

Annual Report

2006

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at the University of Hamburg (IFSH)

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Table of Contents

1.	The work of the IFSH in 2006 – Director’s Foreword	3
2.	Current Topics in the Institute’s Work in 2006	5
2.1	Kosovo before Status Determination	5
2.2	EUFOR RD Congo	10
2.3	Nuclear Nonproliferation	15
3.	Research Units – Research and Consultancy Projects	19
3.1	Centre for OSCE Research (CORE)	19
3.2	Centre for European Peace and Security Studies (ZEUS)	22
3.3	Interdisciplinary Research Group on Disarmament, Arms Control and Risk Technologies (IFAR ²)	28
4.	Comprehensive Activities	32
4.1	Working Group on the research on the effectiveness of international institutions	32
4.2	Conferences, Events and Guests	32
4.3	Research Colloquium 2006	34
4.4.	Lectures of Fellows and Staff	35
4.5	Functions of IFSH Staff in Professional Bodies	38
5.	Teaching and Promotion of Junior Researchers	40
5.1	Master’s program „Master of Peace and Security Studies - (M.P.S.)” at the University of Hamburg	40
5.2	Support for the OSCE Academy in Bishkek (Kyrgyzstan) by CORE	42
5.3	European Master’s Degree “Human Rights and Democratization” (Venice)	42
5.4.	Cooperation with the Willy-Brandt-Center for German and European Studies at the University of Wroclaw	43
5.5	The IFSH Doctoral Supervision Program	43
5.6	Teaching by IFSH Staff in 2006	44
6.	Services	46
6.1	Public Relations	46
6.2	Peace Research Sponsoring Association (VFIF)	47
6.3	Library, Documentation and Homepage of the IFSH 2006	47
7.	Personnel and Bodies	49
7.1	Board of Trustees	49
7.2	Advisory Board	49
7.3.	Staff Members at the IFSH 2006	50
8.	Publications	52
8.1	IFSH Series	52
8.2	Peace Report	53
8.3.	OSCE Yearbook	54
8.4	Publications by IFSH Members of Staff in 2006	55
9.	Statistical Annex	65



1. The Work of the IFSH in 2006 – The Director's Foreword

2006 was not a peaceful year. The Iranian nuclear program, the detonation of a nuclear device in North Korea, the war in Lebanon, attempted terrorist attacks in London and Germany, the deteriorating security situation in Iraq and Afghanistan, and the deployment of the Federal Armed Forces in the Congo and off the Lebanese coast dominated the peace and security policy agenda. IFSH staff members made their expertise available to decision-makers and the general public by taking part in discussions on events and their backgrounds, giving interviews, providing expert written opinions and publishing original research.



Professor Michael Brzoska

The statistics in the appendix document the considerable scale of this aspect of the IFSH's activities. For the first time, internet use, which is of growing importance for the dissemination of the results of the IFSH's work, is also documented in this annual report.

There is strong demand for the IFSH to comment on current events. The Institute's statements are granted considerable attention in Germany, in particular, but also in other parts of the world. The IFSH also has the ear of influential German policymakers on a range of topics, particularly on questions relating to the OSCE, German and European security and defense policy, and non-proliferation and arms control. The IFSH is soon to start supporting the European Parliament as part of a consortium, led by the *International Security Information Service* in Brussels, that signed an agreement at the end of 2006 to advise that institution on questions of security policy and peace.

The IFSH's core competency and the foundation upon which both its public presence and its advisory work is built is academic research. The three overview articles in this annual report are intended to provide a picture of the way in which the IFSH's research work informs the analysis of problems in contemporary peace and security policy. The most important evidence of the quality of academic research is considered to be the publication of papers in peer-reviewed journals, i.e. those that are evaluated by independent experts. With 25 such papers published in 2006, including 13 that underwent a double blind review process, the IFSH made a significant advance on 2005.

The basis for research activities at the IFSH is the research program adopted in 2002 and entitled "Civilizing Conflict". Within this framework, the IFSH's research activities during 2006 focused once more mainly on the dynamics of inner-state conflicts in Europe and their management by civil and military actors. The Western Balkans, Europe's eastern periphery and the Middle East were the regional focal points, and particular attention was paid to the effects of the EU and the OSCE. Another key interdisciplinary research topic was the future of arms control. The following are examples of IFSH research projects from 2006:

- The proposed project on *Security Governance as a Challenge for the EU*, which aims to deal with the challenges and opportunities the European Union needs to confront if it is to position itself more strongly as an actor in the field of conflict prevention and crisis management.
- The project, supported by the Swiss Foreign Ministry, on *Instruments of Human Rights Monitoring in the OSCE*. A instrument covering all countries could help defuse the current reproaches – emanating primarily from Russia and its allies – of one-sidedness in the OSCE.
- The project on *Regime Building under Pressure? The Further Development of Multilateral Arms Control*, which studies the effect of new, "non-integrative" approaches to the control of weapons of mass destruction on the creation, the effectiveness and the modification of arms control regimes.

During 2006 work began to develop a new IFSH work program. Building on the strengths of the IFSH in the analysis of the development of conflicts in Europe and the European periphery, the Institute's future research will be oriented on the reactions of European actors to the risks they perceive of transnational violence. The analysis will concentrate above all on the effectiveness of the



measures taken. In order to prepare for this change of focus, a working group on research on the effectiveness of international institutions was established in 2006.

2006 was an important year in the history of co-operation between the IFSH and the University of Hamburg. Together with Professor Cord Jakobeit from the University of Hamburg, the German Institute of Global and Area Studies (GIGA) and the Hamburg Institute of International Economics (HWI), the IFSH submitted an application to establish a DFG Research Group to study "Precarious Statehood and External Actors". The IFSH also acquired a new Director, appointed for the first time by a joint commission of the IFSH and the University. In July 2006 the Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker Centre for Science and Peace Research was ceremonially opened. The Centre, directed by Professor Martin Kalinowski, is a co-operation between five university faculties and the IFSH. The Centre's work will initially focus on technology dynamics, arms dynamics and verification processes. For the IFSH, this will create many opportunities for collaboration. For instance, preparatory work for the application to establish a DFG Research Group on the verification and monitoring of international agreements started in the fall of 2006. Finally, the IFSH's planned move into a shared building close to the university in June 2007 will give this spirit of co-operation a concrete, physical dimension.

Teaching and the promotion of junior researchers are another key area of the IFSH's work. The fourth Master's program in Peace and Security Studies, run jointly by the University of Hamburg and the IFSH, concluded with the presentation of diplomas, and the fifth annual intake of 25 students commenced their studies. With over 150 applications received, there was no difficulty in filling the available places, even though the number of scholarships available for this course of study markedly declined in 2005. The University of Hamburg has secured the program's future by agreeing to support it when it ceases to be funded by the German Foundation for Peace Research. The attractiveness of the Master's degree has grown as a result of its accreditation in May 2006 under the criteria of the European Higher Education Area.

In 2006, 17 doctoral candidates took part in the IFSH doctoral program. Added to these were external doctoral students supervised by members of the IFSH staff. Three dissertations were completed in the reporting period and four new doctoral thesis projects were begun. Three of these projects are "Sandwich Doctorates" in which the students spend some time in Germany and some time at their home universities.

The total volume of third-party funds raised during the reporting year was 555,815 euros. This is a decline compared to the previous year, primarily due to the fact that although funds were raised to finance numerous smaller activities, new funding was only raised for one large project of over 100,000 euros. In 2006 efforts were begun to increase external funding again by applying for larger new research projects. Including funding allocated in previous years, the IFSH was able in 2006 to defray nearly 750,000 euros of its personnel and material costs from third party funds. That represents 35 per cent of the Institute's total revenue.

We are aware that without moral and material support provided from many quarters, the IFSH and its work would be greatly diminished. One important backer of the IFSH's work is the Federal Armed Forces. In August 2006 Lt. Col (G.S.) Armin Wagner began his work as military fellow at the IFSH. Apart from the IFSH, only one other civilian scientific institute in Germany – the government-funded Foundation for Science and Politics in Berlin – benefits from a secondment of this kind.

The lion's share of financing, however, is provided by our major benefactor, the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg. Our special thanks go to it and to its citizens.

Hamburg, February 2007

Michael Brzoska



2. Current topics in the work of the Institute 2006

2.1 Future Status of Kosovo

Jens Narten

Kosovo before Status Determination: Peacebuilding Unfinished, Dilemmas Unresolved

As the settlement of Kosovo's future status, expected in the first half of 2007, is likely to lead to the establishment of Kosovo as a quasi-sovereign state supervised by the international community, the UN Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) is preparing for a smooth transition of powers to the local Provisional Institutions of Self-government (PISG) and other international organizations, such as the European Union (EU). After almost eight years of international administration by the United Nations in Kosovo, UNMIK's overall peacebuilding record shows mixed results with significant shortcomings and deficiencies. With a key mandate to promote substantial autonomy and self-government for Kosovo through the development of local democratic institutions to which administrative responsibilities could be progressively transferred,¹ UNMIK became in part a hostage to its own mandate, especially with respect to Kosovo's troublesome political status.



Jens Narten

Back in 1999, when UNMIK was established by UN resolution 1244, former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan set up the mission's general strategy as a detailed policy guideline.² However, in the post-war reality over the years that followed, the strategy outline proved, in practice, to be mostly illusory. Annan's strategy foresaw the implementation of UNMIK's working tasks in five different phases: The first phase envisaged the establishment and consolidation of UNMIK's administrative authority and structures, along with the creation of local consultative bodies, capacity-building activities and a self-sustaining local economy. The second phase was meant to focus on social services and utilities, the consolidation of the rule of law, the formation of political parties, the strengthening of civil society and the promotion of reconciliation at the grass-roots level, with the promotion of harmonious relations among all ethnic communities as a common goal.³ During the latter stage of phase two a partial transfer of executive authority in less sensitive areas, such as health and education, was also planned. In phase three, UNMIK was meant to hold free and fair elections in Kosovo and establish freedom of speech, assembly, campaigning by political parties and equitable access to the media. At the same time, economic revival would first be stabilized with international assistance, then with local revenue. Efforts to determine Kosovo's future status were to intensify during this phase. The fourth phase, in turn, foresaw assistance to elected Kosovo representatives, the establishment of PISG structures and the transfer of UNMIK's remaining administrative responsibilities. Finally, depending on the final determination of Kosovo's political status, the fifth and last phase was meant for UNMIK to oversee the transfer of authority from the PISG to institutions established under the provisions of the status settlement.

This ideal-type progressive plan of UN peacebuilding in Kosovo made perfect sense as an overall policy guideline during UNMIK's initial setup period in 1999. However, after eight years of UN administration in Kosovo UNMIK's peacebuilding accomplishments are largely incomplete and defective vis-à-vis this original blueprint: First of all, UNMIK's Kosovo-wide administrative authority, as foreseen in phase one, has never really been established in the Serb-dominated north of the province with its strong ties to the Belgrade government and an informal system of parallel state institutions. Con-

1 UN Security Council Resolution S/RES/1244 (1999), par. 11.

2 Report of the UN Secretary-General S/1999/779, par. 110-116.

3 Ibid., par. 113.



trary to the plan for phase two, reconciliation at grass roots level has remained nothing more than wishful thinking and harmonious relations among *all* ethnic communities have never been achieved in reality. Even after elections, the postwar economic revival has continued to be insufficient and an intensified process to determine Kosovo's status (phase three) was not able to be initiated before the transfer of most of the UNMIK authorities to the PISG to steer the overall build-up process, as foreseen in phase four. Finally, UNMIK will be leaving Kosovo soon, before the implementation of phase five of overseeing the transfer of authority from the PISG to post-status local institutions. This task will be assigned to the EU-led International Civilian Office (ICO), as UNMIK withdraws from Kosovo.⁴

Following the disastrous March riots of 2004, UN Special Envoy Kai Eide was tasked with reviewing UNMIK's peacebuilding record in Kosovo and drew an alarming picture of the state of the mission and its overall peacebuilding achievements.⁵ As a consequence, Eide recommended the commencement of status talks between the Belgrade government and the local government in Kosovo. Such talks took place in Vienna from February to September 2006 facilitated by UN Special Envoy Martti Ahtisaari, the former President of Finland. The delegations on the Serb side included local representatives of the Kosovo Serb community, while the other side was composed of a largely Albanian-dominated "Unity Team" that included representatives of the governing parties in the Kosovo Assembly *and* of the opposition. After fourteen rounds of so-called technical talks about issues such as decentralization and minority rights and the holding of only one high-level meeting between the political leaders of Serbia and the PISG at presidential and prime ministers' level, the Ahtisaari team decided in July 2006 to halt that process. Progress in the actual status talks between Belgrade and the Unity Team had essentially become blocked, with both sides insisting on their original positions: Belgrade had proposed granting Kosovo only wide-ranging autonomy *within* the state of Serbia, while the Unity Team demanded nothing less than a sovereign state of Kosovo fully independent from Serbia. However, it did make concessions on decentralization and the self-governing of Serb municipalities inside such a new state of Kosovo.⁶ In November of last year, the Ahtisaari team announced the presentation of its own proposal for the settlement of Kosovo's future status – with yet different recommendations – to the UN Security Council in early 2007. Following the parliamentary elections in Serbia, they released their report in February 2007, which proposed a "supervised sovereignty" for Kosovo under the control of international actors and with the EU taking the lead.

Post-status: Old Peacebuilding Dilemmas in New Clothes?

Against the background of this largely defective peacebuilding record, it must be asked which factors contributed to hampering the successful implementation of UNMIK's peacebuilding agenda and are likely to have the same impact on post-status peacebuilding should Kosovo not be granted full-fledged sovereignty by the Security Council. In answer to this question, a set of four operational dilemmas that constantly undermined a successful peacebuilding outcome in Kosovo can be identified.⁷

The Statehood Dilemma – An immediate operational dilemma for UNMIK in Kosovo was the contradictory task of creating functioning "state" structures without knowing the precise status of the province with respect to its future statehood. As a consequence, UNMIK had to begin its peacebuilding activities without an overall political vision and was thus deprived of a well-defined programmatic goal to inform its institution-building policy and the transfer of authority to local bodies. Former UN

4 The ICO will oversee the implementation of a potential settlement of Kosovo's future status and is being prepared by an EU preparation team under leadership of EU foreign policy chief Solana. See European Union/UNMIK: European Future: Kosovo's Long-term EU Perspective, Prishtina, January 2007, p. 9, <http://www.euinkosovo.org/upload/European%20future%20brochure%20ENGLISH%20FINAL%2013%20December%202006.pdf> (accessed 8 January 2007).

5 Report on the Situation in Kosovo, report on behalf of the UN Secretary-General, submitted to the President of the UN Security Council, UN Document S/2004/932; and A Comprehensive Review of the Situation in Kosovo, report on behalf of the UN Secretary-General, submitted to the President of the UN Security Council, UN Document S/2005/635.

6 See ICG Europe Report No. 177: Kosovo Status: Delay is Risky, 10 November 2006, pp. 2-7.

7 These dilemmas have a great impact on the prime criteria for success in a peace- or statebuilding environment: the criteria of local ownership. This idea was developed by the author in Jens Narten: Dilemmas of Promoting Local Ownership: State-building in Postwar Kosovo. In: Roland Paris/Timothy Sisk (eds): Statebuilding after Civil War: The Long Road to Peace, forthcoming 2007.



Special Representative of the Secretary-General (SRSG) and Head of UNMIK, Jessen-Petersen described this dilemma in this way:

“UNMIK was not tasked with addressing the true root causes of the 1998-99 conflict [...]. Instead, UNSCR 1244 put off the question of status resolution to a later date. [...] So far the work of the international community in Kosovo has been somewhat akin to building a house from the roof downwards. [...] But in the absence of foundations – a fundamental legal basis for the continuation of these laws and institutions into the future – the work is, and will remain, incomplete.”⁸

With a Russian veto of Kosovo’s full independence from Serbia likely in the Security Council and consecutive unilateral recognitions of a sovereign Kosovar state by the United States and some EU member states very probable,⁹ the post-status scenario following the termination of resolution 1244 will hardly bring about an improvement in the statehood dilemma: If the international community cannot agree on a resolution that will clearly determine its future status, continued UN administration in Kosovo will be close to operational bankruptcy. It will have forfeited any domestic credibility as a working basis with the Kosovar government and will face severe operational difficulties with other missions in Kosovo, i.e. with KFOR whose largest contributor is the United States. In such a case, the Kosovo Assembly and the PISG, or their respective successor institutions, are likely to withdraw from the fragile “peacebuilding contract” with the UN and to declare full independence from Serbia unilaterally, even against the will of the UN.

The Intrusiveness Dilemma – Despite UNMIK’s early attempts to consult with local representatives, to allow local co-administration in its administrative departments before elections, and to transfer authorities to the PISG after elections, the UN mission as the transitional administrator in Kosovo holding full legislative, executive and judicial powers has applied a number of highly intrusive policy measures. In the absence of functioning state institutions after the 1998-99 war, UNMIK faced a second operational dilemma with its mandate to administer the province and, parallel to that, to create stable conditions for local self-government to rebuild “state” institutions without political consensus between the former warring parties and very limited existing local capacities and resources. Becoming overly intrusive in its policy-making and creating local institutions too passive for local decision-making in the long run was the inherent danger in this context. The UN at large has been aware of this dilemma since the release of a UN-commissioned report that described

“the paradox of intervention: a massive and exceptional foreign presence is in place to assist in re-establishing or establishing sovereignty and national control over the machinery of governance.”¹⁰

In almost eight years of UN administration in Kosovo, UNMIK shaped the nascent Kosovar polity with its highly intrusive and often unilateral policy-making, which is likely to have strong repercussions for shaping Kosovo’s post-status political system. UNMIK established the electoral and legal system, municipal structures and the overall constitutional framework by issuing simple UNMIK regulations and without putting such essential decisions to popular vote or seeking confirmation by a constituent assembly. At the same time, UNMIK granted itself and other international organizations working in Kosovo full legal immunity from the jurisdiction of local courts.¹¹ Moreover, when demanding transfer of additional authorities from UNMIK, the PISG’s position was often rejected by UNMIK referring to a loosely defined set of standards to be fulfilled before status-relevant powers could be transferred.¹² Up to the present, UNMIK continues withholding reserved powers from the PISG in more sensitive areas, such as policing and the judiciary, and uses its veto powers when pieces of legislation drafted by the Kosovo Assembly do not comply with resolution 1244. Surprisingly enough,

8 Søren Jessen-Petersen: Challenges of Peacebuilding: The Example of Kosovo. In: S+F (Sicherheit und Frieden – Security and Peace), vol. 24, no. 1/2006, 10.

9 Certain EU member states, such as Greece, Spain and Romania, oppose the idea of an independent Kosovo.

10 Espen Barth Eide, et al.: Report Integrated Missions: Practical Perspectives and Recommendations. Independent Study for the Expanded UN ECHA Core Group, New York, May 2005.

11 UNMIK Regulations No. 1999/23, No.2000/45, No. 2000/47 and No. 2001/9.

12 On UNMIK’s “standards-before-status” policy see Jens Narten: Building Local Institutions and Parliamentarianism in Post-war Kosovo: A Review of Joint Efforts by the UN and the OSCE from 1999-2006. In: Helsinki Monitor, vol. 17, no. 2/2006, pp 153-154.



even in post-status Kosovo and the transition from UNMIK administration to an EU rule-of-law mission, there is no intention of transferring full control of these fields to local institutions. Certain degrees of international oversight and a veto on local decision-making are likely to remain with respect to questions of national defense and the legal protection of minorities at constitutional-court level.¹³ Thus, elements of the current intrusiveness dilemma will remain in the post-status era.

