

Annual Report

2007

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an der Universität Hamburg (IFSH)

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1. The Work of the IFSH in 2007 – The Director's Foreword

The awarding of the 2007 Nobel Peace Prize to the former US Vice President Al Gore and the UN Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change marks the change in the understanding of security and peace in recent years. Security and peace are endangered in multiple ways. Massive climate change will worsen the living conditions of people, especially in poor countries, with the risk of violent conflicts, but, above all, with economic consequences. The problem – climate change – on the other hand, is created primarily in the rich countries and, in the future in the countries that are rapidly becoming richer. Ecological, economic, political and security problems are interwoven and both non-governmental as well as governmental actors are involved. National borders are becoming less important – both with respect to the origins of risk as well as their possible consequences. The risks for the use of force are transmitted across borders.



Transnational risks of violence to which, in addition to the security relevant consequences of climate change, international terrorism and the „dark sides“ of globalization – trafficking in arms and arms technology as well as transnational organized crime – can be counted, have, for some time, dominated the peace and security political agenda in Germany and Europe. They have also become more important for the work of IFSH in recent years, both with respect to research and in consulting. The staff at the Center for European Peace and Security Studies (ZEUS) at IFSH has, for example, made many well-regarded contributions to the questions around dealing with terrorism. Since 2006, IFSH has been involved in activities within the Security Research Programme of the German government. IFSH cooperates in the area of „Climate Change and Security“ within the Excellence Cluster of the University of Hamburg on Integrated Climate Research (CLISAP), which began its work in 2007.

With its new work program, formulated in 2007, IFSH is seeking to put its research on transnational risks of violence on a new and well-grounded basis. Thereby, the Institute remains committed to searching for conflict solutions with civil and peaceful means. Thus, the analysis of the measures that the international actors take or could take to promote peace and security under the conditions of globalization and trans-nationalization are at the forefront of the research work.

However, the Institute cannot neglect the 'traditional' problems for peace and security for these risks that are frequently referred to as "new". The three analytical contributions to this annual report offer striking examples of this. The Israeli-Palestinian conflict has experienced a further escalation as a result of Hamas coming to power in the Gaza Strip. The relationships between Russia and Western nations have deteriorated further since 2007. The suspension of the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe is an expression of this. The *de facto* recognition of India as a nuclear weapon state as a result of the US seeking a nuclear treaty between the two countries, further weakens the already crippled Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

These are only some of the current topics that the staff of IFSH grappled with in 2007 and on which they have written papers, conducted background discussions and given interviews. Other key topics are Afghanistan, Kosovo or Iran. The public interest in the expertise from IFSH is great, as the statistics in the annex document. This is shown in the number of questions from the press, which were answered, as well as participation in IFSH events and the use of Internet offerings.

The various forms of political consultation represent a further mainstay in addition to public relations work. This affects the entire spectrum of competencies within IFSH, which are described in this annual report in the presentation of the three research units. This work is particularly close within the environment of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) through the Center for OSCE Research at IFSH (CORE), which advises the Secretariat in Vienna as well as representatives of many Participating States, OSCE institutions and the responsible departments in the Foreign Office. An expression of the esteem in which CORE is held, was the reception to the 2007 report developed by an international expert group at IFSH under the leadership



of Wolfgang Zellner on the future of the OSCE under the title „Identifying the Cutting Edge: The Future Impact of the OSCE“. The study, commissioned by the Finnish government was presented at the beginning of January 2008 in Helsinki and in Vienna in the presence of high-level representatives of practically all of the OSCE participating States.

IFAR², the interdisciplinary group working at IFSH on questions of arms control and risk technology is also very active in political consultation outside of Germany, especially via the international Pugwash Scientists Association.

At the EU level, a consultancy program, in which IFSH is a partner, for the Subcommittee on Security and Defense of the European Parliament has been initiated. Thus IFSH consulting activity on questions of European peace and security policy, which is conducted primarily by ZEUS group staff, has been expanded.

A special event in the year 2007, falling between consultation and education, was a five-week CORE training course for Kazakh diplomats. Kazakhstan will take over the OSCE Chairmanship in 2010. The number of Kazakh diplomats with pertinent knowledge is still limited. The Kazakh and German Foreign Ministries selected CORE as the organizer for an intensive training program. For IFSH this training program could be a door-opener for continuing education of diplomats and high-ranking public officials.

IFSH scholars draw their legitimacy both in political consultation and in public relations work from the research work. Research is, for this reason, the indispensable basis for the work of IFSH. Beyond this, contribution to scientific discussion is a primary aim of the work at IFSH.

In 2007 the staff at IFSH published six anthologies, five monographs, 35 brochures and reports, 57 book chapters and 50 journal articles. 19 of the contributions were reviewed, nine of them in a double-blind assessment process. IFSH issues two series of publications that address a broader public („Hamburger Informationen“ and IFSH Aktuell, which also appears in English) and a series („Hamburg Contributions“), which addresses a professional audience. These series are financed with the sponsorship of the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg. In addition, it edits a book series (Democracy, Security and Peace) and a journal (Security and Peace, S+F). Finally IFSH is co-publisher of two yearbooks, of the Peace Report of the five leading German peace research institutes and of the OSCE Yearbook which is published in German, English and Russian.

In addition to publications, lectures and conferences are significant elements of scientific communication. IFSH Staff held 165 lectures in 2007 and took part in 121 conferences. The IFSH also organized an array of scientific conferences of its own, on democratization in Central Asia, on nuclear policy on the Indian subcontinent (together with the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, USA and The National Academy for Security Policy in Berlin), on cooperation between the EU and China (together with the Centre for European Studies of the East China Normal University and Charles University in Prague) and on the future of the foreign military presence in Afghanistan (together with Queens University, Canada and the German Armed Forces Staff College).

An indispensable part of the scientific work of the IFSH is the promotion of young researchers. The 5th class of the „Master of Peace and Security Studies (M.P.S.)“ program conducted jointly with the University of Hamburg was seen off with the formal presentation of diplomas to 24 successful graduates and the 6th class was begun with 27 students. Following the expiration of the initial funding from the German Foundation for Peace Research the IFSH and the University of Hamburg are now responsible for financing this program. Three female and two male doctoral candidates, supervised in the Institute's own doctoral program, completed their doctorates in 2007. At the end of 2007 16 doctoral candidates were participating in the doctoral program at IFSH. In addition, Institute staff members were involved as supervisors/referees for doctoral supervision and doctoral procedures outside of IFSH. IFSH is the University of Hamburg partner for the European course of study, the „European Master of Human Rights and Democratization“: With the guidance of Hans J. Gießmann, three Master's students were supervised at IFSH last year. A special aspect of junior staff development is the cooperation of IFSH with the East China Normal University in Shanghai. It was agreed in 2007 that each year, up to two doctoral candidates of one institution would be supervised by the other. In addition scholars will teach regularly in Shanghai. Also three of the seven



guest scholars who have spent longer periods at IFSH are academics at the East China Normal University in Shanghai, with which IFSH has had a close exchange for many years.

The amount of third party funding procured in the reporting year was 779.247 €. This is a clear increase over the previous years. Its value goes beyond the personnel and material costs which were able to be covered in 2007 by new or previously approved subsidies. This increase in third party commitments is due primarily to more projects being procured in the areas of consultation and training, among them those from the Foreign Ministries of Finland, Germany and Kazakhstan and the Molinari Foundation of the German Army Federation. In addition, an array of smaller research projects was begun with the help of various research foundations. Applications for new, larger research projects were, by contrast, only partially successful. Thus while IFSH is a partner in two projects in the 7th EU Research Framework Programme (RFP), two applications to the German Research Foundation were rejected.

The work of IFSH was also supported by a larger number of external funders in 2007. However, the primary burden is carried by the donor, the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg. It and its citizens deserve our special thanks.

We want to especially underline these thanks in the report for the year 2007. The building at Beim Schlump 83, into which IFSH, along with the Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker Centre for Science and Peace Research, the Institute for Contemporary History and the Institute for the History of German Jews, moved in early summer 2007, was laboriously renovated with financing from the Ministry for Science and Research of the City of Hamburg. Particular thanks are due to the Chairman of the Board of Trustees, Roland Salchow and his colleagues in the department responsible for IFSH. This venerable building not only offers more space – which, however, has again become somewhat limited – but also new possibilities for intensifying cooperation thanks to its proximity to the university and to other research institutions.

The housewarming for the building on October 30, 2007 will long be remembered by IFSH staff. The First Mayor of the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg, Ole von Beust, praised the work of IFSH but also urged the Institute to use well the new possibilities offered by the change of locale. This happened immediately after the ceremonial opening via a variety of informational offerings including a Podium Discussion with the former Polish Foreign Minister, Adam Daniel Rotfeld, which was conducted jointly with the Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker Centre for Science and Peace Research. This offering, like those of the other four institutes in the new building, was received with great interest.

2007 was a year of farewells – from the building on Falkenstein, from the worthy colleagues, Gunda Meier, Heidemarie Bruns and Heinke Peters, who retired and from Erwin Müller, who, as a senior researcher, had helped shape the work of the Institute for many years and died before completing his 60th year of life.

But even more, 2007 was a year of renewal – with a new building, a new Institute Statute, new projects and a new program for the future work of IFSH.

Hamburg, February 2008

Michael Brzoska



2. Current topics in the work of the Institute 2007

2.1 CFE Treaty

Wolfgang Zellner

The Suspension of the CFE Treaty – the Beginning of the End of Co-operative Security in Europe?



On 13 July 2007, the Russian President, Vladimir Putin, threatened the suspension of the Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) Treaty if the Adapted CFE (ACFE) Treaty was not ratified and put into force within 150 days and a number of additional requests of the Russian Federation fulfilled.¹ An extraordinary conference of the CFE states parties on 12-15 June 2007, as well as three informal meetings, the last one on the margins of the OSCE Ministerial Council meeting in late November 2007 in Madrid, were unable to deflect this move. On 12 December 2007, the CFE Treaty was actually suspended by the Russian government, meaning that Russia is no longer participating in the exchange of information and is denying access for on-site inspections. As its “suspension” is not foreseen in the Treaty’s text, Russia’s behaviour will soon qualify as a material breach of the treaty. Consequently, there is only a limited window of opportunity to save the CFE Treaty. Its collapse would destroy the key element of the co-operative European arms control regime that has been in place since the early 1990s.

From the CFE to the Adapted CFE Treaty

Common and co-operative security was one of the conceptional pillars of the 1990 CSCE Charter of Paris. This was underpinned by a comprehensive arms control regime, whose main elements were the CFE Treaty, the Vienna Document (VD) 1990 and, later, the Open Skies Treaty. While the latter two provide for increased military transparency, only the CFE Treaty combines limiting major conventional weapon systems with the detailed exchange of information and intrusive inspections. Thus, the CFE represents the irreplaceable core element of the whole European arms control regime.

The original CFE Treaty,² which was signed at the CSCE Paris Summit on 19 November 1990, was shaped by the bipolar structure of the Cold War. Its ceilings for the five categories of treaty-limited equipment (TLE) refer to two “group[s] of States Parties that signed the Treaty of Warsaw of 1955” or “the Treaty of Brussels of 1948 or the Treaty of Washington of 1949”.³ The Treaty’s system of regional limitations (Article IV) is also completely framed by the group principle. Although these stipulations were already outdated at the time of the Treaty’s signature, they were bearable until the first three states within the long-since-fictitious Eastern group of states parties – the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland – acceded to NATO in March 1999.

After years of demands by the Russian Federation, negotiations on the adaptation of the Treaty to the changed political environment were started in January 1997. They were concluded at the 1999 Istanbul Summit Meeting with the signing of two documents on the adaptation of the CFE Treaty by its 30

¹ Information on the decree “On Suspending the Russian Federation’s Participation in the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe and Related International Agreements” of 13 July 2007 is available at: <http://www.mid.ru>.

² Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe, at: http://www.osce.org/documents/doclib/1990/11/13752_en.pdf.

³ Ibid., Article II, 1 (A). According to Article IV, 1, the number of TLE for each group of states parties is not to exceed 20,000 battle tanks, 30,000 armoured combat vehicles (ACV), 20,000 pieces of artillery, 6,800 combat aircraft, and 2,000 attack helicopters.



states parties.⁴ The single most important innovation of the ACFE Treaty is the replacement of the collective ceilings for the two groups of states parties by national and territorial ceilings for the individual states.⁵ A national ceiling limits the number of TLE each state may possess, irrespective of where these TLE are deployed. Territorial ceilings limit the number of TLE in three categories of land forces deployed within a territorial unit, usually a state's territory, irrespective of whether these are national or foreign forces. States are allowed to raise their national and territorial ceilings unilaterally by 20 per cent within a five-year period. Both ceilings together, spread over the whole area of application, create – at least in principle – a kind of territorial network that enhances stability and the ability to defend, while at the same time limiting military flexibility and capabilities for offensive action.

Precisely this relationship between stability, on the one hand, and military flexibility, on the other, developed into the main bone of contention during the ACFE negotiations. To increase flexibility, the NATO states, mainly driven by US aspirations, put through two variants of a specific instrument called “Temporary Deployment”. Under a “Basic Temporary Deployment” a state is allowed to exceed its territorial ceilings by 153 tanks, 241 armoured combat vehicles (ACVs), and 140 pieces of artillery. Under an “Exceptional Temporary Deployment”, a state is even allowed to exceed its territorial ceilings by three times as many TLE, i.e., 459 tanks, 723 ACVs, and 420 pieces of artillery. This rule is applied on a state-by-state basis and can thus be used by several states at the same time. The term “temporary” was not defined in any way, thus leaving open how long a temporary deployment could last. Originally, the Russian Federation was not prepared to accept such a high level of flexibility. Ultimately, it was only prepared to agree because a number of European states were prepared to limit their individual military flexibility. The Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, and the Slovak Republic decreased their territorial ceilings by 1,700 TLE.⁶ In addition, these four states, along with Belarus, Germany, and Ukraine, declared that they had no intentions of raising their territorial ceilings.⁷ For Poland, in particular, this was made easier by a Russian declaration that there are “no reasons, plans or intentions to station substantial additional combat forces, whether air or ground forces”⁸ in the Kaliningrad and Pskov oblasts. With respect to regional limitations, the system of concentric zones in the centre of Europe and the sufficiency rule were abolished, while a modified version of the flank rule was maintained.⁹

The Adapted CFE Treaty reinforces the territorial sovereignty of individual states parties. The right of each state party to decide whether to permit or forbid the deployment of foreign military forces on its territory was reinforced by strengthening the requirements for host nation consent to the presence of foreign forces. Following its entry into force, the ACFE Treaty will be open for accession by any OSCE participating State with territory within the Treaty's area of application. This is particularly relevant in view of the fact that the armed forces of the newly admitted NATO states Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Slovenia, as well as any foreign armed forces that may be stationed on their territory, are not yet limited by the CFE regime.

⁴ Cf. Agreement on Adaptation of the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe, 19 November 1999, at: http://www.osce.org/documents/doclib/1999/11/13760_en.pdf (CFE Adaptation Agreement); Final Act of the Conference of the States Parties to the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe, 19 November 1999, at: http://www.osce.org/documents/doclib/1999/11/13761_en.pdf (CFE Final Act).

⁵ Cf. CFE Adaptation Agreement, *ibid.*, Articles 5 and 6.

⁶ Cf. CFE Final Act, cited above (Note 4), Annex 1, Statement on behalf of the Czech Republic; Annex 2, Statement on behalf of the Republic of Hungary; Annex 3, Statement on behalf of the Republic of Poland; Annex 4, Statement on behalf of the Slovak Republic.

⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, Annex 6, Statement on behalf of the Republic of Belarus; Annex 7, Statement on behalf of the Czech Republic; Annex 8, Statement on behalf of the Federal Republic of Germany; Annex 9, Statement on behalf of the Republic of Hungary; Annex 10, Statement on behalf of the Republic of Poland; Annex 11, Statement on behalf of the Slovak Republic; Annex 12, Statement on behalf of Ukraine.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Annex 5, Statement on behalf of the Russian Federation.

⁹ The regional limitations of the 1990 CFE Treaty provided three concentric ceilings in the “centre” of Europe (Article IV) aimed at limiting the concentration of forces at the “frontline”, the inner-German border. An additional flank rule limited TLE in the northern and southern areas (Article V). This particularly concerns the Russian Federation that cannot freely move its military equipment within its territory.



Disagreement over the "Istanbul Commitments"

The ratification and entry into force of the Adapted CFE Treaty has faced substantial problems since 1999. Up to now, only Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan have ratified the treaty. Between 1999 and 2001 the major obstacle consisted in the fact that Russian holdings in the flank area substantially exceeded the flank ceilings. However, by the end of 2001, Russia had reduced its TLE accordingly and met the flank ceilings.

The more substantial impediment to the ratification of the ACFE Treaty by NATO states has consisted in the Russian Federation's failure to fulfil its commitment to withdraw its forces from Georgia and Moldova – the so-called Istanbul commitments contained in the Istanbul Summit Declaration and the CFE Final Act.¹⁰ However, the NATO states' current position that they will only be willing to ratify the ACFE Treaty after Russia has fulfilled its Istanbul commitments emerged only three years after Istanbul at the 2002 NATO Prague summit meeting. It was only there that the NATO states made the following statement: "We urge swift fulfilment of the outstanding Istanbul commitments on Georgia and Moldova, which will create the conditions for Allies and other States Parties to move forward on ratification of the Adapted CFE Treaty."¹¹ Thus, the NATO states created a firm link between their ratification of the treaty and the withdrawal of Russian forces from Georgia and Moldova – something that has been vehemently rejected by Russia. In this way, the NATO states tried to use the ratification of the ACFE Treaty as leverage to achieve the withdrawal of the Russian forces, and, furthermore, indirectly as a means to solve the related territorial conflicts in Georgia and Moldova.

The current state of affairs is that, after years of blockage, the withdrawal of the Russian armed forces from Georgia in accordance with a Georgian-Russian agreement of March 2006 was completed in December 2007 one year ahead of schedule. The remaining difficulties are the presence of Russian (CIS) peacekeeping forces in Abkhazia and South Ossetia, and the handing over of the military base in Gudauta, which is situated in Abkhazia, and therefore not under Georgian control. In Moldova (Transnistria), there is still a Russian depot containing about 20,000 tons of ammunition as well as Russian guards. There are also Russian (CIS) peacekeeping troops in Transnistria. All these problems are widely seen as solvable, as the US has recently shown considerable flexibility on the issue of the Istanbul commitments, in general, and the peacekeeping forces, in particular.

All in all, the NATO states' linking of the fulfilment of the Istanbul commitments and the putting into force of the ACFE Treaty has proven to be a serious miscalculation. While it has effectively delayed the ratification and entry into force of the ACFE Treaty and might even contribute to the destruction of the whole CFE Treaty regime, it has facilitated neither the withdrawal of the Russian armed forces from Georgia and Moldova nor the resolution of the related territorial conflicts there.

Additional Russian Demands

In addition to its urgent request that NATO states finally ratify the ACFE Treaty, Russia has made additional demands. The three most important are

- "the reduction of the permissible [...] Treaty-limited equipment for NATO countries in order to compensate for the widening of the NATO alliance". This equates to the reintroduction of the

¹⁰ Istanbul Summit Declaration, in: Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, Istanbul Summit 1999, Istanbul Document 1999, PCOEW389, January 2000/Corr., paragraph 19, at: http://www.osceorg/documents/mcs/1999/11/4050_en.pdf, CFE Final Act, cited above (Note 4), Annex 14: Joint Statement of the Russian Federation and Georgia.

¹¹ NATO, *Prague Summit Declaration*, Issued by the Heads of State and Government participating in the meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Prague on 21 November 2002, paragraph 15, at: <http://nato.int/docu/pr/2002/p02-127e.htm>, paragraph 15.



outdated idea of an East-West balance of armed forces, something that the ACFE Treaty was intended precisely to overcome.

- the “abolition of flank restrictions on Russian territory”¹²
- and the provisional entry into force of the ACFE Treaty.

Ironically, it has turned out that while positions on the Istanbul commitments are drawing closer together, the additional Russian demands seem to represent the true barriers to a deal. The request for a military balance between NATO and the Russian Federation shows that the Russian leadership no longer shares the idea of co-operative security, but perceives NATO as a potentially adversarial alliance that has to be counterbalanced. However, if one takes into account the US plans for Global Missile Defence with elements deployed in Europe, US military bases in Bulgaria and Romania, and the strong US desire to accept Georgia and Ukraine as NATO members, it is not surprising, that the entirety of these politico-military changes is perceived in Moscow as a strategy of military containment. Nevertheless, a formalized agreement on a military balance between NATO and Russia would represent a relapse into Cold-War thinking that is neither feasible nor desirable. Possible options for compromise consist in unilateral declarations of restraint comparable to those contained in the CFE Final Act.

The Russian request for abolition of the flank rule is motivated by two factors: First, Russia feels singled out, as it is the only state that is not allowed to move its armed forces within its territory without restrictions. Second, Russia argues that it might need more armed forces to combat terrorism in the Caucasus. As the flank rule already allows for several thousands of TLE in the flank area, this underlines Russia’s heavily militarized understanding of the “fight against terrorism”. With respect to options for compromise, the key obstacle is the position of Turkey, which wants to maintain the flank ceilings at any cost. On the other hand, the US is not particularly interested in the flank rule, and Norway has shown flexibility on this question.

The third Russian request (for the immediate provisional entry into force of the ACFE Treaty) is also difficult to meet, because it would need to be put on a legal basis in most countries. The key negotiations on ACFE matters are occurring in a bilateral framework between the US and Russia. In these negotiations, the US has displayed considerable flexibility, which reflects the fact that co-operation with Russia is needed in a number of other areas, e.g. on Iran. In spite of this, whether these negotiations will lead to the entry of the ACFE Treaty and thus to the saving of the CFE regime is entirely open.

The Impact of the Possible Destruction of the CFE Regime

Direct consequences The possible collapse of the CFE regime will almost certainly not lead to a general build-up of conventional armed forces in Europe. On the one hand, there is considerable headroom between current TLE holdings and CFE ceilings, while, on the other hand, there is no reason to engage in such an expensive exercise. However, subregional arms races would be made easier. This is of particular concern in the South Caucasus, which has, in any case, experienced an arms race for years. Currently, the CFE still provides for equal ceilings in the five categories of TLE for Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia. If these ceilings were no longer in place, the build-up of heavy armaments might accelerate. Another aspect of a potential failure of the CFE Treaty is the relapse from co-operative to unilateral transparency. Under the CFE regime, TLE holdings in the whole region from the Atlantic to the Urals are transparent to all states parties. If the Treaty fails, this information will again become the privilege of those states that possess the means to undertake satellite-based reconnaissance.

