

Peace Report 2012 in Berlin and Brussels Global shifts of power and the state of peace

In the shadow of reported massacres in Syria and threatened military strikes against the Iranian nuclear program, negotiations are by any means to be preferred to any other options. To intervene with military means in Syria is out of the question and air strikes against Iranian nuclear facilities will in all probability result in an Iran armed with nuclear weapons.



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The editors after their visit at the Defense Committee of the German Bundestag: Janet Kursave (FEST), Agnieszka Brugger (Alliance 90/The Greens), Margret Johanssen (IFSH), Corinna Hauswedell (BICC), Susanne Kastner MdB.

These were the conclusions of the 2012 Peace Report. Its focal point "global power transitions" does not make the daily headlines, but it is nevertheless as relevant to the future of world peace. In a historical perspective, power transitions not infrequently led to war, because great powers perceived them in terms of zero sum games. This, however, is not a law of nature. It should on the contrary be possible to integrate the rising powers – the so-called BRICS-states, above all China – into the world order in ways that does not induce them to strive for anti-hegemonic countervailing power.

Our focal point links foreign policy issues and domestic processes and insecurities more than it did in previous years. It addresses the crisis in the Eurozone including the risks it carries for the European project as well the grown self confidence of civil society movements, and cyber warfare as well as online protest campaigns.

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Publications

The editors, representing the four publishing institutes, presented the yearbook at the Federal Press Conference in Berlin on 22 May 2012. Subsequently they submitted their findings and discussed their recommendations in meetings with members of various committees of the German Bundestag such as the Defense Committee, the Committee for Economic Co-operation and Development, the Committee for Human Rights and Humanitarian Assistance as well as with members of the Planning Units of the Foreign Office, the Ministry of Defense and the Ministry for Economic Co-operation and Development. Other meetings involved parliamentarians of The Left, the Alliance 90/The Greens, the Free Democratic Party and the Social Democratic Party in their respective working groups dedicated to International Politics.

The public event entitled "New World Disorder. Germany between its claim to power and its need for regulatory policy" in Berlin's "French Dome", jointly organized by the Protestant Academy Berlin, Women in International Security (WIIS) and the HSKF, was one of the highlights of the Peace Report's guest performance in the German capital.

(<http://www.friedensgutachten.de/index.php/detail/item/s/einladung-zur-evangelischen-akademie-zu-berlin-am-24-mai-2011-um-18-uhr.html>).

A series of panel discussions which addressed the focal issues of the Peace Report 2012 under the heading "The great insecurity. What will become of Europe in view of the global transitions of power?" in

Frankfurt/Main, a conference in Koblenz "Forum Peace and Security Policy 2012: World Order in Disorder" organized by the Centre for Political Education Rhineland-Palatinate, and a pupils' seminar in Hannover on "The great insecurity. New global actors and their impact" organized in cooperation with the Protestant Academy Loccum rounded off the touring of the Peace Report in the first half of 2012.

Besides its focal point the Peace Report sheds light on various issues such as the questionable role of the West in Somalia, civil conflict management, land grabbing, migration, and climate change. Furthermore, it examines the perspectives of the Arab Spring between reforms and civil war, assesses the diplomatic deadlock in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and examines the dispute over the Iranian nuclear program.

The contributions of IFSH to the Peace Report 2012 were written by Hans-Georg Ehrhart, Margret Johannsen, Götz Neuneck and Kerstin Petretto. Margret Johannsen acted as the editor for IFSH. She also attended to the contributions of this year's guest authors James K. Galbraith, Renate Kreile und Stephan Rosiny.

In late June, the Peace Report went to Brussels. The Brussels office of the Protestant Church of Germany (EKD) hosted a panel discussion on the "politics from the street", thus taking up another aspect of the global power transitions addressed by the Peace Report; in cooperation with the Member of the European Parliament Franziska Brantner and ISIS Europe organized a roundtable in the European parliament which discussed the challenges of the „New World Disorder. Europe between its claim to power and its need for regulatory policy". Finally, the European Peacebuilding Liaison Office (EPLO) coordinated a meeting with representatives of NGOs in Brussels in order to identify common ground.

