

IFSH Research Programme  
2001/2002

Civilising Conflict

Conflict prevention and peace consolidation with civilian means

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## **IFSH Research Programme 2001/2002**

### **Civilising Conflict**

#### **Conflict prevention and peace consolidation with civilian means**

This research programme is for the years 2001 and 2002, and includes research aims for parts of 2003 that are planned and have been approved during this period. A component of this programme are the annexed research plans of the working groups (WG) I, II, IV and III (CORE). The IFSH Research Programme, passed by the Institute Council of the IFSH in spring 2001, is updated annually and examined thoroughly every five years.

#### **1. Contemplations on the character of modern violent conflict**

The founding document of the IFSH binds the Institute to "think through the problems of securing peace" and to "compile security policy studies specifically on European and German aspects" (§ 2, para 2, 1 and 3). At the time when the founding document was passed in 1980, this particularly meant to "review and continuously orientate on the strategic thinking in the East and West" (Founding Document, § 2, para 2, 4). Today this founding document must be interpreted in an environment where fundamental changes have occurred.

The apparently fixed bipolar world order of confrontation between East and West, which was based on mutual nuclear threat, dissolved in an unprecedentedly short time when the realistic socialist states and societies collapsed due to their internal contradictions. From behind this façade of old "order" emerged what was considered a new, confusing state of international relations. This partially resembles the familiar scenario of competing states, but also includes new, unpredictable elements. More than ten years after this new era began, theories of International Relations have been unable to develop a coherent explanatory model for this new state of international relations. Nevertheless, four mutually influencing trends can be discerned, and these could be used as a basis for a modern theory of International Relations: globalisation, one superpower, regionalisation and fragmentation.

*Globalisation* means the mutual dependence and interdependence of states and societies which is driven by a scientific-technological revolution. Terms such as information-, bio- and microtechnology partially illustrate at which speed these processes are occurring. Interdependence means a mutual dependence on shared problems, which a state can no longer solve on its own. Interdependence also means global competition, global performance, higher total efficiency and the opportunity for global co-operation. As is the case with all power-related relationships, interdependence is also fundamentally asymmetrical: the rich and powerful countries have the means to deal with threats, and are also better endowed to utilise the opportunities that globalisation offers. Globalisation processes lead to a rapid shift in the opportunities of states as international organisations, transnational corporations and non-governmental organisations emerge as new actors in international politics. Because globalisation is the driving and continuous trend of international relations, and eventually also directly or indirectly affects every conflict constellation, it must be taken into account of and analysed in the research of the IFSH, which mostly concentrates on Europe. In 1993 the IFSH therefore decided to establish the working group "Global Governance" (WG IV).

Today there is only *one superpower* that is a global power in all senses of the term. Militarily the USA is qualitatively far ahead all other states. No state will be able to bridge this gap within the next decade. However, the USA is not considered a "contempt hegemon" only due to its military power, but also because it at times shows that it is willing to unilaterally and militarily pursue its economic or political interests. In nearly all political spheres, the USA acts less co-operatively and less based on multilateral problem solving than the European Union does. The result is that new communication and co-ordination demands have arisen in the fields of transatlantic co-operation and limited conflict, and that working groups that work with related issues, "Arms Control and Disarmament" (WG I) and "European Security" (WG II), also face new questions.

*Regions* are defined as sub-global areas of interdependence. Regionalisation can affect a single, multiple or all societal levels. OSCE-Europe is built upon a common normative basis, mutual political linkages and, though as yet of still weak, a structural, security-political area. The CFE-Documents constitutes an unevenly spread arms control regime between the Atlantic and the Urals. NATO-Europe illustrates the most advanced institutional form of security-political integration in a broadly defined Europe. The EU combines (nearly) all societal levels, partially through inter-, and partially through a new supranational institutional system. Comparable, though frequently weaker forms of regionalisation tendencies can be discerned also in other parts of the world. Regionalisation processes are therefore a unique form of inter- and transnational relations, which can neither be reduced to the global level nor to the nation-state. This should clarify why the need to create the working group "European security" at the IFSH arose, and why simultaneously the Centre for OSCE Research (CORE) was founded in the beginning of 2000. By forming two working groups that engage themselves with a broader definition of Europe, the IFSH stresses its focus on Europe that was defined in its founding document.

