



## Peace Report 2011 in Berlin and Brussels The Arab Spring and the Crisis of Europe

The Arab Spring took not only the politicians by surprise. Regional experts or peace researchers had not predicted it either. To be sure, there had been warnings related to the political and social stagnation which was perceived as a breeding ground for jihadi violence, especially after Al-Qaida's attacks of September 11, 2001. Still, the War on Terror, which focuses primarily on violence motivated by Islamist attitudes, apparently did not allow for a scenario of Arab civil society emancipating itself through revolutionary action from the petrified structures. Reason enough for the Peace Report to let the Peace Report begin with the revolutionary upheavals in our southern neighbourhood and to throw light on Europe's role and responsibility.

Because Europe contributed to the long lasting stagnation in the Arab world which people finally started to challenge and revolutionize. However, the response of Europe (or the European Union for that matter) to the revolutionary upheavals as well as repression, civil war and the resulting refugee drama illustrates how far away Europe still is from taking decisive action in the sphere of foreign policy. As yet, the European governments seem to prefer going it alone. Renationalization and populism also shape the handling of the Euro crisis.

These were the conclusions of this year's Peace Report which in 2011 appeared for the 25th time. The editors, representing the five publishing institutes, presented the yearbook on 24 May 2011 at the Federal Press Conference in Berlin. Subsequently they submitted their findings and discussed their recommendations in meetings with members of various committees of the German Bundestag such as the Defence Committee, the Committee for Economic Co-operation and Development, the Subcommittee for Human Rights and Humanitarian Assistance as well as the Subcommittee for Civil Crisis Prevention and Cross-Linked Security. Other meetings involved the Working Unit for the Transformation Partnership Egypt and Tunisia in the Foreign Office, the Department for Peace Development and Crisis Prevention in the Ministry for Economic Co-operation and Development, parliamentarians of the Alliance 90/The Green Party's Working Group on International Politics and Human Rights as well as with

parliamentarians of the Social Democratic Party's Working Group on International Politics.



Karim El-Gowhary, Ruprecht Polenz, Sylke Tempel, Margret Johannsen, Mamdouh Habashi

A public event "Risings in the Arab World – what about Europe? Peace Report 2011" in Berlin's "French Dome", jointly organized by the Protestant Academy Berlin, Women in International Security (WIIS) and IFSH was one of the highlights of the Peace Report's guest performance in the German capital (<http://www.friedensgutachten.de/index.php/detail/items/einladung-zur-evangelischen-akademie-zu-berlin-am-24-mai-2011-um-18-uhr.html>).

A conference in Koblenz on "German Security Policy at the Cross Roads? Reform of the German Bundeswehr, NATO and EU – what next? The recommendations of the Peace Report 2011" organized by the Forum Peace and Security Policy 2011 of the Centre for Political Education Rhineland-Palatinate and a panel discussion on "Europe in Crisis – What lies

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ahead?" in Frankfurt rounded off the touring of the Peace Report in the first half of 2011.

Besides its spotlight on the revolutionary awakenings in the Arab world and its focal point Europe in crisis, the Peace Report in another two sections looks back on twenty years of military interventions and stabilization missions, including Afghanistan, Iraq, Sudan, Côte d'Ivoire and Haiti, and discusses the impact of military strategies and armed forces on world order and international security.

Never before did the yearbook include so many articles written by women. The contributions of IFSH to the Peace Report 2011 were written by Christian Alwardt, Hans-Georg Ehrhart, Hans-Christian Gils, Margret Johannsen, Anna Kreikemeyer, Elena Kulipanova, Oliver Meier and Götz Neuneck. Muriel Asseburg (German Institute for International and Security Affairs, Berlin), Ulrike Borchardt (Hamburg University), Sabine Jaberg (German Military Academy) and Carola Richter (Free University of Berlin) contributed as guest authors of IFSH. The rotating overall editorship of the 2011 Peace Report lay with IFSH, represented by Margret Johannsen.