For the first time, the Peace Report presented to its Brussels audiences a miniature edition with selected texts in English. This was made possible through the generously continued sponsorship by the *German Foundation for Peace Research (DSF)*. The translations are also available on www.friedensgutachten.de.

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IFSH attends the 2012 ISA Convention in San Diego

Michael Brzoska, Patricia Schneider, Regina Heller and Daniela PISOIU attended one of the best established and biggest conferences in the area of international relations, the Annual Convention of the International Studies Association (ISA) in San Diego/USA. The conference took place from 1-4 April, 2012. Representing

IFSH, they took actively part as panel chairs in the panels „Maritime Terrorism in the 21st Century: Concepts, Phenomena, and Countermeasures" (Patricia Schneider, chair) and „Coordination and Survival of Terrorists" (Daniela PISOIU, chair and discussant).



Patricia Schneider at her presentation

The papers presented touched upon various topics of contemporary peace and security studies including the following: "Climate Risks and Security Providers" (Michael Brzoska), "Turning Agreement Into Action: Assessing State Motivations for Regional Counterterrorism Cooperation" (Michael Brzoska with the co-authors Rafael Bossong and Eric van Um), „Maritime Security Governance: A German Perspective" (Patricia Schneider), "Claiming respect – the socio-emotional dimension of Russia's policy towards the West. Insights from the 1999 Kosovo case" (Regina Heller), "Radicalizing and Communicating Islamism and Right-Wing Extremism" (Daniela I. PISOIU). "A 'coalition' of norm-challengers? Comparing official counter-terror argumentation in the US, the EU and Russia" (poster presentation by Regina Heller with the co-authors Martin Kahl and Daniela PISOIU).



Regina Heller (2nd r.) with panel colleagues

An issue of the peer-reviewed "Journal of the Indian Ocean Region" will include contributions from

Patricia Schneider and other panelists to the panel "Maritime Terrorism in the 21st Century: Concepts, Phenomena, and Countermeasures". It is expected to be published in December 2012.

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PiraT Workshop Private Maritime Security Service Providers in Hamburg

From 19-20 April 2012, the IFSH, together with the Bucerius Law School (BLS) held a workshop on the topic of "The use of Private Security Service Providers for Protection Against Dangers on the High Seas. Challenges from Practical, Legal and Political Science Perspectives" in Hamburg's State and University Library. Participants included academics, and representatives from relevant authorities, ministries, shipping companies, insurers, associations, and security services. Hans-Georg Ehrhart, Patricia Schneider and Kerstin Petretto participated as panel chairs and as discussants, and led the workshop together with their BLS colleagues.



On the panel: Elke Krahnemann (Brunel University), Katja Keul (Alliance 90/The Greens), Hans-Georg Ehrhart (IFSH), Hans-Peter Uhl (CSU).

The discussion focused on the advantages and disadvantages of using private security providers (PSPs) in high risk areas like the Horn of Africa and the Indian Ocean, and their possible regulation. Together with the Best Management Practices of self-protection for merchant ships, along with military missions, private maritime security providers are becoming an integral component of the piracy defense strategy.

Industry related certification bodies are establishing measures of self-regulation. However, the International Code of Conduct for PSPs, introduced by Thomas Haueter (DCAF) and self-licensing practices, like SAMI, represented by Mark Hornung, cannot fully replace state regulation. Adapting IMO guidelines, the

German government is developing relevant approval mechanisms. Gert Jürgen Scholz (BMVBS) and Ernst Stöckl-Pukall (BMWi) stressed the necessity of legal certainty for ship owners and insurers. Berthold Stoppelkamp (BDSW) emphasized that the German security industry is requesting a defined adequate legal framework for this more demanding field that also ensures high quality standards for PSPs.

Katja Keul (MP, Bündnis 90/Die Grünen) and Hans-Peter Uhl (MP, CSU) discussed the expected German approval mechanism and the protection of the state monopoly on the use of force with Elke Krahnemann (Brunel University). Shipping representatives, Frank Leonhardt (Leonhardt & Blumberg) and Moritz Fritsche (NSB Niederelbe) highlighted their experiences with maritime security matters. Rear Admiral Thomas Jugel illustrated aspects of military cooperation with PSPs.