Broader consequences The potential collapse of the CFE Treaty represents a direct challenge to the whole politico-military dimension of the OSCE, because the 1999 Vienna Document would then be

¹² All quotations in the following enumeration are from the Russian decree on suspending the CFE Treaty, cited above (Note 1).



the sole remaining document of major importance. Other OSCE arms control documents are merely declaratory (such as the OSCE Principles Governing Non-Proliferation), have less operational importance, (such as the Code of Conduct on Politico-Military Aspects of Security), or are primarily related to anti-terrorism. Because the Vienna Document 99 is outdated in many respects, it is doubtful whether it could bear the burden of representing almost the entire substance of the OSCE's politico-military dimension. Beyond that, there is a serious danger that further elements of European arms control, such as the INF Treaty or the Open Skies Treaty, might be affected. All in all, this amounts to a severe crisis of common and co-operative security policy in Europe. One cannot overlook the fact that a number of new dividing lines have emerged in Europe. In spite of this, the present situation is fundamentally different from the Cold War confrontation. Today's European reality is characterized by a complex mix of co-operation and conflict. The dominant paradigm is growing interdependence. States are increasingly tied together by multiple links; they are condemned to co-operate, for better or for worse. New politico-military disputes make this co-operation more costly, strenuous, and time-consuming, eating up political capital that could be better spent on Europe's and the world's real problems.



2.2. Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

Margret Johannsen

The Annapolis-Conference and Prospects for a Solution to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

After seven years of deadlock in the Israeli-Palestinian peace process, a renewed impetus to negotiations has come from Washington with the goal of a final settlement of the on-going Middle East conflict which has continually preoccupied the international community since the UN partition resolution 60 years ago. On 27 November 2007, the Israeli Prime Minister, Ehud Olmert, and the Palestinian President and PLO-Chairman, Mahmud Abbas, agreed in Annapolis, Maryland (USA) to pave the way for a Palestinian state within a year.



This is the second attempt at final status negotiations in which all the disputed issues between the parties to the conflict are to be conclusively settled. The first attempt failed in July 2000. Two months after the breaking off of the summit at Camp David, the disappointment of the Palestinians over the failure of the peace process was discharged in an uprising against the occupation, which went down as the second Intifada in the history of the Middle East. The hostilities have cost over 6000 human lives to date.

Will US President George W. Bush succeed in achieving what was denied his predecessor, Bill Clinton, who despite significant personal involvement at the end of his term in office, was not able to declare the on-going conflict ended? The population seems to have lost faith in diplomatic solutions. On both sides, only a small minority considers it likely that the negotiations will be completed within a year and the commitments entered into will also be implemented.¹

Asymmetrical Interests

On close examination, the Joint Statement from Annapolis² does, in fact, provide reason for scepticism. It is true that the parties to the conflict have moved: Israel put aside its long-standing dogma according to which there is “no partner on the other side”, and is once again ready for final status negotiations. The Palestinian Authority (PA), represented by President Abbas, then refrained from mentioning the UN Resolutions in the Declaration which had, up until now, been regarded as the international legal framework for the settlement of the refugee problem and the territorial conflict. But this new flexibility counts for little, if one considers the complex substance of the conflict and the problematic basis for negotiation as well as the weak leadership on both sides. A quick and substantial success of the negotiations runs counter to the asymmetrical interests of the political leadership. The interest of Olmert in remaining head of government would be best served if the political process remained alive without anything in the *status quo* changing, while Abbas’ political survival is dependent on there being perceivable progress towards a sovereign and viable Palestinian state.

The Two-State Formula

The Annapolis agreement contained a commitment to a two-state solution, clothed in the formula “two states, Israel and Palestine, living side by side in peace and security”. In order to come closer to this goal, the parties want to open bilateral negotiations immediately on the final status with the intention of settling all the disputes by the end of 2008 in a peace treaty.

¹ Joint Israeli-Palestinian Public Opinion Poll, 25.12.2007, at: <http://www.pcpsr.org/survey/polls/2007/p26ejoint.html>

² Joint Understanding Read by President Bush at Annapolis Conference, November 27, 2007, at: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2007/11/20071127.html>.



The final status negotiations agreed upon in Annapolis are perhaps the last chance to salvage the two-state solution. Since the passage of S/RES/1397³ in March 2002, in which the UN Security Council made this formula its own, this has been part of the standard vocabulary of Middle Eastern political discourse penned by the West. George W. Bush had already declared in the preceding year, just a few weeks after the terror attacks of September 11th, that a Palestinian state had always been a vision of American Middle East Policy – provided that the right of Israel to exist was ensured.⁴ The Security Council Resolution also harks back to an American draft. A little later, however, the American President coupled his “vision” to a Palestinian regime change. The Middle East Quartet (USA, EU, Russia and the UN) took over this link in its *Road Map* of 30 April 2003, as it wrote: “A two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict will only be achieved through an end to violence and terrorism, when the Palestinian people have a leadership acting decisively against terror and willing and able to build a practicing democracy based on tolerance and liberty...”⁵ It was an open secret that this phrasing was aimed at the incumbent Palestinian President Yasser Arafat who was held responsible both by Tel Aviv and by Washington for the failure of the Camp David Summit and here as well as there had become a non-person due to his autocratic leadership as well as his forbearance towards the armed Palestinian militias.

A current version of this formulation can be found in the speech of Chancellor Angela Merkel at the Munich Security Conference of 10 February 2007. According to Merkel “both Palestinians and Israelis have a right to self-determination in two viable, prosperous states, side by side, in peace, dignity and with secure borders”, only then to add that “three prerequisites for international support must be fulfilled by the new Palestinian government – rejection of violence, recognition of Israel’s right to exist, and compliance with the agreements concluded up to now”.⁶ Unlike the Hamas government established after the 2006 elections, the national unity government which followed and the government in the Gaza Strip which has been declared illegal by Abbas, the Fatah-supported government in Ramallah has fulfilled these conditions and was able to present itself in Annapolis as an internationally accepted negotiation partner for Israel.

Nevertheless, Abbas was unable to do more in Annapolis than obtain a formulaic compromise which succeeded in averting an open failure of the conference. A platform for negotiations on substantial questions was not intended to be offered by the one-day conference. Considering the precarious coalition of the Israeli head of government, the declaration did not mention by name any of the disputed questions that must be part of a solution. The formula “in accordance with previous agreements” serves as a place holder for the topics on which minds differ.

The Central Questions: Borders, Jerusalem, Refugees

In addition to committees on the topics of water, security arrangements, legal questions, business and economy, infrastructure, environment, compensation etc. a special committee was formed, headed by the Israeli Foreign Minister Zipi Livni and the Palestinian Chief Negotiator Ahmed Qureia, which will deal with the core problems.⁷ Olmert and Abbas have agreed to monitor the negotiations and that they want to remove any barriers that might crop up.

It would, in fact, be more than surprising if the core questions did not become the top priority because the negotiators at Camp David had already found them to be hard nuts to crack. Contentious issues are, above all:

3 United Nations Security Council, S/RES/1397 (2002) of 12 March 2002, at: <http://domino.un.org/unispal.nsf/9fb163c870bb1d6785256cef0073c89f/4721362dd7ba3dea85256b7b00536c7f!OpenDocument>.

4 Cf. Bush ‘endorses’ Palestinian state, BBC-News, 2 October 2001, at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/1575090.stm.

5 A Performance-Based Roadmap to a Permanent Two-State Solution to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, US Department of State, Washington, DC, 30. April 2003, at: <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2003/20062.htm>.

6 Speech of Angela Merkel at the 43rd Munich Conference on Security Policy, at: http://www.security-conference.de/konferenzen/rede.php?menu_2007=&menu_konferenzen=&sprache=de&id=178&.

7 Barak Ravid, Olmert, Livni and Qureia meet for first discussion of core issues, set up lower-level negotiating teams, in: Haaretz, 15.1.2008, unter: <http://www.haaretz.com/hasen/spages/944664.html>.



- The *line of the border* between Israel and the future Palestinian state; coupled with this are the future of the extraterritorial Israeli settlements, the control of a Palestinian government over a contiguous territory and the control over the underground water resources on the West Bank;
- The future *status of Jerusalem*, which in accordance with Israeli legal opinion is the capital of Israel while the Palestinians claim East Jerusalem as the capital of their future country;
- The recognition of the *right of the Palestinian refugees to return* demanded by the Palestinians which the Israeli government is not prepared to support, out of concern that the Jewish character of the state of Israel be retained.

Decoupling of the Agreement and Implementation

Contrary to the Palestinian wish for immediate implementation of the hoped-for agreement at the end of 2008, the Israeli approach, which subordinates the agreement to the implementation of the *Road Map*, prevailed in Annapolis. This bodes ill. The commitments which the peace timetable of 2003 imposed on the parties were, in fact, targeted towards the goals desired: Israel would, for instance, have to cease building settlements in the occupied areas and the Palestinians would, among other things, have to disarm and dissolve the militias. It was also sensible to demand that both sides achieve these and other milestones without preconditions because experience has shown that preconditions from the opposing side blocks progress in the peace process rather than moving it forward. Nevertheless the Israeli reading of this prevailed – with American approval – whereby Israel was not committed to a change in its settlement policy so long as the PA had not achieved the state monopoly on the legitimate use of force in the Palestinian areas.

The building of settlements and settler roads as well as the barrier construction and the confiscation of Palestinian land also continued undiminished despite credible efforts on the part of Mahmud Abbas, the Palestinian President elected in 2005, to stem the violence of the militias. As the newest Israeli expansion plans, not only in East Jerusalem but also in the more eastern large settlement Maale Adumim show, it is to be feared that nothing has changed up until now in the Israeli interpretation of the *Road Map*.

It is all the more problematic that the Annapolis Declaration neither mentions clear criteria for the implementation of the *Road Map* nor foresees an authority for mediation. The assessment of any progress on both sides in the fulfilment of their commitments is reserved to the USA. Whether an agreement on the final status is ultimately implemented “on the ground” or whether it remains ineffective like so many other agreements between the parties to the conflict and decisions of the international community on the Palestinian conflict, depends on the judgment of the USA. Thus the Israeli head of government was able to point out – and rightly so – that the Annapolis Declaration imposed no time pressures on him with respect to a final status agreement.⁸ As was shown again during the Middle East trip of US President Bush in January 2008, Jerusalem is not subject to any general settlement stop according to the American and Israeli reading, so that from this perspective the continued colonization of East Jerusalem, as the Palestinians view the expansion of the Jewish settlements there, does not violate the *Road Map*.

For the Middle East Quartet there seems to be no further role in the political process activated in Annapolis. The European Union’s role dates back to the considerable preparatory work for the *Road Map* and since the establishment of Palestinian autonomy it has provided the most significant financial contribution for the development of a Palestinian state. It will not be hindered in financing the PA in the future. But the role it has hitherto had in the oversight mechanism of the *Road Map*, which is to monitor the progress in its implementation, was lost in Annapolis.

8 Hana Levi Julian, Olmert: Annapolis Declaration Doesn’t Mean Specific Timeline, at: <http://www.israel-nationalnews.com/News/News.aspx/124442>.



Weak Leadership on both sides

To bridge the fundamental differences between the conflicting parties on the crucial questions the political leadership on both sides must solicit support among their populations and achieve a political majority for the much-cited “painful compromises”. Currently, however, it is very questionable whether Olmert and Abbas have the necessary assertiveness to meet these challenges in the light of strong opposition.

The Israeli Government: Survival without results

The Israeli government has been seen to be weak since it conducted a war against Lebanon in the summer of 2006 without achieving the goals of that war.⁹ The Lebanese Hizbollah, which was regarded as the target of its campaign, was, in fact, driven out of the border area with Israel. But there was no question of disarming it. It has long since replenished its rocket arsenal and it continues to be a power factor in the Lebanese political system without which a sovereign central Lebanese state, capable of acting, cannot be established. The military failure in the Lebanon war and, in addition, the countless scandals around leading administration officials have caused the approval of the head of government by the population to sink at times to a historic low of under ten percent. Even though the commission examining the processes which led to the debacle in the Lebanon war gave clear criticism of the role of the Prime Minister in this, without however demanding personal consequences, 66 per cent of Israeli citizens nevertheless want the head of government to resign.¹⁰

Olmert’s support within the political class is not much better. His administration has been supported in the Knesset thus far with 78 seats (of 120). Both the ultra-orthodox Shas party (12 seats) and the right wing nationalist party Yisrael Beitenu (11 seats) had formulated their “red lines” on the most contentious questions in the run-up to Annapolis and threatened to leave the governing coalition if they were crossed. Yisrael Beitenu has, in the meantime, made good on this threat. Shas has announced its intention to leave the government as soon as there are any negotiations on Jerusalem.¹¹ If Olmert decides to conduct serious negotiations, he could find a majority in the Knesset with Meretz and the United Torah Judaism as well as with the Arab parties. Ending the occupation as a condition for a Palestinian state will meet with criticism from the circle of the influential security establishment. Many experts consider continued Israeli control over the West Bank to be vital for reasons of strategic significance and the vulnerability of the densely populated Israeli coast.

The Palestinian Leadership: In the shadow of the schism

The concerns of Israeli security experts hit a nerve in the Palestinian President. He cannot, in fact, answer the question of how he wants to present himself to his Israeli partner as assertive because, since June 2007, the Palestinian autonomous areas have been divided not only territorially but also politically.

The schism was preceded by armed conflicts between Hamas and Fatah which cost several hundred lives.¹² The background of the power struggle was an escalation of the internal political crises in the Palestinian areas, a consequence of the financial blockade imposed by Israel and the Middle East Quartet on the Hamas government and on the national unity government which followed it. The tensions erupted in June 2007 in a bloody coup by Hamas, which had brought the security apparatus in the Gaza Strip under its control in the expectation of a Fatah putsch. Since that time Hamas has ruled

9 On the background and catalysts for the second Lebanon war cf. Margret Johannsen, *Waffenruhe im Libanon: Ruhe vor dem nächsten Sturm?* [Cease-Fire in Lebanon: Peace before the next Storm?], *Hamburger Informationen* 39/2006, at: www.ifsh.de/pdf/publikationen/hifs/HI39.pdf.

10 Cf. Ephraim Yaar/Tamar Herman, *The Tami Steinmetz Center for Peace Research, Peace Index*, December 2007, at: <http://www.tau.ac.il/peace/>.

11 Cf. Mazal Mualem, *Lieberman blasts Arab MKs, pulls party out of government*, in: *Haaretz*, 16.1.2008, at: <http://www.haaretz.com/hasen/spages/945299.html>; Mazal Mualem, *Yishai to Lieberman: If PM, Abbas discuss J’lem, Shas will quit gov’t*, in: *Haaretz*, 15.1.2008, <http://www.haaretz.com/hasen/spages/944990.html>.

12 Cf. The statistics of the Israeli Human Rights organization B’Tselem: www.btselem.org.



the Gaza Strip and on the West Bank there is a transitional government appointed by Abbas. This was immediately recognized by Israel, the USA and the EU which, moreover, lifted their finance boycott to demonstrate to the Palestinian population that only the Fatah-supported government but not the pariah Hamas served Palestinian interests.

However, despite the rhetorical, diplomatic and financial support of the West as well as help from the USA and the EU in building up a loyal security apparatus it cannot be said that the leadership in Ramallah would be able to retain the state monopoly of force in the West Bank in the face of resistance. In the medium term its political survival depends on being able to show success on an array of fronts, e.g. on the question of releasing Palestinian prisoners from Israeli imprisonment, in the recovery of the economy and in the final status negotiations. Yet as long as Israeli security concerns provide the only benchmark for how far Israel will allow a normalization of Palestinian daily life, Hamas, cheated of its election victory, has an instrument in hand to deny the President and his government success.

What held true before the Palestinian elections in 2006 is thus still valid two years later. Without the inclusion of the Hamas movement, achieving a peaceful resolution of the conflict is hardly possible. Without the agreement or at least the acquiescence of Hamas, Abbas will not be able to make the unpopular concessions – i.e. on the course of the border, the status of Jerusalem and on the refugee question – that an agreement with Israel will demand. Without the cooperation of Hamas he will not be able to give Israel any credible security guarantees – a precondition for Israel's agreement to a withdrawal from the occupied territories and the constitution of a Palestinian state. If a sustainable two-state solution is still to remain on the agenda, a second attempt at creating a government of national unity is essential – as is, in the medium term, the accession of Hamas to the PLO. Only a PLO, expanded with moderate representatives of political Islam, would be authorized to declare an "end of the conflict" in the name of the Palestinian people.

A Three-State Solution is no Solution

Thus, with a view to the peace process, the exclusion of such an influential actor as Hamas from a constructive role in Palestinian politics could be a calamitous error. Can it be corrected? Before Annapolis, the Israeli head of government had threatened to break off discussions with Abbas should he attempt to find some possibilities for a remake of the unity government. It may be asked which interests guide the insistence of Israel on the continued ostracism of Hamas. There are likely multiple answers to this. An obvious one is grounded on the refusal of Hamas to go the way of the PLO, which, in 1993, recognized Israel's right to exist in peace and security and committed itself to a peaceful settlement of the conflict exclusively through negotiation. From the Israeli point of view, so it is argued, the basis for negotiation with Abbas would be lacking if he agreed to have Hamas take part in the government, without it first having explicitly foresworn the armed liberation struggle and officially recognized Israel's right to exist. Possibly the Israeli government really believes that its "West Bank first" strategy will work. But it cannot be ruled out that the Israeli Prime Minister fears the day on which the Palestinians can produce a government that could give Israel a credible guarantee of security. This is scarcely imaginable without Hamas at least tolerating it. With Hamas having governmental responsibility, the assertiveness of the PA would be noticeably strengthened, with the effect that Israel would also have to fulfil its obligations under the *Road Map* if it didn't want to jeopardize the credibility of its peace policy. A government with so little support as Olmert's can hardly want to have its hand forced in this way. Thus the head of government prefers interim solutions, which are no solution but rather push the resolution of the conflict ever further away. In this respect the Palestinian division plays into the hands of the die-hard opponents of change in Israeli politics and society.

The Role of the International Community

Combined with the blockade of the Gaza Strip, the isolation of Hamas probably strengthens those currents within the organization which are seeking Iranian or Syrian support. A rapprochement between Fatah and Hamas, by contrast, would weaken the hardliners in Hamas and restrict the leeway of



the governments in Teheran and Damascus to manipulate the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in their own interests. Whether the obsession of the American President with the Iranian danger in this last year in office leads to Washington countenancing some attempts at reconciliation between the Palestinian rivals remains to be seen. Should it come to a renewed effort at a Palestinian unity government, then German foreign policy, together with its partners in Brussels, would be well-advised this time if they refused all requests to torpedo such a government again. For the door to a two-state solution will not remain open forever and the voices of those who no longer consider it a viable notion will increase. It is not only the Israeli settlement policy that jeopardizes the basis for this, but also a radicalization of Palestinian politics which is impending if Hamas were to give up its transformation into a political party and return to its roots as a resistance movement. Another, more threatening, scenario would be that parts of their military arm would turn away from the nationalistic programme and towards the ideology of global Jihad. If one looks beyond Palestine to the entire region, it would be fatal if the experiment of a variant of political Islam that is prepared for integration into politics, to attain governing responsibilities through free elections, to submit to democratic rules and despite an election victory to share power with the losers¹³ had to be declared a failure. The West is now learning the hard way in Iraq and in Afghanistan what an alternative to the nationalist religious movement in Palestine prepared to integrate might look like.

13 Cf. Muriel Asseburg (Ed.), *Moderate Islamists as Reform Actors. Conditions and Programmatic Change*, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik Berlin, SWP-Research Paper RP 4, April 2007.



2.3 US-India Nuclear Deal

Oliver Meier

New Nuclear Policy towards India? An Assessment of the Nuclear Deal between the USA and India



In May 2008 Germany takes over as chair of the *Nuclear Suppliers Group* (NSG). The most important supplier countries of nuclear technology have joined forces in the NSG to coordinate their export controls. During the German chairmanship the NSG will likely face an important decision. If the US government wants to implement the agreement it has negotiated with India on nuclear cooperation – frequently referred to as the “nuclear deal” – it must get the approval of the NSG. The NSG decides by consensus. Each of the 45 participants¹ thus has a *de facto* veto with respect to the termination of nuclear trade restrictions.

After India's first nuclear test in 1974, all major nuclear suppliers agreed on joint standards for nuclear trade to minimize the danger of military misuse of such exports. In addition, 15 years ago, the NSG agreed to supply nuclear technology only to those states which submit their entire nuclear program to international safeguards. India, which is not a signatory to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)², is not prepared to do this. Thus, almost all exports of nuclear technology to India from NSG countries currently violate NSG guidelines. The USA has requested that India be exempted from these regulations. Then, for the first time, each of the NSG members would be free to deliver nuclear technology to a country outside the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

The US-India nuclear deal is problematic for a number of reasons. It erodes the nuclear non-proliferation regime with the NPT at its core and makes any further extension and strengthening of international controls more difficult.

In 2006 and 2007, IFSH researchers commented critically on the nuclear deal many times in publications³, at conferences and at hearings of political bodies. The following text updates and summarizes the primary arguments.

The Nuclear Deal

Soon after the assumption of office at the beginning of 2001, the Bush Administration began to pursue a new India policy. The “largest democracy in the world” was to form a military and political counterweight to China. In addition India is an attractive market for American products. In particular the government-regulated nuclear and defense sectors have, up to now, been closed to US businesses. On 18 July 2005, US President George W. Bush and the Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh surprised the public in Washington and the world when they announced that they intended to create the conditions for a resumption of nuclear cooperation between the two countries. Bush praised India as a “responsible country” that could be trusted to handle modern nuclear technology⁴, and thus *de facto* upgraded India to a recognized nuclear weapon state.

In the US Congress the intention of the government to build India up as a geostrategic partner met with majority approval. However the risks were also seen. In December 2006, both houses of the US

1 See the NSG Website <http://www.nuclearsuppliersgroup.org>.

2 Besides India only Pakistan and Israel have not acceded to the NPT, which, in the meantime has 190 members.

3 See, for instance. Oliver Meier/Götz Neuneck, *Der Atomdeal zwischen Indien und den Vereinigten Staaten: Nukleare Nichtverbreitung am Scheideweg*. [The Atom Deal between India and the USA: Nuclear Non-Proliferation at the Crossroads] *Hamburger Informationen zur Friedensforschung und Sicherheitspolitik* 40/2006, at: <http://www.ifsh.de/pdf/publikationen/hifs/HI40.pdf>.

4 Cf. The White House, Office of the Press Secretary: “Joint Statement Between President George W. Bush and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh”, Washington, D.C., 18 July 2005.



Congress approved – with large majorities – releasing India – under certain conditions – from the provisions of the *Atomic Energy Act* (AEA).⁵ The so-called *Hyde Act* requires that India submits a „credible“ plan for the separation of civilian and military nuclear facilities and that it concludes a safeguards agreement with the IAEA about the monitoring of civilian sites. In addition the members of the US Congress have made the lifting of sanctions dependent upon a change in the NSG guidelines.

Washington and New Delhi then set about translating the scope and the conditions of a future nuclear cooperation into a bilateral governmental agreement on the basis of the *Hyde Act*. On 1 August 2007, after difficult negotiations that dragged on for six months, representatives of both governments signed the so-called “123-Agreement” named after the relevant section of the AEA which defines the conditions for civil nuclear cooperation.⁶ The Indian government declared its willingness to submit part of its own nuclear complex to safeguards of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in return for the lifting of nuclear sanctions. Fourteen of the total of 22 nuclear reactors (see table) are to be opened to international control by the year 2014. But, like the recognized nuclear weapon states, India wants to block access to facilities that are used for military purposes. All military sites for military plutonium production, the “Cirus” and “Dhruva” reactors, all sites for plutonium reprocessing as well as those connected with fast breeder technology will not be inspected. The two largest nuclear centers – *Babha Atomic Research Centre* and the *Indira Ghandi Centre for Atomic Research* – are to remain completely inaccessible for international inspectors. The agreement reflects India’s resistance to any kind of limitations on its own nuclear weapons program and on international trade of nuclear technology. Thus, India’s position departs from important conditions contained in the *Hyde Act*, does not implement or expands them.⁷

India, nuclear disarmament and the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty

The proposal to *de facto* admit India to the club of nuclear weapon states, comes at a point at which the NPT is in the deepest crisis of its history. The US-India nuclear deal represents new and serious stress for the global non-proliferation regime.