In late June the Peace Report went to Brussels. Two events centered on the EU's reaction to the Arab upheavals and its crisis management operations: The International Security Information Service (ISIS) Europe organized a presentation in the European Parliament hosted by Franziska Brantner (Member of the European Parliament), with Giji Gya (Executive Director of ISIS), acting as moderator. The Brussels office of the Protestant Church of Germany (EKD) hosted a panel discussion, with Renke Brahms (Peace Commissioner of the EKD), Michael Gahler (Member of the European Parliament) and Matthias Dembinski (Peace Research Institute Frankfurt/PRIF) participating and Patrick Schnabel (EKD) moderating the discussion. On the invitation of the European Peacebuilding Liaison Office (EPLO), the editors for the first time met with a number of NGOs based in Brussels, presenting the book and consulting on possibilities for future cooperation.

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## IFAR<sup>2</sup>- Seminars about Russia, NATO-Policy and Dual-Use-Technologies

In May and June IFAR<sup>2</sup> organized a series of workshops and seminars about its main research results, hypotheses and approaches to nuclear disarmament, arms control and non-proliferation with international participants.

In cooperation with the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) IFSH held a two day seminar on 12-13 May entitled "Russian and Western Interests Priorities: The Future of Arms Control in Europe" at the headquarters of the FES in Berlin. The aim of the seminar was to discuss political and technical issues of nuclear and conventional arms control in Europe and to develop options to overcome the obstacles of existing conflicts in these policy areas. Panels were devoted to topics such as Nuclear Arms Control, Missile Defense, the Future of the Treaty on Conventional Forces in Europe on Nuclear Nonproliferation and Cooperation. The 30 participants from academia and administration came in particular from Russia, the United States, Germany and Austria. The IFSH was represented by contributions from Michael Brzoska, Götz Neuneck, Oliver Meier and Wolfgang Zellner, other participants were Christian Alwardt, Anne Finger and Ulrich Kühn.

Furthermore, IFSH was a co-sponsor of a two-day seminar on "Revising NATO's Nuclear Deterrence Posture: Prospects for Change" on May 22-23 in Brus-



*Panel at BASIC/IFSH/ACA workshop in Brussels: Jamie Shea (NATO, Head New Threats Division), Paul Ingram (BASIC), Oliver Meier (IFSH).*

sels. The conference was also sponsored by the Arms Control Association, the British American Security Information Council and the International Security Information Service Europe. It was part of a joint project on the reduction of the role of tactical nuclear weapons in European security, sponsored by the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation. More than 50 participants, among them many diplomats, NATO officials and non-governmental experts debated how NATO can strengthen European security and advance nuclear disarmament in the context of its Deterrence and Defense Posture Review. Götz Neuneck gave a presentation on "Shifting from Deterrence by Punishment to Deterrence by Denial? The case of Ballistic Missile Defense in Europe", Oliver Meier spoke on "The Debate on NATO's Nuclear Posture Today". Meier also moderated a panel during a seminar on "NATO's Strategic Deterrent Review and the Future of NATO's Nuclear Policy", organized by Carnegie Europe on May 25 in Brussels.

On June 16-17, IFSH organized an international conference at the representation of the city of Hamburg in Berlin, titled "Between Control and Cooperation: Dual-use, Technology Transfers and the Nonproliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction." Thirty academic experts and practitioners discussed how to improve controls on proliferation-sensitive dual-use technologies without unduly hampering their peaceful application.



Panel at the representation of the city of Hamburg in Berlin: Oliver Meier (IFSH), Kumaresh Misra (OPCW), Richard Lennane (BWC, Geneva).

The workshop, which was also supported by the German Federal Foreign Office, was part of a research project funded by the German Foundation for Peace Research on dual-use technology controls.

Together with the Research Association for Science, Disarmament and International Security (FONAS) on 24 June IFAR<sup>2</sup> conducted a workshop on the question of an emerging arms race in cyberspace. The one day workshop was attended by approximately 40 participants from academia, government and practice to pursue the question of what is meant by a cyber war and what mitigation measures are possible. Five speakers, e.g. from the Foreign Office and the Defense Department gave presentations. This effort is part of an international workshop in cooperation with UNIDIR, which will discuss confidence-building measures at the end of the year.