The Dependency Dilemma – Another peacebuilding dilemma with which UNMIK was confronted and which is also likely to remain a virulent presence in Kosovo after its status determination involves the level of local dependency on external aid and the form of external assistance. The dilemma is created by the contradiction between the prevailing local need for long-term peacebuilding assistance and donor-driven time and resource restrictions for external peacebuilders, which put them under pressure to deliver their assistance within relatively short-term periods. The dilemma of long-term local needs and short-term external assistance harbors the risk of increasing local dependencies as a result of the high level of financial planning insecurity and external staff rotation within and between peacebuilding missions. In this context, UNMIK peacebuilding in Kosovo has suffered from an ad-hoc reduction of available resources and manpower since 2001, when the international (donor) community shifted its attention away from Kosovo and the Balkans to other crisis areas, such as Afghanistan and Iraq.¹⁴ As a consequence, project planning for Kosovo has covered periods barely longer than a (fiscal) year. In addition, investment in training of local trainers for more self-sustaining institution- and capacity-building in Kosovo is still frequently the exception. In a similar context, the 2004 report of the Peacebuilding Forum described this dilemma situation:

“[I]nternal actors are too often treated as passive victims or as the problem rather than as active agents of recovery and rebuilding their own societies. Vulnerable to being overwhelmed by external actors and their time constraints, [...] hasty needs assessments [...] lack crucial ownership and buy-in which confer legitimacy and give sustainability to subsequent activities. [...] Their focus is too short-term, bureaucratic, hierarchical and averse to risk [...] prizing rapid project delivery and measurable results above actual impact on the ground.”¹⁵

For the post-status era in Kosovo, a handover of thematic responsibilities and reserved authority from UNMIK to an EU-led International Civilian Office and Rule-of-Law mission in the field of policing and the judiciary is foreseen and will bring additional planning insecurity with changes in programs and implementing personnel. If such a handover is accompanied by a hasty exit strategy of UNMIK and a disputed mandate for the EU-led successor mission, the transition period will further neglect local needs of the Kosovar society for long-term and constant capacity-building.

The Spoiler Dilemma – A fourth and final operational dilemma with which UNMIK was confronted, and which is also likely to remain unresolved after the status determination, is based on the general need of external peacebuilders to identify local partners for co-operation. Non-selected, sidelined elites can opt to spoil the overall peacebuilding process by mobilizing public resistance. The question for external peacebuilders is who to choose as a local partner, and who not. UNMIK has struggled constantly with this dilemma: First, it had to dismantle the self-appointed administrative structures of the former Kosovo Liberation Army (UCK) at municipal level in 1999 and 2000. Following the 2001 elections, UNMIK chose to select local partners even among those local politicians who were under indictment for war crimes at the International Criminal Tribunal in The Hague.¹⁶ Moreover, UNMIK along with the NATO-led military peacekeepers of the Kosovo Force (KFOR) had severe difficulties in re-establishing and maintaining public order and security throughout Kosovo during the March riots in 2004. The Kosovo media as well as representatives of the Kosovo assembly were accused of en-

13 ICG Europe Report No. 177: Kosovo Status: Delay Is Risky, 10 November 2006, pp. 7-11.

14 Helmut Kramer/ Vedran Dzihic: Die Kosovo-Bilanz. Scheitert die internationale Gemeinschaft [The Kosovo Balance. Does the international community fail?], LIT Publishers: Vienna, 2005, p. 125.

15 Peacebuilding Forum Conference 2004: Building Effective Partnerships. Improving the Relationship Between Internal and External Actors in Post-conflict Countries, New York, October 2004, pp. 3-5.

16 Former Kosovo Prime Minister (PM) Ramush Haradinaj was the most prominent example in this context. In addition, complaints have ostensibly been submitted to the Tribunal by former Canadian UN officials against the current PM Agim Ceku in his position as former military commander in the Serbian-Croatian war, see Scott Taylor: INAT: Images of Serbia and the Kosovo Conflict, Ottawa, 2000, pp. 13-14.



gagement in the incitement of ethnic hatred and violence.¹⁷ Following the riots, local courts proved unable to convict the mostly Kosovo-Albanian perpetrators due to alleged ethnic bias.¹⁸ Even in contemporary Kosovar affairs, spoiler activities by sidelined powerful elites and alleged partners for cooperation as well are hard to control: In November 2006, the only Kosovo-Serb cabinet minister, Slavisa Petkovic, had to resign after increasing indications of corruption in office. That same month, the UNMIK headquarters was attacked by protesters of the student movement “Vetevendosje” (Self-determination), led by Albin Kurti. In December 2006, the so-called Albanian National Army (ANA), labeled a terrorist group under UNMIK regulations, again re-appeared, setting up road-blocks at night and exchanging fire with the police. Also in December of last year, Naim Bazaj, the senior adviser to the PISG Ministry of Labor, which is run by the governing coalition party AAK, was arrested as a suspect in connection with the largest cache of weapons found in Kosovo since 1999. Parallel to that, informal armed “security” units such as the so-called “Bridge Watchers” and Serbian police (MUP) officers continue to control larger parts of the Serbian populated north of Kosovo.¹⁹ The dilemma for external peacebuilders, as described by the Peacebuilding Forum becomes apparent:

“[E]xternal actors may experience the difficulty in identifying credible internal actors to consult and support. Prior to democratic elections [and beyond], competing claims to representation and legitimacy are not easily resolved. [...] Prominent internal actors may be spoilers, warlords, or people responsible for atrocities.”²⁰

If Kosovo’s future status does not bring political clarity in international legal terms, the EU-led rule-of-law mission and the International Civilian Office, which succeed UNMIK, will not be able to effectively address the spoiler dilemma either. In that case, informal, parallel structures in the north of Kosovo will continue to have a destabilizing impact on future peacebuilding in Kosovo, as will Kosovo-Albanian spoiler groups such as the ANA.

In summary, the reflections on the four peacebuilding dilemmas in Kosovo lead to the following conclusion: Only if the international community – and first and foremost those powers in the Security Council with a veto – succeed in agreeing on a resolution that clearly and precisely determines Kosovo’s future political status, will a successor mission to UNMIK have a chance to effectively address the prevailing operational peacebuilding dilemmas in Kosovo. If such a resolution is watered down and contains vague provisions for all parties to interpret differently and there is unilateral recognition of Kosovo’s potential independence by individual UN member states, the four peacebuilding dilemmas will continue to have a strongly destabilizing impact on future peacebuilding efforts necessary in post-status Kosovo as well.

17 OSCE Media Representative (2004): *The Role of the Media in the March 2004 Events in Kosovo*, Report of the OSCE Representative on Freedom of the Media [Haraszi, Miklos], Vienna, 2004, pp. 11-12.

18 OSCE Mission in Kosovo: *The Response of the Justice System to the March 2004 Riots*, Report of the Legal System Monitoring Section of the Department of Human Rights and Rule of Law, Pristina, December 2005, pp. 3 and 34; Human Rights Watch: *Not on the Agenda. The Continuing Failure to Address Accountability in Kosovo Post-March 2004*, HRW Report, Vol. 18, No. 4(D), May 2006, p. 65.

19 Most of these recent incidents are documented by the UN-supported website www.reliefweb.int as country-specific latest updates.

20 Op.cit. footnote no. 16, p. 5.



2.2. EUFOR in RD Congo

Hans-Georg Ehrhart

Was EUFOR RD Congo a success and what next? A preliminary assessment

In several stages over recent years, the EU has more precisely defined its foreign, development, and security policy goals for the African continent. These have been adopted through a number of key policy documents: the European Security Strategy; the Common Position on Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution in Africa; the Action Plan for Support to Peace and Security in Africa; and, finally, the Strategy for Africa, which was adopted on 19 December 2005. At the same time, the EU is aiming to cooperate more closely with the UN on international crisis management.



Dr. Hans-Georg Ehrhart

One of the most important steps so far in implementing the Strategy for Africa was the joint effort to stabilize the volatile situation in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) during last year's elections organized by a transitional government established in 2003 following a peace agreement that ended the DRC's 1998-2002 war. The conflict involved eight African states and left 4 million people dead. On 27 December 2005, EUFOR RD Congo (EU Force in the Democratic Republic of Congo) was asked by the UN (which has around 17.000 blue helmets in the DRC), to assist the world body in safeguarding the country's first democratic elections in more than 40 years.

The EUFOR RD Congo operation can be considered a step towards the fulfilment of the EU's policy goals in Africa. The mission involved 2400 troops from 21 EU countries plus Turkey. The biggest troop contributors were France with 1090 soldiers, followed by Germany with 780, Spain (130), Poland (130), Belgium (60), and Sweden (55). Germany headed the Operational Headquarters while France was responsible for the Force Headquarters. Nevertheless, the deployment was regarded as controversial in some quarters, most significantly in Germany.

This article seeks to provide a preliminary assessment of this operation - the second carried out in the DRC under the aegis of the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP).¹

Fulfilling limited objectives

As far as the fulfilment of the mission goals is concerned, the results were positive. The operation ran without a hitch, the mandate was accomplished and EUFOR suffered no casualties. This success was made easier by three limiting factors.

- The UN mandate defined a functional limit. EUFOR was assigned the task of supporting the UN Mission in the DRC (MONUC) in its stabilizing role i.e. protecting civilian personnel, contributing to the protection of the airport in Kinshasa, and, performing limited operations to evacuate endangered individuals. EUFOR itself was not charged with stabilizing the Congo and leading the country towards democracy, but solely with providing limited assistance along the way, and then only if specifically requested to do so by the UN.
- The duration of the mission was restricted to the four months following the first round of presidential and parliamentary elections. With these elections being held on 30 July 2006, the end of the operation was thus set for 30 November.²
- While the UN mandate did not include a geographical restriction, the EUFOR was only deployed around Kinshasa and not in the more dangerous eastern regions of the country. The German *Bundestag* resolved that German forces could *only* be deployed in and around Kinshasa.

1 The first one was Operation Artemis carried out in summer 2003. See ESR, issue 19: EU operations update: past, present and future, www.isis-europe, and Issue, and ESR, issue 18: Operation Artemis: Mission Improbable?, www.isis-europe

2 Council Joint Action 2006/319/CFSP.



EUFOR's principle tasks were to support MONUC in its difficult practical role of physically conducting the first democratic elections in an enormous, war-torn country, and also to deter those who would seek to interfere with those elections. Apart from its presence in the DRC itself, EUFOR also consisted of an "over the horizon force", reinforcements held in Gabon. The latter proved necessary on several occasions.

The most dangerous incident took place between 20 and 22 August, three weeks after the elections, when supporters of President Joseph Kabila attacked the residence of his rival, Jean-Pierre Bemba, in which the representatives of the International Committee to Accompany the Transition (CIAT) were located. This crisis was brought to an end thanks to a daring intervention by MONUC and EUFOR. The conflicting parties were separated, the ambassadors brought to safety in armoured vehicles and 180 paratroopers were flown in from the contingent in Gabon as reinforcements.

Before the second round of voting on 29 October 2006, EUFOR was strengthened by 300 soldiers from the "over the horizon" force as a precaution. The second poll took place without any major violent incidents, no little thanks to this strengthened international presence (less serious incidents were dealt with successfully by the Congolese police). As there was little trouble in any other parts of the country, EUFOR's decision to concentrate its presence in Kinshasa was never challenged.

Problems between Member States

Nonetheless, there were political problems prior to and during the operation that suggest certain difficulties in Franco-German relations. In Berlin, for example, the suspicion is still entertained that behind-the-scenes dealing between Paris and New York placed Germany in a position in which it could not refuse to take on the leadership role.

Furthermore, the process of force generation was tortuous and certainly not an example of European "rapid reaction". Whether this would have been any different if the German battle group had already achieved full operational capability may be considered unlikely given Germany's interests (its desire for there to be visible multinational participation and burden-sharing).

The *Bundestag's* placement of geographical restrictions on the deployment of German troops could have been construed as showing a lack of solidarity with partners, especially if trouble had broken out in other parts of the Congo thereby necessitating a complex rotation system of EUFOR troops within the country. Fortunately, it was never necessary to implement such a plan.³

A further problem arose from a German perspective that the French contingent occasionally was guilty of not maintaining the necessary impartiality. Specifically, this related to low-altitude flights conducted by French military aircraft over Jean-Pierre Bemba's residence.

France and Belgium would have liked to have extended the operation by several weeks in order to address the risk that new disturbances might break out during or shortly after EUFOR's withdrawal. This was prompted by the delay of the second round of elections, which resulted in the final results not being announced until 29 October, only a week before EUFOR was scheduled to withdraw. However, Germany's defence minister Franz-Josef Jung, who had promised that German troops would be home for Christmas, opposed this.

A positive assessment

Kabila was declared the winner with 58 per cent of the vote, while Bemba won 42 per cent. While the victor called for reconciliation, the challenger initially spoke of electoral fraud, raising the fear that the conflict could escalate again during or shortly after EUFOR's withdrawal. Nonetheless, Bemba has so far kept his promise to use only legal and political means in pursuing his objectives.

Given the ongoing quarrelling of the main rivals, was the EUFOR DR Congo operation worth it? Would it not have been more sensible to invest the hundreds of millions of euros that the operation

3 The rotation system would have required German troops to fly to Kinshasa if Spanish and French units needed to be deployed in other locations.



cost directly in development aid to the country?⁴ How important was EUFOR's stabilizing effect? Put another way, without EUFOR's presence might August's disturbances have escalated and thereby endangered the entire peace process? It is still too early to give definitive answers.

Viewed in broad political terms, despite obvious defects and unanswered questions, the EUFOR operation had a number of positive aspects:

- First, the EU engaged militarily in a crisis management operation in Africa in line with its strategy for that continent. It is also highly unlikely that it will be possible to fulfil the Millennium Development Goals of 2000 unless sustainable resolution of the major crises in the sub-Saharan region is achieved.
- Second, EUFOR and MONUC generally worked well together.⁵ The EUFOR mission complied with the EU's commitment to "effective multilateralism" by strengthening MONUC, and hence the UN, in a concrete situation. In addition, EUFOR was also the first successful practical application of the standby model, previously discussed by the EU and the UN, whereby the EU held a rapid reaction force "over the horizon" for contingencies to support UN forces or help them disengage from difficult situations.⁶
- Third, EUFOR must be seen in the context of the EU's overall engagement in the Congo. Brussels is also politically active in the country and – as the largest bilateral and multilateral donor – in providing classic development aid. The activities that the EU supports range from macroeconomic aid via infrastructure projects and health promotion to institution-building measures. In addition, the EU has operated two civilian ESDP missions in the country since 2005, which are helping to create a national army (EUSC) and police force (EUPOL Kinshasa).
- Fourth, ESDP's limited yet significant operational effectiveness was underscored. The rapid reaction capability was successfully activated, and there was no need to have recourse to the strategic reserve in France. The cooperation of EUPOL and EUSEC was particularly advantageous during the disturbances in August, as they were able to provide their intimate knowledge of internal power structures and interests.
- Fifth, EUFOR pursued a successful hearts and minds strategy. It managed to convince the Congolese public that its presence was purely to support the UN and that it was strictly impartial and proceeded to behave with great professionalism.

But there were also lessons learned

- Geographical limits could have been more problematic if violence had been more widespread. This was determined by lack of political willingness to take risks by placing troops in more dangerous areas.
- The time limit was too inflexible because it did not respond to a slippage in the electoral timetable and if violence had broken out when final results were known this could have been highly embarrassing – just as EUFOR troops were getting on the plane home!
- Although the UN and the EU worked well together operational command between the two could be streamlined further. EUFOR could not act unless requested to do so by MONUC, which in turn had to ask New York.

4 The "common costs" amounted to 16.7 million euros. The bulk of the costs for military operations had to be met by the participating states. The German government estimates that it will pay 56 million euros; France is likely to face a similar bill.

5 In a joint After Action Report Review, weaknesses were identified in the areas of triggering mechanisms, planning process, enabling mechanisms, and logistical support. The official EU report to the UN Security Council, however, was entirely uncritical. Cf. Operation EUFOR RD Congo – Report to the United Nations, 5139/07, 10 January 2007

6 Operation Artemis in 2003 was the first successful test of a different type of operation, one that followed the so-called "bridging model". Cf. Council of the European Union, Report of the Chairman on the ESDP, Brussels, 15 June 2004, Annex II.



- The clumsy planning and force generation process should be improved for the preparation of future missions. The new EU operation centre therefore has to be upgraded to a permanent and fully developed European operational headquarters.

What next?

The long-term pacification of the DRC requires power sharing within the framework of the newly elected democratic institutions. In the short term, it is necessary to maintain a reasonably stable environment. Following EUFOR's prompt departure, this task now falls to MONUC alone. On no account should UN blue helmets, whose mandate has only been extended until 15 February 2007, be reduced in number too soon.⁷ A new mandate should be adopted dealing in particular with the problems of violence against civilians and the "culture of impunity".

In the medium and long-term, there are three tasks that need to be performed:

- There can only be stability in the Congo if the situation of the people improves. That is primarily a question of development policy. However, sustainable development also requires that the necessary institutional structures – both national and local – be in place and function in accordance with the principles of good governance. The first democratic elections are an important step in this direction.
- The army and the police are still part of the problem rather than part of the solution. Efforts to strengthen security sector reform are, therefore, crucial. In this respect, the EU is planning to take on the role of co-ordinator of all international activities in relation to reform of the Congolese police and army.
- Finally, more solid support is required for the UN Security Council's 2000 proposal of a regional initiative for the Great Lakes region.⁸ In development since 2003, this initiative – referred to as the International Conference on the Great Lakes (ICGL) - resembles the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). Promoted by the EU, along with the US, Russia, China, and others, eleven states, including the DRC and its neighbours, are taking part in this process. In December 2006 the ICGL adopted a pact on Security, Stability, and Development. This included regional action programmes in the areas of security and peace, democracy and good governance, economic development and regional integration, and humanitarian and social affairs, all of which now need to be turned into practical activities.

In addition to the political will of the participating African states, this plan requires above all the continuation of the stabilization process in the DRC. However, as the complex work of peacemaking is a protracted business, this will require a strong and sustained commitment by the international community. If security and development are mutually supportive, the engagement of the EU and the wider international community in both areas will continue to be essential.

Where next?

Considering the challenge sketched out above, is it realistic to expect the EU to assume all the tasks it lists in its various guiding documents on foreign, development, and security policy? Is the Union prepared for a greater engagement in Africa? And what will be the effect of this on the relationship between the Union and the UN? As far as the "black continent" is concerned Brussels is already stepping up its political involvement in the crisis region of the Horn of Africa. In Sudan the ongoing EU civil-military mission in support of the African Union (AMIS II) was extended in January 2007 for a period of up to six months in the hope that a hybrid UN-AU force will meanwhile have been deployed.⁹ Given the fact that neighbouring Central African Republic and Chad have already signalled their con-

⁷ Cf. S/RES/1711(2006).

⁸ Cf. UNSC Resolutions 1291 and 1304.