Up until now, unlimited access to civilian nuclear technology was granted only to NPT members. Non-nuclear weapon states had to open all their nuclear sites to IAEA safeguards in return. The recognized nuclear weapon states committed themselves in Article VI to nuclear disarmament. However, under the conditions of the deal India would continue to shut out international inspectors from many nuclear facilities, but would nevertheless be allowed to participate in international nuclear trade. New Delhi would thus be granted rights attached to NPT membership, without incurring the responsibilities associated with accession.

In addition, efforts to universalize the NPT would be further impeded because from India’s point of view (and potentially also from the perspective of Israel and Pakistan) an important incentive for acceding to the NPT – access to civil nuclear technology – would be dispensed with.

The nuclear deal not only leaves India’s nuclear weapons program intact, it would also create the conditions for an acceleration of India’s nuclear arms build-up. India’s nuclear weapons program would indirectly benefit from the support for the civil nuclear program. The reason: India’s indigenous uranium reserves are small. Even now its domestic output covers only two-thirds of its civil and military needs. Without the lifting of sanctions, there will be a shortfall in the uranium supply. If India wants, as announced, to continue to expand civil nuclear power and increase the size of its nuclear arsenal, it will have to import uranium soon. A group of Indian and Pakistani experts has calculated that imports of nuclear fuel for those facilities which will, in the future, be under international control, would put

5 U.S. Congress: “H.R. 5682,” 109, 2nd Session, Henry J. Hyde United States-India Peaceful Atomic Energy Cooperation Act of 2006, December 8, 2006.

6 Agreement for Cooperation between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of India concerning peaceful uses of nuclear energy (123 Agreement), August 1, 2007, at: www.armscontrol.org/projects/india/20070803_123.asp.

7 See Daryl G. Kimball/Fred McGoldrick: “U.S.-Indian Nuclear Agreement: A Bad Deal Gets Worse”, Washington: Arms Control Association, August 3, 2007, at: www.armscontrol.org/pressroom/2007/20070803_IndiaUS.asp.



India in the position to increase nuclear weapons production from currently seven warheads to 40-50 nuclear weapons annually. In addition, India refuses to put spent nuclear fuel rods under international control. This spent fuel, if reprocessed, contains enough plutonium for about 1,000 additional nuclear warheads.⁸

India has announced that, in return for the lifting of the nuclear sanctions, it will take on the same responsibilities as the recognized nuclear weapon states and will act accordingly. However, the Indian government's commitments to specific arms control measures lag far behind this self-proclaimed goal. New Delhi refuses to sign the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty although the other five recognized nuclear weapon states have already done so. India has merely announced its intention to maintain its current test moratorium.

In addition, India wants to continue to produce fissile material for nuclear weapons purposes although all five recognized nuclear weapon states no longer produce highly enriched uranium or plutonium for nuclear weapons. New Delhi did, in fact, declare within the framework of the nuclear deal, that it would support an agreement on Fissile Material Cut-Off Treaty (FMCT). Ironically enough, India insists that such an agreement be verifiable, while the Bush Administration is blocking FMCT negotiations by insisting on a non-verifiable agreement. In reality, both the USA and the Singh government, want to preserve maximal freedom of action and want to avoid a verifiable ban as long as possible.

The projected lifting of nuclear sanctions against India also makes a diplomatic solution to the nuclear conflict with Iran more difficult. The nuclear deal delivers the hardliners in Teheran exactly those arguments that they otherwise lack for maintaining their nuclear course. At the end of July 2005, just two weeks after the USA had declared its fundamental readiness for nuclear cooperation, a senior Iranian administration official complained of American double standards: "On the one hand, they are depriving an NPT member from having peaceful technology, but at the same time they are cooperating with India, which is not a member of the NPT, to their own advantage."⁹

Nuclear Safeguards and Multilateralization of Nuclear Fuel Cycles

The US-India nuclear deal also complicates a diplomatic solution to the conflict around the Iranian nuclear program because it discredits one of the most prominent suggestions for a compromise, namely the establishment of a multinational enrichment facility outside of Iran but with Iranian participation.

In September 2006, Foreign Minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier in a highly-regarded interview in the *Handelsblatt* placed the solution of the nuclear conflict with Iran in the larger context of the question of a multilateral model for uranium enrichment. To the surprise of many in Berlin, Steinmeier brought into play the idea of an enrichment facility under the control of the IAEA, which would be built on an extraterritorial territory, run commercially and financed by those states which would receive nuclear fuel from the facility. The Foreign Minister argued that such a multilateral facility could reduce the anxiety of recipient countries, which fear that by renouncing the option of enrichment capacity would remain dependent on the fuel assurances by traditional suppliers.¹⁰

In May 2007 the (German) Federal government officially presented their suggestion to the IAEA under the name of the *Multilateral Enrichment Sanctuary Project* (MESP).¹¹ Germany is cooperating with other nuclear suppliers to provide credible assurances for nuclear fuel in order to induce countries

8 Siehe Z. Mian/A.H. Nayyar/R. Rajaraman/M.V. Ramana: "Fissile materials in South Asia and the implications of the U.S.-India nuclear deal," Draft report for the International Panel on Fissile Materials. Princeton: International Panel on Fissile Materials., 11. July 2006, at: <http://www.fissilematerials.org/southasia.pdf>.

9 Cited in Simon Tisdall: "Tehran accuses US of nuclear double standard", *The Guardian*, 28. July 2005.

10 „Unser Druck war hilfreich“, [Our pressure was helpful] Interview with German Foreign Minister Steinmeier, in: *Handelsblatt* of 18.09.2006, at: <http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/diplo/de/Infoservice/Presse/Interviews/2006/060918-Handelsblatt.html>.

11 IAEA INFCIRC/704 of 4. May 2007. The approach of September 2006 was not coordinated within the Federal government. See Mark Hibbs: "Steinmeier IAEA enrichment gambit hatched in July by ministry aides", in: *Nuclear Fuel*, September 25, 2006.



to renounce national fuel cycles.¹² It is clear that the Foreign Ministry hopes to offer such a multilateral model for uranium enrichment to states such as Iran as a credible alternative to building national capacities.

The nuclear deal with India thwarts this goal. India does not want to receive fuel based multilateral mechanisms for fuel supplies but instead demands international support for the creation of a national strategic reserve of nuclear fuel.¹³ Driven by the fear that the international community might interrupt or even end the fuel supplies for political reasons, New Delhi insists that the USA assists in setting up a life time reserve for imported reactors. But if the USA, with the support of other suppliers states such as the United Kingdom, France or Russia, assists India in setting up a national fuel stock, why then should other states rely on multilateral solutions? It is to be feared that the preferential treatment of India will block an international solution to the problem of fuel cycle controls.

India's offer to open some of its own reactors for international inspections cannot outweigh the damage done by the deal. It is of course desirable that India submit more nuclear facilities to international safeguards. Such inspections create transparency and are a step on the way to comprehensive and global controls of all nuclear facilities.¹⁴ However safeguards in nuclear weapons states have, at best, a symbolic value. Safeguards are meant to uncover, in a timely manner, attempts to secretly divert fissionable material for military purposes. An Additional Protocol to such safeguards (which India intends to conclude) creates a legal basis for inspections that should detect clandestine nuclear activities (as in Iran or in North Korea). But by definition, the IAEA cannot fulfill these two tasks in countries that have already declared that they have nuclear weapons.

Fixing the Nuclear Deal

NSG participants will have the last word on the nuclear deal. Support for the nuclear deal up to now has come from the nuclear weapons states and the exporters of nuclear technology, France, United Kingdom and Russia. China has also signaled that it does not want to stand in the way of the nuclear deal. Criticism of the US course of action has been expressed by, among other countries, the traditional disarmament advocates, such as Ireland, New Zealand, Norway, Austria and Sweden. Political heavyweights such as Brazil, Japan and Germany have not taken a clear position up to now.

The German Federal government is split on the question of the nuclear deal. On the one hand, there is the fear that relationships with India and the United States could be damaged. India entices with the lucrative business in the nuclear market and the armament sector.¹⁵ And the Bush Administration has declared the admission of India to the circle of recognized nuclear powers as one of its most important foreign policy goals.

On the other hand, the nuclear deal threatens to undermine central goals of German non-proliferation policies. Should India, which, up to now, is not a member of any nuclear arms control regime, be awarded nuclear privileges which have not previously been granted to any other state, the multilateral non-proliferation regime would be weakened. German efforts at reviving the NPT, efforts to

12 Thus Germany is one of the six supplier states of nuclear fuel which agreed on the main features of a system of delivery guarantees. In addition, Germany is an observer state in the American *Global Nuclear Energy Partnership* (GNEP) which is striving for a leasing system for nuclear fuel. See: International Atomic Energy Agency Board of Governors: "Communication dated 31 May 2006 received from the Permanent Missions of France, Germany, the Netherlands, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America", Vienna, 1. June 2006.

13 See, for example T.S. Subramanian: „India insisted on refuel for reactors' lifetime“, in: *The Hindu*, 23 July 2007.

14 For this reason, but also because he believes, among other things, that the total use of nuclear energy can improve India's economic situation, the Director General of the IAEA, Mohamed El Baradei supports the atom deal. Cf. Mohamed El Baradei: "Rethinking Nuclear Safeguards", in: *The Washington Post*, 14 June 2006.

15 If the nuclear sanctions are lifted, India intends to first buy civilian nuclear technology valued at 14 billion US dollars. See: Archana Chaudhary: "Areva, GE, Rosatom Vie for \$14 Billion India Nuclear Contracts," *Bloomberg.com*, August 9, 2007. The Eurofighter-Consortium, in which Germany, in addition to Great Britain, Italy and Spain are participating, would like very much to sell the fighter plane to India.



strengthen nuclear technology export controls, the commitment to a diplomatic solution of the nuclear conflict with Iran as well as suggestions for multilateral nuclear fuel cycle control would be damaged.

The Federal government should only support the nuclear deal if the lifting of the nuclear sanctions can be used for a strengthening of international non-proliferation efforts. The possibility for this exists. There is some leeway between an unconditional endorsement and a total rejection of the nuclear deal that can be used to better integrate India into the network of multilateral arms control commitments – without necessarily damaging the transatlantic or German-Indian relationship.

Since India wants to join the club of recognized nuclear weapon states, it is consistent to demand that New Delhi at least abide by the same rules as these states do. Without three further concessions on India's side¹⁶ the damage of the planned nuclear deal would outweigh its usefulness.

First, India must recognize the nuclear disarmament commitments contained in Article VI of the NPT and implement the same arms control measures that the recognized nuclear weapons states have taken. Before the nuclear trade restrictions are lifted, India must sign the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty and declare a binding moratorium on the production of weapons grade fissile material. The supplier states should make it clear that a violation of these commitments – for instance, by conducting a nuclear weapons test – would automatically lead to a renewed imposition of sanctions.

Secondly, India must define what it understands as „credible minimal deterrence“ and specify reliable outlines of its nuclear weapon policy. This transparency is necessary to minimize the danger of regional arms races. A refusal by India to be open about the outlines of its own nuclear weapons arsenal would be an indication that India intends to use civil fuel supplies to advance its nuclear arms build-up.

Finally, India must separate civil and military fuel cycles, clearly, permanently and verifiably. All current and future facilities that only partially serve civil purposes must be placed permanently under safeguards. As long as the safeguards agreements with the IAEA are not in force, the nuclear trade restrictions should not be eased.

These steps would be significant evidence that India is prepared to move closer to the global non-proliferation regime. In addition, they would be measures supporting the goal of a nuclear-weapons-free world. To give up this goal as well as to move away from the goal of bringing India, Israel and Pakistan in to the NPT as non-nuclear-weapons states would mean to admit the failure of the NPT. And the way in which the international community deals with the Indian nuclear program will, all in all, decide the future of nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation.

¹⁶ Whether an Indian government could agree to these steps, must remain open here. Even the „123“ agreement was met with strong resistance in India, especially from the Communist party which is part of the government and fears for the independence of the Indian nuclear program.



Table: India's Power Reactors

Name	Place	Type	Status	Net capacity in MWe	Net connection since	Safeguards planned:
Kaiga-1	Karnataka	PHWR	in operation	202 (220)	2000	military
Kaiga-2	Karnataka	PHWR	in operation	202 (220)	1999	military
Kaiga-3	Karnataka	PHWR	Under construction	202 (220)	2007	military
Kaiga-4	Karnataka	PHWR	Under construction	202 (220)	2007	military
Kakrapar-1	Gujrat	PHWR	in operation	202 (220)	1992	2012
Kakrapar-2	Gujrat	PHWR	in operation	202 (220)	1995	2012
Kudankulam-1	Tamil Nadu State	VVER	Under construction	917 (1000)	2007	2007
Kudankulam-2	Tamil Nadu State	VVER	Under construction	917 (1000)	2008	2008
Madras-1	Tamil Nadu	PHWR	in operation	155 (170)	1983	military
Madras-2	Tamil Nadu	PHWR	in operation	202 (220)	1985	military
Narora-1	Uttar Pradesh	PHWR	in operation	202 (220)	1989	2014
Narora-2	Uttar Pradesh	PHWR	in operation	202 (220)	1992	2014
Rajasthan-1	Rajasthan	PHWR	in operation	90 (100)	1972	yes
Rajasthan-2	Rajasthan	PHWR	in operation	187 (200)	1980	yes
Rajasthan-3	Rajasthan	PHWR	in operation	202 (220)	2000	2010
Rajasthan-4	Rajasthan	PHWR	in operation	202 (220)	2000	2010
Rajasthan-5	Rajasthan	PHWR	Under construction	202 (220)	2007	2007
Rajasthan-6	Rajasthan	PHWR	Under construction	202 (220)	2007	2008
Tarapur-1	Maharastra	BWR	in operation	150 (160)	1969	yes
Tarapur-2	Maharastra	BWR	in operation	150 (160)	1969	yes
Tarapur-3	Maharastra	PHWR	Under construction	490 (540)	2006	military
Tarapur-4	Maharastra	PHWR	in operation	490 (540)	2005	military
	Total			6172 (6730)		
	Reactors (under construction)			2570 (2810)		
	Reactors (in operation)			3602 (3920)		

Sources: Federation of American Scientists, (<http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/nuke/RL33292.pdf>) and Mian/Nayyar/ Rajarman/Ramana 2006:33.

Italics: These reactors are already under IAEA safeguards (INFCIRC-66) or it is foreseen that they will come under safeguards independent of a separation plan. *Capacity:* The difference between net and gross capacity is the electricity needed to operate the power station. *Abbreviations:* PHWR: Pressurized Heavy Water Reactor; BWR: Boiling Water Reactor; VVER: Pressurized Heavy Water Reactor - Russian Under construction.



3. Research Units – Research and Consultancy Projects

3.1 Centre for OSCE Research (CORE)

The Centre for OSCE research sees itself as an independent, practice-oriented research institution. It differentiates between its research projects and its consulting activities. After CORE, in prior years, had finished its first generation of projects, which focused primarily on the instruments of international organizations for crisis management, it achieved initial entry into a second generation of projects with a discourse and publishing project on the easing of tensions in secular-Islamic relationships in Central Asia which will have a stronger focus on power structures, transnational conflict constellations and enhancement of regional expertise. One dissertation was completed, five were continued and three were begun. The strongest impetus in 2007 was in the area of consulting projects. In addition to the usual consultation to the Federal Foreign Office, a major report on the future agenda of the OSCE was compiled for the Finnish Foreign Ministry. A one-month training course for Kazakh diplomats in preparation for the Kazakh OSCE Chairmanship in 2010 served as an entry into the area of advanced training for diplomats.

1. Research Projects

- a. *The following research projects, already begun in previous years, were continued or completed during the reporting period:*
 - The PhD project *The Effectiveness of External Democratization Efforts for Internal Transition: International Organizations in South Eastern Europe*, worked on by Solveig Richter, M.A. at the University of Dresden in co-operation with CORE, was completed.
 - The PhD project *Post-Conflict Peacebuilding and Local Ownership: International Peace Efforts in Divided Societies under UN Interim Administration between Success and Failure - A Case Study on Kosovo*, worked on by Jens Narten and sponsored by the German Foundation for Peace Research, has been continued.
 - The PhD project *Russian Policy towards Ukraine as a Source of Contention with the West*, worked on by Elena Kropatcheva, M.A., and sponsored by the Friedrich Naumann Foundation, has been continued.
 - The PhD project *United Nations Field Operations in Ethno-Political Conflicts. On the Effectiveness of UNOMIG Mediation between Georgia and Abkhazia*, worked on by Marietta König, M.A., and sponsored by the Friedrich Naumann Foundation, has been continued.
 - The PhD project *The Influence of the Framework Agreement of Ohrid on the Political System of the Republic of Macedonia*, worked on by Dipl.-Pol. Merle Vetterlein, and sponsored by the German Foundation for Peace Research, has been continued.
 - The PhD project *Transnational Migration and Socio-Political Change in Central Asia: A Cross-Country Study on Labour Migration from Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan to Russia*, worked



Marietta König and Elena Kropatcheva with a delegation of German-Russian Regional Youth Parliaments on 13. June 2007 at IFSH



on by Delia Rahmonova-Schwarz, M.A., at the International Graduate School in Sociology at the University of Bielefeld in co-operation with CORE, has been continued.

- b. The following research projects were approved and/or started during the reporting period:*
- *The Discourse and Publishing Project for Easing Tensions in Secular-Islamic Relationships in Central Asia* (Phase 1), directed by Arne Seifert and supported by the Federal Foreign Office was carried out.
 - The doctoral project, *The Significance of Informal Institutions in Kazakhstan for the Project Work of International Organizations*, worked on by Sebastian Schiek and partially supported by the DAAD, was begun.
- c. The following research projects were prepared or applied for during the reporting period:*
- None.

2. Consultancy Projects



Ambassador Wieck on a visit to IFSH/CORE, here with Frank Evers, Michael Brzoska and Hans-Georg Ehrhart

- a. The following consultancy projects, already begun in previous years, were continued or completed:*
- *OSCE Depository Library*. Based on a concept of the OSCE Secretariat and with the support of the German Federal Foreign Office, CORE has set up an OSCE Depository Library that gives access to CSCE/OSCE documents and related secondary literature. The Library is open to the public. Opening hours are identical with those of the IFSH Library.
 - *Specialized Information Network of International Relations and Area Studies*. Activities within the framework of the Specialized Information Network “International Relations and Area Studies” (FIV) have been continued during the reporting period. FIV is a scientific database with more than 700,000 entries. CORE’s task is to register OSCE documents and relevant publications on the OSCE.
 - *OSCE Networking Project*. This project, which provides a website with information on the OSCE, is continuously updated by CORE in co-operation with the *Graduate Institute of International Studies* in Geneva (GIIS) and the *International Relations and Security Network* (ISN) at the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology, Zurich. The *OSCE Networking Website* provides more than 3,500 links to all 56 OSCE participating States.
- b. The following consultancy projects were approved, started and completed during the reporting period:*
- As in previous years, the *Framework Project 2007* with the Centre for OSCE Research was approved by the Federal Foreign Office. During the reporting period, it included the publication of the OSCE Yearbook in English, German and Russian language editions (cf. chapter 8.3), the further set up of the OSCE Depository Library (cf. 2a), and policy papers on *OSCE on Tolerance and Non-*



Discrimination, The OSCE Energy Security Dialogue. Modest Needs for Campaigning, Connecting, Implementing, and China as a Possible OSCE Asian Partner for Cooperation that were completed during the reporting period.

- To facilitate preparations for the 2008 Finnish OSCE Chairmanship-in-Office CORE, with the support of an international task force, compiled a report commissioned by the Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs *Identifying the Cutting Edge: The Future Impact of the OSCE*.
 - CORE successfully implemented an *OSCE-related training course for officials from the Kazakh Ministry for Foreign Affairs*. The Kazakh MFA and the German Federal Foreign Office jointly funded the training course.
 - In cooperation with the OSCE Centre Almaty. CORE conducted capacity-building workshops at five Kazakh Universities in Almaty, Astana, and Karaganda on *OSCE history, institutions, structures and field activities*.
- c. *No decision has yet been taken on the following consultancy projects, prepared or applied for during the reporting period:*
- Towards the end of the reporting period, application for the Framework Project 2008 for the Centre for OSCE Research was made to the Federal Foreign Office. The decision is usually taken in January of the respective fiscal year.



CORE-Workshop „The Development of the CSCE/OSCE: Lessons learned for the peace process on the Korean peninsula on 23. July 2007.





3.2. Centre for European Peace and Security Studies (ZEUS)

The Centre for European Peace and Security Studies (ZEUS), based on the *Medium Term Work Program* of IFSH, is concerned with the contribution of European Union foreign, security and defense policies to European and world peace. The development and implementation of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) and their specific instruments set the parameters for the research at ZEUS.

With respect to the comprehensive research focal point in the *Medium-Term Work Program* of IFSH, ZEUS made its own contributions with analyses of how the EU can make the emergence and spread of transnational risks of violence more difficult or even stop their transformation into violent conflicts. The following questions will be given particular attention: With what 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 of – and the handling of – transnational risks of violence? How and with whom does the EU interact, in which geographical areas and in which functional policy fields? What effects have been achieved thus far and to what can these effects be traced? What conclusions can be drawn for the EU's future course of action in dealing with transnational risks of violence?



Podium participants at the Afghanistan-Discussions program on 24. September 2007 at IFSH, [left to right.: Hans-Georg Ehrhart, Niels Annen, Karen Johnson, Michael Brzoska and Knut Kirste

The research at ZEUS on prevention, containing and managing transnational risks of violence targets the development or the continuation of its own analytical approach (*security governance*) to the multi-level strategies, instruments and policies of the EU as well as complex actor constellations from the sides of the EU and third actors as well, and their interactions. The approaches from the research on the effectiveness of international institutions (evaluation research, regime analysis, quantitative analysis) should be integrated into this. In particular the *non-intended* effects on conditions and actors in the targeted states as well as on the EU itself should be researched.

1. Research Projects

- a. *The following projects were either completed or continued in the annual report period:*
 - In the PhD project *The Socialization of Norms in Russia – Chances and Limits of European Human Rights Policies compared with the Russian Federation* Regina Heller, using the example of Russia, analyzed the different mechanisms and conditions for a successful transfer of norms and rules within the framework of the human rights policy of the EU.
 - Also successfully completed in 2007 was the doctoral project *National Debates on a Common Foreign Policy in Poland, Romania and Hungary* by Heiko Fürst. The study compares the basic discourse principles and perceptions that shape European foreign and security policy in the three countries in the context of the expansion of the European Union.



