

## Reducing tactical nuclear weapons Extension of an IFSH research project granted

In July 2012, the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation renewed, for the second time, funding for the project on a reduction of the role of tactical nuclear weapons in European security. The project which is run by the Arms Control Association and the British American Security Information Council in cooperation with IFSH is thus entering its third year. In addition to fostering discussions on the future of NATO's nuclear sharing arrangements, the project will also evaluate possibilities for the cooperative reduction of tactical nuclear weapons with Russia.



*Conference in Moscow: More than 70 participants debated on an IFSH co-organized conference on "Tactical Nuclear Weapons and the NATO-Russia-Dialog" at the Institute of World Economy and International Relations (IEMO) in Moscow, 12 March 2012.*

### *NATO's nuclear love affair*

At the beginning of the project in 2010, against the background of Barack Obama's speech on a world free of nuclear weapons and the pledge by the new conservative-liberal German government to advocate withdrawal of the remaining US nuclear weapons from Europe, project partners believed that there was a unique opportunity for a reduction of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe. Withdrawal moved up the political agenda in the run-up to NATO's November 2010 Lisbon summit, which was expected to adopt a new Strategic Concept.

Under NATO's nuclear sharing arrangements, the United States still deploys 180-200 tactical nuclear weapons in Belgium, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands

and Turkey. Nuclear sharing was set up during the East-West-conflict to strengthen the transatlantic linkage and burden sharing. Some of the weapons remaining in Europe would still be delivered by the armed forces of host nations. In Germany, an estimated 10-20 B61 nuclear free-fall bombs are deployed at the German air force base in Büchel. In times of war, these weapons would be delivered by German air force pilots flying ageing Tornado aircraft. While tactical nuclear weapons no longer fulfill any military role, some Central and Eastern European NATO members do value them as important symbols of the US commitment to European security.

Therefore, a key activity during the first project phase was the organization of seminars with experts and decision-makers in countries which are particularly skeptic towards a withdrawal of US nuclear weapons from Europe. At such roundtables, which were organized in cooperation with local partners for example in Ankara, Tallinn and Warsaw, participants discussed how to strengthen European security without tactical nuclear weapons. In parallel, as part of the project's research agenda, partners published Nuclear Policy Papers, which provided an opportunity for experts and decision-makers from concerned NATO states to discuss ways to reduce the role of nuclear weapons in European security.

### *From Lisbon to Chicago*

The results of NATO's Lisbon summit were sobering. The new Strategic Concept left key elements of NATO's nuclear doctrine unchanged. Alliance members could agree neither on a reduction of nuclear forces deployed in Europe, nor did they restrict NATO's options to use nuclear weapons first. One

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## Contents

Reducing tactical nuclear weapons. Extension of an IFSH research project granted.....	1
Research on security risks of climate change at the IFSH.....	2
Disarmament in the pre-election phase.	
IFAR research trips.....	3
CORE researcher at SIPRI/KIMEP Conference „Central Asia and Afghanistan in an evolving regional order“ .....	4
ANVIL-Consortium Workshop in Utrecht.....	4
Publications .....	5

reason for this inflexibility was the discussion on missile defence in Europe which overshadowed the debate on NATO's nuclear policies. In addition, France and some Eastern European allies vetoed any changes to NATO's nuclear doctrine. NATO also linked possible reductions of its nuclear weapons to reciprocal steps by Russia, which is believed to have about 2,000 operational tactical nuclear weapons. However, in an attempt to bridge differences on NATO's future nuclear posture, allies agreed on a Deterrence and Defence Posture Review (DDPR).

The DDPR, which was supposed to balance conventional, nuclear and missile defence elements of NATO's posture, was at the centre of the second phase of the project. During seminars in Berlin, Paris and Moscow opportunities for a reform of NATO's nuclear weapons policy as well as options for confidence-building with Moscow were also discussed. The German Federal Foreign Office supported the roundtable in Berlin; the Moscow event was organized in cooperation with the Friedrich Ebert Foundation.



*Conference in Paris with more than 30 diplomats, NATO staff and experts discussed at the Institut de Relations Internationales et Stratégiques (IRIS) in Paris, 5-6 March 2012.*

#### What now?

The DDPR report, which was adopted at the May 2012 Chicago summit, did not bring substantive changes but allies did agree to a new arms control committee which is expected to evaluate options for a cooperative reduction of tactical nuclear weapons.

During the next project phase, options for reducing tactical nuclear weapons will be discussed in the broader context of US missile defense plans and the development of new conventional capabilities. IFSH staff has analyzed the linkages between these different issues in the study "Prospects for Arms Control in Europe" which the Friedrich Ebert Foundation published in November 2011. The project partners also aim to develop options for greater transparency and confidence-building on nuclear weapons in Europe. Seminars on these issues are being planned in Paris and Moscow, London and Washington. In addition, Parliamentarians from nuclear host nations and NATO

nuclear weapon states will be informed and consulted on issues of nuclear disarmament in Europe. It is hoped that these activities will help to strengthen the lobby for a reform of NATO's nuclear weapon policy.