⁹ See 27776th External Relations Council meeting, Brussels, 22 January 2007 <www.europa-eu-un/article/sk/article_6699_sk.htm>



sent to a UN presence on their territories to prevent the spill-over of the Darfur conflict and the peace-keeping overstretch of the world body, the next request from New York for European civilian and military support seems only to be a question of time. In other words, the strain on the ESDP will increase. On the one hand, one could say that today's EU is better prepared than ever for new missions bearing in mind that since the beginning of 2007 EU battle groups have been fully operational and the civilian crisis management capabilities are growing. On the other hand, the EU is facing a growing capability problem.

Successful missions are creating more demand, while the supply of peacemaking capabilities is only increasing slowly. On the civilian side of ESDP new and demanding tasks already in the pipeline are support of police and judiciary reform in Kosovo and in Afghanistan. As for the military capabilities, the ongoing presence in Bosnia and Herzegovina (EU Operation Althea) and in Afghanistan (NATO Operation ISAF) and the related national interests do not allow for a significant long-term engagement in Africa without a further major expansion of capabilities. No such plans currently exist.

On the basis of these findings, several conclusions can be drawn for the evolving EU-UN relations and more effective multilateralism: First, there is an objective necessity for the EU to define priorities for its civil-military engagement following a set of agreed criteria. Second, future direct military engagement in Africa has to remain short-term and based on joint EU-UN planning concept. Third, the EU's approach to supporting African capacity building in the fields of both security sector reform in countries and assistance for (sub)regional security organisations should be beefed up. Fourth, EU-UN cooperation in preventing deadly conflict should be strengthened.

In the final analysis, the EUFOR DR Congo mission was a successful test of a fragile approach to post-conflict peacebuilding and conflict prevention. The mission achieved what it had set out to achieve. This was a very modest objective considering the tasks ahead in the DR Congo. Time will tell whether the elections were crucial for the stabilization of the peace process in the DR Congo or not. This approach was also a fragile one because it raised the expectation of more and broader missions in Africa. When it becomes clear that these are unrealistic given available EU capabilities and resources, the EU will again have to decide how seriously it takes the documents it has adopted.



2.3 Nuclear Non-Proliferation

Götz Neuneck

Iran, North Korea and the Crisis in nuclear Non-Proliferation

On 17 January 2007, the respected „Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists” set its symbolic “Doomsday Clock”, which symbolizes the level of the nuclear threat, ahead from 7 to 5 minutes before twelve. The North Korean nuclear test, Iranian nuclear ambitions and the increased role of nuclear weapons in the US security policy are warning signs which raise fears of an increasing re-nuclearization of international politics. The non-proliferation regime has come under strong pressure and there is a danger that new nuclear states will emerge. Are Iran and North Korea merely the harbingers for a second wave of nuclear armed countries? How should the state of the nuclear program in Iran and in North Korea be assessed and, above all: are there acceptable solutions for the “second nuclear age”? The following article attempts to give some answers to one of the debates influenced by the current dynamic.



Dr. Götz Neuneck

Iran and North Korea – nuclear outsiders or new proliferators?

On 9 October 2006 North Korea carried out a subterranean nuclear test. This step was criticized world wide and answered with sanctions. Iran has, for a good year, been expanding its controversial uranium enrichment plant in Natanz. Even though this country has been monitored, over the last few years by IAEA inspectors to a degree unlike that in any other country, the Vienna *Watchdog* has not, up until now, been able to certify the exclusive “peaceful intentions of its nuclear activities.” Sanctions against the country have been in effect since December 2006 and could be strengthened further. Escalation right up to a military intervention by Israel and the USA is possible. What are the common factors in and the differences between these two conflicts? And, above all: What is their significance for the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)?

North Korea

North Korea has been producing plutonium since 1986 and by 1992 had separated sufficient weapons grade material for about two nuclear warheads. Even this is a breach of the NPT to which North Korea, as a non-nuclear weapons nation, is a party. In 1994 North Korea and the USA signed the Geneva Agreed Framework which obligated North Korea to deactivate its reactors and the USA in exchange to deliver energy, among other things. At the same time, North Korea was developing rockets with a greater range and exporting rocket technology.¹ The United States cancelled the Geneva Framework in 2002 because it believed it had discovered a new military program in this East Asian country. The secret service reports of the time have in the meantime turned out to be exaggerated. Pyongyang resumed the frozen reprocessing and withdrew from the NPT on 19 January 2003. By February 2007 North Korea was thought to have separated enough weapons-grade plutonium for five to twelve nuclear warheads.

At the initiative of China, Six-Party Talks between North Korea, South Korea, the USA, Russia, Japan and China began with the goal of denuclearizing the Korean Peninsula. Although these (talks) made a certain amount of progress, North Korea tested a nuclear warhead in October 2006 and carried out additional nuclear tests. Analysis shows that the nuclear test had only limited success so that for the isolated country, that is ruled primarily by the military and whose population repeatedly suffers famines, there is a need for further tests.²

¹ Götz Neuneck: Das nordkoreanische Raketenprogramm, in: Raumfahrt Concret 4-5/2006, S. 35-37.

² Götz Neuneck/Martin Kalinowski/Jürgen Altmann/Wolfgang Liebert/Uwe Reichert: Folgerungen aus dem Nordkoreanischen Nukleartest, in: Physik Journal 12/2006, S. 18-19.



On 13 February 2007 an agreement was able to be reached in the Six Party Talks. In accordance with it, North Korea committed itself to shut down the reactor within two months under the supervision of the IAEA and to freeze plutonium production. In return, the country would immediately receive 50,000 tons of crude oil and, at a later point, a million tons of crude oil. Bilateral discussions with the USA and Japan were supposed to begin and five working groups established. In April 2007 all participants wanted to get together again. North Korea is supposed to notify its nuclear plants. Decisive will be whether North Korea actually renounces its available, but not yet completely known nuclear potential. Expressed in another way: Will there be enough trust from the bizarre regime in Pyongyang that it will give up its available nuclear potential?

Iran

The case of Iran is altogether different. Iran's ambition to establish a civil nuclear program dates back to the Shah. The Mullah regime is pursuing building up a complete industrially operated "closed nuclear cycle" for "peaceful purposes" from the extraction of uranium, conversion, uranium enrichment and fuel production to electricity production and the final disposal.³ Iran, which is a party to the NPT as a „non-nuclear weapons state“, refers to the "inalienable right" laid down in Article IV of the NPT to be allowed to use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. Iran is planning to build further reactors in addition to the reactor in Bushir. The oil-rich country also insists on "fuel autonomy" and for this reason it wants to develop and produce enriched uranium independently. The installation in Natanz is currently being expanded underground. In 2007 some 3000 or more gas centrifuges could be operational. Western proposals on delivering light water reactors, fuel guarantees or joint uranium enrichment in Russia have, up until now, been rejected by Iran. To date, the IAEA has not been able to find a secret, military nuclear program; however there are indications of nuclear-weapons relevant activities the goal and origin of which Iran has not yet been able to explain fully. The aggressive rhetoric of President Ahmadinejad combined with an ambitious military rocket program has convinced many observers that, with the expansion of industrial uranium enrichment, the Islamic „State of God“ is acquiring the option of building nuclear weapons. And, in fact, if some 10,000 centrifuges were interconnected and worked flawlessly, highly enriched uranium for making weapons could be produced within a few weeks, that is within the three-month period of notice of withdrawing from the NPT. The consequences of a nuclear armed Iran could be devastating for the Middle East. Additional states could leave the NPT, acquire their own nuclear programs or demand the stationing of US nuclear weapons. The unresolved nuclear conflict with Iran thus represents both an extraordinary challenge for European foreign and security policy as well as for the future of the NPT overall, particularly as there have been comments from the American and Israeli sides about a military "solution".⁴ "Shutting down" the nuclear installation with an air attack is understood here. In this case the Bush doctrine, which provides for preventative defense against a nuclear threat by an actor before the threat becomes acute, would prevail. The expansion of the US rocket defense, in particular, with an interceptor position in Poland, is also explained by the increasing rocket threat from Iran.

The Erosion of nuclear Non-proliferation

At the heart of the global nonproliferation efforts is the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) of 1968, which today includes 188 partner countries.⁵ It distinguishes between the five classic atomic weapons states, the USA, Russia, Great Britain, France and China and 183 non-nuclear states. North Korea announced its withdrawal in 2003. Israel, India and Pakistan are not parties to the NPT, but have their own nuclear arsenals at their disposal and are considered *de facto* nuclear powers. It has not yet been possible to integrate these countries into the NPT regime. The planned US-India Nuclear Deal", i.e., the planned delivery of "civil nuclear technology" to India and the "separation of the civil and military

³ Götz Neuneck Der Atomstreit mit dem Iran – Einzelfall oder Ende des Nichtverbreitungsvertrages?, in: Gerhard Beestermöller/Heinz-Gerhard Justenhoven (Hrsg.): Der Streit um die iranische Atompolitik. Beiträge zur Friedensethik Band 40, Stuttgart 2006.

⁴ Michael Brzoska/Götz Neuneck/Oliver Meier: Die Diplomatie ist noch nicht am Ende: Gegen den Alarmismus im Atomstreit mit dem Iran, Hamburger Informationen zur Friedensforschung und Sicherheitspolitik 37/2006.

⁵ For more detail see: Götz Neuneck: Proliferation und Kontrolle von Massenvernichtungswaffen, in: Tobias Diebel/Dirk Messner/Franz Nuscheler (Hrsg.): Globale Trends 2007, Frankfurt/M. 2006, S.123-141.



nuclear structure” have, it’s true, been justified by the USA with the intention that India be brought into the NP regime. *De facto*, however, India, previously seen as an outlaw because of its 1998 nuclear test, has been recognized as a nuclear weapons state without having to disclose its military nuclear arsenal or commit itself to any limitations.⁶ The possession of nuclear weapons is being rewarded after the fact. Similar procedures are to be expected in the cases of Israel and Pakistan. The rationales of the USA, but also of France and Russia, that will increase the nuclear asymmetry among the nations of the world, are primarily of geopolitical and economic nature.

Within the framework of Article VI in the NPT, nuclear weapons states commit themselves to nuclear disarmament. Despite some important disarmament steps, the nuclear weapons states are further modernizing and refining their monstrous nuclear weapons arsenals. The USA is investing a great deal of money in its rocket defense, developing nuclear warheads and expanding its space component. Russia is developing a new intercontinental rocket, as is France. In Great Britain a successor to the nuclear outfitted Trident submarine is supposed to be built. China is also expanding its carrier systems. The current stocks of material suitable for nuclear weapons are large and could fall into the hands of terrorists. Particularly in the Russian nuclear installations, there is concern that weapons grade material could be stolen and used for nuclear terrorist attacks. There is also some question about the security of nuclear materials in Pakistan. The open threat by the nuclear weapons states of using those weapons is seized upon by other states as reason to pursue nuclear arming of their own.

Because nuclear energy involves *dual use* technology, the non-nuclear weapons states commit themselves to security and verification measures (safeguards) which confirm the renunciation of nuclear weapons. This is the task of the International Atomic Energy Organization, IAEA. Thereby, the IAEA is committed to two contradictory goals: on the one hand the propagation of nuclear energy, on the other hand the verification of the declared activities of its member states. Moreover, the military arsenals and the installation of nuclear weapons states are only examined rudimentarily. The “Renaissance of Nuclear Energy” currently being discussed in view of climate change demands further propagation of “proliferation-resistant” new nuclear installations and materials. The nuclear program in Iraq disclosed by the UN inspectors in 1991 as well as the non-declared activities of North Korea, Iran and Libya revealed the weaknesses of the NP verification system. For this reasons the *Additional Protocol* was developed in 1991. An improved information requirement is supposed to ensure that undeclared activities in the civil nuclear section did not take place in any member country. Through this, comprehensive material samples, ad-hoc inspections and the analysis of additional sources are possible. The implementation of the protocol is occurring slowly and still excludes those countries which are considered to be particularly critical, such as, for example, Iran and North Korea. Additional recommendations such as a moratorium on enrichment and processing technologies have not yet been able to be implemented.

The war of the USA against Iraq in 2003 has led to fresh impetus for using forcible measures for verification and containment of foreign armaments. In May 2003 President Bush announced a Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI) which includes eleven founding countries. Here political, intelligence, legal and military measures to prevent sea, air and land transport of weapons of mass destruction (WMD), carrier systems and the relevant materials and technology for their development and production are involved. The current 19 member countries have passed so-called “prevention principles” and discussed some training exercises. There are justifiable doubts about whether these measures can be applied in a way that is efficient and conforms to international law. It is not the outlawing and decommissioning of WMD that is the top priority here, but rather a one-sided, selective control of proliferation. EU documents for a new security doctrine also do not rule out the use of military means “in accordance with the UN Charter” as anti-proliferation measures if “political and diplomatic measures have failed”.⁷ Thus weapons control also strongly competes with other approaches which are based on one-sided military means of enforcement.

⁶ See: Oliver Meier/Götz Neuneck: Der Atomdeal zwischen Indien und den Vereinigten Staaten: Nukleare Nichtverbreitung am Scheideweg, Hamburger Informationen zur Friedensforschung und Sicherheitspolitik 41/2006.

⁷ Basic Principles for an EU Strategy against Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction, Brüssel, 20./21. Juni 2003.



While it is true that NP instruments have been improved in recent years, the IAEA Director General, El Baradei, still speaks of more than 30 “virtual nuclear powers.” This group encompasses not only the four threshold countries and the five nuclear weapons states, but also the states that have access to the production of weapons-grade materials. Withdrawing from the NPT is possible with three months’ notice and within a year these states could acquire nuclear weapons. In January 2004, El Baradei warned of the increasing danger of the employment of nuclear weapons. “Never has the danger been so great as today. A nuclear war is drawing closer if we don’t consider a new international control system.”⁸

Ways out of the danger – Revitalizing weapons control

The attempt to significantly improve or reform the NPT regime after the end of the Cold War and to adapt it to the conditions of globalization, has not, as yet, been crowned with success. At the Verification Conference in 1995, the NPT was extended indefinitely. In 1995 and again in 2000 there were final documents which merely codified, in a non-binding legal way, the principles, norms and responsibilities with respect to further disarmament and non-proliferation. In the year 2000, “13 Steps” were passed which demanded the preservation, ratification and implementation of nuclear weapons control agreements, such as, for instance, START, the ABM Agreement, CTBT, etc. None of these 13 steps has been fulfilled. Negotiations fora such as the Geneva Disarmament Conference (CD) are blocked. Atomic powers could give non nuclear weapons states so-called “negative security guarantees” to the effect that they will neither threaten this large group of countries with nuclear weapons nor use them against them. To date this has not happened. In the run-up to the Verification Conference in 1995, the recognized nuclear weapons states issued this statement anyway. China even came out in favor of a “renunciation of first use of atomic weapons”. The nuclear weapons states have not complied with the demand of the unaligned nations that they also declare this in a legally binding way. Quite the contrary, in security policy documents, ever new reasons for a potential deployment continue to be mentioned. At the last Verification Conference of the NPT in May 2005 in New York there was not a single achievement. The nuclear weapons states refused point blank to observe their disarmament obligations. The non-aligned nations were not prepared to agree to any improvements in the NP efforts. Now it is feared that additional states will make efforts to acquire nuclear weapons because they can only feel secure that way.

There is no lack of recommendations on disarmament and armament control. The production of weapons-grade nuclear material, for instance, could be stopped. In 1993, the UN General Assembly (UN Res. 48175 L) decided to begin negotiations on a „non-discriminatory multilateral and verifiable agreement“ (*Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty*). In 1995 the Geneva Disarmament Conference was given a negotiation mandate, that to date has not been able to be translated into constructive negotiations. While the nuclear weapons states merely want to “cut” the future production of atomic energy, the block free non-nuclear nations also want to see the military fissionable material arsenal reduced. Precisely the concern about nuclear terrorism should convince the atomic weapon states to dismantle their supplies of fissionable material. The example of Iran that insists on fuel independence must certainly bring the international community to the point of introducing an internationally controlled and secured supply of atomic fuel for civilian reactors.

On 1 June 2006 the Blix Commission „*Weapons of Mass Destruction*“, established by the Swedish government, presented a comprehensive report with 60 recommendations for governments. The suggestions for the revitalizing weapons control and disarmament were outlined in detail. Priorities were nuclear weapons, but a chapter each was also dedicated to biological and chemical agents. The Commission came out in favor of a multilateral, cooperative effort. Considering the desired goal, the abolishment of nuclear weapons, outlawing these weapons of mass destruction is essential. The report also warns against an arms race in space. At the beginning of 2007 the former US Secretaries of State and Defense, Kissinger, Perry and Schultz demanded not only concrete disarmament and armament control steps, but also advocated the goal of a nuclear weapons free world. This appeal on the governments of the USA and on all nuclear weapons powers is an encouraging sign which, however, must be accepted by politics, science and the public.

⁸ Der Spiegel Nr. 5/2004, S. 104-109.



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 institute. It differentiates between its research projects and its consulting activities. With the completion of three larger research projects, CORE has finished its first generation of projects, which focus primarily on the instruments of international organizations for crisis management. In the course of preparations for the second generation of projects, which will have a stronger focus on power structures, transnational conflict constellations and enhancement of regional expertise, a large project on Central Asia was prepared in the annual report period. Five dissertations were continued and three were begun. The Centre's position on consultancy services was further concretized in two very promising projects. Regionally speaking, the focus on Central Asia was continued and expanded in a piecemeal process to include experts on the Balkans and the Caucasus. The number of those employed in Germany decreased slightly, while the number of CORE collaborators in the countries being researched, decreased significantly due to the next generation of projects.



1. Research Projects

- a. *The following research projects, already begun in previous years, were continued or completed during the reporting period:*
- The PhD project *Media Assistance as an Instrument of Foreign and Security Policy: Motives, Objectives and Implementation Strategies of International Actors in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo*, worked on by Friederike Gräper, M.A., was completed.
 - The PhD project *The Discourse of the EU Institutions on the Categories 'Gypsies' and 'Roma': The Opening-up of Political Space via the Concepts of 'Antidiscrimination' and 'Social Inclusion'*, worked on by Katrin Simhandl, M.A., and sponsored by the German Foundation for Peace Research, was completed.
 - 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, has been continued.
 - 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 sociologist Jens Narten (Dipl.-Sozwiss) 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.



CORE members of staff



- 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 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:*

- None

c. *The following research projects were prepared or applied for during the reporting period:*

- An application for a research project on *Chances and Limits for Security Co-operation with Neo-patrimonial Regimes in Central Asia* has been prepared.

d. *The following applications were prepared, but not approved:*

- None

2. Consultancy Projects

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* was completely reworked by CORE in



Ambassador Dr. Dieter Boden during a lecture at IFSH



2004, and now provides more than 3,500 links to all 56 participating States.

b. The following consultancy projects were approved, started and completed during the reporting period:

- As in previous years, the Framework Project 2006 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 *Independent Organizations and Initiatives in Belarus: Structures and Approaches for Democracy Assistance*, *Thematic OSCE Missions: General Considerations, Definition, Guidelines and Options*, and *Observing, Commenting, and Evaluating?: On the Role of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly* that were completed during the reporting period.
- A policy paper on “Options for a General OSCE Human Dimension Monitoring Instrument” was elaborated for the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs of Switzerland.
- A book project by scholars from the Kazakh National University in Almaty dealing with the co-operation between the OSCE and the Republic of Kazakhstan was reviewed for the OSCE Centre in Almaty (Kazakhstan).