The criminal prosecution of captive pirates, the responsibilities of ship captains, the transport and use of weapons, as well as the future development of the European Atalanta-Mission were intensely discussed.

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Missile Defense-Conference in Moscow

On 3 and 4 of May 2012, the Russian government invited representatives of 50 states and experts to an international conference in order to clarify their positions. Götz Neuneck as well as 20 other scientists took part in the conference and working groups.



Götz Neuneck, General ret. Sergej Kurushkin und Ted Postolin front of the ABM-Radar in Sofrino near Moscow.

The former Russian president Dmitri Medwedew, defense minister Anatoli Serdjukow as well as high-ranking representatives from the Pentagon, the State Department, the German and French Defense

Ministry and NATO explained their views to the delegations. The Russian Military showed a simulation to demonstrate the threat of missile defense. NATO and Pentagon do not see any threat for the Russian nuclear arsenal. All parties still think it is possible to have a constructive dialogue. On the second day of the conference, the participants visited a once strictly secret Russian ABM-Radar in Sofrino (see photo).

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MPS-Study Trip to Vienna and Brussels: Iranian ambassador welcomed MPS-students

In April and May the MPS-students went on a study trip to Vienna and Brussels. In the course of the seminar: "Uniqueness, Cooperation or Overlapping", the students visited organizations such as IAEO, CTBT or UNIDO from 23 to 27 April. MPS-graduate Theodora Vrancean organized and accompanied the seminar. Ambassador Lüdeking welcomed the group in the German Mission. Ambassador Horsten, German Permanent Representative in the OSCE, informed the students about the latest the OSCE-debates. The Iranian ambassador Ali Asghar Soltanieh invited the group to a lecture and a dinner afterwards in the Iranian embassy.



The participants of the study trip at the Iranian embassy in Vienna.

The students also got to know several other institutions, such as the Energy Security Secretariat of the EU or the OPEC Fund for International Development. Finally, they attended the meeting of the OSCE Permanent Council as listeners. From 21 to 25 May 2012, they visited the NATO and EU-institutions in Brussels.

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Towards a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian Security Community

CORE Participates in Second IDEAS Workshop, Warsaw

CORE representatives Frank Evers, Ulrich Kühn and Wolfgang Zellner participated in the second workshop of the Initiative for the Development of a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian Security Community (IDEAS) in Warsaw, 10 May 2012. The workshop was hosted by the Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM). It was another joint activity of the four IDEAS institutes PISM, CORE, the Fondation pour la recherche stratégique (FRS, Paris) and the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (University) of the Russian Foreign Ministry (MGIMO).



Wolfgang Zellner CORE/IFSH, (photo: Paulina Raduchowska, courtesy PISM, Warsaw)

IDEAS looks at the necessities and obstacles of realizing the vision of a security community that had been formulated at the 2010 OSCE Astana Summit meeting. In this context, the Warsaw workshop was another effort to contribute to a better understanding of contemporary Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian security affairs.

The workshop was opened by Bogusław Winid, Undersecretary of State in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Poland. It was attended by more than 50 scientists, governmental representatives and OSCE officials and was a notably open-minded brainstorming. The workshop followed the particular intention to discuss security matters from specific national and regional perspectives and had the additional thematic focus of European crisis management and conflict resolution.

It is worth mentioning that the workshop gave impressive evidence of the strong academic and governmental resources of the workshop's host country Poland. The event ended with additional meetings PISM had arranged for the representatives of the IDEAS

institutes with officials of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and of Defence of Poland.

For further details, please see: IDEAS Opening Workshop, at: http://www.core-hamburg.de/core_english/ideas.htm, and: Second Workshop of the IDEAS Project in Warsaw, at: <http://www.pism.pl/Events/Conferences/Second-Workshop-of-the-IDEAS-Project-in-Warsaw>.