- Dennis Gratz studied *Eliticide in Bosnia-Herzegovina 1992-1995*. Supported by a series of case studies, he confirmed in his doctoral project that during the war in his home country, systematic killing of intellectual, artistic and other elites was a daily occurrence. The doctorate was successfully completed.
- The „Security Handbook“ project, begun in 1995 by Hans J. Gießmann was continued in 2007. The work on the 5th Progress Report on „Emerging Powers in East Asia: China, Russia, and India“, was finished in December 2007. The volume was published at the beginning of 2008.
- The project by Hans-Georg Ehrhart, on *Security Governance as a Challenge for the EU* will be continued until 2009.
- Patricia Schneider studied questions of *Freedom and Security in Fighting Terrorism*. Within the framework of the project, a professorial dissertation, among other things, is to be completed by 2012.
- The project, *Risk Analysis Terrorism: Terrorism as a Threat to Sea-ports in Metropolitan Area: Case Study Hamburg and Shanghai*, the leadership of which was taken over by Patricia Schneider following the death of the project director, Erwin Müller, will be continued until 2009.
- Isabelle Tannous continued her PhD project *Conflict Prevention and Crisis Management of the European Union. The project, initially supported by the DSF will be finished by 2009*.
- The project supported by the VW foundation, *Analysing EU Institutions' and Member States Approaches to Promote Policy Coherence of Development and Security*, by Isabelle Tannous will be continued until 2009.
- The project carried out by Janina Johannsen, *Coherence of ESDP/CFSP Crisis Management*, was also supported by the VW Foundation. The project will be finished in 2008. In order to work on this project, Janina Johannsen has, for the time being, interrupted her work her dissertation, *Policy versus Practice: The European Union and Civil-Military Cooperation and Coordination. An Analysis of the EU Crisis Management Engagement in the Democratic Republic of Congo in the framework of the European Security and Defence Policy* at the University of Münster. When the VW project has ended, she wants to finish her dissertation at IFSH or the University of Hamburg by 2009.
- The project, *Development, Reform and Collapse of the Security Sector in the Palestinian Autonomous Regions as a Challenge for the Middle Eastern Policy of the EU* by Margret Johannsen will be continued until 2009.
- Supported by Cusanus Works, Sibylle Reinke de Buitrago is working on a dissertation project *Between threat perception and enemy images: Construction of security policy on terrorism in Germany and the United States. Opportunities for the transatlantic security partnership*, Completion of the doctorate is anticipated for 2009.
- The PhD project, *Changes in the Elite of Bosnia und Herzegovina in Transition*, is being carried out within the framework of the junior re-



IFSH staff at a memorial service for Erwin Müller in November 2007



searcher programme of IFSH. The dissertation project, conducted by Naida Mehmedbegovic, is expected to be completed by 2009.

- The PhD project, *The Protection of National Minorities in the Republic of Croatia as an Instrument for the Prevention of Ethno-Political Conflicts*, funded by the Friedrich Naumann Foundation, is being carried out by Goran Bandov. Completion of the project is planned for 2008.
- The DAAD supported the dissertation project begun in 2007, *Ethnic Cleansing as a Political Instrument in the Context of State-Building* by Emir Suljagic. It is expected to be completed in 2009.
- In a further doctoral project supported by DAAD, Afrim Hoti is studying the *International Administration in Kosova and its Way to Peace*. The doctorate is scheduled to be finished in 2010.
- The dissertation project, *The Role of the Police Missions in the European Security and Defense Policy (ESVP). Comparative Analysis of the Involvement of the European Union in Police Reforms* by Isabelle Maras is scheduled to be finished by 2010.

b. *The following research projects were either approved and/or started in the annual report period:*

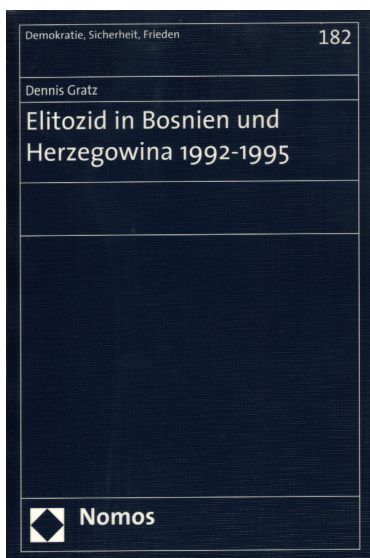
- In the context of the 7th EU Framework Programme for Research, the EU-Commission approved the Project *EUSECON: A New Agenda for European Security Economics*, led by the German Institute for Economic Research. IFSH, under the leadership of Michael Brzoska, is a consortium partner and is responsible, in particular for the analysis of the anti-terrorism policy of the European Union. The project is due to run for four years.
- The project *Multi-Stakeholder Partnership in Post-Conflict Reconstruction: The Role of the EU*, under the leadership of Hans-Georg Ehrhart and Michael Brzoska, is being supported in the context of the 7th EU Framework Programme for Research by the European Commission. Negotiations on details continued during the reporting period. The project is due to run for two years until 2009.
- *EU-China Trade and Investment Relations – Current State, Trends and Prospects* is the title of the project supported by the Comagnia di San Paolo/Centro Alti Studi Cina Contemporanea and directed by Bernt Berger. The project runs for two years and should be finished in 2009.

c. *The following research projects, which were prepared or submitted in the annual report period, have not yet been decided upon:*

- none

2. *Scientific-Based Service Projects*

- The *Academic Network South East*, the contribution to the development of scientific and academic cooperation between institutions in the Western Balkans engaged in peace science, supported by the German Academic Exchange Service since 2003, was continued in the reporting period as an important consulting project. Programs and re-





search and work results from the network were discussed officially and published on the Homepage of the Network: <http://www.akademischesnetzwerk-soe.net>, among other places. The project, directed by Hans J. Gießmann, and the network, directed by Patricia Schneider, expanded its activities to Macedonia during the reporting period and began cooperation with the universities in Skopje und Tetovo. A lecturer from Macedonia taught at IFSH and an international workshop was conducted in Macedonia. As part of the project, two doctoral candidates from the region are being supervised at IFSH.

- New subsidies for the *Baudissin-Fellowship-Program*, resident at ZEUS under the directorship of Hans-Georg Ehrhart were attracted from the Karl-Theodor-Molinari Foundation. The continuation of supervision of officers and security experts on research and teaching topics related to “Inner Leadership” as well as the reform of the armed forces is scheduled for 2008.
- Margret Johannsen’s peace education consultation project/study booklet: “International Politics: War and Peace exemplified in the Middle East Conflict” is earmarked for use in the distance learning course for obtaining higher education entrance qualifications. The project was completed in the spring of 2008.
- Hans-Georg Ehrhart and Hans J. Gießmann worked on the 6. *Hanseatic Baltic Summer School* for students of other countries. Hans Georg Ehrhart, as a member of the Advisory Board of the HBSS, is involved in planning the teaching.
- During the reporting period, Hans J. Gießmann and Isabelle Tannous took over consultancy tasks for the Friedrich-Ebert Foundation (Singapore office). This primarily involved questions of the *Application of Experiences from European Integration for Regime Formation and intergovernmental cooperation in Southeast Asia*.
- In 2007, for the sixth time, Hans J. Gießmann was invited as an expert to participate in and consult to a German Parliamentary delegation on the German-Chinese Security Dialogue with representatives of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China as well as the Chinese Foreign and Defense Ministries. In addition to discussions on regional and global security questions, possibilities for closer agreement and cooperation between China and the Federal Republic of Germany are the focus of attention in the consultancy terms of reference.



Auxiliary bishop Dr Hans-Jochen Jaschke, State Secretary Dr Roland Salchow and Hans-Joachim Gießmann at the opening of the new building on 30 October 2007.



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

The major topics in 2007 were the progressing arms dynamics in the areas of nuclear disarmament and space weapons, the erosion of arms control and the difficulties with non-proliferation against the background of inspection measures, dual-use technologies and weapons production and export. The focus of the projects was on conceptual as well as natural science areas of arms control, non-proliferation and disarmament.



Jan Stupl and Götz Neuneck at the podium during the IFSH-Conference „Security and Cooperation in South Asia“.

The debate on missile defense in Europe, the Russian reaction resulting from this, such as, for example, the suspension of the CFE or the controversy over the “US-India Deal”, under which India will be equipped with civilian nuclear technology exclusively by the USA, makes clear that the arms control architecture is in the process of a major change. It would seem that arms control is developing ever more strongly in the direction of one-sided, non-integrative measures. In many areas armament tendencies can be observed which also include high technology. China’s anti-satellite test in January 2007 was a warning signal demonstrating that arms control in space is overdue. The EU as well, which runs an ambitious space program, can take over an important role here. Studies, expert reports and publications have been prepared, particularly in the areas of missile defense, arms production, effectiveness of embargos and sanctions or with respect to negotiations with Iran over its controversial nuclear program. In the area of arms dynamics, projects on the effects of laser weapons, Unmanned Aerial Vehicles, missile defense and anti-satellite weapons were accelerated.

In the annual report period, the research group dealt with the interplay between factors of arms dynamics and the possibilities of arms control under the conditions of an increasingly asymmetrical world. Special emphasis was placed on a combination of methodologies from the natural and social sciences with the following lines of research:

- fundamentals, possibilities and forms of arms control, disarmament and non-proliferation as well as the development of applicable concepts on preventive arms control;
- “monitoring” of advanced arms dynamics and arms control policy in Europe and worldwide with a focus on modern technology; and
- technical possibilities for existing and future (arms)development, above all, in the area of weaponization of space, missile proliferation and missile defence.

1. Research Projects

- a. *The following research projects were either continued or completed in the annual report period:*

Focus Future of Arms Control:

- *Current issues of non-proliferation and arms control.* This comprises the development of the Iranian nuclear programme, the situation in Asia, and the crisis of the Non-proliferation Treaty. Together with the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) and the Federal College for Security Studies (BAKS), IFAR organized the „Conference on Security and Cooperation in South Asia – a Global Perspective” in Ber-



lin from 8.-10 October 2007, in which 60 high-level representatives from the USA, France, India, Pakistan, Germany, Japan, Russia, Great Britain and France took part. Götz Neuneck and Axel Schwanhäußler participated in three panel presentations during the First Preparatory Meeting for the Verification Conference of the Non-Proliferation Treaty in 2010.

- Michael Brzoska worked on the project *Arms production and arms export control in the EU*. He compiled a study on questions of foreign participation in European armament capacities for the European Parliament, authored, together with Mark Bromley, SIPRI, an article on the effects of the code of conduct of the European Union for arms exports and oversaw the publication on the effect of the criteria laid down in this codex on the small arms trade from the EU.
- The research project “*Regime-Building under Pressure? The Further Development of Multilateral Arms Control*”, funded by the Fritz Thyssen Foundation, was continued. Oliver Meier is investigating what kind of influence the new, so-called non-integrated approaches for the control of weapons of mass destruction might have on regime-building, regime effectiveness and regime change in the area of arms control. Project director is Götz Neuneck. This project is due to run from May 2005 to April 2008. It is being conducted in close co-operation with the *U.S. Arms Control Association* and aims to provide some critical insight into the transatlantic dialogue on making arms control negotiations more effective.
- Within the framework of a project that has run since 2002, *Effectiveness of Arms Embargos*, the effectiveness of arms embargos is being studied using case studies and comparisons. The project is being carried out by Michael Brzoska in cooperation with George Lopez at the University of Notre Dame, USA. The results will be published as a book by the English publishing house Elsevier.
- Axel Schwanhäußler continued the work of his project, *Beyond Safeguards – Taking advantage of the early warning capabilities of the improved IAEA safeguard system in respect of nuclear programs leading to outbreak capabilities*, with analyses of the Iranian and Indian nuclear programs and participation in the Carnegie International Non-Proliferation Conference in Washington, D.C. The project is supported by the Volkswagen Foundation within the framework of the “European Foreign and Security Policy Studies”. The project will be interrupted in 2008 as the person in charge is moving to the International Atomic Energy Agency.
- A working group of scientists from IFSH and the University of Hamburg pressed ahead with the work of applying for a DFG research group on the topic of Verification of International Agreements. Martin Kalinowski (ZNF) is lead manager; Michael Brzoska, Götz Neuneck and Oliver Meier from IFSH are participating. Preliminary work on the topic of „Space Surveillance“ was carried out.



Götz Neuneck during his lecture

*Focal Point: Military Use of Outer Space and Missile Defence:*

- *The Military Use of Outer Space and Options for Preventive Arms Control* was continued with the Chinese space program particularly in mind. The impetus was the Chinese anti-satellite test of January 2007. In charge of this project are Götz Neuneck and Marcel Dickow. Within the context of Germany's EU presidency, IFAR participated in the planning of the „EU Conference on Security in Space, the Contribution of Arms Control and the Role of the EU“ in Berlin and the 16th Forum on Global Questions „New Ways of Arms Control and Disarmament“ at the Federal Foreign Office.
- Marcel Dickow received a two-year grant within the framework of the „European Foreign and Security Policy Studies“ of the Compagnia di San Paolo, Turin, the Riksbank Jubileum Foundation in Stockholm and the Volkswagen Foundation, Hanover. He began working on his topic *Security and Defence in European Space Policy* with a research visit to the European Space Policy Institute (ESPI) in Vienna.
- In 2007, on behalf of the „Directorate-General for External Policies of the Union Policy Department“ of the European Parliament, IFAR, together with authors from Great Britain, France and Italy, compiled the study „*Missile Defence and European Security*“. The study was discussed officially at an event in Brussels and was adopted by the European Parliament.
- In the project *Implications and Technical Possibilities of Airborne Laser Systems*, the functional principles and the technical feasibility of the Airborne Laser of USA and other high energy lasers, i.e., in space as well, were studied. Jan Stupl is carrying out the project which is headed by Götz Neuneck. In 2007 the research was continued in cooperation with the ZNF (Centre for Sciences and Peace Research) within the framework of a follow-up application, „Implications and Technical Possibilities for Airborne Laser Systems“, approved by the Berghof Foundation.

Focal Point Arms Dynamics and Warfare:

- The work in 2007 within a currently running project on the *Validity of Quantitative Data on War, Armaments and Conflict* concentrated on data on war trends. A series of publications and manuscripts including a text for the 2007 SIPRI Yearbook were prepared. Project director is Michael Brzoska.
- In the project „*Revolution in Military Affairs/Information Warfare*“ the scientific-technical and military policy concepts, conflict situations and consequences, in the context of *RMA/Information Warfare*, are being elaborated upon and options for preventive arms control are discussed.
- Michael Brzoska continued his work on the *Cost-Benefit of Military and Civilian Peace Missions* with a series of publications on topics such as the peace missions to Africa and the division of labor between the different peacekeeping actors.
- In the project on „*The History of the German Pugwash Movement*“ supported by the Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF) a follow-up application was compiled and submitted to the Thyssen Foundation. Work on teaching materials on the problems of atomic weapons was continued.



STUDY

Policy Department External Policies

MISSILE DEFENCE AND EUROPEAN SECURITY

SECURITY AND DEFENCE

November 2007

EN

Study for the EU-Commission with cooperation from IFAR



b. The following research projects were approved and/or started in the annual report period:

- In 2007, the University of Hamburg was successful in its application for the Excellence Cluster CLISAP (Integrated Climate System Analysis and Prediction). One of the modules of CLISAP is the topic of climate change and security. IFSH staff members (Michael Brzoska, Götz Neuneck, Hans J. Gießmann) as well as Martin Kalinowski from ZNF and other scientists from the University of Hamburg are involved in this project. The research was begun in 2007 with a literature review. The project is due to run until 2012.
- At the end of 2007 the Office of Technology Assessment at the German Parliament awarded a contract to conduct a study, “*Status and Perspectives of Military Use of Unmanned Systems.*” It will be conducted in cooperation with the Universities of Dortmund (Dr. J. Altmann) and Gießen (Prof. T. Maruhn). In charge are Götz Neuneck, Michael Brzoska and Christian Alwardt. The project runs until April 2008.

c. The following research projects, which were prepared or submitted in the annual report period, have not yet been decided upon:

- Application for *History of the German Pugwash Movement* to the Thyssen Foundation (Götz Neuneck).
- Application „*Between Control and Cooperation. Technology Transfer and Efforts towards the Non-Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction.*” to the German Foundation for Peace Research (Götz Neuneck/Oliver Meier).

3. Scientific-Based Services

There has traditionally been a strong demand for the expertise of IFAR from the media, political foundations and the interested public. In the reporting period current global political topics such as the nuclear dispute with Iran, the atom deal between the USA and India, the missile defense plans of the USA and the problems of space have been at the center of this interest. Beyond this consultation and information activity, the IFAR staff also consult to ministries, parliamentarians and both national and international expert panels. Some individual consultation activities, events and activities are mentioned as examples:

- IFAR participated in the preparation of the *Amaldi Conference* which took place in March 2008 at the DESY in Hamburg. Scientific academies from a great many countries send experts to this conference on questions of disarmament and arms control. This enterprise is supported by the Donors’ Association for the Promotion of the Sciences and the Humanities. Michael Brzoska and Götz Neuneck represent IFSH.
- Oliver Meier and Götz Neuneck participated both as lecturers and as Chairpersons in the 3rd Symposium „Nuclear and Radiological Weapons” organized by the Fraunhofer Institute for Natural Science Trends Analysis in Euskirchen. This symposium is the only regular meeting in Germany at which scientists, experts and civil servants from the Ministry of the Interior, the Federal Armed Forces, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Radiation Protection/Population Protection get



Michael Brzoska at the conference „Whispering in the ears of power” organized by Friedrich-Ebert-Foundation in May 2007 in Jakarta



Adam Daniel Rotfeld (l.) and Götz Neuneck
At the event „Cold War as a Result of Missile
Defence?“ on 30. October 2007 at IFSH

together for several days to exchange views on topics such as “dirty” bombs, nuclear terrorism and the current arms control questions.

- IFAR consulted to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the context of the German EU presidency in the first half of 2007 on arms control in space. The issues were discussed for the first time during an EU-wide intergovernmental conference. During his stay at the “European Space Policy Institute” (ESPI), Marcel Dickow compiled a joint ESPI and IFSH memorandum for the follow-up meeting during the Portuguese EU presidency.
- Götz Neuneck has worked since 2007 as a member of a consultancy group on the „Space Security Index“, a standard work on space security supported by the Canadian government.
- In the context of the discussion of the installation by the US of a missile defense system in Eastern Europe, Götz Neuneck was invited to lectures and discussions at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the German Bundestag. Missile defense was also a topic at a podium discussion with the former Polish Foreign Minister, Daniel Adam Rotfeld, organized by IFSH and prepared by IFAR, on the occasion of the opening of the new IFSH building on 30. October 2007.
- The future of conventional arms control was the topic on which Götz Neuneck lectured during the Ministry of Foreign Affairs’ international diplomat training as well as the brainstorming meeting of the arms control section of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.



Participants of the international conference „Security an Cooperation in South Asia“
8-10 October 2007 in Berlin



4. Comprehensive Activities

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

The working group on effectiveness research, established at IFSH in 2006, continued its work at the beginning of 2007. The working group did not meet in the second half of the year. It will resume its activity in 2008.

4.2 Conferences, Events and Guests

- From 9 to 11 February 2007 CORE conducted a transatlantic workshop on the topic of *Democracy Promotion in Central Asia – European and US-American Experiences* in which some 30 scientific and political experts – half of them from the USA – took part.
- On 24 February 2007 IFSH and the Institute for Theology and Peace (ithf) held an international expert workshop on the topic: „*Pacification from outside? Ethical reflections on a controversial politico-military concept using the example of the Congo.*”
- From 26 February until 2 March 2007 Anna Kreikemeyer and Delia Rahmonova-Schwarz, in cooperation with the OSCE-Centre in Almaty, held an initial series of CORE Capacity-Building Seminars on the OSCE at five universities in Kazakhstan (Al Farabi National University and the State University in Almaty, the Eurasian University and the Diplomatic Academy in Astana and the State University in Karaganda).
- On 14 March 2007 the former head of the OSCE Advisory and Monitoring Group in Belarus, Ambassador a. D. Dr Hans-Georg Wiecek, visited IFSH and CORE and held a lecture on the topic of democracy promotion in Belarus.
- On 19 April 2007 a commemoration ceremony on the hundredth birthday of Wolf Graf von Baudissin took place with the title: What ever happened to leadership and civic education?”
- On 6 July 2007 Prof. Takako Ueta from the International Christian University in Tokyo visited CORE for discussions with Wolfgang Zellner.
- From 20 to 22 July and from 26 to 28 October 2007, CORE conducted two workshops with an international task force within the framework of drafting the report, *Identifying the Cutting Edge: The Future Impact of the OSCE*.
- On 23 July 2007 CORE, together with the Korean Institute for National Unification (KINU), conducted a workshop on the topic of *The Development of the CSCE/OSCE: Lessons Learnt for the Peace Process on the Korean Peninsula*.
- On 24 September 2007 IFSH held a podium discussion on „The Future of the International Military Presence in Afghanistan”. Michael Brzoska discussed this issue with Knut Kirste (NATO), Niels Annen (SPD-MP), Hans-Georg Ehrhart (IFSH) and more than fifty guests, among them the American Consul General Karen E. Johnsen.



Building dedication on 30 October
Margret Johannsen with a visitor



Afghanistan-Conference on 24 September at IFSH (from left to right) Hans-Georg Ehrhart, Niels Annen, MdB, Michael Brzoska



Participants at the Conference on Women and Peace Promotion on 21 November 2007 at IFSH. (From left to right): Ute Scheub, Hadewych Hazelzet, Anna Kreikemeyer, Michael Brzoska, Christa Randzio-Plath, Frederike von Franqué, Merle Vetterlein, Christiane Fröhlich

- From 21 to 22 September 2007, the Association of German Scientists (VDW) together with IFSH, the Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker-Centre for Science and Peace Research (ZNF) and the Philosophical Seminar of the University of Hamburg held a two-day conference to honor the contributions and life's work of the physicist, philosopher and peace researcher, Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker, who died on 28 April 2007.
- From 10 September until 6 October CORE conducted a training program at IFSH on all aspects of OSCE work for Kazakh diplomats in preparation for the Kazakh OSCE Chairmanship.
- On 13 September 2007 IFSH and the Hamburg Society for the Promotion of Democracy and International Law organized a lecture and discussion program on the topic: *The Case of Ehren Watada – A soldier caught between obedience and conscience*.
- On 28 September 2007 the head of the Finnish OSCE-Task Force, Ambassador Aleksi Härkönen, visited CORE and held a lecture on the topic of *Preparing for Finland's OSCE Chairmanship* during the OSCE training of Kazakh diplomats.
- On 8 October the United Nations Association of Germany (DGVN) and IFSH jointly presented themselves with a podium discussion on the topic *"The Future of Kosovo"* at the Permanent Representation of the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg in Berlin.
- From 8 to 10 October 2007 IFSH, together with the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) and the Federal College for Security Studies (BAKS) held a „Conference on Security and Co-operation in South Asia: a Global Perspective“ in Berlin.
- The Conference with the title: *"The Collaboration between the EU and China"* was run by IFSH together with the Centre for European Studies of the East China Normal University and with Charles University in Prague on 12 and 13 October 2007 in Shanghai.
- On 17 October 2007 the presentation of Master's diplomas for the 24 graduates of the 5th academic year and the ceremonial welcome for the 27 students of the 6th academic year of the „Master of Peace and Security Studies“ took place at the University of Hamburg. The well-known German peace researcher, Prof. Dr Dieter Senghaas, held this year's lecture on the topic *"How can peace be composed?"*
- On 30 October 2007 the new Institute building, Beim Schlump 83, was ceremoniously opened by the First Mayor, Ole von Beust. In addition to von Beust, the State Secretary, Dr. Roland Salchow as well as the Directors of the Institute for Contemporary History (FZH) in Hamburg, the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg, the Institute for the History of the German Jews (IGdJ) and the Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker-Centre for Science and Peace Research (ZNF) spoke at the ceremony. Afterwards, there was a joint *"Open Door Afternoon"* for the four institutes, which used the opportunity to introduce themselves to the countless visitors with, among other things, film, photo and poster exhibitions, library tours and a book table.
- On 30 October 2007, in the course of the dedication of the new institute building, a podium discussion was jointly organized by IFSH and



ZNF with the former Polish Foreign Minister and former Director of the Stockholm Peace Research Institute SIPRI, Adam Daniel Rotfeld, on the topic of “A New Cold War Through Missile Defense?”