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 2007 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.

Further information at: http://www.core-hamburg.de/index_d.htm
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3.2. Centre for European Peace and Security Studies (ZEUS)

The goals, strategies, instruments and results of preventive and crisis management policies of the European Union are studied at the Centre for European Peace and Security Studies (ZEUS). In addition, problems of civil-military cooperation in the missions and foreign deployments with German involvement are dealt with and developments on the of European periphery with security policy relevance are studied. Research on the role of the EU as a global actor as well as the development of civic education was continued. Third-party financing applications for research support were made or in the case of creation of new research applications, begun

The most important scientific research results in 2006 were those in the final report on the DFG project “*Privatizing the Security Sector in peripheral post-Socialistic States*” as well as a published interim report on the project “*Police-Judicial Cooperation (PJZ) in the EU as an Instrument for Combating Terror*”. Particularly noteworthy is the completion of the work on the dissertations “*Norm Socialization in Russia – Chances and Limitations of European Human Rights Policy towards the Russian Federation*” by Regina Heller and “*Eliticide in Bosnia and Herzegovina 1992-1995*” by Dennis Gratz. Unfortunately the project on the development of transatlantic security policy, supported by the Alexander-von-Humboldt Foundation, had to be broken off in the reporting period. The cooperating institute in the USA was unable to fulfill the commitment to work on the project. Because the project was ended through no fault of ZEUS, the Humboldt Foundation has strongly recommended that the application for funding be resubmitted in 2007 jointly with another partner in the USA. Supervision of Timothy Stoy’s planned dissertation on “*Democracy: Soft Power and Military Strength: ESDP and NATO from the Perspective of the USA*” was ended in the reporting period. The doctoral candidate had to cancel his plans for this work for personal reasons.

In the area of scientifically based service and transfer output the successful expansion of the Academic Network of South East Europe supported by third-party funds and the continuation of the Graf Baudissin Fellowship Program, are particularly worthy of note

1. Research Projects

- a. *The following projects were either completed or continued in the annual report period:*
 - In the project planned under the direction of Hans-Georg Ehrhart, *The civil-military crisis management of the European Union: Coherent or incoherent political process?* the questions are asked: What steering and relationship models between the EU-internal actors occur with operative civil-military crisis management, what problems can occur with this and what consequences result from it with respect to institutional coherence and the actor quality of the EU? Bernhard Rinke is preparing a third-party financing application for this project.
 - The project planned by Hans-Georg Ehrhart, on *Security Governance as a Challenge for the EU* is concerned with the question of how the European Union invests in the areas of conflict prevention and crisis management as an international actor. Going on the assumption that today’s conflicts are, on the one hand, of a complex nature and need



appropriately differentiated management and, on the other hand that the EU has at its disposal broad-based but yet-to-be networked institutional and material instruments for conflict prevention and crisis management, the goals, roles and ways of functioning of the Union should be studied as a post modern crisis manager and the concept of “security governance more closely defined.

- The PhD project funded by the German Foundation for Peace Research *Conflict Prevention and Crisis Management of the European Union* takes stock of a cross-section of foreign and security policy tasks of the EU and evaluates the limits and opportunities for a new overall concept in the governance structures of the European multi-level system. This dissertation project is being carried out by Isabelle Tannous within the framework of the junior researcher programme of the IFSH. Completion of the dissertation is planned for 2007.
- *The EU and the Fight against Terrorism* is the focus of Martin Kahl’s framework project with special emphasis on the effectiveness of the EU’s anti-terrorism policy. In the reporting period, work was done primarily on third party financing applications for the DSF and the DFG. The research applications will be submitted in 2007.
- The project, *Risk Analysis Terrorism: Terrorism as a Threat to Seaports in Metropolitan Area: Case Study Hamburg and Shanghai*, was started in 2005. This project investigates specific potential threats of terrorist attacks to seaports in metropolitan areas. The project is viewed as a contribution of the IFSH/ZEUS to the city partnership Hamburg-Shanghai. Completion of the project is planned for 2007. It is being carried out by Erwin Müller and Patricia Schneider.
- The systematic and empirically based project *Privatization of the Security Sector in Peripheral Post-Socialist States* was completed in 2006. The German Research Foundation (DFG) financed the research project until 31 October 2005. It was directed by Hans-Georg Ehrhart and worked on by Stephan Hensell.
- Regina Heller has concluded the work on her dissertation *The Socialization of Norms in Russia – Chances and Limits of European Human Rights Policies compared with the Russian Federation*. The different mechanisms and conditions for a successful transfer of norms and rules within the framework of the human rights policy of the EU are being analysed. The dissertation will be defended in 2007.
- Dennis Gratz has also finished work on his German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) financed PhD project, *Elitocide in Bosnia-Herzegovina 1992-1995*. The specific type of physical violence against certain population groups over the course of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina was studied. The defense of his dissertation will take place in 2007.
- The dissertation project by Heiko Fürst *National Debates on a Common Foreign Policy in Poland, Romania and Hungary*, which was funded by the DSF up until 2004, compares the basic discourse principles and perceptions that shape European foreign and security policy. Completion of the project is planned for 2007.
- The PhD project, funded by the Friedrich Naumann Foundation, *The Protection of National Minorities in the Republic of Croatia as an Instrument for the Prevention of Ethno-Political Conflicts*, is being conducted by Goran Bandov. Among other topics, the project deals with





the possibilities and limitations of the EU's ability to exercise its influence in the implementation of human rights instruments in the course of the upcoming accession negotiations. Completion of the project, which is headed by Hans-Joachim Gießmann, is planned for 2008.

- The PhD project, *Changes in the Elite of Bosnia und Herzegovina in Transition*, is being carried out within the framework of the junior researcher programme of the IFSH. The tendencies, challenges and problems of changes in the elite brought on by socio-political transition in Bosnia and Herzegovina will be investigated. The dissertation project, conducted by Naida Mehmedbegovic, is expected to be completed by 2008.
- The project *The (Re-)Construction of State Institutions on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip as a European Foreign and Security Policy Task* deals with the challenges the EU faces in connection with the Palestinian state-building project, particularly the building of a legitimate monopoly of power under conditions of resistance and occupation. The study is analyzing the institutional support of the EU for the Palestinian state-building process from 1993 to 2000 (Oslo process) and from 2003 to March 2006 and comparing the two periods from the perspective of “lessons learned”. The project is being implemented by Margret Johannsen and is expected to be completed by 2007.
- The project *Interregional Co-operation EU - ARF – ASEAN: Focus East Asia* investigates the security situation in East Asia and the increasing global risks and challenges resulting therefrom, as well as the specific possibilities the EU has to contribute to stability and the reduction of regional security risks. The areas focused on are the Korean peninsula and the People's Republic of China/Taiwan. The project is being implemented in co-operation with the Shanghai Institute for International Studies (SIIS). This project is viewed as a contribution of the IFSH/ZEUS to the city partnership Hamburg-Shanghai. The project, directed by Hans-Joachim Gießmann, is being worked on by Bernt Berger. In 2007 the cooperative effort with the SIIS will lead to the first joint publication, published together with Bernt Berger.
- In a cooperative project between the East China Normal University in Shanghai and ZEUS, *Aspects of Chinese-European Security Co-operation*, an exchange of scientists was begun in 2006. Bernt Berger was in Shanghai for a four month research stay and in this time prepared, among other things, the joint book project on interregional Asia-Europe cooperation. The EU project runs until 2009.
- Ronald Koß has continued his external dissertation project, supervised by Hans-Joachim Gießmann, *The Role of the Federal Armed Forces in international Peace Deployments*. The functional contributions of armed forces to the consolidation of peace are being studied, using the example of supervised PRTs in Afghanistan. Completion of the dissertation is planned for 2008.
- The project *Security Handbook* was started in 1994. The fifth edition focusing on the topic of “security policy developments in East-Asia” will be published in 2007. Researchers from many different countries participated in the project, which was headed by Hans-Joachim Gießmann.



Erwin Müller in the seminar /May 2006



- In the project *Lexicon European Security Policy* brief entries of relevant terms are explained from a European security policy perspective. Terms are mainly related to topics found in the Common Foreign Security Policy (CFSP) as well as the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) of the European Union. This project is being implemented by Hans-Georg Ehrhart and is expected to be completed in 2007.

- b. *The following research projects were either approved and/or started in the annual report period:*
 - Considering their significance, the *Costs and benefits of military and civil peace missions* have been studied relatively little to date. In 2006 a literature survey was undertaken in preparation for a larger project and the first contributions published. Michael Brzoska has worked on this project.

 - *Development policy aspects of the European security and defense policy* are being examined as a subproject of a research project on the relationship of development and security conducted by the Bonn International Center for Conversion (BICC) on behalf of the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ). Michael Brzoska is directing the project. Working on the project are Hans-Georg Ehrhart and Isabelle Tannous.

 - The project, *Pacification from the Outside? Ethical reflections on a contentious political-military concept, using the example of the Congo* is being worked on in cooperation with the Institute for Theology and Peace. Articles and results of the conference project, directed by Hans-Georg Ehrhart and Gerhard Justenhoven (IThF), are to be published in 2007.

 - In the 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*, supported by Cusanus Works, Sibylle Reinke de Buitrago is examining the development of an “enemy profile” and its effects on the development of cooperative policies within the transatlantic relationship. Completion of the doctorate, supervised by Hans-Joachim Gießmann is anticipated for 2009.

 - The DAAD supported dissertation project on the Milosevic process in the Hague, conducted by Emir Suljagic from Bosnia and Herzegovina, began in December 2006 with the doctoral candidate’s one month research stay at IFSH. Hans-Joachim Gießmann is supervising the project.

 - New at ZEUS since August 2006 is Armin Wagner (military section IFSH). He is presently developing a specific research profile for the military section. In addition he will, by summer 2007, complete a research project on the political role of *Secret Services in the Past, Present and Future*.

- c. *The following research projects, which were prepared or submitted in the annual report period, have not yet been decided upon:*
 - ZEUS participates in the co-operative network of scientific institutions on the topic of “Precarious Statehood”. The aim of the project is the



Hans-Georg Ehrhart during a lecture in summer 2006 in the garden of the IFSH



development of a research group supported by the German Research Foundation. The project focuses on the effects of external intervention and precarious statehood against the background of reconstituting statehood and effective governance. Martin Kahl is responsible for filing the application for the IFSH

- Michael Brzoska and Hans-Georg Ehrhart have applied to the German Agency for Technical Cooperation (GTZ) for support for a study of the state of affairs in the area of *Current Developments in European Security Policy with Reference to Development Policy*. In this project the current shape and strategic orientation of the European security and defense policy and their relationship to the development policies of the European Union will be studied.
- Isabelle Tannous has applied for post-doctoral support from the VW-Foundation on the topic of *The Merging of Development and Security. Analyzing EU Institutions and Member States' Approaches to Promoting Coherence between Development and Security Policies*.
- The planned project *The USA, The EU and Russia in the fight against international terrorism – convergences, differences and divergences with explanatory and justification models for the employment of new means in counterterrorism*, to be carried out by Martin Kahl and Regina Heller, was prepared as an application for third party funding. Submission of the application is expected in February 2007.
- Patricia Schneider filed an application in November 2006 to establish, within the framework of the European Young Investigators Award (EURYI – Award), an interdisciplinary junior staff research group on the topic of *American and European counterterrorism strategies in comparison: efficient, ineffective or counterproductive?* The research group will be attached to IFSH. The decision is expected in November 2007.

d. *The following applications were prepared, but not approved:*

- The project *Security Governance (PJZ)* intended to investigate the consequences of the expansion of the EU from the perspective of the resulting challenges and problems as well as the opportunities for a peace and security policy-oriented cooperation between the EU and/or its member states and those countries bordering on the EU space. An application for funding of the project was declined by the DSF.

2. *Scientific-Based Service Projects*

- ZEUS is in charge of coordinating the *Academic Network South East Europe* – the most important co-operation project of the IFSH with the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD). The aim of the project is, above all, to intensify debates between junior researchers on peace-policy relevant topics, support scientific and academic exchange, develop a sustainable scholar and student cooperation between junior researchers from Southeastern Europe, e.g. those in diaspora, academic partner institutes in Southeastern Europe, and the IFSH as well as the German organizations involved in the Co-operation Network Peace Research and Security Policy (KoFrieS). Approaches, programmes and research findings are discussed and made public, at, among other fora, <www.akademischesnetzwerk-soe.net>. Hans-Joachim Gieß-



Colonel Mirca Popa
Baudissin-Fellow 2006



mann has the overall responsibility for the project; Patricia Schneider is the executive head of the network.

- In the reporting period, two doctoral candidates and three students from the region were supervised, teaching contributions to the summer school at the Inter-University Centre in Dubrovnik were made and workshops in Hamburg as well as a multi-day seminar in Kosovo were held. A (female) lecturer from Vojvodina and a (male) lecturer from Kosovo were at IFSH for teaching and research stays. The contributions of IFSH were supported primarily from DAAD and the University of Hamburg.
- In the context of the Graf Baudissin International Fellowship Program carried out since 1996, two officers, Colonel Mirca Popa from Rumania and Colonel Michael Wlassow from the Ukraine, were guests at IFSH. The program, directed by Hans-Georg Ehrhart and Jürgen Groß, provides high-ranking officers from Central and Eastern Europe with the possibility of researching at IFSH the basic principles and practical implementation of Wolf Graf Baudissin's concept of civic education. It is conducted in cooperation with the Federal Armed Forces and is supported financially by the Karl-Theodor-Molinari Foundation.
- Within the framework of its project activities in the area of security sector reform, IFSH was asked by the Development Committee of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) to cooperate on a handbook of practical implementation of basic concepts of security sector reform (Implementation Framework Security Section Reform). Parts of the chapter on military reforms were developed. In addition there were consultations for "InWent" on the development of teaching materials on the basis of the handbook. Project responsibility lay with Michael Brzoska. Hans-Georg Ehrhart is also working on the Project.
- A consortium of nine European research institutes, among them IFSH, secured an outline agreement to draw up working papers and conduct consultations with the European Parliament on foreign and security policy questions. The consortium is led by the International Security Information Service in Brussels. Consultations take place on the basis of concrete inquiries from the relevant committees of the European Parliament. The project is directed by Michael Brzoska.
- From 28 August until 1 September 2006, IFSH, together with Haus Rissen/International Institute for Politics and Economics, organized the Fifth Hanseatic Baltic Summer School (HBSS), Hans Georg Ehrhart is a member of the Advisory Board of the HBSS. The event ran under the title of "*Europe in the International Security Order: Concepts, Issues and Trend*". 18 students from five countries participated.



Colonel Michael Wlassow
Baudissin-Fellow 2006

Further information at:
<http://www.ifsh.de/zeus/>

**IFAR²**

Interdisziplinäre Forschungsgruppe
Abrüstung, Rüstungskontrolle
und Risikotechnologien

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

Since the founding of the institute, the topics *arms dynamics*, *disarmament*, *non-proliferation* and the conceptualisation of feasible *arms control strategies*, have comprised the institute's research areas. The *Interdisciplinary Research Group on Disarmament, Arms Control and Risk Technologies*, has focused on conceptual and scientific technology for approximately ten years.

With the end of the East-West conflict, there has been an increased trend in peace and security policy research towards analyses of non-military causes of conflict. However, it is important that progress made in the area of arms dynamics and the proliferation of technologies used to develop weapons of mass destruction be closely observed. This is taking place under different circumstances and with a new constellation of actors, structures and processes, but its effects on world politics continue unabated. Examples for this are the crises in North Korea and in Iran. As a consequence of the scientific technological revolution and the ongoing export of dual use goods, a number of new technologies are being developed at present, for example, global communication and control systems or modern globally applicable „precision ammunition“, which could become or already are relevant to armament developments. The possibilities for high-tech warfare or the threat to critical infrastructures are based on the so-called “revolution in military affairs”, in which the research and development of technologies already have a sustainable effect on conflict constellations.

In the annual report period, the research group on disarmament and arms control dealt with the interplay between arms dynamic factors 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:

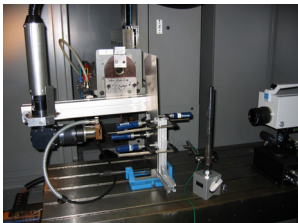
- fundamentals, possibilities and forms of arms control, disarmament and non-proliferation after the East-West conflict as well as the development of applicable concepts on preventive arms control;
- “monitoring” of advanced arms dynamics and arms control policy in Europe and worldwide with a focus on 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:*

In the project area *Future of Arms Control* the following projects were dealt with:

- *Current issues of non-proliferation and arms control.* This comprises the development of the Iranian nuclear programme, the situation in North Korea, and the crisis of the Non-proliferation Treaty. Under the direction of Götz Neuneck and Martin Kalinowski (ZNF) members of



Laser experiment



the Nuclear Test Ban Committee of the German Physics Association (DPG) issued a statement on the North Korean nuclear test of 9 October 2006 which was published in the *Physik Journal*.

- Michael Brzoska worked on the project *Weapons production and weapons export control in the EU*.
- From January until April 2006, Oliver Meier and Götz Neuneck researched the *Role of the European Union in the Sector of Arms Control and Non-Proliferation* and published the results in the *Peace Report 2006*.
- 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. The project 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 project is expected to be completed in 2007.

In the research area on *Military Use of Outer Space and Missile Defence* the following projects were continued:

- The research project “*The Military Use of Outer Space and Options for Preventive Arms Control*” was officially completed in 2005. In the reporting period the final report was published as Volume 6 in the series “Forschung DSF” and additional articles resulting from the project were also published. Working on the project were Götz Neuneck and André Rothkirch.
- The principles of the function of and the technical possibilities for the realization of US *Airborne Lasers* and other high energy lasers are being investigated in the project “*Implications and Technical Possibilities of Airborne Laser Systems*”. Jan Stupl is conducting the project which is headed by Götz Neuneck. The studies will be continued in 2007 in cooperation with the Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker Centre for Science and Peace Research (ZNF).
- Cooperation in the area of security in space was continued with the Department of Informatics (Professor Leonie Dreschler-Fischer) and the Institute for Space Systems at the Technical University in Braunschweig (Dr. Carsten Wiedemann). In 2006, in the course of this cooperative effort, Sascha Bülow finished his diploma, jointly supervised by Götz Neuneck, on the topic of *Concept and Realization of a System for Visualizing Space Debris*.

Within the research focus *Arms Dynamics and Warfare*, the following projects were continued:



- Within the current project on *Validity of Quantitative Data on War, Armaments and Conflict* the work in 2006 concentrated on data on war trends. A series of publication and manuscripts including a contribution for the 2007 SIPRI Yearbook were prepared or made available. Michael Brzoska is working on the project.
- Oliver Meier, with the support of Götz Neuneck carried out a study on the topic of *Aerial Surveillance and BWC Compliance Monitoring*. The results were presented at the Sixth Review Conference of the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention in November 2006 and published as a research paper for the Research Group for Biological Weapons and Arms Control at the University of Hamburg.
- 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. Furthermore, the possibilities for preventive arms control are being discussed. Research officers are Götz Neuneck, Christian Mölling and Christian Alwardt.
- The Pugwash-History is being compiled in a project on “*The History of the German Pugwash Movement*“ with the financial support of the Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF). It was for this purpose that a workshop on the history of the German Pugwash Group took place on 24 February 2006 within the framework of the VDW-Annual Conference. This made possible an initial stocktaking of the known research results about the work and effect of the German Pugwash movement. An additional event sponsored by BMBF took place on November 20, 2006 in cooperation with the German Pugwash Group at the State of Hamburg’s Representation in Berlin. The work will be continued. In the reporting period a corresponding third party funding application was filed with the Berghof Foundation.