Asymmetrical interdependence results in winners and losers of globalisation. The latter frequently suffer from weakness of the state, state-erosion and the collapse of the state, and hence also following humanitarian crises. The collapse of the state means that fundamental tasks of the state, such as domestic and external security, infrastructure and minimum provisions etc., can no longer be provided. As a result, multidimensional and frequently violent *fragmentation processes* along ethno-political, religious and/or regional lines occur. Such conflicts are primarily of domestic character, but often have inter-state consequences. The process of state collapse does not solely affect the post-communist and transformation countries of the OSCE area. However, these are the primary regional focus on IFSH research. Due to their multidimensional nature and frequent lack of domestic partners, such conflicts pose qualitatively new types of challenges to external actors who try to regulate the conflict. CORE in particular specialises in addressing this complexity of themes in the OSCE area.

## **2. Subject-matter and goals**

The research programme of the IFSH concentrates on questions of conflict prevention and civilising conflict in a broad sense. This includes working through fundamental questions, analysing global problems and issues, viewing different societal levels as the cause and location of conflict, studying the role and instruments of international actors in crisis prevention and peace consolidation, as well as bringing in the question of incorporating a civilian element into the military factor. Also included is the question of international and inter-institutional competition and co-operation. Such a broad range of questions is necessary to avoid over-hastily fixating and specialising, thus becoming blind to other dimensions of the

overall processes. The IFSH acknowledges that not all aspects of a theme can be simultaneously worked through.

The underlying goal of research activities at the IFSH is to improve the scientific understanding of the dynamics of violent conflicts, and based upon this, offer policy options, in this manner scientifically contributing to civilising conflict.

The majority of the Institute's work deals with *fundamental questions of conflict prevention*, and all working groups contribute to this question with their work.

In its research on the *causes and consequences of violent conflict*, the IFSH concentrates on the following themes in the long-term: democratisation, law, international relations and sustainable development, as well as the mutual linkages between these fields.

Concerning the analysis of the *role of international actors* in civilian crisis prevention and peace consolidation, the effectiveness of their instruments as well as their inter-institutional co-operation is approached by the research programme by focussing on three organisations that greatly affect Europe: the UN, OSCE and EU, complemented by NATO and the European Council. An additional, specific focus is the training and information of future members of civilian UN and OSCE missions.

*Incorporating the civilian element into the military factor* aims to research the reform and democratic control of armed forces and the security sector as a whole, as well as analyse the quantitative and qualitative limitations of military capacities due to arms control and disarmament.

The regional focuses of this research programme are the *Balkans, Caucasus and Central Asia*. Additionally, it is necessary to research related questions that concern Eastern Europe/Russia, Asia and the Middle East. These regional focuses will remain a long-term focus of the Institute.

In addition to its research work, the IFSH also has a service and transfer role, including the regular publication of standard works. As will become clear from this research programme, this task field will be expanded. To prevent these tasks from decreasing the research capacities of the institute, the high quality services must, in the long-term, be based on a solid research basis and therefore be linked to learning- and qualification processes of researchers.

### **3. Research framework and working groups**

The aim of this section is to identify the main working groups of the IFSH, and by distinguishing their work from other questions, to illustrate the research framework of the Institute.

The IFSH concerns itself with *fundamental questions of conflict prevention and civilian conflict resolution*. Even a decade after (re)emerging, the theme of conflict prevention continuously gives rise to more new questions than conceptual answers, not to mention explanatory theories. The varying scope of frequently unrelated, and partly contradictory assessments are mostly inductively structured from examples.