- On 19 November 2007 members of the SPD-Faction of the Hamburg State Parliament (Dorothee Stapelfeldt, Michael Neumann, Martin Schäfer) and the SPD candidate for the office of Mayor, Michael Naumann, visited the four institutes at „Beim Schlump 83“ for informal discussions. IFSH and ZNF jointly answered the guests’ questions.
- On 21. November 2007 IFSH and Women in International Security (WIIS) jointly organized a podium discussion with Prof. Christa Randzio Plath, Chairperson of the Marie-Schlei-Verein, on the question „What does UN-Resolution 1325 (on equality for women in conflict management) imply for peace research and for women?“
- Arne Seifert and Elena Kropatcheva, together with the Kazakh Institute for Strategic Studies (KISI) and the Central Asian office of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, conducted a workshop on 30 November 2007 on the topic of “Secularism and Islam: Connections in a joint state.”
- On 13/14 December 2007 a German-Canadian workshop on the topic of “NATO and the International Engagement in Afghanistan. Lost cause or long-term endeavour?”, jointly organized by the German Armed Forces Staff College, IFSH, and the Queen’s Centre for International Relations took place.



Members of the SPD-Citizenship Faction visit IFSH and ZNF on 19 November

4.3 Research Colloquium 2007

The IFSH regularly organizes research colloquia for the staff, the M.P.S. students and selected guests. Hans-Georg Ehrhart is director and organizer.

Krisenprävention und menschliche Sicherheit, *Dr. Albrecht Schnabel*, Swisspeace (4. January 2007).

Community Conflict Resolution SADC, *Nisha Arumugarajah*, IFSH (10. January 2007).

Afghanistan als internationale Herausforderung, *Florian Kühn*, Helmut-Schmidt-Universität (17. January 2007).

Das Battlegroup-Konzept der EU, *Christian Mölling*, IFAR (24. January 2007).

EU-Forschungsförderung, *Angela Schindler-Daniels*, Bundesministerium für Wissenschaft und Forschung (31. January 2007).

Aktuelle Fragestellungen zu Hochenergie-Laserwaffen, *Jan Stupl*, IFSH/IFAR (7. February 2007).

Migrations- und Flüchtlingspolitik der EU im Spannungsfeld von Sicherheit, ökonomischer Notwendigkeit und Menschenrechten – (Mögliche) Konsequenzen der Bildung eines Cordon Sanitaire an den Außengrenzen der EU am Beispiel Marokkos, *Dr. Ulrike Borchardt*, Universität Hamburg (21. February 2007).

Ein GASP-Caucus in der Nato?, *Dr. Eckhard Lübke*, Auswärtiges Amt/SWP (1. March 2007).

Power-sharing in fragmentierten Gesellschaften – das Rahmenabkommen von Ohrid und seine Auswirkungen auf die Republik Makedonien, *Merle Vetterlein*, IFSH/CORE (7. March 2007).



Event on the occasion of the 100th birthday of Graf Baudissin im April 2007 (Jürgen Groß, Claus Frhr. von Rosen, Detlef Bald, Hans-Joachim Gießmann)



Der Transformationsprozess in Belarus und die westliche Demokratisierungsförderung, Botschafter a.D. *Dr. Hans-Georg Wieck*, ehem. Leiter der OSZE-Berater- und Beobachtergruppe in Minsk (14. March 2007).

Probleme und Perspektiven von Auslandseinsätzen der Bundeswehr aus Sicht des Deutschen Bundeswehrverbandes, Oberst *Bernhard Gertz*, Vorsitzender des Deutschen Bundeswehrverbandes (21. March 2007).

How the World's Most Underdeveloped Nations get the World's Most Dangerous Weapons, *Dr. Geoffrey Forden*, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, MIT (4. April 2007).

Der Kalte Krieg als „absoluter Krieg“: Konturen einer New Cold War History, PD *Dr. Bernd Stöver*, Universität Potsdam (11. April 2007).

Relations between Serbia and NATO 1999-2007, *Namir Radojkovic*, M.P.S. (2. May 2007).

Aktuelle Probleme der Abrüstung und Rüstungskontrolle, *Dr. Rolf Mützenich*, MdB, Abrüstungspolitischer Sprecher der SPD-Fraktion (9. May 2007).

Stabilität oder Chaos? Zur politischen Lage in der Ukraine, *Elena Kropatcheva*, IFSH/CORE (16. May 2007).

US-Raketenabwehr in und für Europa?, *Götz Neuneck*, IFSH/IFAR (23. May 2007).

Was tun mit Zimbabwe? Die internationale Gemeinschaft zwischen „Responsibility to protect“ und Souveränitätsgebot, *Christoph Laufens*, M.P.S. (13. June 2007).

Klimawandel und Sicherheit – Themen für eine Forschungsagenda, *Michael Brzoska*, IFSH (27. June 2007).

„Der De-facto-Staat Abachien: Welche Lösungsansätze sind realistisch?“, *Prof. Dr. Otto Luchterhandt*, Universität Hamburg/*Marietta König*, IFSH/CORE (4. July 2007).

Drogen als Sicherheitsbedrohung? Eine vergleichende Untersuchung der Drogenpolitik Afghanistans, Pakistans und Irans, *Janet Kursawe*, German Institute for Global and Area Studies (11. July 2007).

EU peace operations and the future of ESDP, OTL *Alexandre de Bordelius*, EU-Militärstab (22. August 2007).

Transformation der Bundeswehr: Neuer Wein in alten Schläuchen?, *Armin Wagner*, IFSH/ZEUS (29. August 2007).

Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Friedens- und Konfliktforschung (AFK), PD *Dr. Peter Imbusch*, Zentrum für Konfliktforschung der Uni Marburg (5. September 2007).

EU Weltraumpolitik, *Marcel Dickow*, IFSH/IFAR (12. September 2007).

Russland vor den Wahlen, *Christian Wipperfürth*, Berlin (26. September 2007).

Aktuelle Stunde: Herausforderung Afghanistan, Interne IFSH-Diskussion (11. October 2007).

The role of the military in the transformation of Pakistani society, *Dr. Ayesha Siddiqi Agha*, Independent security analyst (24. October 2007).

Chinas außenpolitische Strategien, *Bernt Berger*, IFSH/ZEUS (31. Oktober 2007).

North Korea's Nuclear Programme as an International Challenge, *Prof. Dr. Herbert Wulf* (7. November 2007).

Bundeswehr-Einsatz in Afghanistan: Kritischer Erfahrungsbericht, *Dr. med. Martin Leidl*, M.P.S. (14. November 2007).

What can China learn from the process of European integration?, *Prof. Feng Shao Lei*, East China Normal University, Shanghai (21. November 2007).

Zur Zukunft des KSE-Vertrages, *Wolfgang Zellner*, IFSH/CORE (28. November 2007).

PRTs der Bundeswehr in Afghanistan, OTL *Ronald Koß*, ext. IFSH/ZEUS und Bundeswehr (5. December 2007).

Rüstungskontrolle und Zwang: Die Wirkung neuer Nichtverbreitungsansätze, *Oliver Meier*, IFSH/IFAR (19. December 2007).



Erwin Müller † and Sabine Jaberg in April 2007 at IFSH



4.4 Lectures of Fellows and Staff (A selection)

Goran Bandov

- Vortrag “Ethnozentrismus i njegova interrekcija sa globalizacijskim procesima. (Ethnozentrismus und seine Interaktion mit Globalisierungsprozessen.)“ auf der Konferenz “Sigurnost i etničke manjine u procesima globalizacije“ der Universität Zagreb, 24.-27. Mai 2007, Begovo Razdolje, Kroatien.
- Vortrag „Balkan refugee children“ auf dem Seminar „I’m magic ration“, organisiert vom Europarat, 12.-17. April, 2007, Istanbul, Türkei.

Bernt Berger

- “EU-China Relations – Past, Present, Future”, Ningbo University, Ningbo, Zhejiang, P.R.China, 18. Juni 2007.
- “China’s international interest and strategies – Consequences for foreign and security policy”, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung / Interallied Confederation of Reserve Officers (CIOR/NATO), Schloss Eichholz, Wesseling/Bonn, 13. Februar 2007.

Michael Brzoska

- „Konflikte und Kriege der Zukunft“. Vortrag im Rahmen des Symposiums „Baudis-sin für das 21. Jahrhundert“, Führungsakademie der Bundeswehr, 8. Mai 2007.
- “Whispering in the Ears of Power”, Vortrag LEMHANNAS (Indonesian National Resilience Institute), Djakarta, 23. Mai 2007.
- „Ressourcen, Klimawandel, Konflikte“. Vortrag im Rahmen des Symposiums „E-nergie – Ressourcen – Frieden. Herausforderungen für eine zukunftsfähige Gesell-schaft“ der Bundesstiftung Umwelt, der Deutschen Stiftung Friedensforschung/DSF, der Nordrhein-Westfälischen Stiftung für Umwelt und Entwicklung und der Right Livelihood Award Foundation, Osnabrück, 16. September 2007.

Marcel Dickow

- „Die Europäische Weltraumpolitik“, Seminar zur EU-Sicherheits- und Friedenspoli-tik im Rahmen der VDW-Jahrestagung, Evangelische Stiftung Hamburg, 18. Februar 2007.
- „Verifikation von konventionellen Weltraumwaffen in einem möglichen Begren-zungs- oder Verbotsabkommen“, Deutsche Physikalische Gesellschaft (DPG), Jah-restagung 2007, Regensburg, AKA 5.3, 29. März 2007.
- “The European Space Policy – The EU, ESDP and space: about merging policies and its implications”, European Foreign and Security Policy Studies (EFSPS) autumn seminar 2007, Brüssel, 17. Oktober 2007.

Hans-Georg Ehrhart

- „Friedensmacht EU?“ Vortrag im Rahmen des wissenschaftlichen Symposiums zum Thema „Die Europäische Union im 21. Jahrhundert“ der Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität Münster, 27. April 2007.
- „Sicherheitspolitik der EU in Afrika“, Vortrag vor dem Arbeitskreis Afrika der SPD-Bundestagsfraktion, Berlin, 6. Juni 2007.
- „Europa als ein ‚global player‘“, Panelstatement anlässlich des Villa Vigoni Ge-sprächs 2007 organisiert vom Institut für Europäische Politik, dem Deutsch-Italienischen Zentrum und dem Mailänder Institut für Internationale Politik, Lovenò di Menaggio, 1. Dezember 2007.

Hans-Joachim Gießmann

- “EU’s China Policy Revisited”, 6. Deutsch-Chinesischer Sicherheitsdialog, Beijing, 14.-15. Mai 2007.
- „Regional Perceptions of Asian Powers for Global Change“, Politikdialog der Frie-drich-Ebert-Stiftung, Singapur, 27. April 2007.

Regina Heller

- “‘Rapprochement through interlinkage’ – How strong is the EU’s normative gravity for Russia really?”, ICCEES Convention “Transcending Europe’s Borders: The EU and Its Neighbours”, Humboldt Universität Berlin, 2.-4. August 2007.
- „Demokratisierung von außen? Politikansätze von EU und Europarat gegenüber Russland“, Vortrag/Workshop Brücke e.V. Bad Homburg, 9. November 2007 (ge-meinsam mit Olaf Melzer, HSFK).



Frank Evers (CORE) at the training course for Kazakh diplomats in October 2007 at IFSH.



Mayor Ole von Beust at the opening of the Beim Schlump 83 building on 30 October 2007

- „Die Europäische Union und Russland – eine Partnerschaft mit Hindernissen“, Vortrag im Rahmen der Öffentlichen Mitgliederversammlung der Städtepartnerschaft Bielefeld – Welikij Nowgorod, Bielefeld, 26. November 2007.

Margret Johannsen

- „Die endlose Geschichte: Die UNO und der israelisch-palästinensische Konflikt“, Vortrag anlässlich des 60. Jahrestages der UN-Teilungsresolution, veranstaltet vom Karl-Renner-Institut und von der Gesellschaft für Österreichisch-Arabische Beziehungen, Wien, 25. November 2007.
- „Die deutsche Politik gegenüber Israel und Palästina seit der Jahrhundertwende. Beschreibung und Problemaufriss“, Referat auf der Tagung „Besondere Beziehungen? Was Deutschland zum Frieden zwischen Israelis und Palästinensern beitragen kann“, veranstaltet von der Evangelischen Akademie Iserlohn, in Kooperation mit den Autoren des „Manifests der 25“, dem „Forum Crisis Prevention“ und der „Gustav-Heinemann-Initiative“ in Berlin, 20.-22. April 2007.
- „Mutual distrust and threats: Is there a chance for dialogue?“, Referat auf dem internationalen Symposium über „Nuklearisierung in Europa und dem Vorderen Orient – Von Bedrohung zur präventivem Handeln“, veranstaltet von der Schweizer Sektion der Ärztinnen und Ärzte für soziale Verantwortung (PSR) / Ärzte zur Verhütung des Atomkrieges (IPPNW) in Monte Verità, Schweiz, 22.-25. März 2007.

Martin Kahl

- „Die Bekämpfung des Terrorismus und die Rolle der Vereinten Nationen“, Universität Hamburg, Ringvorlesung der DGVN, 11. Januar 2007.
- „G8 – selbsternannter Weltgipfel“, Landeszentrale für Politische Bildung Brandenburg, Potsdam, 13. Juni 2007.
- „Die Auflösung der Grenzen innerer und äußerer Sicherheit: Komplexe Bedrohungen – komplexe Lösungen?“, Jahrestagung des Vfs, Handelskammer Hamburg, 6. Dezember 2007.

Marietta König

- „EU-Engagement in the Wider Black Sea Region“, Vortrag bei der russischsprachigen Konferenz über die „Politische Situation im Kaukasus und die Initiativen Externer Akteure“ organisiert vom Moskauer Zentrum für Strategische und Politische Studien, Baku/Aserbaidschan, 27.-28. Mai 2007.

Anna Kreikemeyer

- Vorträge „Geschichte der OSZE“, „OSZE Institutionen, Strukturen und Feldaktivitäten“, „Reformprobleme und Perspektiven der OSZE“, im Rahmen des Capacity Building Workshops mit dem OSZE Zentrum Almaty an fünf kasachischen Universitäten (Staatliche Al Farabi Universität Almaty, Staatliche Universität Almaty, Eurasische Universität und Diplomatenakademie, Astana, Staatliche Universität Karaganda), Almaty und Astana, 26. Februar – 2. März 2007
- „Zentralasien: Zwischen Rechtsstaat und Islamismus“, Vortrag im Rahmen der Zentralasientagung von Renovabis (Solidaritätsaktion der deutschen Katholiken mit den Menschen in Mittel- und Osteuropa), Berlin, 15. November 2007.
- „Der politische und strategische Kontext der Millennium Development Goals in Kasachstan“, European Inter-University Centre for Human Rights and Democratisation (EIUC), Venedig, 3. Dezember 2007..

Elena Kropatcheva

- „Russia or the EU? Ukraine Caught between Two Poles“, Vortrag auf dem ICCEES-Regionalkongress „Transcending Europe's Borders: The EU and its Neighbours“, an der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, 2. bis 4. August 2007.
- „Transit of Russia's Energy to the EU via Ukraine: Conflict and Cooperation“, Vortrag auf dem UACES Workshop „Security of Energy Supply in the New Europe – A Challenge for the European Neighbourhood Policy“, Universität Glasgow, 19.-20. September 2007.

Oliver Meier

- „The arms control and nonproliferation implications of the Indo-U.S. nuclear deal: A view from Germany“, Vortrag auf der internationalen Tagung „The Indo-U.S. Nuclear Deal: A Critical Assessment“, organisiert von CNDP/PEACE und der Heinrich Böll Stiftung, Neu Delhi, 31. August – 1. September.
- „Nukleare Modernisierungsprogramme und die Verbreitung von Kernwaffen: Der Zusammenhang zwischen vertikaler und horizontaler Proliferation“, Vortrag auf dem



3. Symposium nukleare und radiologische Waffen, Fraunhofer Institut für Naturwissenschaftliche Trendanalysen, Euskirchen, 18.-20. September 2007.

Jens Narten

- „Kosovo auf dem Weg in die (Un-)Abhängigkeit? Politische, gesellschaftliche und wirtschaftliche Aspekte und die Rolle der internationalen Gemeinschaft“, Vortrag auf der IFSH/DGVN-Podiumsdiskussion „Zukunft des Kosovo“, Berlin, 8. Oktober 2007.
- “Post-conflict Peacebuilding & Local Ownership: A Case Study on External-local Dynamics in Kosovo under UN Interim Administration”, Vortrag auf der Jahreskonferenz der International Studies Association, Chicago, 3. März 2007.
- “Kosovo and External Democracy Promotion”, Vortrag auf dem case authors’ meeting des internationalen Forschungsprojekts ‘External Democracy Promotion in Post-Conflict States’ in Kooperation mit FU Berlin, Stanford University und FRIDE Madrid, Berlin, 14.-16. Dezember 2007.

Götz Neuneck

- „Space Security and Arms Control in Space“, 16. Globales Forum im Auswärtigen Amt, Berlin, 5. März 2007.
- “Prospects for Security in Space”, EU Conference on security in space, the contribution of arms control and the role of the EU, Berlin 21.-22. Juni 2007.
- „Technische und Politische Aspekte der in Europa geplanten US- Raketenabwehr“, Arbeitskreis Friedens- und Konfliktforschung beim Planungsstab des Auswärtigen Amts, Berlin, 4. Juli 2007.

Sibylle Reinke de Buitrago

- „Communication Patterns in the ‘War on Terrorism’ and Their Potential for Escalation or Deescalation of the Conflict“, Nachwuchstagung der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Friedens- und Konfliktforschung „Sicherheit, Konflikt, Frieden: Wissensbestände auf dem Prüfstand“, Schwerte (Ruhr), 5.-7. Oktober 2007.
- „Enemy Images in German Security Policy?“, Feindbild ‘Islam’ – Feindbild ‘Westen’? – Eine kritische Reflexion gegenseitiger Wahrnehmungen, Netzwerk ORIENTATION, Berlin, 6. Juli 2007.

Bernhard Rinke

- „The EU as a civil-military crisis manager: An emerging system of Security-Governance?“, Vortrag im Rahmen der Dialogkonferenz „The Second Asia-Europe Forum: Eurasia’s New Opportunities and New Challenges“ (veranstaltet vom Center for European Studies der East China Normal University Shanghai in Kooperation mit dem International Institute for Strategic Studies London) am Center for European Studies der East China Normal University (ECNU), Shanghai, 29. September 2007.
- „The EU as a civil-military crisis manager“, Vortrag im Rahmen des Workshops „The European Union in the World“ (durchgeführt von ZEUS und der School for Advanced International and Area Studies, East China Normal University) IFSH, Hamburg, 22. Juni 2007.

Patricia Schneider

- “Women in Peace Research in Germany”, „Encouragement to Advance, Vortrag am Center of Excellence Women and Science CEWS, Brüssel, 25.-28.09. 2007.
- “Peace Research as a basic for Academic Cooperation in German-Turkish Relations”, Vortrag bei der Konferenz „Germany meets Turkey – a Forum for Young leaders“, vom Institute for Cultural Diplomacy, ARI Movement und der Ernst Reuter Initiative. Stuttgart/ Frankfurt/ Berlin, 14.-21. Juli 2007,.

Thorsten Stodiek

- „Der Aufbau multi-ethnischer Polizeien auf dem Westbalkan“, Vortrag im Rahmen des Seminars „Der Balkan auf dem Weg nach Europa“, Haus Rissen, Hamburg, 16.-17. April 2007.
- „Der Aufbau multiethnischer Polizeien durch internationale Polizeieinsätze“, Vortrag im Rahmen des Seminars „Empirische Polizeiforschung X: Einflüsse von Globalisierung und Europäisierung auf die Polizei“, Berlin, 5.-7. Juli 2007.

Jan Stupl

- „Determination of critical thermal loads for thin-walled cylindrical shells during laser beam processing“, Fourth International WLT-Conference on „Lasers in Manufacturing“ (LIM 2007); München, 19. Juni 2007.



Michael Brzoska (2.v.l.) at a presentation „Climate Change and Security“ in Berlin. With Renate Künast, Claudia Kemfert, Alfred Eichhorn and Hans Joachim Schellnhuber



Götz Neuneck (2nd row, 4th from left.) at the Parliamentary Hearing on Space Security in the European Parliament in Brussels on 7 November 2007.



Even during the move, work still goes on in the summer of 2007.

- „Assessment of a High Energy Laser Missile Defense Project“, Jahrestagung der Deutschen Physikalischen Gesellschaft, Arbeitskreis Physik und Abrüstung; Regensburg, 29. März 2007.
- “Boost-phase Missile Defense: the Airborne Laser”, Conference on Security and Cooperation in South Asia: A global perspective, Bundesakademie für Sicherheitspolitik, Berlin, 10. Oktober 2007.

Isabelle Tannous

- „Der Beitrag der Europäischen Union zur gewaltfreien Lösung von Konflikten“, Friedenspolitische Impulse Bonn zum Verhältnis von zivilen und militärischen Maßnahmen, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Bonn, 30. November bis 1. Dezember 2007.
- „The Merging of Security and Development in European Foreign and Security Policy“, 3rd Autumn Seminar and Final Conference „A Common European Foreign and Security Policy in the Making? Competences, Institutions and National Interests“ in the framework of the EFSPS Programme, Brüssel, 17.-21. Oktober 2007.
- „Institution Building and Regional Identity Raising in the EU and ASEAN“, Expert-Meeting on EU-ASEAN Co-operation des Singapore Office der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Singapur, 10.-11. Oktober 2007.

Armin Wagner

- „BND-Operationen gegen sowjetisches Militär in der DDR 1950-1990. Zugänge zur ‚geheimen‘ Geschichte des Bundesnachrichtendienstes“, Vortrag an der Helmut-Schmidt-Universität der Bundeswehr, Hamburg, 21. Mai 2007.
- „Militärspionage des BND in der DDR“, Syddansk Universitet Denmark, 17. November 2007.