Götz Neuneck and Immaculate Motsi at the Pugwash Conference in Cairo

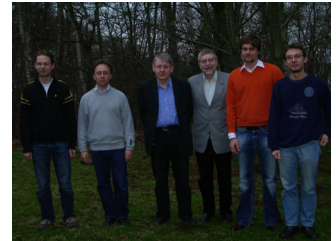
- b. *The following research projects were approved and/or started in the annual report period:*
- Has the European code of conduct for weapons exports led to quantitatively measurable changes in weapons exports from European countries into problem countries? This question was investigated in the project, *Effects of the EU Code of Conduct on Arms Exports from Europe*. Working on the project are Michael Brzoska and Mark Bromley, SIPRI, Sweden. The project is expected to be completed in 2007.
 - In the reporting period, a working group of scholars from IFSH and the University of Hamburg began preparing an application for a DFG research group on the topic of verification of international agreements. Martin Kalinowski (ZNF) is in charge; participating from IFSH are Michael Brzoska and Götz Neuneck.
 - *Axel Schwanhäußer* has received a scholarship for the years 2006 and 2007 within the framework of the „*European Foreign and Security Policy Studies*“ of the *Compagnia di San Paolo, Turin, the Riksbanken Jubileum Fund, Stockholm and the Volkswagen Foundation, Hanover*. Since August 2006 he has been working on the 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*. He is researching what possibilities the EU has within the framework of the ESDP to more effectively prevent the further proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.



- Christian Mölling, in the project, *Towards a European Security and Military Strategy? Coherence and unintended consequences of the European Union's policies on armaments cooperation and arms control* is studying the dichotomy of the European arms export and arms control policy. Mölling has received a scholarship within the framework of the „European Foreign and Security Policy Studies“ of the *Compagnia di San Paolo, Turin, the Riksbankens Jubileum Fund, Stockholm and the Volkswagen Foundation, Hanover* that runs for two years. The project is being supervised by Götz Neuneck and Hans-Georg Ehrhart (IFAR and ZEUS/IFSH) as well as by Christopher Daase at the Ludwig-Maximilian-University in Munich.
 - During a three-month stay at the Institute for Security Studies of the EU (ISS-EU) in Paris from January to April 2006, Christian Mölling worked on a study with the title *Prospects and Challenges for an intra-European transfer regime for Defence Equipment*.
 - A follow-up application to the project “Implications and technical possibilities of Airborne Laser Systems” (Jan Stupl, Götz Neuneck) received a positive decision from the Berghof Foundation. Thus the project can be continued in 2007 together with the ZNF.
- c. *The following research projects, which were prepared or submitted in the annual report period, have not yet been decided upon:*
- Application was made to the Berghof Foundation in September 2006 for Nuclear Awareness, Phase I. The term „Nuclear Awareness“ is understood to mean making available information to raise awareness of the dangers of the effects of nuclear weapons. The project is planned to last for two years and includes both the preparation and the organization of two workshops as well as the production of instructional material together with the Institute for Peace Education Tübingen.

3. Scientific-Based Services

- The members of IFAR took part in numerous seminars and conferences on Iranian and North Korean nuclear programmes as well as other arms control policy questions and made their expertise available to the media.
- The dialogue and the joint work on questions of nuclear non-proliferation and arms control with the arms control department of the Foreign Ministry and the Federal Armed Forces Verification Center was continued unabated in many meetings.
- On 14 June 2006, IFSH/IFAR together with the Bonn International Center for Conversion (BICC) organized a conference in Berlin on the topic of: *Iran: Ways out of the nuclear Cul de Sac: Options, barriers and chances for a negotiated solution*.
- Together with the German Pugwash Group, IFSH/IFAR organized a seminar on the topic of *Security, Disarmament and Arms Control after the North Korean Nuclear Test* at the Office of the State of Hamburg's Representation in Berlin. The goal of the event was to present the work and the effects of the Pugwash movement and to continue the international arms control dialogue with the Berlin professional public and the Foreign Ministry.



IFAR members in the garden of IFSH

Further information at:
<http://www.ifsh.de/IFAR/index.htm>



4. Comprehensive Activities

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

The study of the efficacy of international institutions and organizations is an important aspect of the research agenda of the IFSH. This covers such questions as the efficacy of the OSCE and UN field operations in dealing with crises, the effectiveness of the democratization policies of the EU or the efficacy of international arms embargos. A variety of methodological approaches are used to analyse these questions, particularly those from regime analysis and evaluation research. To investigate these different approaches systematically for their usefulness and develop them further where appropriate, a Working Group on the research on the effectiveness of international institutions was established at the initiative of the Director of IFSH, Michael Brzoska. This group, involving about ten staff members, has been addressing this question since mid-2006. Members of the Working Group are Michael Brzoska, Hans-Georg Ehrhart, Regina Heller, Martin Kahl, Marietta König, Jens Narten, Solveig Richter, Merle Vetterlein and Wolfgang Zellner, who coordinates the group.

4.2 Conferences, Events and Guests

Comprehensive information on the events of 2006 can be found in issue 60-64 of IFSH-News at: www.ifsh.de/IFSH/publikationen/ifshakt.htm.



Merle Vetterlein and Friederike Gräper, organizers of the event: Terrorism and Harbour Security

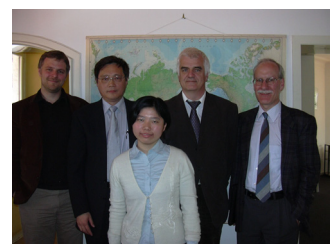
- On 6 February Ambassador Friedrich Gröning, representative of the Federal Government for arms control, disarmament and non-proliferation, visited the IFSH to learn about the arms control work of IFAR. Following this he lectured during the Research Colloquium on “The State and Perspective of Weapons Control”.
- Dr. Geoffrey Forden from the Program in Science, Technology, and Society at MIT/ Boston, with which there is an on-going cooperation, visited IFSH/IFAR in March 2006 to discuss the progress in Jan Stupl’s doctoral work and to discuss possibilities for multilateral fuel production with European participation.
- Spring Academy „Transformation Countries in Upheaval: The Caucasus and Central Asia“ run by CORE and the Friedrich Naumann Foundation, 2-7 April 2006 at the Theodor-Heuss Academy in Gummersbach, with an excursion to Brussels.
- Seminar “The Security Policy of the Federal Republic of Germany” in cooperation with the Armed Forces Department (Streitkräfteamt), 23-28 April 2006 with excursions to Bonn and Brussels.
- On 3 May the Director of the Department on EU Expansion and Foreign Relations in the Federal Foreign Office, VLR I Peter Rondorf, visited IFSH and CORE and lectured during the IFSH Research Colloquium on the topic “Is the door already closed? On the ability of the EU to expand.”
- A joint event of the University of Hamburg, IFSH and Women in International Security Germany e.V. on the topic of “Terrorism and Harbour Security” on 3 May 2006 at the University of Hamburg.
- Steve Watts, former Foreign Affairs Officer in the US State Department and currently Fellow at the Brookings Institution, visited IFSH on 16 May 2006 and held a lecture on the topic: „Politico-military and Multilateral Strategies for Post-Conflict Reconstruction“.



- A group of 35 trainees at the Axel Springer School of Journalism visited IFSH on 23 May for talks with Michael Brzoska and Hans-Georg Ehrhart about the situation in Iran and Iraq as well as the deployment of the German Federal Armed Forces in the Congo.
- IFSH/BICC-Conference „Iran: Ways Out of the Cul de Sac“, on 14. June 2006 in Berlin.
- The inaugural lecture of Michael Brzoska at the University of Hamburg on the topic “Exporting Peace? Successes and Limits of international Interventions on Conflict Transformation and Post-War Consolidation on 15 June 2006.
- Paul Walker from Green Cross in Washington D.C. visited IFSH at the beginning of July to discuss with IFAR members the progress of destroying chemical weapons.
- Hanseatic Baltic Summer School (HBSS) „Europe in the International Security Order: Concepts, Issues, and Trends“, IFSH and Haus Rissen, 28 August until 1 September 2006.
- Prof. Tang Shaocheng of the Institute of International Relations, Taipei visited IFSH on 15 September for discussions about German foreign policy.
- Presentation by Jens Narten and Wolfgang Zellner of the paper „Options for a General OSCE Human Dimension Monitoring Instrument,“ compiled by CORE for the Federal Foreign Office, in the framework of a *Side Event* on the fringes of the annual OSCE *Human Dimension Implementation Meeting* in Warsaw on 12 October 2006.
- On 18 October, CORE welcomed the Permanent Representative of Norway to the OSCE, Ambassador Mette Kongshem, to discussions about the current development of the OSCE and the role of the OSCE in Central Asia.
- At ceremonies on the occasion of presenting M.P.S. diplomas, Ms. Karin Kortmann, MP, Parliamentary State Secretary at the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, gave a lecture on the topic of “Coherence in Externally Oriented Politics – the Concept of Human Security” on 19 October at the University of Hamburg.
- From 16 to 21 October the IFSH had two staff members from the North Korean Foreign Ministry as guests. Mr. Ri Tong Il und Mr. Kim Won Myong were staying in Hamburg during a fellowship program organized by the Development Program of the United Nations. They held discussions with Institute staff and lectured on regional security from the perspective of the North Korean government.
- On 25 October 2006 the School Chaplain class of the Evangelical Military Pastoral Care visited IFSH and informed themselves about the work of the Institute as well as about the current EU military deployment in the Congo.
- In the course of cooperation with the Federal Armed Forces Verification Center (ZVBw) in Geilenkirchen a delegation of the ZVBw visited the Institute. Lieutenant Colonels W. Schmid, R. Kokel and O. Ludwig discussed the current arms control crisis with IFAR members and IFSH researchers and agreed on strengthening cooperation with IFSH.



Dr. Jürgen Lüthje, former President of the University of Hamburg, and Michael Brzoska at his inaugural address on 15. June 2006



Prof. Tang Shaocheng with IFSH staff members during his visit on 15 September



4.3 Research Colloquium 2006



Dr. Nexhmedin Spahiu, University of Tirana, during a lecture at the Research Colloquium

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

Feindbildkonstruktion in den USA und Deutschland und ihr Einfluss auf die Politik, *Sybille Reinke de Buitrago*, IFSH/ZEUS (11. Januar 2006).

Laser als Waffensysteme, Jan Stupl, IFSH/IFAR (18. Januar 2006).

Stand und Perspektiven der Rüstungskontrolle, *Botschafter Friedrich Gröning*, Beauftragter der Bundesregierung für Rüstungskontrolle (6. Februar 2006).

Geopolitische Leitbilder im 21. Jahrhundert, *Prof. Dr. Paul Reuber*, Universität Münster (8. Februar 2006).

Wasser als Konfliktgegenstand, *OTL Jörg Barandat*, Führungsakademie der Bundeswehr (22. Februar 2006).

Russische Außen- und Innenpolitik: Auf dem Weg in die autoritäre Sackgasse?, *Dr. Christian Wipperfürth*, Berlin (1. März 2006).

Bericht, DFG-Projekt „Privatisierung des Sicherheitssektors in peripheren postsozialistischen Staaten“, *Stephan Hensell*, IFSH/ZEUS (8. März 2006).

Vorstellung des Zentrums für Naturwissenschaften und Friedensforschung, *Prof. Dr. Martin B. Kalinowski*, Carl-Friedrich-Weizsäcker-Professor für Naturwissenschaften und Friedensforschung (15. März 2006).

Euro-Atlantic Relations: From Crisis to Cooperation, *Stanley R. Sloan, PhD*, Director Atlantic Community Initiative (17. März 2006).

Auf der Suche nach der grundgesetzlichen Friedensnorm beim Streitkräfteinsatz, *Dr. Sabine Jaberg*, Führungsakademie der Bundeswehr (29. März 2006).

Die Rüstungsexportpolitik der rot-grünen Koalition, *Moritz Koch*, Süddeutsche Zeitung (12. April 2006).

Challenge Freedom&Security Project, *Dr. Peter Lock*, Hamburg (26. April 2006).

Ist die Tür schon zu? Zur Erweiterungsfähigkeit der EU – Neue Strategien und Positionen, *VLR I Peter Rondorf*, Referatsleiter in der Europaabteilung des Auswärtigen Amts (3. Mai 2006).

Stereotype – Vorurteile – Feindbilder. Die Eskalation von Sprache und Bildern als „mentale Bewaffnung“, *Paul Steffen*, Hamburg (10. Mai 2006).

Der Staat in der Weltgesellschaft, *Prof. Dr. Klaus Schlichte*, Humboldt-Universität, Berlin (17. Mai 2006).

The Joy of Conflict – Neue Formen der Konfliktbearbeitung in Kanada, *Prof. Dr. Christina Hantel-Fraser*, Victoria University, B.C. (22. Mai 2006).

Der Konflikt mit dem Iran als friedenspolitische Herausforderung, *Dr. Götz Neuneck*, IFSH/IFAR (31. Mai 2006).

The Human Dimension of the Oslo Talks: Storytelling and the Norwegian channel, *Hanan Ohana*, MPS/ZEUS (7. Juni 2006).

DemoS-Projekt „Demokratie, Macht, Frieden“, *Dr. Jürgen Groß*, IFSH/ ZEUS (14. Juni 2006).

Chinas neues Sicherheitskonzept und dessen Einfluss auf die chinesisch-indischen Beziehungen, *Zhixian Xu*, MPS/ZEUS (21. Juni 2006).

Was soll die EU im Kongo? Pro und Contra, *Oberst i.G. Roland Kaestner*, Führungsakademie der Bundeswehr/Hans-Georg Ehrhart, IFSH/ZEUS (27. Juni 2006).

Seestreitkräfte und Terrorismusabwehr. Zur Prisenrechtlichen Behandlung von Handelsschiffen in „Out-of-area“-Einsätzen, *Peter Heimstaedt*, Rickmers Reederei (5. Juli 2006).

Security Governance als Alternative zum Staat in Westafrika, *Dr. Andreas Mehler*, GI-GA/Institut für Afrikakunde (12. Juli 2006).

Zur aktuellen Libanonkrise, *Dr. Margret Johannsen*, IFSH/ZEUS (19. Juli 2006).

EUFOR DR Kongo – Herausforderungen und Perspektiven, *Alexandre de Bordelius*, EU Militärstab, Brüssel (30. August 2006).



The Institution Building Process in the Post-War Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Role of the International Community, *Ivan Barbalic*, President of the Alumni Association of the Centre for Interdisciplinary Postgraduate Studies, Sarajevo (27. September 2006).

The prospects for nuclear power in Europe, *Robert van der Zwaan*, Energy Research Center, Amsterdam (4. Oktober 2006).

Kosova and Europe: realities and prospects, *Dr. Nexhmedin Spahiu*, Universität Tirana, Tetova, Pristina (25. Oktober 2006).

Das neue Weißbuch – was lange währt, wird endlich gut?, *OTL Jürgen Schrödl*, Führungsakademie der Bundeswehr (1. November 2006).

Wirkung von Sicherheitsregimen – Möglichkeiten und Grenzen eines evaluationstheoretischen Analysemodells, *Melanie Schmoll*, Universität Hamburg (8. November 2006).

Democratisation as a challenge for development cooperation, *Dr. Augustine T. Magolwondo*, Malawi-Forum/GTZ (22. November 2006).

Peacekeeping in Darfur: Zur Rolle der AU, *OTL Manfred Ertl*, Führungsakademie der Bundeswehr (29. November 2006).

Medienhilfe als Instrument der Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik, *Friederike Gräper*, IFSH/CORE (6. Dezember 2006).

Dilemmas of Local Ownership in Peace Building Processes, *Jens Narten*, IFSH/CORE (13. Dezember 2006).

4.4 Lectures of Fellows and Staff (A selection)

Bernt Berger

- The use of a Peace-Building Commission, East China Normal University, China Institute for International Studies, FES, UN Reform and Global Governance: The Perspectives of Asia and Europe, Shanghai, China, 24.-25. April 2006.
- Society-Security Relations: Best Practice and Lessons Learned, Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs, PASSIA Strategy and Security Workshop, Ramallah, Palästina, 20. September 2006.
- Future agenda of a strategic triangle: Opportunities for cooperation in shaping globalization, Chinese Institute for Contemporary International Relations, Atlantic Council, European Policy Centre, KAS, The new strategic triangle: China Europe and the United States in a changing international system, Beijing, China, 2.-3. November 2006.

Michael Brzoska

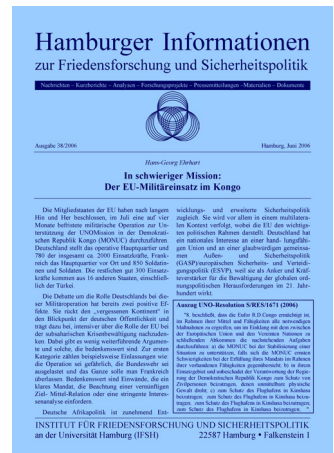
- Friedensexport? Erfolge und Grenzen internationaler Interventionen zur Konflikteinhegung und Nachkriegskonsolidierung, Antrittsvorlesung Universität Hamburg, 14. Juni 2006.
- Global RD, International Seminar on Defence Finance and Economics, Delhi, Indien, 14. November 2006.
- Weltweite Wirkungsketten der Unsicherheit und ihre Auswirkungen auf unsere Sicherheit, 3. Sicherheitsforum NRW, Essen, 31. August 2006

Hans-Georg Ehrhart

- Fähigkeiten der EU zum globalen Krisenmanagement, Vortrag im Rahmen des jährlichen Seminars für Sicherheitspolitik der Bundesakademie für Sicherheitspolitik, Berlin, 25. September 2006.
- Das Fallbeispiel der EUFOR RD Congo, Referat auf der Expertentagung „Die ESVP in den Vereinten Nationen: Konzepte und Verbesserungsmöglichkeiten“, Deutsche Gesellschaft für die Vereinten Nationen/Universität Kiel, Berlin, 28. September 2006.
- Vom umfassenden Sicherheitsbegriff zu nachhaltiger Sicherheitspolitik? Plädoyer für eine Security-Governance-Forschung, Vortrag auf dem Zweiten Europäischen Sicherheitskongress, Innsbruck, 29. September – 1. Oktober 2006.

Frank Evers

- Reforming the OSCE, Außenministeriums der Republik Armenien, Eriwan, 14.-15. November 2006.



Oliver Meier, Alexander Nikitin, Götz Neuneck, Jonathan Tucker and Ambassador Lüdeking at the panel on non-proliferation policy at the Permanent Representation of Hamburg in Berlin. (Foto: Jan Stupl)

*Hans-Joachim Gießmann*

- The Concept of a European Security Community, Lemhannas (Indonesian National Resilience Institute) Jakarta, 22. Juni 2006.
- Strategische Konsequenzen „neuer Mächte“ für die internationale Ordnung, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Peking, 27. Juni 2006.
- Emerging Powers: A global Role for the EU?, 23rd Taiwan-European Conference, Institute of International Relations, Chengchi-University, Taipeh, 19. Dezember 2006.