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## Second TERAS-INDEX Workshop at IFSH

On June 16 – 17, the second workshop of the consortial project TERAS-INDEX took place at IFSH. After a phase of conceptual work the BMBF funded project with a duration of three years is now in the phase of empirical elaboration of data required for the development of indicators. These indicators are supposed to timely anticipate radicalization waves which stand in connection with the German security and foreign policy. This shall provide societal and governmental actors with the opportunity to take preventative action or necessary precautions.

While the IFSH (Matenia Sirseloudi and Martin Kahl) is responsible for the management and coordination of TERAS-INDEX as well as for various sub-projects, such as the set up of a database on jihadists in Germany and other European countries, as well a number of partners participate in this project. In the Bonn International Center for Conversion (BICC) Marc von Boemcken and his team systematically gather information about the German foreign and security policy activities. At the workshop the BICC presented its first synopsis of the gathered data. A young research team (Mariella Ourghi, Amr El Hadad and Aladdin Sarhan) under the supervision of Jamal Malik from the University of Erfurt presented first results of the field research on radicalizing factors in Islamist milieus and in the radical discourse. Peter Waldmann, a renowned expert on terrorism, presented his comparative approach to the analysis of the radicalization potential of migration politics in several European countries. Alex Schmid and Nico Prucha (Terrorism Research Initiative, Vienna) provided a demonstrative description of the terrorist groups related to Germany with a particular emphasis on their online-presence. Finally, Irmgard Schrand from the associated project partner State Office of Criminal Investigation Hamburg presented the concept of the emancipatory subproject dealing with vulnerable youth and analyzing the influence of violent conflicts on their collective identity formation.

Like during the first TERAS-INDEX workshop in December 2010, also the second workshop was characterized by a highly fruitful working atmosphere due to the multidisciplinary of the sub-projects and the high level of expertise involved.

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## Russian Politics and Foreign Policy – Driven by what: Emotions vs. Interests. IFSH participates in new debates about foreign policy

The existing frameworks explaining Russian foreign policy often include economic interests, domestic political determinants and great power politics. Furthermore it is argued that identity and emotions clearly play a role when looking at the driving forces of Russian politics and foreign policy. Do interests and emotions coincide or are they in conflict with each other? Do emotions create interests or vice versa? How should we read the driving forces of policy making? These questions were addressed within the one-day public workshop "Russian Politics and Foreign Policy - Driven by What? Emotions versus Interests", that took place on 25 May 2011 at the University of Helsinki. The Aleksanteri Graduate School invited experts from Europe and the U.S., among them Regina Heller from

IFSH, to present their views and discuss them with PhD students, academics, policy-makers from the Finnish government as well as the public. In his opening statement, Minister Jaakko Itoniemi also stressed that both interests and emotions play a vital role in Russian foreign policy. However, we lack understanding how these dimensions interact. He therefore advocated for more research that transcends the current state of knowledge in this regard.

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## **Developing OSCE Field Activities CORE and German Federal Foreign Office Organize Workshop in Vienna Hofburg**

To contribute to discussions on direct activities of the OSCE in its participating States, the Centre for OSCE Research (CORE) and the German Federal Foreign Office jointly organized a workshop on “Developing OSCE Field Activities” at Vienna Hofburg, 26 and 27 May 2011.



*Discussing OSCE field activities (f.l.t.r.) Amb. Heiner Horsten, Amb. ret. Dr Wilhelm Höynck, Amb. Renatas Norkus, Mr. Yerkin Akhinzhanov, Amb. Eoin O'Leary, Amb. Adam Kobieracki*

The aim of the workshop was both to signal the special interest of Germany in these formats for international security cooperation, as well as to address specific issues such as the thematic orientations of OSCE field activities, the respective expectations of the host governments affected and matters of internal interaction within the OSCE.

Representatives of governments, OSCE field operations and academic institutions from a total of seven participating States (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Ukraine and Tajikistan) were invited to the event. They talked about their views on conceptual and organizational issues of OSCE field work with representatives of the current Lithuanian OSCE Chairmanship and the two other members of the 2011 OSCE Troika (Kazakhstan and Ireland), with experts from the OSCE, the European Union and the Council of Europe. Many representatives of the Delegations to the OSCE also attended the event.

The workshop met with great interest in Vienna. At the heart of the lively exchange of views among the approximately 60 participants and guests were the shared responsibility for internal developments in the participating States and the generation of ideas for implementing this responsibility in all three dimensions of the OSCE.