Wolfgang Zellner

- „Zur Entwicklung der Zentralasien-Strategie der EU“, Vortrag auf dem Workshop „European Union Policy Towards Central Asia: Security Issues and Different Approaches“, ausgerichtet vom Institute of World Economy and Policy und der Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Almaty, 14. März 2007.
- “Redefining the OSCE’s Future in the Light of Strategic Uncertainty and Political Contradictions”, Vortrag auf einem Seminar zu Ehren von Prof. Victor-Yves Ghebali, Genf, 30. Mai 2007.
- “Review of OSCE Field Operations”, Vortrag auf der PSIO-Konferenz “The OSCE at a Turning Point: OSCE Chairmanship and Other Challenges”, Genf, 7./8. September 2007.

4.5 Functions of IFSH Staff in Professional Bodies

Michael Brzoska

- Member Foundation Advisory Board, Deutsche Stiftung Friedensforschung [German Foundation for Peace Research]
- Member Advisory Board, Hamburger Stiftung zur Förderung der Demokratie und des Völkerrechts [Hamburg Foundation for the Promotion of Democracy and International Law]
- Chairman Governing Board, International Security Information Service, Brussels
- Member Advisory Board, Pôle Bernheim, Université Libre de Bruxelles [Free University of Brussels]
- 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]
- Member, Weapons’ Export Section, Joint Commission of the Churches for Development Policy
- Editor of the journal, „Sicherheit und Frieden (S+F) [Security and Peace]
- Associate Editor, Journal of Peace Research
- Associate Editor, Economics of Peace and Security Journal
- Member Editorial Advisory Board, International Studies Perspectives

Hans-Georg Ehrhart

- Member of the Advisory Board of the Hanseatic Baltic Summer School (HBSS)
- Co-Editor of the textbook series „Elemente der Politik“ [Elements of Politics]
- Member of the study group “European integration”.

*Hans-Joachim Gießmann*

- Member of the Executive Committee of the European course of studies „Human Rights and Democratization“ (E.MA) in Venice
- Member of the Council of Directors of the European course of studies „Human Rights and Democratization“ (E.MA) in Venice
- Chairman of the Scientific Advisory Board of the „Hamburger Erklärung“ e.V. [Hamburg Declaration]
- Editor of the scientific series, Demokratie, Sicherheit, Frieden [Democracy, Security, Peace]
- Co-Editor „Athena Papers“
- Co-Editor „Communications“
- Member of the Scientific Advisory Board, Security and Peace (S+F)
- Member of the Advisory Board, Journal for Foreign and Security Policy (ZfAS)
- Co-publisher of the Journal „Connections“ of the Partnership-for-Peace-Consortium
- Member of the Assessor Jury, Austrian Security Research Program

Elena Kropatcheva

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

Oliver Meier

- Associate Member of the Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker Centre for Science and Peace Research
- International representative and correspondent, U.S. Arms Control Association

Erwin Müller†

- Co-Publisher and Editor-in-Chief of the journal „Sicherheit und Frieden (S+F)“ [Security and Peace]

Götz Neuneck

- Co-Chairman of the Research Association, Natural Sciences, Disarmament and International Security (FONAS)
- Member of the 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)
- Member of the Advisory Board of the IPPNW
- Pugwash Representative of the Federation of German Scientists [Vereinigung Deutscher Wissenschaftler] (VDW)
- Speaker for the Research Group on Physics and Disarmament of the German Physical Society.

Patricia Schneider

- Co-Publisher and Editor-in-Chief of the journal „Sicherheit und Frieden (S+F)“ [Security and Peace] (successor to Erwin Müller)
- Co-Leader of the Research Group on Curriculum Development“ of the Center for Peace Research, Bonn (AFB) and the Consortium for Peace and Conflict Research (AFK)

Wolfgang Zellner

- Member of the editorial group for the „Helsinki Monitor“
- Member of the Advisory Board of the journal Wissenschaft & Frieden [Science & Peace]



Egon Bahr and Michael Brzoska in the course of the Kosovo-event in Berlin on 8 October 2007.



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. In 2007 IFSH was certified as having fulfilled all of the requirements of the accreditation commission and this program was unconditionally accredited for five years.



MPS-Students 2007

Beyond this Master's program, IFSH supports a comprehensive promotional program for junior scientific staff development. IFSH attaches particular importance to the advancement of women. Among 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. IFSH works cooperatively with, to mention just a few examples, the European "Human Rights and Democratization program (Venice), and on the Eastern European program at the University of Hamburg. In this reporting period agreements were made with the European Studies Center of the East China Normal University on beginning cooperation in the areas of academic studies and teaching. Bernhard Rinke and Bernt Berger, two research assistants from IFSH taught for several months at the East China Normal University (ECNU) in Shanghai. The project director, Hans J. Gießmann (IFSH) and Prof. Dr. Feng Shaolei (ECNU) held guest lectures at the cooperating institutions.

In 2007, an intensive five-year scientific and academic cooperation of the IFSH with the Willy-Brandt-Center for German and European Studies at the University of Wroclaw was ended. Regrettably, the administration of the university decided, against the advice of national and international experts, to discontinue the work of the centre after the expiration of DAAD funding.

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. Hans-Georg Ehrhart is responsible for organizing and conducting the Institute's weekly research colloquium. Michael Brzoska directs the doctoral candidates' colloquium.

5.1. Master's program „Master of Peace and Security Studies - (M.P.S.)“ at the University of Hamburg

In October 2007, the 6th academic year of the M.P.S. Master's program began with student orientation and an excursion to Berlin. The fifth-year graduates were bid farewell in a festive graduation ceremony. Prof. Dr. Dr. h.c. Dieter Senghaas delivered the guest lecture on "How is peace composed?"

For the 6th academic year 2007/2008, 27 students from ten countries were enrolled (Tajikistan, Ivory Coast, Sweden, Brazil, Japan, USA, Luxembourg, Slovenia, Uzbekistan and Germany), of which 16 were women.



Prof. Dr. Dr. h.c. Dieter Senghaas at the guest lecture on the occasion of the awarding of Master's degrees in October 2007



This program was conducted by the University of Hamburg in cooperation with the IFSH as well as with 14 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. In 2007 as well, an officer of the German Federal Army was delegated for this program. It was agreed with the German Armed Forces Staff College that this delegation should also be made possible in the future.

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. During this period, the director of the program was Hans-Joachim Gießmann, and the academic coordinator was Patricia Schneider. 2007 members of the program's joint committee included Hans-Joachim Gießmann (Chair, responsible for Module I and Module VI), Götz Neuneck (responsible for Module III) and Wolfgang Zellner. Hans-Joachim Gießmann (Chair), Götz Neuneck and Patricia Schneider represent the IFSH in the admissions committee and on the board of examiners for the program. The Scientific Director of IFSH, Michael Brzoska regularly participates in the meetings of the Joint Committee.

Institutional members of the Cooperation Network Peace Research and Security Policy (KoFrieS)

In addition to the University of Hamburg and IFSH, the KoFrieS includes:

- Institute for International Law of Peace and Armed Conflict, Ruhr University Bochum;
- Bonn International Center for Conversion (BICC);
- Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management, Berlin;
- Peace Research Institute Frankfurt (HSFK);
- The Institute for Theology and Peace, Hamburg;
- German Armed Forces Staff College (FüAk), Hamburg;
- Protestant Institute for Interdisciplinary Research (FEST), Heidelberg;
- Centre for OSCE Research (CORE), Hamburg;
- German Institute of Global and Area Studies (GIGA), Hamburg;
- Institute for Development and Peace (INEF) at the University of Duisburg-Essen;
- 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
- M.P.S. Alumni and Friends Association.

In the annual report period, Dr Rudolf Hamann (German Armed Forces Staff College) represented the Cooperation Network in the joint committee. Dr Hamann was also chosen for this post by the Cooperation Network for the 2007-2008 academic year.

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 a practice-oriented methodology. Furthermore, the goal is to communicate methods



Patricia Schneider and Hans-Joachim Gießmann receive the traditional photo-collage from the 2007 MPS graduates.



Excursion MPS/Academic Network South Eastern Europe in Macedonia.

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 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 of peace and armed conflict; natural sciences and peace; peace ethics; economic globalization and conflicts; and a cross-section 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.

Until 2007 the program was funded by various scholarships and grants. We would like to make special mention of the support provided by the German Foundation for Peace Research (DSF) and the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD). In addition to scholarships, the DAAD has provided funding for the development of the “Academic Network South East Europe” (www.akademischesnetzwerk-soe.net) to support the advancement of a democratically-oriented scientific landscape in Southeastern Europe.

5.2 European Masters Degree “Human Rights and Democratization” (Venice)

Since 2002 Hans J. Gießmann has represented the University of Hamburg in the Council of Directors of this postgraduate program which is supported by 40 universities and institutions in EU countries. The University of Hamburg has been in the “inner circle” since 2006 and, as one of five universities currently, awards a joint diploma. As early as 2001, 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. In 2007 Anna Kreikemeyer taught during the project week on „Central Asia“ at the program office. Three students were at IFSH in Hamburg during the 2007 spring semester. Kurt Tudyka (Vienna excursion) and Patricia Schneider (Strasbourg excursion) offered the E.MA students valuable participation in an interesting study element of the M.P.S. program. Luca Trinchieri, who wrote one of the five best Master’s theses of this academic year, completed his studies in Hamburg under the guidance of Michael Brzoska. Marianna Lipkova (supervised by Martin Kahl and Regina Heller) and Mathias Vermeulen (supervised by Anna Kreikemeyer) are, with Luca Trinchieri, among the 20 best of the nearly 100 students from 30 countries. In November 2007 Hans J. Gießmann was re-elected for another two years to the Executive Committee of the „*Council of Directors*“



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

In October 2007, on the occasion of the stock-taking conference of the successfully concluded EU project on establishing a European Studies Center at the ECNU in Shanghai, the seal was ceremoniously set on the beginning of the teaching and doctoral cooperation between ECNU and IFSH. Already during this reporting period Bernt Berger and Bernhard Rinke taught at the ECNU for five and two months respectively. From 2008 the teaching staff at IFSH and the University of Hamburg (Department of Economics and Politics) will each hold a block seminar in Shanghai. Two ECNU students will come to Hamburg every year to do their Master's degrees at the university within the framework of the cooperation of both programs, the Master of European Studies and Master of Peace and Security Studies. In addition doctoral cooperation has also been agreed upon between IFSH and ECNU. Those students from both countries who wish to pursue a doctoral degree will be provided with opportunities for supervision.



East China Normal University in Shanghai

5.4 The IFSH Doctoral Supervision Program

The aim of the program is to enable the doctoral students to successfully complete their dissertations under intensive supervision by 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. The programme, as well as the doctoral seminar, were directed by Michael Brzoska in 2007.

5.6. Teaching by IFSH Staff in 2007

Winter Semester 2006/2007

- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Vorlesung und Übung „Political Economy of Conflicts, War and Arms“ (Michael Brzoska)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Vertiefungsseminar, „Die EU als friedens- und sicherheitspolitischer Akteur“ (Hans-Georg Ehrhart)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Vorlesung „Einführung in die Sicherheitspolitik“ (Hans-Joachim Gießmann)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Seminar/Workshop „Deutschland, Polen, Europa“, (Hans-Joachim Gießmann)
- Universität Wrocław, Seminar Erasmus Mundus „Europa in der Welt“ (Hans-Joachim Gießmann/Regina Heller)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Vertiefungsseminar „Probleme militärischer Macht“ (Jürgen Groß)



Patricia Schneider on an excursion with MPS students in front of the Bundestag in Berlin

- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Vertiefungsseminar „Der Nahostkonflikt in den Internationalen Beziehungen“ (Margret Johannsen)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S. und Osteuropastudiengang, Seminar „Neo-patrimoniale Regime in Zentralasien“ (Anna Kreikemeyer)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Seminar „Russische Außenpolitik im Bezug auf Konfliktregionen in der GUS“ (Elena Kropatcheva)
- European Inter-University Centre for Human Rights and Democratisation, Vorlesung und Workshop „Peacebuilding and Local Ownership. The Case of Kosovo“ (Jens Narten)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Vorlesung „Naturwissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Friedensforschung“ (Götz Neuneck zusammen mit Prof. Martin Kalinowski)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Seminar „Iran und die Zukunft von Nichtverbreitung und Rüstungskontrolle (Götz Neuneck zusammen mit Prof. Martin Kalinowski, Jan Stupl, Axel Schwanhäuß)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Vertiefungsseminar „Unendliche Weiten: Rüstungskontrolle im Weltraum und Verifikation“ (Götz Neuneck)
- Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster/Institut für Politikwissenschaft, Proseminar „Einführung in die Sicherheitspolitik“ (Bernhard Rinke)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Orientierungseinheit, (Hans-Joachim Gießmann, Patricia Schneider)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Blocklehrveranstaltung, Teil 1 „Politics of the Balkan Countries“ (Patricia Schneider)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S. (in Kooperation mit der Univ. Prishtina), Blocklehrveranstaltung, Teil 2/Exkursion: „Minority Rights Protection and Human Rights in Kosovo“ (Patricia Schneider)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Vertiefungsseminar „Europäische Sicherheitspolitik/OSZE“ (Wolfgang Zellner)

Summer Semester 2007

- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Midterm-Colloquium, (Hans-Joachim Gießmann)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Final Colloquium, (Hans-Joachim Gießmann)
- East China Normal University, School of Advanced International and Area Studies; Masters International Relations, Lecture/Seminar „The CFSP: Strategies, Policies and Concepts, (Bernt Berger)
- Universität Hamburg: Seminar: Die Europäische Union als friedens- und sicherheitspolitischer Akteur (Michael Brzoska)
- Universität Hamburg/IFSH, Doktorandenseminar (Michael Brzoska)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Blockseminar „Meinen Job finden: Berufsorientierung in den Bereichen Friedensforschung, Sicherheitspolitik, Entwicklungszusammenarbeit und internationale Organisationen“ (Anna Kreikemeyer)
- Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster/Institut für Politikwissenschaft, Proseminar „Einführung in die Sicherheitspolitik“ (Bernhard Rinke)
- East China Normal University (ECNU) Shanghai, Centre for European Studies, EU-China Studies Centre Programme, Vorlesung „EU Crisis Management“ (Bernhard Rinke)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S. in Kooperation mit dem Streitkräfteamt, RI-Seminar in Bonn, Brüssel, Geilenkirchen „Die Sicherheitspolitik der Bundesrepublik Deutschland vor neuen Herausforderungen (insbes. NATO, EU)“ (Patricia Schneider)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Seminar „Internationale Organisationen (insbes. OSZE, VN)“ (Patricia Schneider/Kurt Tudyka)

Winter Semester 2007/2008

- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Vorlesung „Einführung in die internationale Sicherheitspolitik“, (Hans-Joachim Gießmann)
- East China Normal University Shanghai, Master of European Studies, Vorlesung und Blockseminar „European Regional Security Policies“ (Hans-Joachim Gießmann), Blocklehrveranstaltung, Programm, Oktober 2007.
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S. Blocklehrveranstaltung, „Unendliche Weiten: Rüstungskontrolle im Weltraum und Verifikation“ (Marcel Dickow)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Vorlesung „Naturwissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Friedensforschung“ (Götz Neuneck zusammen mit Prof. Martin Kalinowski)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Seminar Neuer Rüstungswettlauf oder Renaissance der Rüstungskontrolle (Götz Neuneck zusammen mit Prof. Martin Kalinowski)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S. Blocklehrveranstaltung, „Unendliche Weiten: Rüstungskontrolle im Weltraum und Verifikation“ (Marcel Dickow, Götz Neuneck)



- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Vorlesung und Übung „Political Economy of Conflicts, War and Arms“ (Michael Brzoska)
- Universität Hamburg/IFSH, Doktorandenseminar (Michael Brzoska)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Vorlesung “Die EU als außen-, und sicherheits- und friedenspolitischer Akteur“, (Hans-Georg Ehrhart)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Blocklehrveranstaltung “The Kosovo Case and its Possible Implications on the Status Issues of the de facto-States in Eastern Europe” (Marietta König)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S. und Osteuropastudien, Seminar „Sicherheit und Stabilität in und mit Zentralasien“ (Anna Kreikemeyer)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S. und Fachbereich Wirtschafts- und Sozialwissenschaften (Politikwissenschaft) der Helmut-Schmidt-Universität, Kooperatives Pilotseminar (Blockveranstaltungen) „Modulentwicklung auf der Basis von E-learning/Fernausbildung am Beispiel des Konfliktmanagements internationaler Organisationen in den georgischen Konflikten“ (Anna Kreikemeyer)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Blocklehrveranstaltung „Akademisches Schreiben“, (Anna Kreikemeyer)
- European Inter-University Centre for Human Rights and Democratisation (EIUC), Venedig, Blocklehrveranstaltung “Millennium Development Goals in Kasachstan” (Anna Kreikemeyer)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Blocklehrveranstaltung „Russland: Feind oder Freund? Russische Sicherheitspolitik“ (Elena Kropatcheva)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Blocklehrveranstaltung „Communication Patterns in Foreign Policy – A Comparison between the U.S. and Germany“, (Sybille Reinke de Buitrago)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Seminar/Exkursion „Deutsche Außenpolitik zwischen globalem Engagement und nationalen Interessen (Patricia Schneider zusammen mit Dr. Michael Rudloff)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., in Kooperation mit der Universität Skopje/Akademisches Netzwerk Südosteuropa „Macedonia: Security Sector Reform. Between Post-Conflict Peace-Building and EU-Integration“ (Patricia Schneider)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Vertiefungsseminar „Wie funktionieren Streitkräfte? Das Beispiel Bundeswehr“ (Armin Wagner)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Vertiefungsseminar „Europäische Sicherheitspolitik/ OSZE“ (Wolfgang Zellner)



Visitors to the Open Door Afternoon on 30. October 2007



6. Services

6.1 Public Relations



Scientific Senator Jörg Dräger and Michael Brzoska at the Hamburg Permanent Representation "Future of Kosovo" on 8. October

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 2007 a large number of requests were directed to the Institute. The circle of those inquiring was exceedingly wide and mirrored the large 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. During the reporting period the IFSH had a relatively high media profile (see the statistical annex). 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 (Panorama, Report, Morning Magazine), ZDF (heute, nano, Frontal 21), Arte, 3SAT, NDR (Hamburg Journal), SWR-Fernsehen, Phönix, RTL, ntv, DW-TV, Eins Extra, SAT1, N24, and XXP.

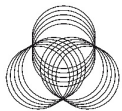
The radio departments of NDR, WDR, HR, BR, SWR, ODR, MDR, RBB, were as much a part of the circle of the IFSH's frequent "media customers" – as Deutschlandradio (German Radio), Deutschlandfunk (German Wireless) and Deutsche Welle. In addition, there were numerous queries from private radio stations and news agencies.

IFSH staff were represented with articles and interviews in the following print media: FAZ, taz, Süddeutsche Zeitung, Thüringer Allgemeine, Stuttgarter Zeitung, Tagesspiegel, Kieler Nachrichten, Südwestpresse, Weserkurier, Freie Presse Chemnitz, Geo, Berliner Zeitung. There were also international "appearances" in the Washington Post, the Salzburger Nachrichten, on Radio Teheran and on Swiss radio.

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

Thematically speaking, the requests have concentrated primarily on current conflicts. In 2007, the main areas of interest were the planned American missile defense system in Europe, the situation in Iraq and in Afghanistan, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, the Iranian nuclear program, the role of the German Federal Army in international peacekeeping missions, international terrorism, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the role of the EU as an international actor, the future of the OSCE, as well as specific arms control and export control problems.

In the reporting period the Institute had a short film made about its history and its present and future work which was shown during the



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dedication of the Beim Schlump 83 building, but has also been useful for visitor groups. In 2008 it should be put up on the IFSH Website – if this is technically doable – and thus made available to a broader public.

Furthermore, an array of informational material about the Institute was developed, i.e., posters about the fields of activity and individual projects, a brochure “IFSH at a Glance” as well as a flyer about the Institute which provides brief information to interested parties and guests

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:

Liane Bayreuther-Lutz (Chairperson)
 Andrea Wist (Deputy Chairperson)
 Prof. Dr Herbert Wulf (Secretary)
 Dr Reinhard Mutz (Treasurer)
 Prof. Dr Michael Brzoska (IFSH Director)

In the reporting period the society shared the costs for the IFSH junior staff promotion and the IFSH information film.

6.3 Library, Documentation and Homepage

Library

The IFSH Library is open primarily to scholars, PhD students and the students of the MPS program and recently as well, 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 27,374 volumes and 134 magazines (as of 31.12.2007). There was a total of 568 acquisitions, 39 of which were acquired through third-party funding and 399 of which were donated. 61 volumes and 13 articles were borrowed from libraries in Hamburg or obtained through inter-library loan services.

The move of the IFSH library in June 2007 into new, but smaller, quarters with less shelf area made an inventory reduction necessary. Thus 1510 volumes, primarily old editions, multiple copies and unrelated literature, had to be weeded out.

The IFSH Library also houses the *OSCE Depository Library* through which literature on the OSCE is collected systematically. The *OSCE Depository Library* has compiled a bibliography of the OSCE Yearbook



MPS-Classes of 2006/2007 and 2007/2008
 with Patricia Schneider and Hans-Joachim Gießmann

Contact person for the
 Sponsoring Association at the
 IFSH is Britta Fisch
 Tel. 040-866 077 12
 Fax: 040-866 36 15
 E-Mail: fisch@ifsh.de



The compact shelves in the library stacks are being assembled



The OSCE Depository Library in the IFSH library.

as well as an OSCE online bibliography, which can be accessed on the CORE homepage.

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

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 twelve independent German research institutes that make up one joint network.

The joint project of these institutes is the data base, World Affairs Online (WAO), which is the largest social science literature data base in Europe. It has some 665,000 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. In addition to openly accessible internet sources and online catalogues of the SUB Hamburg, the electronic data bank of the FIV is the most important source for the relevant professional literature research of the IFSH Documentation Unit.

The Documentation Unit, together with the Graduate Institute of International Relations (Geneva) maintains the Information Website OSCE Networking (see: OSCE Networking Project <http://www.isn.ethz.ch/osce/>).

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 Professional Library" supported by the German Research Foundation (DFG). Links can be viewed at <http://www.vifapol.de/systematik/pea/>. Within this framework, IFSH is also a cooperation partner of the network „Academic Linksharing“ <http://www.academic-linkshare.de/>.

Homepage

As was the case last year, the Institute Homepage was actively used; some 538,298 visitors made use of the internet offerings of IFSH (including CORE) and called up over a million pages. Particularly in demand – in addition to the opening page – were the German and English information on the M.P.S. program (see also Chapter 5.1) as well as the publications, the profile and the information on the staff. 98 per cent of the visitors were referred to the Institute website via Google.