Regina Heller

- Norm Socialization in Russia – Opportunities and Limits for EU Human Rights Policy vis-à-vis the Russian Federation. Workshop „Are European Preferences Shared by Others? The Fate of European Norms in a Globalized World“, Science Po Paris, 6. Oktober 2006.
- Menschenrechte in Russland: Ein uneingelöstes Versprechen? Vortrag bei der Brücke e.V. Bad Homburg, 15. September 2006.



Elena Kropatcheva during a lecture at the University of Toronto (2.v.r.)

Margret Johannsen

- Die Einwanderung nach Palästina und der jüdisch-arabische Konflikt. Vortrag im Seminar „Einwanderung als Heimkehr? Die Aliyah in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart“ der Jakob-Kaiser-Stiftung Köln e.V. und der Deutsch-Israelischen Gesellschaft, Arbeitsgemeinschaft Bonn, Königswinter, 29. Januar 2006.
- Neue Regierungen – neue Chancen? Israel/Palästina 2006. Vortrag bei der Tagung Friedensgutachten 2006: Islamismus mit Atomwaffen? Der Mittlere Osten als friedenspolitische Herausforderung, Evangelische Akademie Arnoldshain, 4. Juli 2006.
- Sommerkriege 2006. Asymmetrische Kriege und Zuteilung von Legitimität in der Staatengemeinschaft, 13. Internationaler Jahreskongress der Deutschen Arbeitsgemeinschaft Vorderer Orient (DAVO), Hamburg, 1. Dezember 2006.

Martin Kahl

- Der Beitrag des Gesellschaftswissenschaften für die Sicherheitsforschung, BMBF-Workshop zum Sicherheitsforschungsprogramm der Bundesregierung, Bonn, 11. Mai 2006.

Marietta König

- Aspects of UN Mediation in the Georgian-Abkhaz Conflict, Humboldt-Universität, Berlin, 14. Februar 2006.
- Capabilities of UNOMIG Mediation Efforts in the Georgian-Abkhazian Conflict, Frühjahrsakademie der Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung, „Transformation Processes in Caucasus and Central Asia“, Gummersbach und Brüssel, 2.-7. April 2006.

Anna Kreikemeyer

- Comprehensive Security for Civilizations, OSCE Tolerance Implementation Meeting zum Thema „Promoting Inter-Cultural, Inter-Religious and Inter-Ethnic Understanding“, Almaty, Kasachstan, 10.-14. Juni 2006.
- Sicherheit durch Demokratisierung? – Der Beitrag der OSZE, Symposium der Volkswagenstiftung „Zwischen Europa und Orient – Zentralasien/Kaukasus im Fokus der Wissenschaft“ 29. November bis 2. Dezember 2006.

Elena Kropatcheva

- Ukraine in search of a balance: the (in-)compatibility of its Western aspirations with close relations with Russia, International Graduate Student Symposium „New Perspectives on Contemporary Ukraine: Politics, History and Culture“, CERES, Toronto University, 17.-19. März 2006.
- Ukraine as a Source of Competition between Russia and the West, ECPR 1st Graduate Student Conference on Contentious Politics, Essex University, 7.-9. September 2006.
- Russian Foreign Policy towards Ukraine: a Case of New Imperialism?, Annual International Young Researchers Conference „Eurasian Empire: Literature, Historical, and Political Responses to Russian Rule in the Twentieth Century“, Havighurst Center for Russian and Post-Soviet Studies, Miami University, 26.-28. Oktober 2006.



Götz Neuneck at the UN in New York

Oliver Meier

- Der Atomdeal: Rückschlag für Nichtverbreitung und Rüstungskontrolle, Vortrag im Rahmen des Fachgesprächs über das geplante Atomabkommen zwischen den USA und Indien, Deutscher Bundestag, Berlin, 24. April 2006.
- The European Union's policy on nonproliferation of weapons of mass destruction, Vortrag auf der internationalen Tagung „Europe, a Quiet Power? Looking for a European Identity“, Brüssel, 5. Mai 2005.



- Die Auswirkungen der Iran-Krise auf den nuklearen Nichtverbreitungsvertrag, Podiumsdiskussion „Iran: Wege aus der nuklearen Sackgasse – Optionen, Barrieren und Chancen für eine Verhandlungslösung“, Berlin, 14. Juni 2006.

Christian Mölling

- Where can we go now? The EU Battle Groups in 2007, Royal United Services Institute for Defence and Security Studies, Whitehall Roundtable, London, 27. Oktober 2006.
- The EU and European Security and Defence Policy – Progress in Institutions, Capabilities and Operations, Slovak National Academy of Defence – NATO Summer School for Young Professionals, Liptovský Mikuláš, Slovakia, 2.-8. Juli 2006.

Reinhard Mutz

- Hegemonialmacht mit Nuklearambitionen – Zur außenpolitischen Rolle Irans, Evangelische Akademie Arnoldshain, 3. Juli 2006.
- Die Bundeswehr als internationaler Akteur, Berlin, Deutscher Bundestag, Fraktion Die Linke, 25. November 2006.
- Jenseits der Bündnisfälle – Aus Gemeinsamer Sicherheit lernen, Evangelische Akademie Loccum, 15. Dezember 2006.

Jens Narten

- Options For a General OSCE Human Dimension Monitoring Instrument, OSCE Human Dimension Implementation Meeting, Warschau, 12. Oktober 2006.
- Dilemmas of Promoting Local Ownership: State-building in Postwar Kosovo, Research Partnership on Postwar Statebuilding, Boulder/USA, 6.-7. Juli 2006.
- Perspektiven der Friedensentwicklung auf dem Balkan, Arbeitsgruppe Internationale Politik der SPD-Hamburg, Hamburg, 18. Mai 2006.

Götz Neuneck

- New Technologies and Future Military Doctrines, OSZE-Militärdoktrin-Seminar, Wien, 13.-14. Februar 2006.
- Revolution in Military Affairs and Preventive Arms Control, University of Urbana-Champaign, 18. Mai 2006.
- Weltraumbewaffnung, Raketabwehr und Rüstungskontrolle – Neuere Entwicklungen und Perspektiven, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik, Arbeitsgruppe Nichtverbreitung, Berlin, 27. Oktober 2006.

Patricia Schneider

- Der Demokratische Frieden – Trägt Demokratie tatsächlich zu einer friedfertigeren Welt bei?, Bremer Gesprächskreis Sicherheitspolitik, Bremen, 7. November 2006.
- The International Criminal Court as a mirror of the relations between the EU and the US, Internationales Institut für Politik und Wissenschaft, 5. Hanseatic Baltic Summer School, “Europe in the International Security Order: Concepts, Issues, and Trends”, Hamburg, 28. August – 1. September 2006.
- War Crimes, Genocide and Memories, Inter University Center und Art Radionica Lazareti, “The USA and International Criminal Prosecution Institutions”, Dubrovnik, Kroatien, 8.-13. Mai 2006.

Axel Schwanhäußer

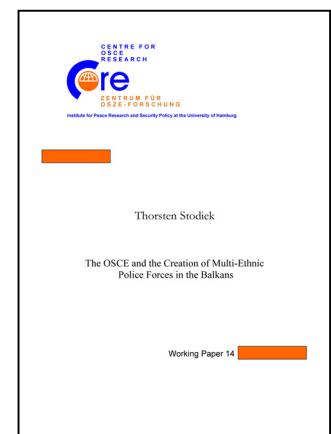
- Atomwaffen für den Iran: Popanz oder reale Bedrohung?, Ringvorlesung: *Global Security* alte und neue Herausforderungen für Frieden und Sicherheit, Universität Kiel, 21. November 2006.

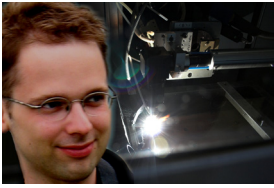
Thorsten Stodiek

- Der Aufbau multi-ethnischer Polizeien auf dem westlichen Balkan; 9. Europäischer Polizeikongress, Berlin, 14.-15. Februar 2006.
- The Creation of Multi-Ethnic Police Services in War-Torn Societies as an Instrument of International Peace Consolidation Activities”; Österreichisches Institut für Internationale Politik (OIP)/Österreichische Verteidigungsakademie, Seminar „New Challenges and Crisis Management: Demobilisation, Disarmament, Rehabilitation, Disasters and Disruption – EU and OSCE responses”, Wien, 17. November 2006.

Jan Stupl

- Experimentelle Untersuchungen zu Hochenergielasern, 70. Jahrestagung der Deutschen Physikalischen Gesellschaft, Arbeitskreis Physik und Abrüstung, München, 20.-24. März 2006.





Jan Stupl in front of a high energy laser

- Assessment of High Energy Laser weapons, 18th International Summer Symposium on Science and World Affairs, UNESCO/IAEA, Abdus Salam, 18. August 2006.
- Untersuchungen zu Hochenergielasern, Jahrestagung des Forschungsverbunds Naturwissenschaft, Abrüstung und internationale Sicherheit (FONAS), Berlin, 1. Dezember 2006.

Merle Vetterlein

- The Influence of the Ohrid Framework Agreement on the Educational Policy of the Republic of Macedonia, 8th Annual Kokkalis Graduate Student Workshop, Universität Harvard, 3. Februar 2006.

Armin Wagner

- Überwachung der GSSD-Standorte in der DDR durch den Bundesnachrichtendienst, Tagung „Neue Forschungen zu den Nachrichtendiensten in Deutschland“, Akademie für Politische Bildung Tutzing, 8. April 2006.
- BND-Operationen gegen die russischen Streitkräfte in der DDR und die MfS-Spionageabwehr, Tagung „Gemeinsame deutsche Nachkriegsgeschichte?“, Suhl, 10. November 2006.

Wolfgang Zellner

- Addressing the Cross-Dimensional Challenge of Transnational Threats and Risks, Konferenz „The OSCE: Security through Dialogue and Co-operation“ anlässlich des Beginns des belgischen OSZE-Vorsitzes, Brüssel, 31. Januar 2006.
- The Role of the OSCE in the Conflict Management Cycle: Possible New Orientations, 7th International Security Forum “The Challenge of Securing State and Society”, Zürich, 27. Oktober 2006.
- Konfliktkonstellationen zu Beginn des 21. Jahrhunderts. Trends und Herausforderungen, Konferenz „Globale Zukunft“, organisiert von der Universität Bayreuth und dem Bayreuther Forum Kirche und Universität, Bayreuth und Thurnau, 10./11. November 2006.

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]
- Member 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 Center for Natural Science and Peace Research at the University of Hamburg [Zentrum für Naturwissenschaft und Friedensforschung, Universität Hamburg]
- Member, International Programme Council, Small Arms Survey, Geneva
- Member, Weapons' Export Section, Joint Commission of the Churches for Development Policy
- Co-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]

Hans-Joachim Gießmann

- Publisher and Editor-in Chief, Sicherheit und Frieden/Security and Peace (S+F)
- Editor of the scientific series, Demokratie, Sicherheit, Frieden [Democracy, Security, Peace]
- Co-Editor „Athena Papers“
- Co-Editor „Communications“
- 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]

Stephan Hensell

- Coordinator of the German Association for Political Science[DVPW]-Ad-hoc-Group „Ordnungen der Gewalt“ [Organization of Violence]

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 Association of German Scientists [Vereinigung Deutscher Wissenschaftler](VDW)

Oliver Meier

- International representative and correspondent, U.S. Arms Control Association

Patricia Schneider

- Editor for the journal „Sicherheit und Frieden (S+F)“ [Security and Peace]
- Director of a multidisciplinary doctoral candidate colloquium within the framework of the association „THESIS e.V. – Interdisciplinary network for doctoral students and PhDs

Wolfgang Zellner

- Member of the editorial group for the „Helsinki Monitor“





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. During this reporting period, the achievement of IFSH in conceptualizing and carrying out this program of studies was expressly recognized in two external evaluations conducted by the German Foundation for Peace Research (DSF) and the Agency for Quality Assurance (AQAS). At the conclusion of the evaluation by AQAS, the „Master of Peace and Security Studies“ was officially accredited. Beyond this course of study, the 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. The IFSH works cooperatively with, to mention just a few examples, the European Course of Studies „Human Rights and Democratization (Venice), the OSCE Academy in Bishkek and training at the Willy-Brandt-Center for German and European Studies at the University of Wrocław.

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 5.6 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 Herhart is responsible for organizing and conducting the Institute’s weekly research colloquium. Erwin Müller directs the doctoral candidates’ colloquium.

In 2006, members of the fourth cohort of the post graduate course, „Master of Peace and Security Studies“ (M.P.S.) finished their studies. The IFSH has raised substantial funding from the German Foundation for Peace Research (DSF) and the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) for this course of studies.

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



Ms. Karin Kortmann, MP, Parliamentary State Secretary at the BMZ during her commencement address

In October 2006, the 5th academic year of the M.P.S. graduate program began with student orientation. On the same day, a farewell celebration for the fourth-year graduates was held together with the new students. Karin Kortmann, MP, Parliamentary State Secretary gave the commencement address at this event.

During the academic year 2006-2007, 24 students from 10 different countries (Azerbaijan, China, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Kazakhstan, Russia, Switzerland, Serbia, USA) were enrolled in the program. Women represented 58% of the class.

The academic year 2006-2007 will be conducted by the University of Hamburg in cooperation with the IFSH as well as 15 other research and academic institutes in the „Cooperation Network Peace Research and



Security Policy” (Kooperationsverbund Friedensforschung und Sicherheitspolitik – KoFrieS) as well as the M.P.S. Alumni and Friends Association. The Institute for Political Science at the Helmut-Schmidt University has reinforced the cooperative alliance since October 2006.

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. 2006 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 registrar’s office and on the board of examiners for the program. Since his appointment as Scientific Director of the 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 the IFSH, the KoFrieS includes:

- Hamburg Institute of International Economics (HWWA), Hamburg;
- 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;
- Bundeswehr Command and 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 (Bundeswehr Command and Staff College) represented the Cooperation Network in the joint committee. Dr. Hamann was also chosen for this post by the Cooperation Network for the 2006-2007 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 convey methods and results in order to prepare students for jobs in peace research and teaching, or peace and security-policy related careers in national and interna-



MPS-Seminar



MPS-Students at IFSH



tional organizations, administrations, associations and companies as well as governmental offices. The languages of instruction are German and English.

The first semester is comprised of a modular teaching program, consisting of an intensive course during the student orientation phase as well as six other 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 institute 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.

The program will be funded by various scholarships and grants up until 2007. 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 provides 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 as well as to aid in the strengthening of scientific and academic cooperation between the IFSH and the Willy-Brandt Centre for German and European Studies at the University of Wroclaw in Poland.

5.2 Support for the OSCE Academy in Bishkek (Kyrgyzstan) by CORE

Since 2002, CORE has been participating in the building of an OSCE Academy in Bishkek (Kyrgyzstan) and, with the support of the German Foreign Office, is one of the four international scientific partner institutions of the Academy.

In the reporting period, Anna Kreikemeyer supervised two Master's theses on "The Role of (Neo)Patrimonial Structures in Kazakhstan" (Serik Beimenbetov) and "Political Leadership in Tajikistan 1999-2005: The Presidency as a Source of Implicit Power" (Vladimir Kedrov).

5.3 European Masters Degree "Human Rights and Democratization" (Venice)

In the annual report period, the University of Hamburg joined the "Inner Circle", a consortium of 39 universities and institutes from EU states that host this post-graduate program, and, together with five other supporting universities, award a "joint diploma" for the program. Since 2001, the IFSH has been conducting teaching, advisory and testing tasks for the University of Hamburg within the framework of this program. Tasks include offering lectures and courses in Venice to program participants in the winter semester as well as teaching and supervising during the second semester when the IFSH functions as a resident institute. In the reporting period one student from Hungary – Dalma Fabian – was supervised at IFSH.



MPS-Students 2006-2007, together with Hans-Joachim Gießmann and Patricia Schneider



The OSCE Academy in Bishkek (Kyrgyzstan)



Kurt Tudyka and Jens Narten lectured and taught courses in Venice during this period. Since 2002, Hans-Joachim Gießmann has been a member of the *Council of Directors* of the program; and since 2004, he has represented the president of the University of Hamburg in the assembly of the host institution *European Inter-University Centre* (EUIC). In November 2005, Hans-Joachim Gießmann was elected to the Executive Committee of the Board of Directors.

5.4 Cooperation with the Willy-Brandt-Center for German and European Studies at the University of Wrocław

With the financial support of the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), the IFSH has, since 2002 supported a comprehensive cooperative program with the Willy-Brandt-Center (WBZ). A component of the program is the Willy-Brandt Lecture series conducted by Hans-Joachim Gießmann as Guest Professor. In addition joint scientific events with IFSH and WBZ students have grown into a good tradition. In December 2006 the third joint workshop in which five M.P.S. students were able to participate, took place. Hans-Joachim Gießmann and Regina Heller also instructed Erasmus-Mundus students of the WBZ in a one-week course „Europe in the World“, in December 2006. The external evaluation of the academic cooperation with the WBZ was judged positively in 2006. After five years of start-up support, the subsidies for this cooperation will expire in 2007. However, the cooperative work is intended to be continued beyond that time, within the scope of available means.

5.5 The IFSH Doctoral Supervision Program

In 2002, the German Foundation for Peace Research (DSF) provided the IFSH with substantial funding for the implementation of supervised doctoral projects. The support of the DSF has prompted the IFSH to develop and implement a structured doctoral supervision program, into which, in addition to DSF scholarship holders, other doctoral candidates of the IFSH have been integrated. The aim of the grant is to enable the doctoral students to successfully complete their dissertations 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. 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 program director during this reporting period was Erwin Müller.

All doctoral candidates are individually supervised. Depending on the topics of their dissertations, the students are integrated into one of the research units or in IFAR, so that they are able to actively participate in the scientific and academic life of the Institute. In this way, they can acquire academic qualifications as well as on-the-job and practice-relevant experience. Regular doctoral seminars and weekly research colloquiums are at the heart of the program's structured support system. Special attention has been given to immersion in theory and methodology. Furthermore, the seminar and colloquium offer two platforms for the presentation of insights and results, and give students the opportunity to engage in



Site of the E.MA study program in Venice



Lecture by Gregor Gysi as part of the Willy-Brandt-Lecture Series in Wrocław/Breslau.



discourse with other doctoral students as well as the extended circle of researchers at the IFSH.