From a German perspective, one immediate goal is to support the initiative for a withdrawal through the development of specific arms control proposals. In addition, the project will aim to stop the deployment of modernized US nuclear weapons in Europe and prevent further investments in new delivery systems. Even if a withdrawal of US nuclear weapons appears unlikely in the near-term, nuclear sharing arrangements must not be extended through new modernization programs.



*Conference in Moscow: The conference was co-organized by the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung against the background of the upcoming NATO summit.*

Information on the project and tactical nuclear weapons in Europe can be found at <http://tacticalnuclearweapons.ifsh.de>

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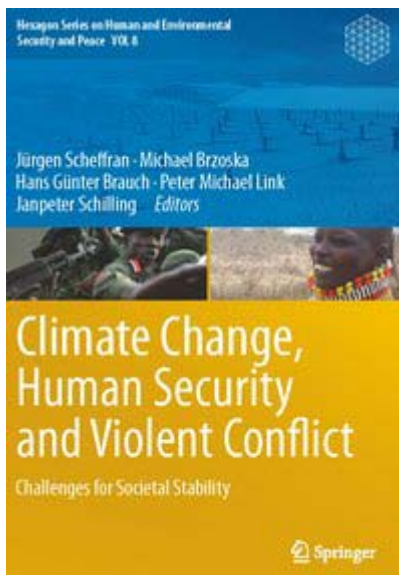
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## Research on security risks of climate change at the IFSH

The participation of the IFSH in research on the consequences of climate change will continue with the prolongation of the Cluster of Excellence "Integrated Climate System Analysis and Prediction" (CLiSAP) at the University of Hamburg, which the German Research Association announced in June 2012. The IFSH was involved in the development of the proposal for CLiSAP and is one of the partner institutions of the University of Hamburg within in the KlimaCampus Hamburg (<http://www.klimacampus.de/>).

During CLiSAP's first phase of operation (2007-2012) a number of research projects were begun at the IFSH, including dissertations on the links between forest





protection and conflict in the Amazon region (by Denise Völker), on the modeling of river beds (Christian Alwardt) and on the relationship between natural disasters, migration and conflict. The IFSH was co-organizer of a number of workshops and conferences, such as an international

conference on the state of research on the relationships between climate change, violent conflict and societal stability, and an international workshop on the risks of geo-engineering, the suggested attempt to counter climate change through large-scale deliberate technical counter-measures. Research at the IFSH fed into a number of publications, including an article in "Science" and a volume collecting the current state of research on the security risks of climate change, most of which were written in close cooperation with natural and social scientists at the KlimaCampus Hamburg.

Research in the second phase of CLiSAP, which began in October 2012, will build on these achievements. Michael Brzoska will continue to lead a group within CLiSAP on "climate change, security risks and violent conflict", together with Prof. Jürgen Scheffran. Main areas of research during the coming years will be research on the relationship between environmentally-induced migration and conflicts, the perception of the consequences by security institutions, particularly the military, and the conflict risks of geoengineering. Close cooperation is foreseen with a larger number of colleagues at the University of Hamburg, who have agreed to research issues related to the security risks of climate change, with a regional focus on Northern Africa.

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### **Disarmament in the pre-election phase IFAR research trips to Newport (USA), Pugwash (Canada), Berlin and Zurich**

From 12 to 18 August 2012, Götz Neuneck visited the United States. The occasion was the workshop: "Ballistic Missile Defense: Post-Chicago Summit, Pre elections" on 13 August 2012, which was held at the U.S. Naval War College in Newport, Rhode Island. In

addition to a review of the missile defense system in Europe after the Chicago NATO-Summit the BMD policies of the U.S. and the different positions of the US presidential candidates were subject of the meeting.