The IFSH carries out research where broader generalisations in the field of conflict prevention are possible. Such research can focus on the causes, actors, instruments, and the linkages

between various arguments of different disciplines. New theories or combinations of theories that have so far been neglected can also be applied. Due to the low possibility to theorise in this research field, empirical-analytical research, aiming to reach more generally applicable statements through inductive methods, plays a key role. And because of the centrality of this issue, all working groups of the IFSH contribute to this question.

A further research focus, which is viewed from various points of view in particular by the working groups II and IV, as well as by CORE, is the theme *crisis prevention and peace consolidation as a task of the UN, OSCE and EU*. The research scope includes the European Council and other international and national actors, as well as NATO to an extent defined by the research question. CORE's focus mostly lies in OSCE activities, but other international organisations are also integral to the topic. The activities of the EU in crisis prevention and peace consolidation require a further research focus, which will be carried out together by the working groups II (primary focus on the EU) and CORE (focus on inter-institutional co-operation). Contrary to international research carried out on military *peace keeping* operations, the working methods and effectiveness of civilian multifunctional on-location missions, in particular those of the UN and OSCE, have been neglected. The main concerns here are, first, to research the structure and methods of specific instruments ranging from classical intermediation to the broad spectrum of democracy-related activities and the executive international police operations, as well as classical *peace keeping*. Further research will also be carried out on the comparative advantages, competition and co-operation of various international organisations that can potentially use specific structural and operative instruments. Based on this research, the effectiveness and efficiency of such deployments will be analysed from the organisational side, but more importantly from the point of view of how they have stabilised the conflict situation.

In the field of scientifically based services, CORE will, alongside its present tasks (contribution to Foreign Office training of future members for civilian UN and OSCE missions), continue to focus on questions of training and the compilation of specific information for future mission members. In particular, it will focus on such questions that involve a high degree of scientific work, e.g. the compilation of country- and conflict-specific information or the evaluation of training standards.

A further research focus of the IFSH lies in the *tasks of civilising violent conflict*. This question cannot be separated from empirical and the above-mentioned actor-oriented questions, but due to strategic reasons of research, requires its own focus. The IFSH has for a long time concentrated on three central themes on the question of civilising violent conflict: democratisation, law in international relations as well as sustainable development. These three themes represent such broad research fields that the relatively small Institute is unable to carry out a comprehensive study on all three themes. Decisive for the research orientation of the Institute is that research themes are concretely related to conflict. Concerning theories of International Relations, the IFSH primarily works with explanatory theory, which can contribute to carrying out empirical-analytical studies. Although this research could contribute to building new theories, the IFSH does not consider itself to be a direct producer of theories.

The working method of the field *democracy/democratisation by external actors* is, contrary to election-focussed analyses (e.g. *Freedom House*), to work from a broader understanding of democracy (e.g. the "*embedded democracy*" of Merkel/Puhle), which allows for analysis to be carried out on the stabilisation effects of democracy and democratisation.

In the field *law and international relations* the primary focus is to empirically and conceptually carry out research on the civilising effects of law, contrasting these to power-based - both violent and policy-oriented - methods of conflict regulation.

In particular, the field *sustainable development and development strategies* is so broad that research must directly focus concretely on conflict. Examples of such themes are water- or river-management, both of which have already been researched for many years at the IFSH. It also holds true that research that leads to systematic results on violent conflict in the Caucasus or Central Asia must include the element of development, as this is a prominent cause of conflict.

The research focus on *incorporating the civilian aspect into the military factor* incorporates two central research themes of the IFSH. The first concerns the instruments available to the forces (or the entire security apparatus) with regard to task, size, structure and means, as well as the implementation of these instruments through democratically legitimised authorities. The second research field concerns the quantitative, qualitative and preventive delimitation of military capabilities through arms control and disarmament.