5.6. Teaching by IFSH Staff in 2006

Winter Semester 2005/2006

- East China Normal University, Master of International Relations, School of Advanced International and Area Studies, Seminar: *Foreign and Security Policy of the Asia Pacific* (Bernt Berger).
- Universität Hamburg/IFSH, M.P.S., Seminar, Probleme militärischer Macht (Jürgen Groß)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Vorlesung, Einführung in die Friedensforschung (Orientierungseinheit) (Hans-Joachim Gießmann)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S./FB Sozialwissenschaft, Vorlesung, Einführung in die internationale Sicherheitspolitik (Hans-Joachim Gießmann)
- Universität Wroclaw/WBZ, Seminar zur Willy-Brandt-Vorlesung (Hans-Joachim Gießmann)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Vertiefungsseminar, Europäische Sicherheit im Wandel: Theorien, Konzepte, Akteure, Handlungsfelder (Hans-Georg Ehrhart)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Forschungskolloquium (Hans-Georg Ehrhart)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Vertiefungsseminar „Der Nahostkonflikt in den Internationalen Beziehungen“ (Margret Johannsen)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S. und Osteuropa-Studiengang, Seminar „Sicherheit und Stabilität in und mit Zentralasien“ (Anna Kreikemeyer)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Übung „Wissenschaftliches Schreiben“ (Anna Kreikemeyer)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Workshop „Meinen Beruf finden. Jobsuche in den Bereichen Friedensforschung, Sicherheitspolitik, Entwicklungszusammenarbeit und internationale Organisationen“ (Anna Kreikemeyer)
- European Master's Degree in Human Rights and Democratisation (E.MA), Venedig, Vorlesung "The Role of the OSCE in Eurasian Security" und Seminar "The OSCE's Crisis and Reform Debate" (Wolfgang Zellner)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Vertiefungsseminar „Europäische Sicherheitspolitik/OSZE“ (Wolfgang Zellner)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Vorlesung: Naturwissenschaftliche Beiträge zur friedenswissenschaftlichen Forschung (Götz Neuneck zusammen mit Jan van Aken, Leonie Dreschler-Fischer, Iris Hunger)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Seminar: „Rüstungskontrolle, Verifikation, Verhandlungen“ (Götz Neuneck zusammen mit Jan van Aken, Leonie Dreschler-Fischer, Iris Hunger)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Vertiefungsseminar: „Frieden durch Recht“ (Erwin Müller/ Patricia Schneider)
- European Academy of Bozen/Bolzano (Italy), Vorlesung "Economic participation of national minorities: approaches and efforts of the OSCE" (Frank Evers)
- TU Hamburg Harburg, Blockseminar "Ethics for Engineers Science and Society (Oliver Meier zusammen mit Iris Hunger)
- Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster/Institut für Politikwissenschaft, Proseminar „Einführung in die Sicherheitspolitik“ (Bernhard Rinke)



Patricia Schneider and Kurt Tudyka in a Seminar

Summer Semester 2006

- Universität Hamburg/Department Sozialwissenschaften, Hauptseminar „Konzeption von Sicherheit in der Internationalen Politik“ (Michael Brzoska)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Forschungskolloquium (Hans-Georg Ehrhart)
- Universität Wroclaw/WBZ, Vorlesung und Seminar „Deutschland/Polen/Europa“ (Hans-Joachim Gießmann)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S. und Osteuropastudiengang, Seminar „Stabilität und Sicherheit in und mit Zentralasien“ (Anna Kreikemeyer)
- TU Hamburg Harburg, Blockseminar "Ethics for Engineers Science and Society (Oliver Meier zusammen mit Iris Hunger)
- Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster/Institut für Politikwissenschaft, Proseminar „Einführung in die Sicherheitspolitik“ (Bernhard Rinke)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S. (in Kooperation mit dem Streitkräfteamt), RI-Seminar „Die Sicherheitspolitik der Bundesrepublik Deutschland vor neuen Herausforderungen“ (Patricia Schneider)



- Helmut-Schmidt-Universität – Universität der Bundeswehr, Seminar „Sicherheit versus Freiheit? Der Kampf gegen den Terrorismus“, Frühjahrstrimester 2006 (Patricia Schneider)

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., Vorlesung, 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)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Seminar „Probleme militärischer Macht“ (Jürgen Groß)
- Universität Wrocław, Erasmus Mundus Seminar/DAAD Workshop “Europe and European Security” (Regina Heller)
- 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 im 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, Jan Stupl, Axel Schwanhäuser)
- 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: “Minority Rights Protection and Human Rights in Kosovo“ (Patricia Schneider)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Vertiefungsseminar „Europäische Sicherheitspolitik/ OSZE“ (Wolfgang Zellner)

Guest Lecture

- Hanseatic Baltic Summer School, Lecture “What model for CFSP?” (Hans-Georg Ehrhart)



IFSH-Doctoral Candidates



6. Services

6.1 Public Relations

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 the annual reporting period, a large number of requests were directed to the Institute. The circle of those inquiring was exceedingly wide and mirrored the large social 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 – were responsible for the bulk of this public presence. But Institute staff members were also guests on television programs and made themselves available for interviews to the print media and their online services.

During the reporting period Institute staff members were interviewees and guests of the following television stations or programs: ARD (Panorama, Night-, Morning- and Midday Magazines), ZDF (Foreign Affairs Journal, Info), NDR (Hamburger Journal), Phönix, RTL, ntv, DW-TV and Hamburg 1.

The radio departments of NDR, WDR, HR, BR, SWR, ODR, MDR and 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.

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 2006, the main areas of interest were the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, the Iranian and North Korean nuclear programs, the role of the German Federal Armed Forces in international peacekeeping missions, international terrorism, the conflicts in Lebanon and Palestine, the situation in Afghanistan, the role of the EU as an international actor, the future of the OSCE as well as specific arms control and export political issues.

To satisfy the great public interest in current security policy questions, the Institute published, during the reporting period, five issues of „Hamburger Informationen“ dealing with the deployment of the Federal Armed Forces in the Congo, the atomic deal between the USA and India, the conflict in Lebanon and the nuclear dispute with Iran. The newsletter, IFSH-News has also been published in English since 2006. It carries multiple brief comments and opinions on current developments and – like all other IFSH series – is disseminated electronically.





Since the beginning of 2006 the Institute has been represented as the “Principle Partner” in the International Relations and Security Network (ISN) at the Center for Security Studies at the ETH in Zurich. Changing IFSH publications appear as “Featured Publications” on the title page of this well-respected professional network facility.

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 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)

Contact person for the Sponsoring Association at the IFSH is Heinke Peters
Tel. 040-866 077 10, Fax: 040-866 36 15
E-Mail: peters@ifsh.de

6.3 Library, Documentation and Homepage

The IFSH *Library* is open primarily to scholars, PhD students and the students of the MPS program. However, the library may also be used by students of the University of Hamburg and the interested public.

The library collection comprises 28,316 volumes and 144 magazines (as of 31.12.2006). There was a total of 535 acquisitions, 31 of which were acquired through third-party funding and 359 of which were donated. 130 volumes and 19 articles were borrowed from libraries in Hamburg or obtained through inter-library loan services.

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

Since August 2004, the Library’s collection has been accessible through the campus catalogue of the University of Hamburg. In 2006 the conversion of old data was completed so that selections of the inventory of the library from 1971 and the complete inventory from 1994 can now be searched via the Campus Catalogue.

From November to December 2006, the IFSH library participated in a survey by the State- and University Library in Hamburg on the logging of those volumes in Hamburg libraries that are at risk from acid destruction. 500 monographs and journal volumes from the years 1840-1990 were tested and the level of destruction documented.



The IFSH library



The *Documentation Unit* was restructured in June 2000 with the participation of the IFSH in the “World Affairs Online – Expert Information Network on International Politics and Regional Geography” (FIV) – a cooperative network of 12 independent German research institutes that make up one joint network. The different tasks of the Documentation Unit, e.g. subject-related research, are conducted with the help of the electronic data bank of the FIV and the Internet.

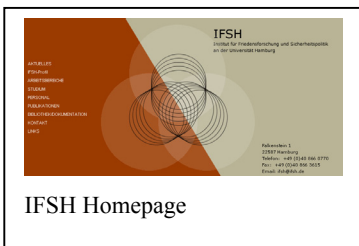
The Documentation Unit, together with the Graduate Institute of International Relations (Geneva) maintains the Information Website OSCE Networking (see: OSCE Networking Project <http://www.isn.ethz.ch/osce/>).

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)

Documentation and the library of the IFSH have taken over grouping, final control and clearing for publication of the internet links processed and serve as IFSH contact points for the institutes participating in the pp-guide. Links can be viewed at <http://www.vifapol.de/systematik/pea/>

The *Homepage* of the Institute is enjoying increasing popularity and is visited a great deal. In the reporting period 436,667 visitors have informed themselves about the work of the Institute in this way and have, in the process, called up 995,022 pages. Particularly well-frequented are the Institute’s start page, the start page of CORE, the page on the M.P.S. course of study as well as information about the IFSH staff and the news. However, documents and publications are also viewed frequently.

The majority of the visitors come from Germany, but specifics are not available because it is not obvious from which countries those visitors with.com, .net- or .org- domains come. But the Institute sides are used by visitors from all over the world. In 2006 interested parties with 99 different country identifications accessed IFSH and CORE Websites.





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: Board of Trustees, Institute Council, Advisory Board, and the Staff Association. The chair of the foundation is the Scientific Director.

7.1 Board of Trustees

The **Board of Trustees** of the IFSH convened twice in the annual report period. In 2006, 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)
- *Dr Jürgen Lüthje*, President of the University of Hamburg (until October 2006)
- *Prof. Dr.-Ing. [habil.] Monika Auweter-Kurtz*, President of the University of Hamburg (since November 2006)
- *PD Dr Stephan Albrecht*, Main Research BIOGUM
- *Niels Annen*, MP (since December 2006)
- *Hartmut Delmas*, Department of Germanic Languages, Literatures and Culture, Institute for German Studies II (until September 2006)
- *Prof. Dr Leoni Dreschler-Fischer*, Department of Informatics, , Research Area, Cognitive Systems
- *Gernot Erler*, MP, Foreign Office State Secretary (until October 2006)
- *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
- *Prof. Dr Rainer Tetzlaff*, Department of Social Sciences, Institute for Political Science

7.2 Advisory Board

- The **Advisory Board** did not convene in the annual report period. When the new statutes of IFSH come into effect, the body will be staffed anew in 2007.



State Secretary
Dr Roland Salchow



Prof. Dr.-Ing. [habil.]
Monika Auweter-Kurtz



7.3 Staff Members at the IFSH 2006

Institute Administration:

Director: Prof. Dr Michael Brzoska (since February 2006)
Acting Director: PD Dr Reinhard Mutz (until January 2006)
Deputy Director: Prof. Dr Hans-Joachim Gießmann
Deputy Director: Dr Wolfgang Zellner

Senior Researchers:

Dr Hans-Georg Ehrhart
Dr Erwin Müller
Dr Götz Neuneck
Ursel Schlichting, M.A.

Researchers:

Dr Frank Evers
Dr Martin Kahl
Dr Anna Kreikemeyer
Dr Oliver Meier
Dr Patricia Schneider
Dr Axel Schwanhäuser, M.P.S.

Public Relations:

Susanne Bund

Members of the Armed Forces:

Lieutenant Colonel G.S. Dr Jürgen Groß
Lieutenant Colonel G.S. Dr Armin Wagner

Senior Research Fellows:

Dr Margret Johannsen
Dr Reinhard Mutz (since February 2006)
Dr Arne C. Seifert
Prof. Dr Kurt P. Tudyka

Fellows:

Dr David Aphrasidze
Bernt Berger, M.Ph.
Stephan Hensell, Dipl.-Pol.
Christian Mölling, Dipl.-SozWiss.
Dr Bernhard Rinke
Dr Thorsten Stodiek

Guest Researchers:

Dr Janja Bec-Neumann (DAAD-lecturer)
Ri Tong Il (North Korea)
Prof. Dr Cheng Jian (PR China)
Kim Won Myong (North Korea)
John Myraunet (Norway)
Mircea Popa (Rumania)
Dr Nexhmedin Spahiu (Guest lecturer M.P.S.)
Dr Michael Wlassow (Ukraine)
Dr Zhang Yinghong (PR China)

Doctoral Candidates:

Goran Bandov, Dipl. jur., M.P.S.
Heiko Fürst, M.A.
Friederike Gräper, M.A.
Dennis Gratz, M.A.
Regina Heller, Dipl.-Pol.



The Institute at Falkenstein



Marietta König, M.A.
Elena Kropatcheva, M.A., M.P.S.
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.
Katrín Simhandl, M.A.
Jan Stupl, Dipl. Phys.
Emir Suljagic
Isabelle Tannous, M.A.
Merle Vetterlein, Dipl.-Pol.

Junior Researchers and Support Staff:

Christian Alwardt
Nisha Arumugarajah
Burkhard Conrad
Fabian Giglmaier
Mirko Guth
Mayeul Hieramente
Barbara Kauffmann
Niels Kreller
Volker Laas
Jörn Lange
Jochen Rasch
Michael Schaaf
Fausta Šimaityte
Alexandra Stertz
Veronica Trespalacios
Carsten Walter

Secretary:

Gunda Meier
Heinke Peters

Editors/Translators:

Graeme Currie, M.A.
Daria Filippov
Veronica Trespalacios, M.A.

Library:

Ute Runge, Dipl. Bibl.

Documentation:

Uwe Polley, Dipl.-Pol.

Administrative Officer:

Heidemarie Bruns
Jutta Stropahl

More information under: http://www.ifsh.de/IFSH/personal/ma.htm
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8. Publications

The members of staff published a total of 10 books in 2006 and, with 169 articles, among them 25 in reviewed journals and books (12 blind reviews and 13 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. The editorship of the journal “Security and Peace (S+F)” is shared by Erwin Müller, Patricia Schneider, Bernhard Rinke und Susanne Bund. The series, “Democracy, Security, Peace”, is published by Hans-Joachim Gießmann and edited by Susanne Bund.



8.1 IFSH Series

The IFSH itself publishes three series: The “Hamburger Beiträge zur Friedensforschung und Sicherheitspolitik” (Hamburg Contributions on 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 source of information in brief form 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.

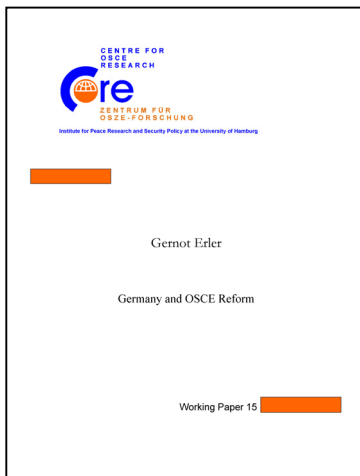
All IFSH series are on the Institute’s Homepage and can be read and downloaded (<http://www.ifsh.de/>). They are available in printed form at no cost in limited numbers. During the reporting period “Pädagogische Informationen” [Educational Information] and “Hamburger Vorträge” [Hamburg Lectures] were discontinued as independent series.

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.

Wolfgang Zellner is co-editor of the „Helsinki Monitor“ and Hans-Joachim Gießmann is a member of the Editorial Board of the journals „Connections – The Quarterly Journal“ and the „Athena Papers“ of the academic *Partnership-for-Peace* consortium. Götz Neuneck is one of the editors of the INESAP-Bulletin. Michael Brzoska is co-editor of the





„Journal of Peace Research” and of „Economics of Peace and Security Journal”.

8.2 Peace Report

Since 1987 IFSH has been co-publisher of the annual Peace Report. The Peace Report is 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 2006

On 1 June 2006 the five research institutes, under the leadership of IFSH presented their twentieth Peace Report at the Federal Press Conference. The number of parallel presentations in the German Parliament illustrates the growing official response. Discussion partners included the Vice President, Susanne Kasten (SPD), the Chairpersons of the Committees for Foreign Policy, for Defense and for Economic Cooperation and Development, Ruprecht Polenz (CDU), Ulrike Merten (SPD) and Thilo Hoppe (Bündnis 90/Die Grünen). Numerous conferences at political academies have explored the research questions and results.

Four central challenges for peace and security are central to the 2006 Peace Report: Power asymmetries in the international system, economic and social inequities, disintegration processes in states and societies as well as international weapons and armaments competition. In most violent conflicts several of these factors interact. Science and politics react with altered models of explanation and operation. What do the concepts accomplish and what do they not accomplish? Important peace policy reform projects have failed to meet expectations. The reform of the United Nations has stayed at the starting gate, the ambitious millennium goals await realization, international arms control marks time and European integration stagnates. The danger of terrorist violence and the attempts of suspect regimes to acquire weapons of mass destruction continue to dominate the security concerns of Western societies. The EU tries to provide a whole range of necessary strategies and instruments for counteracting these dangers. Are they the rights ones? Are they effective? In the view of the institutes that publish the Peace Report, European and German policy should, first, in the Middle East, resist any violent solution of the atomic conflict with Iran and begin a dialogue with the new Palestinian government and second, expand their peace and development policy involvement – particularly in Africa – and concentrate on instruments of civil crisis prevention, third, deploy the Federal Army exclusively for defense and securing peace, not curtail the right of Parliament to be involved in decisions on deployments of the Armed Forces abroad and leave the Constitution untouched.



Reinhard Mutz at the press conference on the presentation of the Peace Report 2006 in Berlin



Nine of the 26 individual analyses in the 2006 Peace Report originated from IFSH. They were authored by Jan van Aken, Michael Brzoska, Aron Buzogány, Hans-Joachim Gießmann, Iris Hunger, Margret Johannsen, Martin Kahl, Oliver Meier, Reinhard Mutz, Götz Neuneck and Wolfgang Zellner. Reinhard Mutz is the co-editor for IFSH. Susanne Bund managed the overall editing.

8.3 OSCE Yearbook

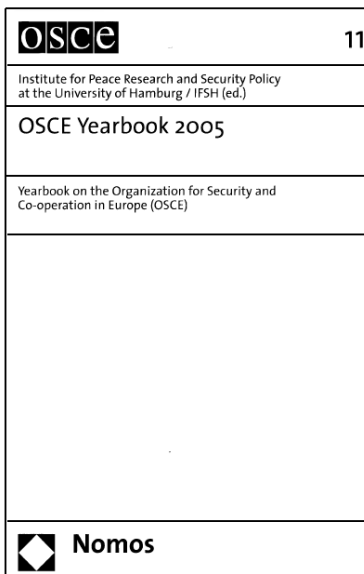
Since 1995 the OSCE Yearbook has been published in German, English and Russian. IFSH publishes the Yearbook in cooperation with Ambassador (ret.) Jonathan Dean, Dr. Pál Dunay, Prof. Dr. Victor-Yves Gheballi, Prof. Dr. Adam Daniel Rotfeld and Dr. Andrei Zagorski. The editorial office is at IFSH. Ursel Schlichting is Editor-in Chief. In addition, editorial tasks and translations are carried out by Susanne Bund, Graeme Currie, Daria Filippow, Elizabeth Hormann and Elena Kropatcheva. The German and English editions are published by NOMOS Publishing House, Baden-Baden. The Russian edition is published by „Prawa Tsche-lowjeka“ in Moskow.

The Yearbook, which is not an official OSCE publication receives considerable moral support, particularly from the Secretary General of OSCE in Vienna, from the Permanent Mission of the Federal Republic of Germany to OSCE as well as from a variety of OSCE facilities. The Federal Foreign Office finances the printing of the Yearbook and covers a portion of the personnel costs. In addition it supports the distribution of free copies to Foreign Ministries and OSCE facilities as well as universities and libraries. The OSCE Yearbook serves as a textbook for the OSCE Academy in Bishkek and the Moscow State Institute for International Relations (MGIMO)

OSCE-Yearbook 2006

The first section, in the centre of which are the “Developments and Prospects of the OSCE”, has, in addition to a review of the Slovenian OSCE-Chairmanship for the year 2005, a comparative analysis of the newest reform initiatives of the OSCE – currently the most hotly discussed topic within the OSCE. The section on the interests and commitment of individual OSCE Member States has a regional emphasis this year: the Black Sea region. Five articles address the current developments in the Ukraine, the “frozen” conflicts in Georgia, which are at risk of escalating again at any time and the role of Bulgaria in the OSCE, illuminate economic aspects of the conflicts in the region and explore the questions of the relevance of a sub-regional security system.