*Group photo at Pugwash Conference in front of the summer residence of Cyrus Eaton, where the first Pugwash Conference took place in July 1957.*

A contrast to that was the conference "A Secure World without Nuclear Weapons" that took place at a historic place in Nova Scotia, Canada from 16-18 August 2013. During the Cold War in July 1957 at the invitation of the industrialist Cyrus Eaton, 22 senior scientists from the U.S., the Soviet Union, China and other 10 countries met in the small fishing village of Pugwash to warn of the consequences of an arms race and develop appropriate steps for nuclear disarmament. Now the historic site of Eaton's summer was converted to a museum and a conference house. Here a "Strategic Foresight Workshop" was held by the Canadian Pugwash Group to discuss the necessary steps towards a world without nuclear weapons. Götz Neuneck gave talks at the two conferences speaking about European security and arms control. On 11 September 2012, the Federal Government Commissioner for Disarmament and Arms Control held a meeting in the Foreign Office, Berlin. The idea was to invite German Think Tanks to exchange views on current disarmament and non-proliferation policies. Michael Brzoska and Götz Neuneck took part in that meeting in Berlin. The latter gave a lecture on the prospects for arms control in Europe, including the tactical nuclear weapon issue. From 6-8 September, Katarzyna Kubiak and Oliver Meier took part in the conference "The Future of Extended Nuclear Deterrence in Europe" in Zurich. The seminar had been organized by the Center for Security Studies at the ETH Zurich. Oliver Meier presented a paper on the future role of NATO in nuclear arms control and chaired the closing panel.

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## SIPRI/KIMEP Conference „Central Asia and Afghanistan in an evolving regional order“

CORE researcher at SIPRI-conference in Almaty, Kazakhstan

Nobody can predict what will happen in Afghanistan in 2014, not even the actors who are directly involved in the conflict. At least, we know that there will be no complete withdrawal of external forces from Afghanistan in 2014. In addition, some representatives of the Taliban indicated a possible willingness to negotiations and a non-use of extensive force. That is why Afghanistan not necessarily has to end up in the next nationwide civil war. The risk of destabilization, however, remains high, not only for Afghanistan itself but also for the adjacent countries. The U.S., but also regional powers like Pakistan, Russia and Iran therefore engage in Afghanistan according to their very own interest. But also the Central Asian states as neighboring countries are affected by the developments in Afghanistan. Afghanistan poses a problem to these states virtually since their independence, at least since 1995, when the Taliban took over power in Kabul. However, the Central Asian states are not mere objects of the conflict and of international politics. Instead they must also be analyzed as actors as they have also been actively engaged in Afghanistan in the past.

During a pilot study, financed by the DSF, the IFSH has already analyzed the Central Asian states' perception of and role in the Afghanistan conflict. As part of the larger project, the IFSH now plans to analyze the Afghanistan policies of the Central Asia states, especially of Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. Other institutes in Europe are concerned with Afghanistan and Central Asia, too. IFSH staff member Sebastian Schiek was invited by SIPRI Stockholm and the German Robert Bosch Foundation to participate in the conference „Central Asia and Afghanistan in an evolving regional order“, which took place at KIMEP University in Almaty, Kazakhstan, 9 to 11 September. The conference was organized by Neil Melvin (SIPRI) and Nargis Kassenova (KIMEP). It was part of a larger SIPRI research project that aims



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at analyzing the perceptions of Afghanistan in Central Asia and other neighboring regions. More than twenty experts from Central Asia, Russia and China took part in the conference. During seven different panels, the participating experts discussed the Afghanistan conflict, risks of destabilization for Central Asia after the withdrawal of ISAF troops from Afghanistan, the influence of regional powers in Central Asia and the capabilities of regional security organizations. Sebastian Schiek had the chance to talk to SIPRI staff members about possible synergy effects in relation to the IFSH research program.

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## ANVIL-Consortium Workshop in Utrecht

Since this summer, Raphael Bossong and Hendrik Hegemann are participating in an EU-funded project dealing with the comparative analysis of civil security systems in Europe (ANVIL). The two-year-project with partners from eight countries defines systems of civil security as the policies, agencies and mechanisms existing in a country or region to protect it against threats to the security of its citizens or the functioning of critical infrastructure.



The project focuses on the preparedness for crises and the concrete response to such situations. Relevant crisis scenarios include natural disasters, accidents, critical infrastructure failure and terrorist attacks. National governments increasingly coordinate their activities with neighboring countries, regional organizations and private actors based on a differentiated system of security governance. The project investigates different approaches and structures at the national and regional level and their legal and cultural determinants as well as established crisis management practices.

On 11 and 12 September, the ANVIL consortium met at the School of Governance at the University of Utrecht for its first workshop. At this occasion, participants discussed the conceptual and empirical challenges regarding the 17 envisaged country studies. A detailed analytical manual will guide the gathering of qualitative and quantitative data and allow for a systematic comparison across the different countries. Furthermore, the workshop included an informal exchange with practitioners and crisis managers from several EU countries (Ireland, Netherlands, Romania,

UK). They stressed importance of sharing empirically-saturated “best practices” in transnational expert networks. ANVIL aims to make a policy-relevant contribution in this regard at the EU level. Finally, the ANVIL consortium decided to aim for further activities in EU security research and outreach to decision-makers. The next ANVIL workshop, which will take place at the IFSH in February 2013, will present first empirical results and mark the start of the next project stage dealing with the comparative assessment of national crisis management structures.