Rudolf Hamann (l.) and Hans-Joachim Gießmann



7. Bodies and Personnel

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, support 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

On 15 November 2007 the new by-laws of IFSH came into effect. These envisage a changed composition of the Board of Directors. Belonging to the Board are: the Praeses 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 three times in the annual report period. In 2007, it comprised the following members:

- *Dr Roland Salchow*, State Secretary of the Ministry for Science and Research of the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg (Chair)
- *Prof. Dr-Ing. [habil.] Monika Auweter-Kurtz*, President of the University of Hamburg
- *PD Dr Stephan Albrecht*, Main Research BIOGUM (until November 2007)
- *Niels Annen*, MP
- *Prof. Dr Leoni Dreschler-Fischer*, Department of Informatics, Research Area Cognitive Systems
- *Prof. Dr Martin Kalinowski*, Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker Centre for Science and Peace Research (since November 2007)
- *Antje Möller*, Member of the Hamburg State Parliament
- *Prof. Dr Rolf von Lüde*, Department of Social Sciences, Institute for Sociology
- *Berndt Röder*, President of the Hamburg State Parliament
- *Michael Schaaf*, Student Representative
- *Dr Michael Schöberl*, Institute for Statistics and Econometrics (from April until November 2007)
- *Prof. Dr Rainer Tetzlaff*, Department of Social Sciences, Institute for Political Science (until October 2007)

7.2 Scientific Advisory Board

With the coming into effect of the new IFSH By-Laws, new staffing of the **Scientific Advisory Board** was able to begin in this reporting period (for the tasks and composition of the Board, see the IFSH By-Laws at www.ifsh.de) In December 2007 the Board suggested to the Chair of the Office for Science and Research that the following persons be appointed.

Prof. D. Thomas Bruha (University of Hamburg)
Prof. Dr Susanne Feske (University of Münster)
Gunilla Herolf, PhD (SIPRI)
Prof. Dr Cord Jakobeit (University of Hamburg)



State Secretary
Dr Roland Salchow



Prof. Dr Thomas Bruha, Member of the Scientific Advisory Board during a lecture at the Permanent Representation of Hamburg on 8 October 2007.



The first meeting of the new Scientific Advisory Board is to take place at the beginning of 2008.

7.3 Institute Council

The **Institute Council** met once in the reporting period.

The new IFSH By-Laws regulate the functions of the Institute Council in a new way. After the coming into effect of the By-Laws, Regina Heller was elected to the Institute Council as representative of the researchers, Marietta König as representative of the junior researcher and the supporting staff and Graeme Currie as representative of the non-scientific personnel.

7.3 Staff Members at the IFSH 2007

Institute Administration:

Director: Prof. Dr Michael Brzoska

Deputy Director: Prof. Dr Hans-Joachim Gießmann

Deputy Director: Dr Wolfgang Zellner

Senior Researchers:

Dr Hans-Georg Ehrhart

Dr Erwin Müller † (deceased in October 2007)

Dr Götz Neuneck

Ursel Schlichting, M.A.

Researchers:

Dr Marcel Dickow (since April 2007)

Dr Frank Evers

Dr Martin Kahl

Dr Anna Kreikemeyer

Dr Oliver Meier

Dr Patricia Schneider

Dr Axel Schwanhäuß, M.P.S. (until November 2007)

Public Relations:

Susanne Bund

Members of the Armed Forces:

Lieutenant Colonel G.S. Dr Armin Wagner

Senior Research Fellows:

Dr Margret Johannsen

Dr Reinhard Mutz

Dr Arne C. Seifert

Prof. Dr Kurt P. Tudyka

Fellows:

Dr David Aphrasidze

Bernt Berger, M.Ph.

Christian Mölling, Dipl.-SozWiss.

Dr Bernhard Rinke

Fausta Šimaityte (since July 2007)

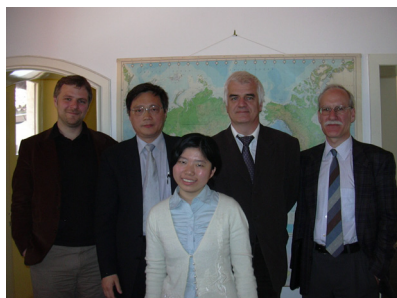
Dr Thorsten Stodiek (September to December 2007)

Guest Researchers:

Dr Elena Andreevska (Oct. to Dec. 2007)

Prof. Xu Poling (since December 2007)

Prof. Feng Shao lei (November 2007)



Prof. Feng Shao Lei (2nd from the left) with Bernt Berger, Hans-Joachim Gießmann, Hans-Georg Ehrhart and Ms. Zhou Jinyan (MPS)



Li Xin (October 2007)
Prof. Yu Huachuan (April to November 2007)
Paul White (seit Oktober 2007)
Oberst Zhongqin Zhao (January to March 2007)

Doctoral Candidates:

Dennis Bangert, Dipl. soz. ök. (since October 2007)
Goran Bandov, Dipl. jur., M.P.S.
Heiko Fürst, M.A. (Graduation November 2007)
Dennis Gratz, M.A. (Graduation April 2007)
Regina Heller, Dipl.-Pol. (Graduation August 2007)
Afrim Hoti, M.A.
Gunnar Jeremias, Dipl. Pol., M.P.S.
Janina Johannsen, Dipl. Pol. (since April 2007)
Marietta König, M.A.
Elena Kropatcheva, M.A., M.P.S.
Isabelle Maras, M.A.
Naida Mehmedbegovic, M.A., M.P.S.
Jens Narten, Dipl.-Sozialwiss.
Delia Rahmonova-Schwarz, M.A.
Sybille Reinke de Buitrago, M.A.
Solveig Richter, M.A. (Graduation November 2007)
Sebastian Schiek, M. A. (since April 2007)
Katrin Simhandl, M.A. (Graduation May 2007)
Jan Stupl, Dipl. Phys.
Emir Suljagic, M.A.
Isabelle Tannous, M.A.
Merle Vetterlein, Dipl.-Pol.

Junior Researchers and Support Staff:

Nisha Arumugarajah
Özgür Bagkan (since November 2007)
Henrike Fischer-Brügge (Oct. to Dec. 2007)
Fabian Giglmaier (until August 2007)
Mirko Guth (Juli-August 2007)
Mayeul Hiéramente (since November 2007)
Barbara Kauffmann
Niels Kreller
Volker Laas (until September 2007)
Eray Öztürk (since Oktober 2007)
Jochen Rasch
Dr Eckhardt Schlopsna
Carsten Walter

Secretary:

Annelisa Cotone (since September 2007)
Gunda Meier (until May 2007)
Heinke Peters (until August 2007)

Editors/Translators:

Graeme Currie, M.A.
Daria Filippov
Elizabeth Hormann (external)

Library:

Ute Runge, Dipl. Bibl.



Doctoral Candidates: Jens Narten, Regina Heller (graduation 2007), Marietta König, Merle Vetterlein

More information at:
<http://www.ifsh.de/IFSH/personal/ma.htm>



Documentation:

Uwe Polley, Dipl.-Pol.

Administrative Officer:

Heidemarie Bruns (until February 2007)

Britta Fisch (since March 2007)

Jutta Stropahl



Britta Fisch has been responsible for Institute administration since March 2007.



8. Publications

The members of staff published a total of eleven books in 2007 and, with 186 articles, among them 19 in reviewed journals and books (ten double-blind reviews and nine peer-reviewed), participated in the public and scientific discourse.

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

Beyond this – in addition to the Peace Report and the OSCE-Yearbook – publishing, editing and other editorial work is continually being undertaken. In this reporting period, the journal, „Security and Peace (S+F)“ published by the Nomos Publishing Company lost its long-time Editor-in-Chief, Erwin Müller, who died in October 2007. Stepping in to succeed him is Patricia Schneider, supported by Bernhard Rinke and Susanne Bund. The series, “Democracy, Security, Peace” is edited by Hans-Joachim Gießmann and is overseen editorially by Susanne Bund.

8.1 IFSH Series

The IFSH itself publishes three series: The “Hamburger Beiträge zur Friedensforschung und Sicherheitspolitik” (Hamburg Contributions to Peace Research and Security Policy) is geared to a professional specialist audience; by contrast the “Hamburger Informationen zur Friedensforschung und Sicherheitspolitik” (Hamburg Information on Peace Research and Security Policy) is aimed at a wider public. These two series are complemented by 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. Armin Wagner is responsible for the “Hamburg Contributions” and the IFSH News is compiled by Anna Kreikemeyer.

Three „Hamburger Beiträge“, one booklet in the „Hamburger Informationen“ series as well as five issues of the IFSH News appeared in this reporting period. 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 Centre for OSCE-Research publishes three series: *CORE Working Papers*, *CORE News* and the *CORE Annual Report*. These are provided free to a limited number of distributors in printed form and to a broader audience in electronic form. They are also available from the *CORE-Website* (www.core-hamburg.de).

The interdisciplinary research group, Disarmament, Arms Control and Risk Technologies (IFAR) distributes the *IFAR Working Papers* in electronic form. They can be viewed and downloaded at www.ifsh.de/IFAR/serv_bp.htm.

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 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 2007

The analysis of foreign military missions is at the heart of the 2007 Peace Report. While the conversion of the German Federal Armed Forces from a defense army to an “army in action” is completed, the lack of clarity about just how this is to be understood extends from citizens to the Federal President. The grounds and the rationale for the deployment of soldiers to the crisis areas do not always coincide. The trust in armed forces as an adequate means to deal with world-wide crisis management is declining. If the pacification of violent conflicts between countries and in societies is the goal, the criterion for legitimacy and efficiency must be the sustainable transformation of collective organized force into peaceful forms of conflict resolution. The implementation of military missions should be tested against this criterion and adjusted if need be.

Considering the high costs and the increasing risks, the 2007 Peace Report of the five German institutes for peace and conflict research calls for to continually evaluate foreign missions of the German Federal Armed Forces in the same way as has long been a matter of course for civil international involvement, in development cooperation, for instance. It suggests concrete criteria for decision-making on future missions.

While the expenditures for armed forces and armaments in the world reached a new all-time high in 2006 with 1.2 trillion US dollars, the successes of military deployments more and more frequently lag behind the stated expectations. All nuclear weapon states disregard their commitments in the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Thus they erode the non-proliferation regime and tempt dictators to protect themselves from forced regime change with armament activities. The Iraq war has strengthened them in this. Beyond the special topic areas, this year's Peace Report addresses the virulent conflicts in three critical areas of the world: the Middle East, the Asia-Pacific area and Africa.

The five institutes presented the 2007 Peace Report to the well-attended Federal Press Conference in Berlin on 14 June. Public reaction was correspondingly broad. In the German Bundestag the editors discussed their conclusions and recommendations with the members of the Committees on Foreign Affairs, Defense and Economic Cooperation and Development. The first-time support of the Yearbook by the German Foundation for Peace Research made possible a more elaborate layout and strengthened the efforts to share it with a broader public. The individual analyses





from IFSH were authored by Michael Brzoska, Hans J. Gießmann, Margret Johannsen, Oliver Meier and Reinhard Mutz. Reinhard Mutz is the co-editor for IFSH.

8.3 OSCE-Yearbook

Now in its 13th edition, the OSCE Yearbook has been published annually in English, German, and Russian since 1995. The IFSH produces the Yearbook in co-operation with Ambassador (ret.) Jonathan Dean, Dr Pál Dunay, Prof. Dr Victor-Yves Ghebali, Prof. Dr Adam Daniel Rotfeld, and Dr Andrei Zagorski. The editorial office is based at the IFSH. Ursel Schlichting is Editor-in-Chief, while additional editing and translation tasks are undertaken by Susanne Bund, Graeme Currie, Elena Kropatcheva, Lena Kulipanova, and Inna Shakhrai. The German and English editions are published by NOMOS Publishing House, Baden-Baden. The Russian edition is published by “Prava Cheloveka” in Moscow.

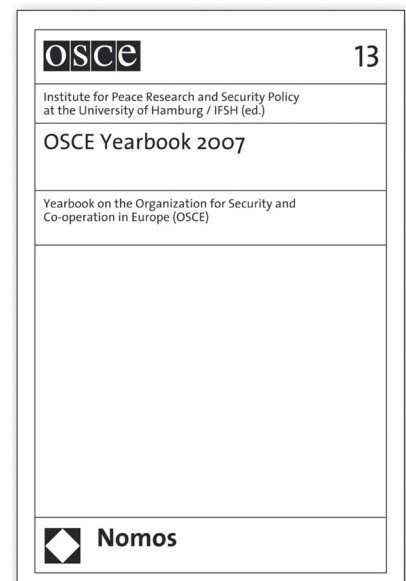
The Yearbook, which is not an official OSCE publication, receives considerable moral support, particularly from the Secretary General of the OSCE in Vienna, from the Permanent Mission of the Federal Republic of Germany to the OSCE as well as from a variety of OSCE institutions. The German Federal Foreign Office finances the printing of the Yearbook and covers a portion of the associated personnel costs. It also supports the distribution of free copies to foreign ministries and OSCE institutions as well as universities and libraries. The OSCE Yearbook is used as a textbook by the Moscow State Institute for International Relations (MGIMO), the OSCE Academy in Bishkek, and further universities in CIS countries.

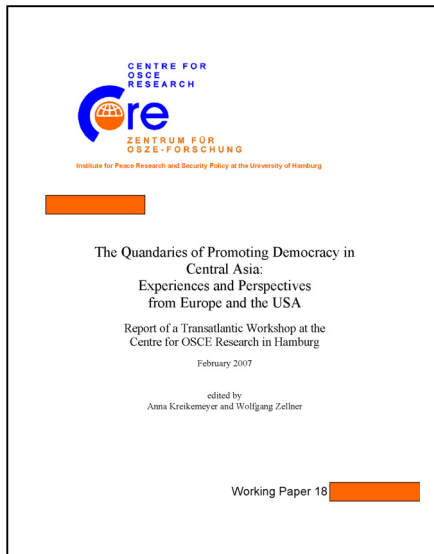
OSCE-Yearbook 2007

The OSCE Yearbook 2007 brings together erudite and insightful contributions on all aspects of the OSCE's work. Once more, the contributors include experts, diplomats, and practitioners from states throughout the OSCE area. They ensure a wide-ranging and, above all, lively discussion.

In 2007, two potentially explosive issues kept the OSCE holding its collective breath: Russia's suspension of the CFE Treaty and the Kosovo status question. The first section, entitled “States of Affairs – Affairs of State”, therefore begins with a thorough examination of the effects of the imminent failure of the Adapted Conventional Armed Forces in Europe Treaty by Wolfgang Zellner. Subsequently, Marietta S. König thoroughly discusses the potential effects of the failure of the Kosovo status negotiations, which became clear long before the official end of the mediation process on 10 December 2007, on Russian-EU relations and on the frozen conflicts in the OSCE area. In the next chapter, which focuses on “Developments and Prospects of the OSCE”, Kurt P. Tudyka takes a critical look at the relative (in)effectiveness of the OSCE's recent OSCE Ministerial Council meetings. In the same section, Alyson J.K. Bailes, Jean-Yves Haine, and Zdzislaw Lachowski perform a detailed analysis of relations between the EU and the OSCE.

In the chapter on the interests and the commitment of individual OSCE States, Liviu Aurelian Bota and Traian Chebeleu discuss Romania's relationship with the OSCE. Vesko Garčević considers the evolving relations between the Organization and its newest participating State, Montenegro. Finally, Marat A. Sarsembayev takes an in-depth look at the ongoing political and electoral reform process in Kazakhstan.





The second section of the Yearbook is devoted to the responsibilities of the OSCE in its three dimensions of security (politico-military, economic-environmental, and human) and describes the instruments, mechanisms, and procedures the Organization has at its disposal. This year, the first chapter – “Conflict Prevention and Dispute Settlement” – dealing mainly with the OSCE’s field operations – begins with an analysis by Manja Nickel and Danijela Cenani of the OSCE’s strategy (or lack of one) for closing the Mission to Croatia. Ibrahim Djikić looks at the past, present, and future of the OSCE Centre in Ashgabad. Miroslav Jenca introduces the work of the OSCE Project Co-ordinator in Uzbekistan. Herbert Salber and Alice Ackermann consider the OSCE’s overall concept in South-Eastern Europe, and the future of its presence there. Finally, Arne C. Seifert casts a critical eye over the OSCE’s work of transformation in Central Asia, placing it in its historical and geopolitical context.

The chapter on “The Human Dimension and the Development of Democracy” is dedicated this year to the cluster of issues around tolerance and non-discrimination. Dieter Boden describes in detail the development of this field of activity. Wolfgang Benz considers how the urgent task of overcoming anti-Semitism in the OSCE area can be fulfilled. Ömür Orhun discusses what is being done and what else needs to be done to combat intolerance and discrimination against Muslims. Ulrich Kinitz gives insight into hate crime from the perspective of a serving senior police officer. Jo-Anne Bishop looks at the varied work performed by ODIHR in this area and the OSCE Secretary General, Marc Perrin de Brichambaut, looks at the Organization’s contribution to the United Nation’s “Alliance of Civilizations” initiative. Finally, Markus A. Weingardt considers the contribution that religion can make to a “dialogue of civilizations”.

There are three contributions in the chapter on “Building Co-Operative Security”: Kevin Carty, the OSCE’s Senior Police Adviser, discusses the work of the Strategic Police Matters Unit. Andrey Cottey takes as his topic the evolution of civil-military relations in the transformation countries of the “New Europe”. Pál Dunay, meanwhile, looks at the future of arms control.

Finally, in the chapter on “Economic Transformation and the Containment of Emerging Risks”, Bernard Snoy and Marc Baltes argue that environmental security is a key challenge for the OSCE, Christopher Michaelsen asks what the role of civil society is in preventing and combating terrorism, and Ina Jurasin, Nina Lindroos-Kopolo, and Philip Reuchlin consider economic and environmental aspects of migration.

In addition, the editors would like to warmly thank the Chairman-in-Office of the OSCE, Spanish Foreign Minister Miguel Ángel Moratinos, for his preface.

The Annexes of the Yearbook include important data and facts on the 56 participating States, a brief chronology of the year’s events, and a comprehensive selection of recent OSCE-relevant literature. In the 2007 edition, we are also pleased to reprint the OSCE’s recently adopted new Rules of Procedure.



8.4 Staff Publications 2007

IFSH

- Institut für Friedensforschung und Sicherheitspolitik an der Universität Hamburg/IFSH (Hrsg.), OSZE-Jahrbuch 2006, Baden-Baden 2007.
- Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg/IFSH (ed.), OSCE Yearbook 2006, Baden-Baden 2007.
- Institut issledovanija problem mira i politiki besopasnosti pri universitete Gamburga/Moskovskii gosudarstvennyi institut meshdunarodnyh otnoshenii (universitet), Eschegodni OBSE 2005, Moskau 2007.
- Jahresbericht/Annual Report 2006, Hamburg 2007, unter: <http://www.ifsh.de/pdf/jahrbuch/JB2006.pdf> und <http://www.ifsh.de/pdf/jahrbuch/JB2006en.pdf>.
- IFSH-aktuell 65/2007. Februar 2007. Englische Fassung: IFSH News, unter: <http://www.ifsh.de/pdf/publikationen/ifshaktuell/ifshaktuell65en.pdf>.
- IFSH-aktuell 66/2007. Mai 2007. Englische Fassung: IFSH News, unter: <http://www.ifsh.de/pdf/publikationen/ifshaktuell/ifshaktuell66en.pdf>.
- IFSH-aktuell 67/2007. Juli 2007. Englische Fassung: IFSH News, unter: <http://www.ifsh.de/pdf/publikationen/ifshaktuell/ifshaktuell67en.pdf>.
- IFSH-aktuell 68/2007. September 2006. Englische Fassung: IFSH News, unter: <http://www.ifsh.de/pdf/publikationen/ifshaktuell/ifshaktuell68en.pdf>.
- IFSH-aktuell 69/2007. November 2007. Englische Fassung: IFSH News, unter: <http://www.ifsh.de/pdf/publikationen/ifshaktuell/ifshaktuell69en.pdf>.
- Das IFSH auf einen Blick, Hamburg 2007, 15 S.
- CORE Annual Report 2007, Hamburg 2007, 27 S.
- Kommission "Europäische Sicherheit und Zukunft der Bundeswehr" am IFSH, Auslandseinsätze der Bundeswehr: Viele Bedingungen müssen erfüllt sein, in: Sicherheit und Frieden (S+F) 3/2007, S. 153-155.

Bandov, Goran

- Ethnocentrizam i njegova interakcija sa globalizacijskim procesima [Ethnozentismus und seine Interaktion mit Globalisierungsprozessen], in: Tatalović, Siniša (Hrsg.): Etničke manjine i sigurnost u procesima globalizacije [Die ethnischen Minderheiten und die Sicherheit in Globalisierungsprozessen], Politička kultura, Centar za sigurnosne studije, Zagreb 2007, S. 57-66.

Bernt Berger

- EU-China-Africa trilateral development cooperation – Common challenges and new directions, German Development Institute, Discussion Paper (2007) (mit U. Wissenbach).
- Why China has it wrong on Burma, in: Asia Times vom 3. Oktober 2007.
- Aspects and limitations of Sino-European Security Cooperation, in: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung/ Shanghai Institute for International Studies, The current Situation and Future Prospects of Asia-Europe Security Cooperation, Shanghai (2007).
- Rethinking China's Engagement in Africa, in: Sicherheit und Frieden (S+F) 3/2007, S. 147-152.
- From strategic triangle to tripartite stakeholdership, in: Jung, W. (Ed.), The new strategic triangle: China, Europe and the United States in a changing international system, KAS Schriftenreihe 76/2007.

Michael Brzoska

- Security Sector Reform in Peace Support Operations, London 2006 (Hrsg. Zusammen mit David Law).*
- Success and Failure in Defense Conversion in the 'Long Decade of Disarmament', in: Todd Sandler/Keith Hartley, Handbook of Defense Economics II, Amsterdam, North Holland, 2007. S. 1180-1209. *
- Definitions of armed conflicts and wars – still reliable?, in: SIPRI Yearbook 2007, Oxford 2007. *
- Erfolge und Grenzen von Friedensmissionen, in: Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, 16-17/2007, S. 32-38.
- Friedensmissionen in Afrika, in: Die Friedenswarte 1/2007, S. 87-106.*
- Sind militärische Interventionen ihr Geld wert?, in: Bruno Schoch/Andreas Heinemann-Grüder/Jochen Hippler/Markus Weingardt/Reinhard Mutz (Hrsg.), Friedensgutachten 2007, Münster 2007, S. 75-85. **





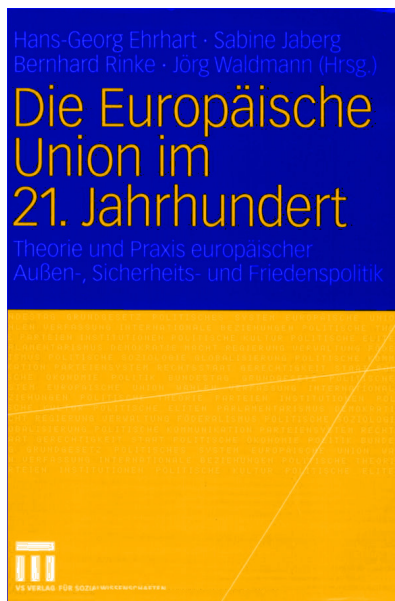
- The Protection of the European Defence Technological and Industrial Base. Briefing Paper. European Parliament, Directorate General External Policies of the Union, Brussels, October 2007.**
- Konflikte und Kriege der Zukunft, in: Elmar Wiesendahl (Hrsg.) Innere Führung für das 21. Jahrhundert, Paderborn, 2007, S. 43-52.
- Gemeinsame Konferenz Kirche und Entwicklung. Rüstungsexportbericht 2007. GKKE Schriftenreihe 2007. Bonn 2007 (Mitautor).
- Ressourcenknappheit und Ressourcenüberfluss, in: Friedensforum 5-6/2007. S. 37-38.
- Die Rolle externer wirtschaftlicher Akteure in Bürgerkriegsökonomien und ihre Bedeutung für Kriegsbeendigungsstrategien in Afrika südlich der Sahara, Osnabrück 2007 (Forschung DSF, 7) (zusammen mit Wolf-Christian Paes).**
- Kein echter Wettbewerb auf den Rüstungsmärkten? Führungswechsel bei der Europäischen Rüstungsagentur?, in: Streitkräfte und Strategien, 23. September 2007, unter: <http://www.ndrinfo.de/programm/sendungen/streitkraeftesendemanuskript36.pdf>.
- The inter-pillar coordination of the Council and the European Commission in support to reforms in the field of Security Sector Reform, Kurzpapier, BICC, Bonn 2007 (zusammen mit Isabelle Maras).