Germany supports the efforts of the OSCE to assist its participating States to implement their political commitments on the ground. “In many cases, only the continuous presence of field missions allows the OSCE to help the host country effectively. The forms of assistance require constant flexible adaptation to changing political, organizational and personnel challenges”, said the first Secretary General of the OSCE, Amb. ret. Dr. Wilhelm Höynck in his speech at the workshop.

For about two decades, the direct involvement of the OSCE in its participating States has played an important role in the European security dialogue. During the well-publicized OSCE reform discussions in 2005 and as part of the so-called Corfu Process – an OSCE dialogue format in 2009 and 2010 – this was the subject of a sometimes energetic dispute. Just recently, the leaders of the 56 OSCE participating States emphasized the importance of the OSCE field missions at the OSCE Summit in Astana in December 2010.

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## **Preparing for the 2012 Irish OSCE Chairmanship**

### **CORE Conducts Training for the Irish Department of Foreign Affairs, Dublin**

CORE conducted its fourth OSCE-related training course in Dublin in May 2011. The course was designed to prepare officials of the Irish Department of Foreign Affairs for the forthcoming Irish OSCE Chairmanship in 2012. The previous three training



*The participants of the Dublin CiO Training*

courses had been conducted for groups of diplomats from Kazakhstan and Lithuania – the OSCE Chairmanships-in-Office 2010 and 2011 respectively.

The general intention of these training courses is to broaden the respective country's MFA personnel pool qualified to deal with political and managerial issues of the OSCE. They aim at a better understanding of how an OSCE Chairmanship can utilize the Organization to build consensus among participating States on particular steps to advance pan-European security cooperation. They are meant to communicate know-how on formal and informal OSCE decision-making and procedures of decision-implementation. They focus on explaining the genesis of the Organization's structure and matters of the OSCE's strategic and daily management. The courses give detailed introductions to specific security issues of various OSCE sub-regions.

This year's training course in May 2011 addressed diplomats of the OSCE Taskforce at the Irish Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA) in Dublin, headed by Ambassador Frank Cogan, as well as representatives of the Permanent Mission of Ireland to the OSCE in Vienna. A permanent video link to Irish governmental representatives in Vienna and Brussels enlarged the geographic span of the group of trainees directly involved in the course. The training course was conducted by CORE staff along with senior staff members of the OSCE Secretariat and ODIHR. CORE is grateful to the OSCE Secretary General, Ambassador Marc Perrin de Brichambaut, and to the Director of the ODIHR, Ambassador Janez Lenarčič, for providing active personnel support to help make the course successful.

"I found the course very valuable in assisting us with our preparations for the Chairmanship-in-Office of the OSCE in 2012", commented Brian Glynn, Deputy Head of the Irish OSCE Taskforce. "It covered a broad range of issues, and gave us a good insight into the background of many of the challenges facing the OSCE today."

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## Multi-Stakeholder Security Partnerships A critical assessment with case studies from Afghanistan, DR Congo and Kosovo

Edited by Michael Brzoska, Hans Georg Ehrhart and Jens Narten,  
2011, 276 pp., pb., € 59.00, ISBN 978-3-8329-6794-9  
(Demokratie, Sicherheit, Frieden, vol. 203)

In recent years, partnerships between diverse types of actors have had some success in addressing urgent problems. The chapters in this volume address the opportunities and problems of partnerships between local, national and international actors from the public and private sectors in a particularly difficult field, namely the improvement of physical security in conflict and post-conflict situations. Based on a security governance perspective, thematic case studies explore conditions for the success and failure of multi-stakeholder partnerships in security sector reform, demobilization, disarmament and reintegration of combatants, small arms control and community-based security. The practical implementations of multi-stakeholder partnerships are analyzed in three in-depth case studies. The partial demobilization of the former Kosovo Protection Corps, local security-building efforts in the Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo and the disbandment of illegal armed groups in Afghanistan show that multi-stakeholder partnerships can be effective in addressing problems. Their main pitfalls are the asymmetric relations between the various partners. These can easily lead to differing perceptions on the roles of partners, as well as the objectives of cooperation.



### Imprint

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