The second part of the Yearbook is dedicated to the tasks of the OSCE in its three dimensions – the political-military, the economic and environmental dimension and the human dimension – and first describes their instruments, mechanisms and procedures. The chapter, „Conflict Prevention and Dispute Settlement“, deals primarily with the long-term missions and other field operations of the OSCE. A more extensive chapter is devoted to the state of negotiations in the conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh and another to the difficult role of the OSCE in Central Asia. The following chapter deals with the abundance of important and also frequently delicate questions on the human dimension and democratic development





in the OSCE area. Among other things, it contains chapters on the situation in the prison camp in Guantanamo Bay, on the death penalty, on the topic “Islam, Islamism and Terrorism in the Northern Caucasus and Central Asia” as well as questions of migration. The section „Building Cooperative Security”, deals with the OSCE Document on Stockpiles of Conventional Ammunition as well as with the requirements of the work of the police in multiethnic societies. An article on the contribution of the OSCE to the global effort against terrorism concludes the second part of the volume.

The third part is, as usual, dedicated to the organizational aspects, the structures and the institutions of the OSCE as well as the relations with cooperation partners and other international or non-governmental organizations. The current edition contains, among other things, articles on the Parliamentary Assembly of the OSCE, the work of the OSCE Representative on Freedom of the Media, supportive measures for gender equality in the organization as well as the newest developments of the ASEAN Regional Forum.

In the Annex of the Yearbook the important data and facts on the 56 participating States, a brief chronology as well as a comprehensive literature selection on the OSCE can be found.

As always the international composition of the group of editors and authors as well as their different political, diplomatic and scientific backgrounds, ensures a broad, representative opinion and knowledge spectrum that allows an open as well as critical discourse about OSCE.

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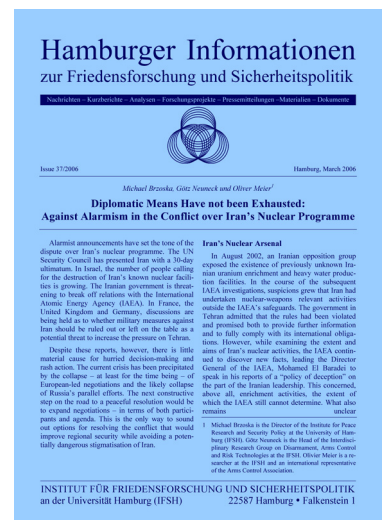
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* Articles refereed in a double blind procedure are marked with *; those with an anonymous professional assessment with **.





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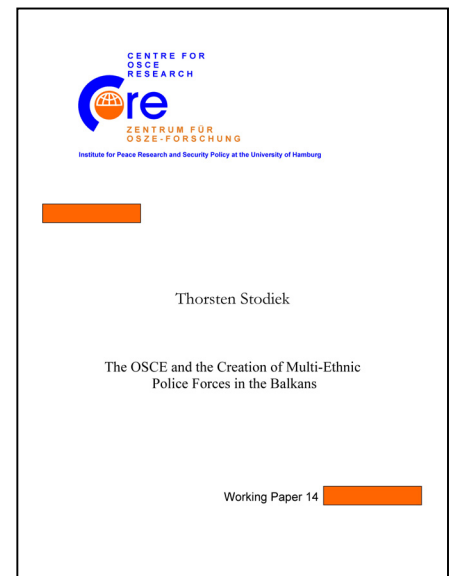


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Angabe 38/2006

Hamburg, Juni 2006

Hans-Georg Ehrhart

In schwieriger Mission: Der EU-Militäreinsatz im Kongo

Die Mitgliedstaaten der EU haben nach langem Hin und Her beschlossen, im Juli eine auf vier Monate befristete militärische Operation zur Unterstützung der UN-Mission in der Demokratischen Republik Kongo (MONUC) durchzuführen. Deutschland stellt das operative Hauptquartier und 780 der insgesamt ca. 2000 Einsatzkräfte. Frankreich das Hauptquartier vor Ort und 850 Soldaten und Soldatinnen. Die restlichen gut 300 Einsatzkräfte kommen aus 16 anderen Staaten, einschließlich der Türkei.

Die Debatte um die Rolle Deutschlands bei dieser Militäroperation hat bereits zwei positive Effekte. Sie rückt den »sympromen Konflikt« in den Blickpunkt der deutschen Öffentlichkeit und trägt dazu bei, intensiver über die Rolle der EU bei der subalternen Krisenbewältigung nachzudenken. Dabei gibt es wenig weiterführende Argumente und solche, die bedeutsamer sind. Zur ersten Kategorie zählen beispielsweise Einlassungen wie die Operation sei gefährlich, die Bundeswehr sei ausgelastet und das Ganze solle man Frankreich überlassen. Bedenkenswerter sind Erwände, die ein klares Mandat, die Beachtung einer vernünftigen Ziel-/Mittel-Relation oder eine sorgfältige Interessenanalyse einfordern.

Deutsche Afrikapolitik ist zunehmend ent-

wichtigungs- und erweiterte Sicherheitspolitik zugleich. Sie wird vor allem in einem multilateralen Kontext verfolgt, wobei die EU den wichtigsten politischen Rahmen darstellt. Deutschland hat ein nationales Interesse an einer handlungsfähigen Union und an einer glaubwürdigen gemeinsamen Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik (EASYP) europäischer Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik (ESVP), weil sie als Anker und Kraftverstärker für die Bewältigung der globalen endungsrechtlichen Herausforderungen im 21. Jahrhundert wirkt.

Auszug UNO-Resolution S/RES/1671 (2006)
"in Erwägung, dass die Partei R.D.C. eindeutig ist, im Rahmen ihrer Mittel und Fähigkeiten alle notwendigen Maßnahmen zu ergreifen, um die Einklang mit dem zwischen der Europäischen Union und den Vereinten Nationen zu schließender Abkommen, die einschließlicher Aufgaben durchzuführen, so die MONUC bei der Stabilisierung einer Situation zu unterstützen, falls sich die MONUC einem Schwierigkeiten bei der Erfüllung ihres Mandats im Rahmen ihrer vorhandenen Fähigkeiten gegenübersteht, so in ihrem Einsatzgebiet und insbesondere die Verantwortung der Regierung der Demokratischen Republik Kongo um Schutz von Zivilpersonen bestimmen, denen unmittelbare physische Gefahr droht, (i) zum Schutz des Zivilisten in Kinshasa beitragen, zum Schutz des Zivilisten in Kinshasa beitragen, zum Schutz des Zivilisten in Kinshasa beitragen, zum Schutz des Zivilisten in Kinshasa beitragen."

INSTITUT FÜR FRIEDENSFORSCHUNG UND SICHERHEITSPOLITIK
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Armin Wagner

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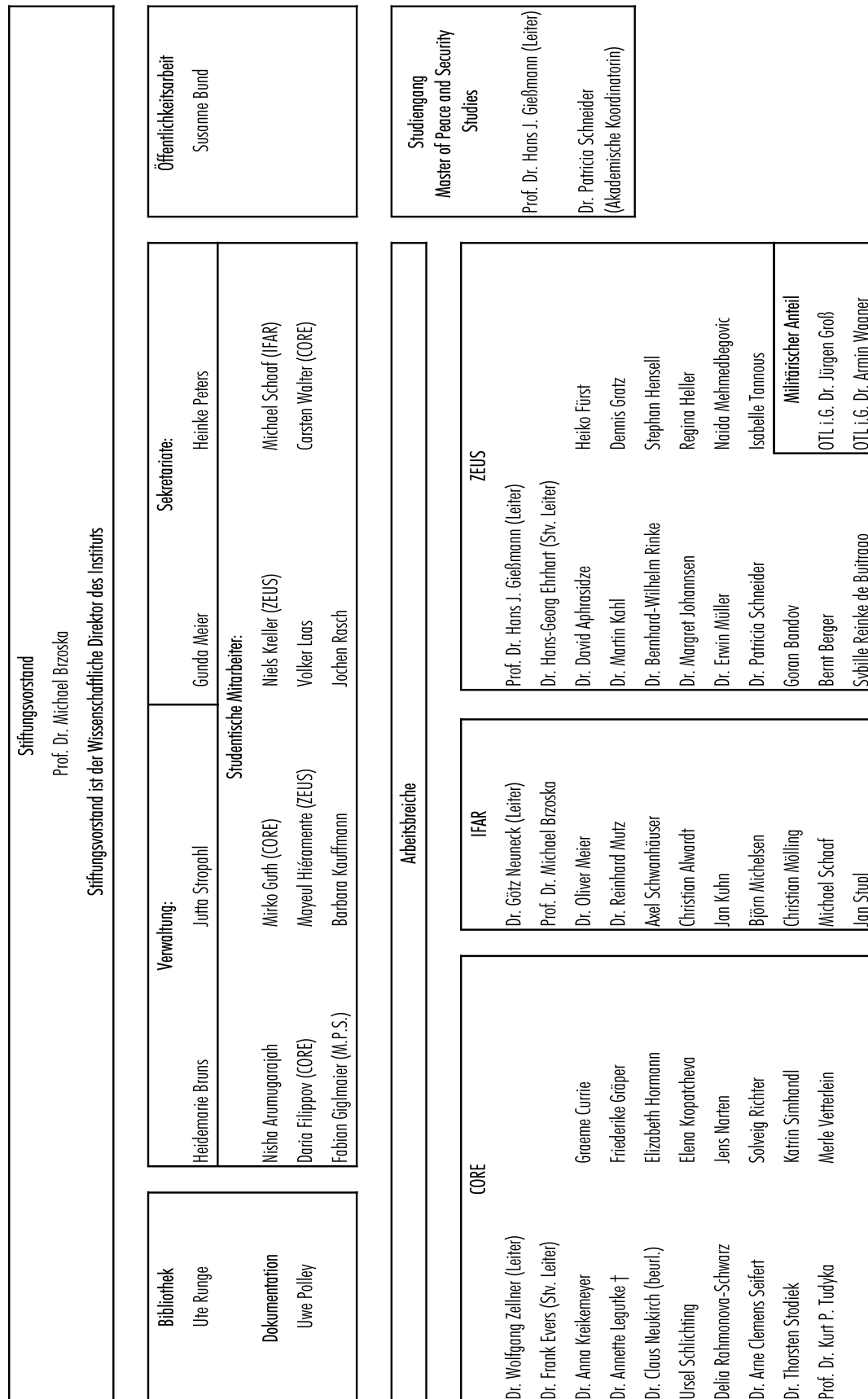
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Statistischer Anhang
Statistical Annex



Organigramm / Organization Chart





**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-	DFG	-	23.863 ¹	-				
päische Friedens-	Bund	87.692 ²	85.039 ³	71.609 ⁴				
und Sicherheits-	Land/Länder	16.500	5.000 ⁵	-				
studien (ZEUS, i.A.)	EU	-	-	-				
	Wirtschaft	-	-	1.160 ⁶				
	Stiftungen	20.000	32.000 ⁷	3.525 ⁸				
	Sonstige	5.932 ⁹	7.500 ¹⁰	52.058 ¹¹				
Summe ZEUS		130.124	153.402	128.352				
Zentrum für OSZE-	DFG	-	-	-				
Forschung (CORE)	Bund	205.000	198.000	199.000				
	Land/Länder	-	-	-				
	EU	-	-	-				
	Wirtschaft	-	-	-				
	Stiftungen	9.720 ¹²	19.440 ¹³	34.440 ¹⁴				
	Sonstige	31.595 ¹⁵	52.769 ¹⁶	28.623 ¹⁷				
Summe CORE		246.315	270.209	262.063				
Interdisziplinäre	DFG	-	-	-				
Arbeitsgruppe	Bund	-	10.150 ¹⁸	-				
Rüstungskontrolle,	Land/Länder	-	-	-				
Abrüstung und	EU	-	-	-				
Risikotechnologien	Wirtschaft	-	-	-				
	Stiftungen	2.000	140.000 ¹⁹	59.600 ²⁰				
	Sonstige	-	20.300 ²¹	-				
Summe		2.000	170.450	59.600				
IFSH übergreifend	DFG	-	-	-				
	Bund	157.379 ²²	70.000 ²³	70.000 ²⁴				
	Land/Länder	-	-	-				
	EU	-	-	-				
	Wirtschaft	-	-	-				
	Stiftungen	2.596	-	-				
	Sonstige	-	-	35.800 ²⁵				
Summe IFSH ü.		159.975	70.000	105.800				
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	116.681				
Summe IFSH		538.414	664.061	555.815				

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 Nordbank

7 Humboldt Stiftung, TransCoop-Programm mit Pfaltzgraff

8 Cusanuswerk Promotionsstipendium

9 NATO, Tagungsmittel

10 EMA Master

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

12 Friedrich Naumann Stiftung, Promotionsstipendium Kropatcheva

13 Friedrich Naumann Stiftung, Promotionsstipendien König und Kropatcheva

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

15 Gruppe von 16 OSZE-Teilnehmerstaaten, koordiniert von Finnland

16 Finnland, Evaluating the OSCE and Its Future Role

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

18 BMBF, Workshop Pugwash

19 Projekt Meier, Thyssen-Stiftung

20 Volkswagen Stiftung, Projekt Schwanhäuser

21 Fraunhofer Institut Naturwissenschaftlich-Technische Trendanalysen

22 70.000,- für den vom Bundesministerium der Verteidigung an das IFSH sekundierten Offizier, 87.379,- vom DAAD für MPS

23 70.000,- für den vom Bundesministerium der Verteidigung an das IFSH sekundierten Offizier.

24 Vom Bundesministerium der Verteidigung an das IFSH sekundierten Offizier

25 Nachwuchsförderung durch Förderverein des IFSH



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	DFG	-	23,863 ²⁶	-				
	Federal gov.	87,692 ²⁷	85,039 ²⁸	71,609 ²⁹				
	State gov.(s)	16,500	5,000 ³⁰	-				
	EU	-	-	-				
	Private sector	-	-	1,160 ³¹				
	Foundations	20,000	32,000 ³²	3,525 ³³				
	Other	5,932 ³⁴	7,500 ³⁵	52,058 ³⁶				
Total ZEUS		130,124	153,402	128,352				
Center for OSCE-Research (CORE)	DFG	-	-	-				
	Federal gov.	205,000	198,000	199,000				
	State gov.(s)	-	-	-				
	EU	-	-	-				
	Private sector	-	-	-				
	Foundations	9,720 ³⁷	19,440 ³⁸	34,440 ³⁹				
	Other	31,595 ⁴⁰	52,769 ⁴¹	28,623 ⁴²				
Total CORE		246,315	270,209	262,063				
Interdisciplinary Working group	DFG	-	-	-				
	Federal gov.	-	10,150 ⁴³	-				
	State gov.(s)	-	-	-				
	EU	-	-	-				
	Private sector	-	-	-				
	Foundations	2,000	140,000 ⁴⁴	59,600 ⁴⁵				
	Other	-	20,300 ⁴⁶	-				
Total		2,000	170,450	59,600				
IFSH overall	DFG	-	-	-				
	Federal gov.	157,379 ⁴⁷	70,000 ⁴⁸	70,000 ⁴⁹				
	State gov.(s)	-	-	-				
	EU	-	-	-				
	Private sector	-	-	-				
	Foundations	2,596	-	-				
	Other	-	-	35,800 ⁵⁰				
Total IFSH		159,975	70,000	105,800				
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	116,681				
Total IFSH		538,414	664,061	555,815				

26 Extension Project Hensell for 6 months

27 DAAD: Willy-Brandt-Centre: 28.395, DAAD-Conference 2/2005: 59.297.

28 DAAD: Willy-Brandt-Centre: 27.379, 57.660 Academic Network SOE (Stipends, Workshops, Guest lecturers)

29 DAAD: Willy-Brandt-Centre 24.075, Academic Network SOE 47.534

30 BWG, Seminars Balkan-Network

31 Nordbank

32 Humboldt Foundation, TransCoop-Programm with Pfaltzgraff

33 Cusanuswerk Doctoral stipend

34 NATO, Conference funds

35 EMA Master

36 US-Embassy 1.564; UNDP 2.646; EMA 6.000; BICC 2.850; OECD 6.000; BICC 28.300; BICC 4.698

37 Friedrich Naumann Foundation, Doctoral stipend Kropatcheva

38 Friedrich Naumann Foundation, Doctoral stipends König and Kropatcheva

39 Friedrich Naumann Foundation, Doctoral stipends König and Kropatcheva 19.440; Thyssen Foundation Workshop 15.000

40 Group of 16 OSCE-Member States coordinated by Finland

41 Finland, Evaluating the OSCE and Its Future Role

42 Confederation Department for Foreign Affairs 12.673; OSCE-Centre Almaty 15.950

43 BMBF, Workshop Pugwash

44 Project Meier, Thyssen-Foundation

45 Volkswagen Foundation, Project Schwanhäuser

46 Fraunhofer Institut Naturwissenschaftlich-Technische Trendanalysen [Institute for the Analysis of Natural Science-Technical Trends]

47 70.000,- for the officer seconded to IFSH from the Federal Ministry of Defense, 87.379,- from DAAD for MPS

48 70.000,- for the officer seconded to IFSH from the Federal Ministry of Defense.

49 For the officer seconded to IFSH from the Federal Ministry of Defense

50 Peace Research Sponsoring Association (Promotion of junior researcher).



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)	46	17	41	92	196
Abrüstung/KRST Disarmament/Arms control	12	4	19	54	89
Europ. Sicherheit/ European security	11	2	6	24	43
OSZE/OSCE	3	-	9	-	12
Regionale Konflikte/ Regional conflicts	16	2	14	159	191
Friedensforschung (auch IFSH)/Peace research (also IFSH)	9	3	6	15	33
Friedenspädagogik/ Peace education	5	-	1	-	6
Sonstiges/Others	11	-	7	7	25
Gesamt/Total	113	28	103	351	595

Veröffentlichungen / Publications

	2006	Anonymes Begutachtungsverfahren/ Peer reviewed (blind)	Begutachtungsverfahren/ Peer review
Sammelbände /Anthologies	8	1	
Monographien /Monographs	2		
Broschüren/Graue Literatur / Booklets/Gray literature	23		2
Buchbeiträge/ Articles in books	71	5	8
Zeitschriftenaufsätze /Articles in journals	35	7	2
Zeitungsbeiträge / Newspapers articles	10		
Rezensionen / Book reviews	5		
Online-Veröffentlichungen / Online publications	14		
Sonstiges / others	1		
Gesamt / Total	169	13	12



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 2005/2006	13	34	23
SS 2006	7	15	8
WS 2006/2007	12	31	24
Gesamt / Total	17*	80	55

* 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

2006	Promotionen / PhD Thesis	Diplom-/Magisterarbeiten Diploma / Master's Thesis	Masterarbeiten / Master's Projects	Praktikanten / Interns
CORE	6	-	6	7
ZEUS	14	3	13	22
IFAR	4	1	2	3
Gesamt/Total	24	4	21	32

Projekte / Projects

Projekte/Projects	begonnen/ started	fortgeführt/ continued	abgeschlossen/ completed	bewilligt/ approved	vorbereitet/ beantragt prepared/ submitted	abgelehnt/ not approved
Forschungsprojekt Research Project	9	30	6	2	7	1
Beratungsprojekt Consultancy Project	-	6	7	-	1	-
Gesamt / Total	9	36	13	2	6	1