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Enhancing the EU Conflict Prevention Potential in Kyrgyzstan and Central Asia

CORE Contributes to EEAS Roundtable in Brussels

Frank Evers delivered a speech at a roundtable on the subject of "Enhancing the EU Conflict Prevention Potential in Kyrgyzstan and Central Asia" in Brussels, 20 April 2012. The event had been jointly arranged by the Conflict Prevention, Peace-Building and Mediation Division of the European External Action Service and Saferworld – an independent London-based NGO. The roundtable was a contribution to considerations in the EU about how to further implement the EU Central Asia Strategy (2007). Specifically, it focussed on conclusions to be drawn from the two Kyrgyz crises in 2010, recent developments in neighbouring Central Asian countries, Pakistan and Iran. Particular attention was cast on possible implications of the intended ISAF withdrawal from Afghanistan in 2014. Frank Evers presented the findings of his studies on conflict management efforts of the OSCE in Kyrgyzstan that had been published in CORE Working Paper Nr. 24 in March 2012.

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Publications

Volume 1/2012 of „Security and Peace“ published

Volume 1/2012 of the journal „S+F. Sicherheit und Frieden, Security and Peace“, edited by Michael Brzoska, focuses on the topic of "After Conscription – Implications for the Armed Forces". The following articles are included: Philippe Manigart: "Ending the Draft: The Case of Belgium", Molly Clever and David R. Segal: "After Conscription: The United States and the All-Volunteer Force", Helena Carreiras: "Gender Relations in the Armed Forces: Does the Draft Make a Difference?", Gerhard Kümmel: "Weniger Soldaten,

mehr Söldner? Die Aussetzung der Wehrpflicht in Deutschland, die Neuausrichtung der Bundeswehr und die Folgen" and Christian Wevelsiep: „Nach der Wehrpflicht – zwischen internationaler Verantwortung und Risikotransfer“.

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Spiegel Online, Arms Control Association and New York Times

IFAR analyses the NATO Summit in Chicago

In the run up to the G8 and NATO Summit in Chicago, IFAR-members contributed with analysis, articles and interviews to the discussion on NATO's New Strategic Concept. NATO and Russia are still divided over missile defense.

Oliver Meier gave an interview on missiles defense to the Deutsche Welle, Götz Neuneck was interviewed on the topic modernization of tactical US-nuclear weapons by Spiegel Online. He also published an article in a study of the Strategic Studies Institute of US Army War College. The study was introduced to a professional audience in London. An article, from Ivanka Barzashka, Timur Kadyshchev, Götz Neuneck and Ivan Oelrich, with the title „Bridging the Missile Defense Gap“ was published in the New York Times on 17 May 2012. The analysis shows under which conditions missiles defense is a problem for Russia and in what areas cooperation could be possible. Oliver Meier and Paul Ingram published a first evaluation of the results of the NATO summit in Arms Control Today.

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Christopher Daase, Philipp Offermann,
Valentin Rauer (Hg.)



Hendrik Hegemann/
Martin Kahl: Politische Entscheidungen und das Risiko Terrorismus, in: Christopher Daase/Philipp Offermann/Valentin Rauer (eds.): Sicherheitskultur. Soziale und politische Praktiken der Gefahrenabwehr, Frankfurt/New York: Campus, 159-182.

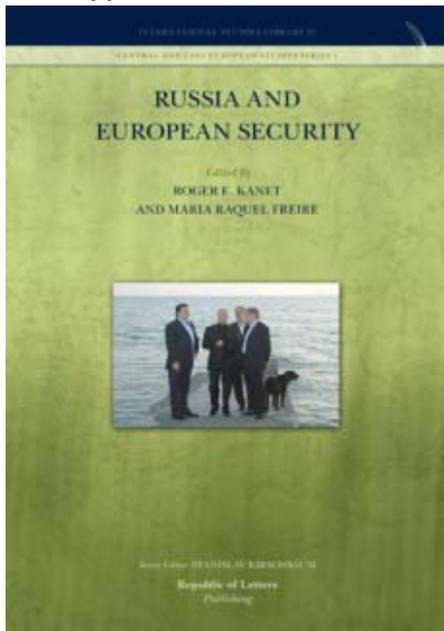
Since the attacks of 11 September 2001, governments have taken multiple decisions that strengthened the executive powers of security authorities and extended the preventive principle in security policy with reference to the allegedly new threat posed by Islamic terrorism. Yet, many of these measures give rise to doubts whether their adoption and implementation has been guided by functional considerations. The article asks which criteria political actors follow for their adoption and implementation. The authors argue that terrorism is a complex risk and that there is only scarce knowledge on its causes, targets and possible countermeasures. At the same time, decision-makers are under high pressure to demonstrate their resolve and problem-solving capacity. The article identifies three logics that drive political decision-making in the fight against terrorism under these conditions: counterterrorism as cultural practice, as political opportunity structure, and as symbolic action.