Marcel Dickow

- Flash Report 2, European Space Policy Institute (ESPI), Security and Defence in the European Space Policy (ESP), Wien 2007.

Hans-Georg Ehrhart

- Das Internationale Fellowship-Programm Graf Baudissin am IFSH, in: Detlef Bald/Hans-Günter Fröhling/Jürgen Groß/Claus Frhr. V. Rosen, Was ist aus der Inneren Führung geworden? Zum hundertsten Geburtstag Wolf Graf Baudissins, Hamburger Beiträge zur Friedensforschung und Sicherheitspolitik, 146/2007, S. 32-38.
- Ende gut, alles gut? Nach dem EUFOR-Einsatz: Deutschland und die EU müssen sich weiter in Afrika engagieren, in: Internationale Politik 1/2007, S. 83-87.
- EUFOR RD Congo: a preliminary assessment, in: European Security Review 32/2007, S. 9-12.
- Prüfsteine für Auslandseinsätze, in: Frankfurter Rundschau (Dokumentation) vom 27. Juni 2007, S. 23 (Mitautor).
- Die Europäische Union im 21. Jahrhundert. Theorie und Praxis europäischer Außen-, Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik, Festschrift für Reinhard Meyers, Wiesbaden 2007 (Hrsg. zusammen mit Sabine Jaberg/Bernhard Rinke/Jörg Waldmann).
- Einleitung, in: Hans-Georg Ehrhart/Sabine Jaberg/Bernhard Rinke/Jörg Waldmann (Hrsg.), Die Europäische Union im 21. Jahrhundert. Theorie und Praxis europäischer Außen-, Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik, Festschrift für Reinhard Meyers, Wiesbaden 2007, S. 7-10.
- Friedensmacht in Aktion? Der Militäreinsatz der EU in der DR Kongo zwischen Symbolik, Realpolitik und kosmopolitischem Engagement, in: Hans-Georg Ehrhart/Sabine Jaberg/Bernhard Rinke/Jörg Waldmann (Hrsg.), Die Europäische Union im 21. Jahrhundert. Theorie und Praxis europäischer Außen-, Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik, Festschrift für Reinhard Meyers, Wiesbaden 2007, S. 148-161.
- Erfolgsstory EUFOR RD Congo – eine vorläufige Bewertung, in: IFSH, Jahresbericht 2006, Hamburg 2007, S. 11-15.
- Was EUFOR RD Congo a success and what next? A preliminary assessment, in: IFSH, Annual Report 2006, Hamburg 2007, S. 10-14.
- Sicherheit + Entwicklung = Frieden? Zur Rolle der Entwicklungspolitik in der zivilen ESVP, BICC Konzeptpapier, Bonn, März 2007 (erstellt für das BMZ).
- OECD DAC Handbook on Security Systems Reform. Supporting Security and Justice, OECD 2007 (Mitarbeit zusammen mit Michael Brzoska).
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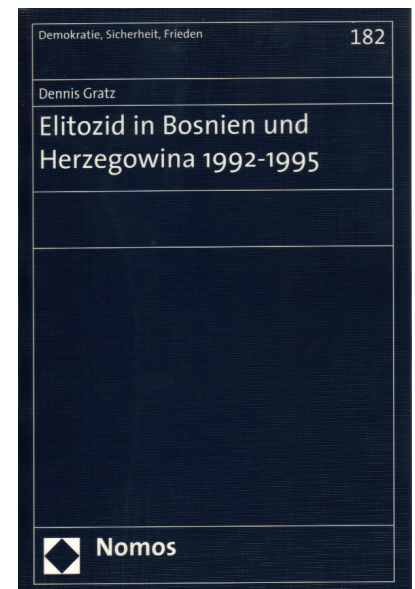
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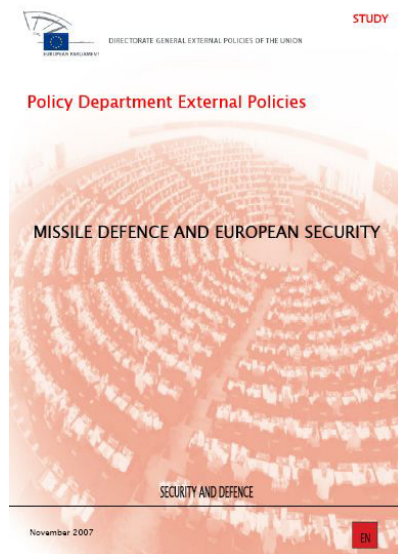


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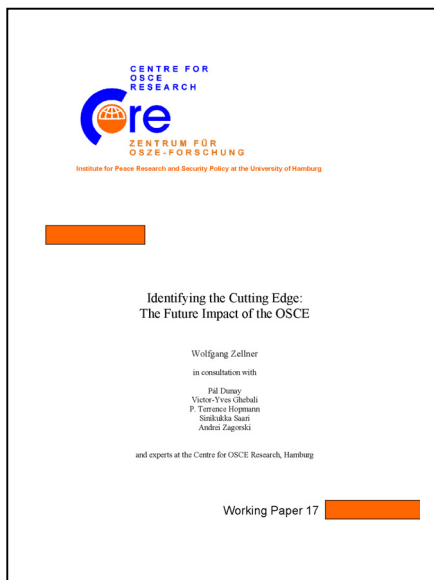
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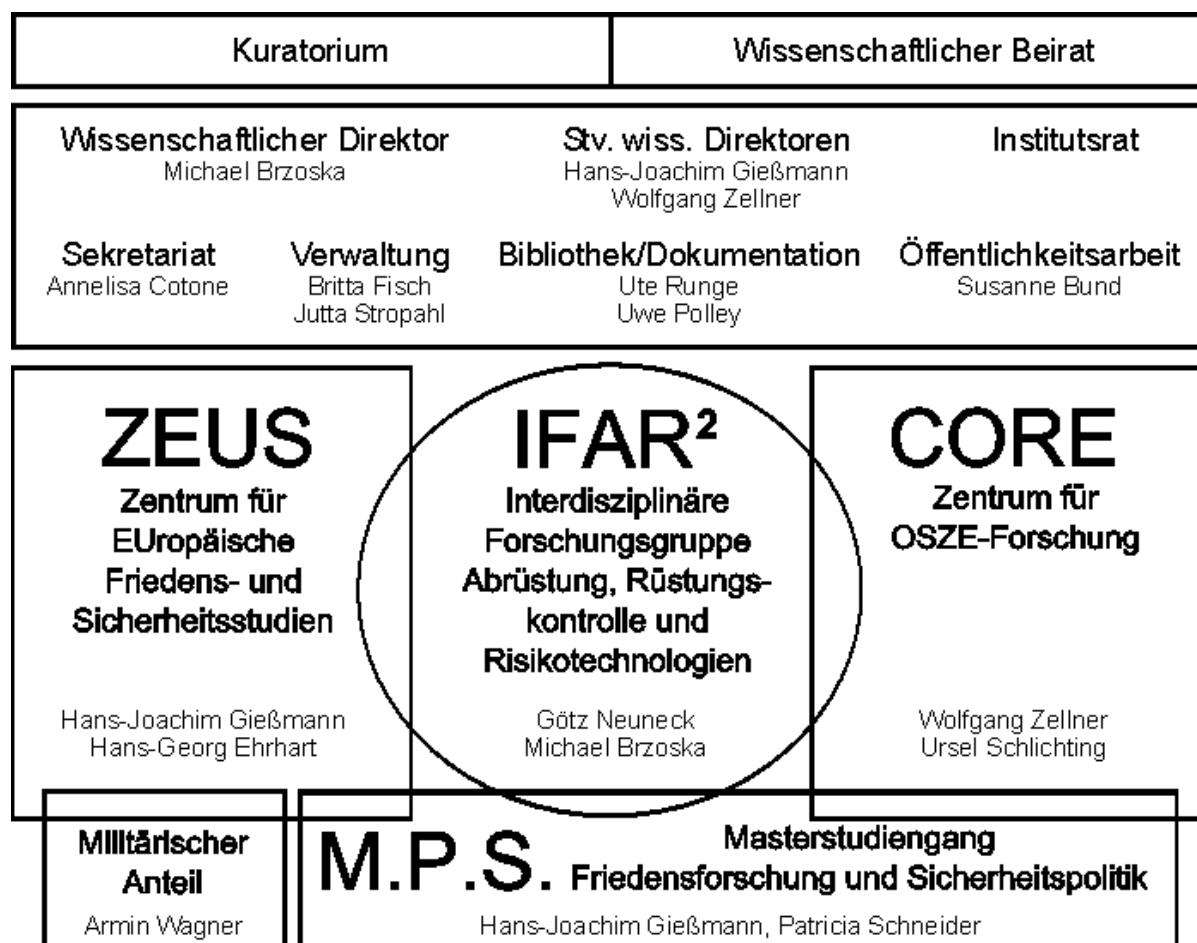
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Statistischer Anhang
Statistical Annex

Organigramm / Organization Chart

Stand 31.12.2007 *



* Beschäftigte laut Stellenplan ohne Drittmittel- und Honorarkräfte.



**Vom Institut für Friedensforschung und Sicherheitspolitik an der Universität Hamburg (IFSH)
in den Jahren 2004 bis 2009 eingeworbene Drittmittel und Drittmittelgeber (in Euro)**

Arbeitsbereiche	Geber	Drittmittel in Euro						Summe
		2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	
Zentrum für Euro- päische Friedens- und Sicherheits- politik (ZEUS, i.A.)	DFG	-	23.863 ¹	-	-	-	-	-
	Bund	87.692 ²	85.039 ³	71.609 ⁴	-	-	-	-
	Land/Länder	16.500	5.000 ⁵	-	13.503 ⁶	-	-	-
	EU	-	-	-	13.450 ⁷	-	-	-
	Wirtschaft	-	-	1.160 ⁸	-	-	-	-
	Stiftungen	20.000	32.000 ⁹	3.525 ¹⁰	104.020 ¹¹	-	-	-
	Sonstige	5.932 ¹²	7.500 ¹³	52.058 ¹⁴	50.000 ¹⁵	-	-	-
Summe ZEUS		130.124	153.402	128.352	180.973			
Zentrum für OSZE- Forschung (CORE)	DFG	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Bund	205.000	198.000	199.000	289.290 ¹⁶	-	-	-
	Land/Länder	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	EU	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Wirtschaft	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Stiftungen	9.720 ¹⁷	19.440 ¹⁸	34.440 ¹⁹	14.580 ²⁰	-	-	-
	Sonstige	31.595 ²¹	52.769 ²²	28.623 ²³	92.954 ²⁴	-	-	-
Summe CORE		246.315	270.209	262.063	396.824			
Interdisziplinäre Arbeitsgruppe Rüstungskontrolle und Abrüstung (IFAR)	DFG	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Bund	-	10.150 ²⁵	-	-	-	-	-
	Land/Länder	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	EU	-	-	-	2.800 ²⁶	-	-	-
	Wirtschaft	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Stiftungen	2.000	140.000 ²⁷	59.600 ²⁸	69.500 ²⁹	-	-	-
	Sonstige	-	20.300 ³⁰	-	30.950 ³¹	-	-	-
Summe IFAR		2.000	170.450	59.600	103.250			

1 Verlängerung Projekt Hensell um 6 Monate

2 DAAD: Willy-Brandt-Zentrum: 28.395, DAAD-Konferenz 2/2005: 59.297.

3 DAAD: Willy-Brandt-Zentrum: 27.379, 57.660 Akademisches Netzwerk SOE (Stipendien, Workshops, Gastlektorin)

4 DAAD: Willy-Brandt-Zentrum 24.075, Akademisches Netzwerk SOE 47.534

5 BWG, Seminare Balkan-Netzwerk

6 DAAD

7 ISIS Europe, 5.500, 1.500 und 6.450

8 Nordbank

9 Humboldt Stiftung, TransCoop-Programm mit Pfaltzgraff

10 Cusanuswerk Promotionsstipendium

11 Volkswagen Stiftung: Tannous 67.000 und Johannsen 27.300; Promotionsstipendium Naumann Stiftung Bandow

12 NATO, Tagungsmittel

13 EMA Master

14 US-Botschaft 1.564; UNDP 2.646; EMA 6.000; BICC 2.850; OECD 6.000; BICC 28.300; BICC 4.698

15 50.000 Molinari-Stiftung für Baudissin-Fellowships;

16 198.000 AA-Rahmenprojekt; 49.975 Diskursprojekt ZA 2007; 41.315 Kasachstan-Trainingsprojekt

17 Friedrich Naumann Stiftung, Promotionsstipendium Kropatcheva

18 Friedrich Naumann Stiftung, Promotionsstipendien König und Kropatcheva

19 Friedrich Naumann Stiftung, Promotionsstipendien König und Kropatcheva 19.440; Thyssen Stiftung Workshop 15.000

20 Friedrich Naumann Stiftung, Promotionsstipendien König und Kropatcheva

21 Gruppe von 16 OSZE-Teilnehmerstaaten, koordiniert von Finnland

22 Finnland, Evaluating the OSCE and Its Future Role

23 Eidgenöss. Departement für Auswärtige Angelegenheiten 12.673; OSZE-Zentrum Almaty 15.950

24 6.500 OSZE-Zentrum in Almaty; 49.554 finnisches Außenministerium;

25 BMBF, Workshop Pugwash

26 ISIS

27 Projekt Meier, Thyssen-Stiftung

28 Volkswagen Stiftung, Projekt Schwanhäußer

29 DSF 9.000; Volkswagen Stiftung Dickow 60.500

30 Fraunhofer Institut Naturwissenschaftlich-Technische Trendanalysen

31 Uni Dortmund / TAB



IFSH übergreifend	DFG	-	-	-	-			
	Bund	157.379 ³²	70.000 ³³	70.000 ³⁴	70.000 ³⁵			
	Land/Länder	-	-	-	-			
	EU	-	-	-	-			
	Wirtschaft	-	-	-	-			
	Stiftungen	2.596	-	-	-			
	Sonstige	-	-	35.800 ³⁶	28.200 ³⁷			
Summe IFSH ü.		159.975	70.000	70.000	98.200			
IFSH Gesamt	DFG	-	23.863	-	-			
	Bund	450.071	363.189	340.609	-			
	Land/Länder	16.500	5.000	-	-			
	EU	-	-	-	-			
	Wirtschaft	-	-	1.160	-			
	Stiftungen	32.316	191.440	97.565	-			
	Sonstige	35.264	80.569	80.681	-			
Summe IFSH		538.414	664.061	555.815	779.247			

32 70.000,- für den vom Bundesministerium der Verteidigung an das IFSH sekundierten Offizier, 87.379,- vom DAAD für MPS

33 70.000,- für den vom Bundesministerium der Verteidigung an das IFSH sekundierten Offizier.

34 Vom Bundesministerium der Verteidigung an das IFSH sekundierter Offizier

35 Vom Bundesministerium der Verteidigung an das IFSH sekundierter Offizier

36 Förderverein

37 Förderverein



Third party funds raised by the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg (IFSH) in the years 2004 to 2009 (in Euro)

Work Area	Donor	Third party Funds in Euros						Total
		2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	
Center for European Peace and Security Studies (ZEUS, by Proxy)	DFG	-	23.863 ¹	-	-	-	-	-
	Federal gov.	87.692 ²	85.039 ³	71.609 ³	-	-	-	-
	State gov.(s)	16.500	5.000 ⁵	-	13.503 ⁶	-	-	-
	EU	-	-	-	13.450 ⁷	-	-	-
	Private sector	-	-	1.160 ⁸	-	-	-	-
	Foundations	20.000	32.000 ⁹	3.525 ¹⁰	104.020 ¹¹	-	-	-
	Other	5.932 ¹²	7.500 ¹³	52.058 ¹⁴	50.000 ¹⁵	-	-	-
Total ZEUS		130.124	153.402	128.352	180.973			
Center for OSCE-Research (CORE)	DFG	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Federal gov.	205.000	198.000	199.000	289.290 ¹⁶	-	-	-
	State gov.(s)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	EU	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Private sector	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Foundations	9.720 ¹⁷	19.440 ¹⁸	34.440 ¹⁹	14.580 ²⁰	-	-	-
	Other	31.595 ²¹	52.769 ²²	28.623 ²³	92.954 ²⁴	-	-	-
Total CORE		246.315	270.209	262.063	396.824			
Interdisciplinary Working Group	DFG	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Federal gov.	-	10.150 ²⁵	-	-	-	-	-
	State gov.(s)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	EU	-	-	-	2.800 ²⁶	-	-	-
	Private sector	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Foundations	2.000	140.000 ²⁷	59.600 ²⁸	69.500 ²⁹	-	-	-
	Other	-	20.300 ³⁰	-	30.950 ³¹	-	-	-
Total IFAR		2.000	170.450	59.600	103.250			

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5 BWG, Seminare Balkan-Netzwerk

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29 DSF 9.000; Volkswagen Stiftung Dickow 60.500

30 Fraunhofer Institut Naturwissenschaftlich-Technische Trendanalysen

31 Uni Dortmund / TAB



IFSH overall	DFG	-	-	-	-			
	Federal gov.	157.379 ³²	70.000 ³³	70.000 ³⁴	70.000 ³⁵			
	State gov.(s)	-	-	-	-			
	EU	-	-	-	-			
	Private sector	-	-	-	-			
	Foundations	2.596	-	-	-			
	Other	-	-	35.800 ³⁶	28.200 ³⁷			
Total IFSH overall		159.975	70.000	70.000	98.200			
IFSH Total	DFG	-	23.863	-	-			
	Federal gov.	450.071	363.189	340.609	-			
	State gov.(s)	16.500	5.000	-	-			
	EU	-	-	-	-			
	Private sector	-	-	1.160	-			
	Foundations	32.316	191.440	97.565	-			
	Other	35.264	80.569	80.681	-			
Total IFSH		538.414	664.061	555.815	779.247			

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36 Förderverein

37 Förderverein



Öffentlichkeitsarbeit / 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)	53	18	41	109	221
Abrüstung/KRST Disarmament/Arms control	27	6	22	45	100
Europ. Sicherheit/ European security	23	7	26	17	73
OSZE/OSCE	9	-	9	-	18
Regionale Konflikte/ Regional conflicts	34	8	11	72	125
Friedensforschung (auch IFSH)/Peace research (also IFSH)	6	4	3	14	27
Friedenspädagogik/ Peace education	2	-	-	-	2
Sonstiges/Others	11	2	9	6	28
Gesamt/Total	165	45	121	263	594

Vom IFSH organisierte bzw. mitorganisierte Veranstaltungen 2007 (außerhalb von Lehrveranstaltungen , Studiengängen etc.)

Mehrtägige Konferenzen / wissenschaftliche Tagungen*	4
Eintägige Workshops / Seminare**	11
Podiumsdiskussionen / Öffentliche Vortragsveranstaltungen***	7
Gesamt	21

* Zwei in Hamburg, eine in Berlin und eine in Shanghai

** Fünf in Hamburg, fünf in Kasachstan

*** Sechs in Hamburg, eine in Berlin



Veröffentlichungen / Publications

	2007	Anonymes Begutachtungsverfahren/ Peer reviewed (blind)	Begutachtungsverfahren/ Peer review
Sammelbände /Anthologies	6	1	
Monographien /Monographs	5		
Broschüren/Graue Literatur / Booklets/Gray literature	35		3
Buchbeiträge/ Articles in books	57	2	6
Zeitschriftenaufsätze /Articles in journals	50	6	1
Zeitungsbeiträge / Newspapers articles	14		
Rezensionen / Book reviews	5		
Online-Veröffentlichungen / Online publications	14		
Sonstiges / others	-		
Gesamt / Total	185	9	10

Vom IFSH herausgegebene bzw. mitherausgegebene und redaktionell betreute Publikationen 2007

Reihe	Anzahl
Hamburger Beiträge zur Friedensforschung und Sicherheitspolitik	3
Hamburger Informationen zur Friedensforschung und Sicherheitspolitik	1
IFSH aktuell (IFSH news)	5 (5)
Schriftenreihe Demokratie, Sicherheit, Frieden	3
OSZE-Jahrbuch (OSCE Yearbook, Eschegodni OBSE)	1 (1 + 1)
Zeitschrift: Sicherheit und Frieden (S+F)	4
Friedensgutachten	1
Gesamt	18 (7)



Lehrveranstaltungen / Courses 2006

	Lehrende /Tutors	Semesterwochenstunden / Number of semester hours	davon an der Universität Hamburg / im M.P.S./ of these at the University of Hamburg/ in the M.P.S.
WS 2006/2007	12	31	24
SS 2007	8	18	12
WS 2007/2008	12	31	29

* Ein Teil der Lehrenden bietet in allen drei Semestern Lehrveranstaltungen an.
Some instructors offered courses in all three semesters.

Betreuung von Studierenden/Praktikanten/* Supervision of Students/Interns

2007	Promotionen PhD Thesis	2007 abge- schlossen	Diplom-/Magis- terarbeiten Diploma/Master's Thesis	2007 abge- schlossen	Master- arbeiten** Master's Projects	2007 abge- schlossen	Praktikanten Interns
CORE	8	2	-	-	7	6	8
ZEUS	12	3	2	-	20	18	18
IFAR	3	-	2	-	3	3	2
Gesamt/Total	23		4	-	30	27**	28

* Manche Arbeiten haben zwei Betreuer/innen.

** Alle 24 M.P.S. Studierenden haben 2007 abgeschlossen sowie drei E.MA Studierende, die am IFSH jeweils zwei Betreuer/innen hatten.

Projekte / Projects 2007*

Projekte/Projects	begonnen/ started	fortgeführt/ continued	abgeschlossen/ completed	bewilligt/ approved	vorbereitet/ beantragt prepared/ submitted	abgelehnt/ not approved
Forschungsprojekt Research Project	7	33	4	5	2	5
Beratungsprojekt Consultancy Project		6	4	4	1	-
Gesamt / Total	7	39	8	9	3	5

Projekte entsprechen dem IFSH-Forschungsplan unter: http://www.ifsh.de/IFSH/profil/for_plaene.htm.