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## Publications

### Volume 3/2012 of „Security and Peace” published



Volume 3/2012 of the journal „S+F. Sicherheit und Frieden, Security and Peace”, edited by Heiner Hänggi, focuses on the topic of „Developing National Security Strategies“. The following articles are included: Bastian Giegerich and Alexandra Jonas, “Auf der Suche nach best practice? Die Entstehung nationaler Sicherheitsstrategien im internationalen Vergleich”, Bård B. Knudsen, “Developing a National Security Policy/Strategy: A Roadmap”, Vincenza Scherrer, “UN Support to National Security Policy-Making from an Institution-Building Perspective”, Sven Biscop, “No Strategy Lasts Forever: Time for a New European Security Strategy”, and Christopher Daase and Julian Junk, “Strategische Kultur und Sicherheitsstrategien in Deutschland”. The issue also contains an article by Marco Overhaus and Michael Paul on „Afghanistan: Ungewisse Zukunft der Transition“ and by Andrea Zemskov-Züge on “Erinnerung, Geschichtsbilder und zivile Konfliktbearbeitung – Ein Erfahrungsbericht zur Anwendung theoretischer Konzepte in der friedenspädagogischen Praxis“. For more information please visit

<http://www.sicherheit-und-frieden.nomos.de/1/archiv/2012/issue-3/>.

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### Indicators for risk assessment of piracy and maritime terrorism: problematization and results – Joint report by the academic partners of PiraT [in German language].

This publication is a result of a cooperation of twelve writers and five institutes who published the 18th PiraT Working Paper in September 2012.

The researchers from the IFSH, BLS, DIW, TUHH and ISZA jointly identify indicators to assess the risks of maritime piracy and terrorism. Four aspects are emphasized: the indicators are

different in the various fields (political science, law, business, engineering and future research). Qualitative factors play a bigger role in the social science as well as in legal discipline. Additionally, the indicators are strongly bound to context and therefore less suitable for a numerical calculation of risks, but they can nevertheless identify trends.

The IFSH contributes twice to the 64-page working paper, by providing the introduction by Hans-Georg Ehrhart and presenting the first indicators chapter written by Hans-Georg Ehrhart, Kerstin Petretto, and Patricia Schneider. While Ehrhart initially introduces the topic, authors and contributions, the common chapter firstly explains the concept of security governance. Secondly, risk-concept is outlined and thirdly, the formation of indicators for the phenomena of piracy and maritime terrorism is explained. Fourthly, the authors assess the risk model under consideration of damage and probability of occurrence. In this scope, Ehrhart, Petretto and Schneider apply a risk model, which was re-adapted to the findings during the project.

Free download at [www.maritimesecurity.eu](http://www.maritimesecurity.eu).

**Ehrhart, H.-G., Petretto, K. & Schneider, P., 2012. Indikatoren – Beitrag des Instituts für Friedensforschung und Sicherheitspolitik an der Universität Hamburg (IFSH), in: Verbundprojekt PiraT (Hrsg.) (2012): Indikatoren zur Risikobewertung von Piraterie und maritimem Terrorismus: Problematisierung und Ergebnisse – Gemeinsamer Bericht der wissenschaftlichen Partner des Projekts PiraT. PiraT Arbeitspapier zur Maritimen Sicherheit Nr. 18, Hamburg, S. 5-20.**  
[http://www.maritimesecurity.eu/fileadmin/content/news\\_events/workingpaper/PiraT\\_Arbeitspapier\\_Nr18\\_2012.pdf](http://www.maritimesecurity.eu/fileadmin/content/news_events/workingpaper/PiraT_Arbeitspapier_Nr18_2012.pdf)

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**Johann Schmid, Clausewitz: Vom Kriege – für den Frieden. In: Journal der Politisch-Militärischen Gesellschaft, Denkwürdigkeiten, Nr. 80, August 2012, S. 1-7.**

German Federal Armed Forces soldiers are in combat at the Hindu Kush while Germany debates the question whether or not there is war in Afghanistan. Against the background of such dilemmas the question to ask is: Do we actually understand the context, in which we are operating in? Do we understand war in its current specific forms and diverse appearances with its immanent logic and dialectic? Leading representatives from the field of peace and conflict research made clear that this also concerns an intellectual deficit, referring that until the mid-1990s there hardly had been any scientific studies on war in Germany. While peace and conflict research in Germany today mainly focuses on causes and origins of war, a fundamental understanding of what is actually happening within war and conflict is missing. But how can science provide competent policy advising or societal education regarding war, peace, security policy and strategy without understanding the essence of war and how war functions? Because he who wants peace needs to understand war. Carl von Clausewitz and his work *On War* provide no prepared answers but well grounded further inspiration.



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## Imprint

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