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Regina Heller: 'Subjectivity Matters: Reconsidering Russia's Relations with the West', in: Roger E. Kanet, Maria Raquel Freire (eds.): *Russia and European Security (Central and East European Studies Series, 1 (International Studies Library, 32))*, Republic of Letters Publishing: Dordrecht, The Netherlands, pp. 45-78.



Over the past two decades Russia's relations with Europe and the West, in general, have deteriorated, as Russia rebuilt its international political and economic foundations and its leaders decided to pursue a policy of re-establishing Russia as the

major regional actor and as an important global power. The edited volume 'Russia and European Security', published in March 2012 by Republic of Letters, Dordrecht, examines the factors that drive Russian for-

ign policy, including those that divide Europe from Russia. IFSH is represented by Regina Heller's chapter on 'Subjectivity Matters: Reconsidering Russia's Relations with the West'. In her contribution she argues that one cannot understand Russian foreign policy if one focuses exclusively on the material factors emphasized by realists and identifies respect as a central factor influencing Russian foreign policy makers.

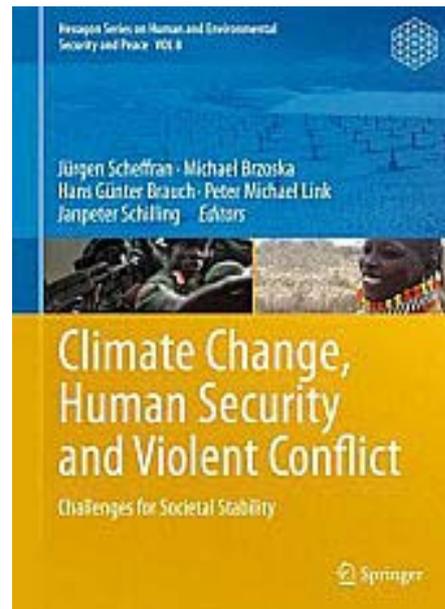
Hardbound ISBN 9789089790996; EUR 75; USD 99 (2012) 330 pp.
Paperback ISBN 9789089791009; EUR 39; USD 49 (2012) 330 pp.

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Scheffran, J., Brzoska, M., Brauch, H.G., Link, P.M. & Schilling, J. (eds.) (2012): *Climate Change, Human Security and Violent Conflict: Challenges for Societal Stability*, Berlin, Springer Verlag, Hexagon Series Vol. 8.

Scheffran, J., Brzoska, M., Kominek, J., Link, P.M. & Schilling, J. (2012): Climate change and violent conflict, *Science*, 336, pp. 869-871.



Within the co-operation in the Klima- Campus Hamburg on research on climate change and security two rather different new products have recently been published. One is an edited volume published by Springer Publishers

both as a printed and an E-Book. It contains more than 30 contributions by international authors on a wide range of topics in the recent research on the already measurable and potential impacts of climate change on violent conflict and human security. The Volume contains refereed articles most of which were first presented at a conference organized in Hamburg in November 2010 and revised afterwards. The text in the Science magazine presents a very short overview over the state of research on the relationship between climate change and violent conflict as well as suggestions for future research

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Staff news



In May 2012, Azamat Temirkulov joined the IFSH as a visiting researcher. He earned his BA and MA at the Political Science department of the Universite Libre de Bruxelles (Belgium). From 2003 till 2005 he worked as a fellow researcher at the Osteuropa Institute of the Freie Universität Berlin (Germany). From 2006 till 2007 Temirkulov worked as research fellow of the International Policy Fellowship program of the Soros Foundation. Since 2007 he is Assistant Professor at the American University in Central Asia (Kyrgyzstan). Azamat Temirkulov focuses his research in the field of conflict studies and peace building; his research region is Central Asia. In May 2012, he was admitted as a PhD candidate at the Hamburg University (Germany). His supervisors at the IFSH are Michael Brzoska and Anna Kreikemeyer.

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