SYBILLE REINKE DE BUITRAGO REINKEDEBUIRAGO@IFSH.DE**

## U.S. Nuclear Force Structure and Deep Reductions



The United States and Russia have made major reductions in their long-range nuclear forces since the end of the Cold War. These reductions are welcome of course, but they are less than one might expect and hope for, given that the Cold War is over. The recent New START treaty calls

for a modest additional reduction for the nuclear superpowers, but leaves the two arsenals with essentially the same Cold War structure on a smaller scale. Truly significant further reductions in numbers and nuclear dangers will require a new attitude toward the role of nuclear weapons. In the first Working Paper of the Deep Cuts Commission, Ivan Oelrich focuses on three aspects of the U.S. strategic forces: first their current status, then the doctrine and policy that guide their potential use and plans for the next generation of weapons, and finally, some recommendations about what is required to move toward deep reductions in nuclear forces.

The paper is available at:  
[www.deepcuts.org/publications](http://www.deepcuts.org/publications).

**CONTACT: ULRICH KÜHN**

**KUEHN@IFSH.DE**

## Testing the European Union's Security and Defence Policy: between pretension and reality, in: integration, 2/2013, S. 91-106.



This contribution assesses the evolution of CFSP/CSDP after the Lisbon-Treaty by looking at the EU as a crisis manager in Somalia, Syria and Mali. The experiences from these crises elucidate that the European Union is still far away from reaching its goal of an effective and convincing foreign and security

policy. The much tooted „comprehensive approach“ exists more on paper than in reality. In Syria this approach has not yet had the chance of being implemented, in Mali it exists only on paper, in Somalia it has been implemented merely additively. In all three cases Paris and London led from the front by diplomatic and military means and influenced the international agenda. Thus an approach is emerging where some partners push things forward and the rest follows more or less eagerly. In the end, they clean up together. The question is what the long-term effect will be.

**CONTACT: HANS-GEORG EHRHART**

**EHRHART@IFSH.DE**

## Imprint

Responsible for this issue:  
 Anna Kreikemeyer  
 Susanne Bund