From the point of view of the IFSH, the first issue does not only concern post-communist transformation states and developing countries, but also developed democracies, though these require a different research perspective. In the analysis of the dispositions of the *NATO state* forces, in particular those of the Federal Republic of Germany, the following questions are central. To what extent can these forces contribute to primarily civilian conflict regulation possibilities, beyond mere self- and national defence? Will they be used if a sufficient legal basis (UN mandate) exists, or do the structures and strategies aim at unilateral intervention? Alongside these questions, the question whether these forces are democratically controlled or at least partially reserved domains that have political power is relevant in research concerning *transformation states*. A relatively new question, triggered by financial organisations, is whether reforms of the security sector in *developing countries* must precede sustainable development. The point of view is also fruitful for the lesser-developed post-communist transformation states, in particular for the Caucasus and Central Asia.

The research field *Arms control and disarmament* is scientifically so comprehensive and broad, and politically so relevant that it has its own working group (WG I) at the IFSH. Continuous and comprehensive research on armament, arms control and disarmament has taken place at the IFSH since the founding of the Institute. Central have been four research focuses. First, even a decade after the end of the East-West confrontation, the *concept of arms control* has still not moved beyond the bipolar-parity model. Therefore, it is necessary to rethink conceptual, and in particular multipolar-asymmetrical relations models of arms control. Second, the centrality of the theme *nuclear arms control and missile defence/outer space arms* will increase even after the planned research schedule. Third, the observations on *European arms control* will be carried out together with CORE. Fourth, the expertise in the field of preventive arms control will be applied to more specific themes, e.g. linking presently available knowledge on arms control mechanisms to sub-regional crisis situations.

The *regional focus* of research at the IFSH covers three sub-regions where violent conflict has been evident: the Balkans, Caucasus and Central Asia. This does not mean that other sub-regional or global areas are ignored. Specific concerns are Eastern Europe, including Russia, as well as Asia and the Middle East.

The most violent peak of conflict in the Balkans may have surpassed after the regime change in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, excluding the Macedonian crisis. However, a difficult consolidation phase that may take decades requires that this research focus be maintained. As this research will require some analysis in particular on the EU - as well as on the OSCE - working group II, which has accumulated expertise over the years, and CORE are responsible for this research.

The *Caucasus and Transcaucasus* will remain an area of conflict in the long run due to its desolate economic situation, high ethno-political fragmentation, resource deposits, the great power interests linked to these, as well as due to the opportunities from functionalising the primary conflicts that arise from these factors. The responsible working groups II and CORE can build upon already existing material on this region.

The same case applies to the five *Central Asian states*. In addition, this region includes Islamic movements that could become a political challenge for a Western-secular understanding of democracy. And this development has only begun. The IFSH has set a new focus in this key region, and CORE is responsible for research in this area.

Selected themes on *Asia* cannot be ignored by the IFSH for two reasons. First, Asia is the key continent of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. A focus with global problems ignoring Asia is therefore unthinkable. Second, several Asian states (e.g. Afghanistan, Pakistan, China) are linked to Central Asian issues to such an extent that they cannot be ignored.

Already due to the effects on the European area as well as on Islamic states and movements, the long-term focus on the *Middle East* will be continued at the same level as before.

#### **4. Research aims 2001/2002**

In this section, the specific research aims of the IFSH for the years 2001 and 2002 will be briefly introduced, with regard to both content and co-operation. A more detailed description can be found in the research plans of the various working groups.

##### *4.1 Fundamental questions on conflict prevention and civilian conflict resolution*

In early 2001, the Heinrich-Böll Foundation commissioned a study to the theme "*Crisis prevention as a political task: Institutional and instrumental starting points for the Federal Republic of Germany*". Several employees of the Institute contributed to this study, and in the summer it will be actualised, discussed with experts and politicians, and published in early autumn. The aim of the study is to research various actors on the national and European levels in order to come to an understanding of crisis prevention as a multidimensional responsibility area and to make policy-proposals for the Republic of Germany.

##### *4.2 Crisis prevention and peace consolidation as a task of the UN, OSCE and EU*

This theme will be focussed upon primarily by CORE, but also contributed to by WG II and IV.

#### 4.2.1 Tasks and instruments of the UN and OSCE

Five projects contribute to this theme. Parts focus more on concepts, parts on intervention instruments, though both areas are inevitably interlinked. The overall aim is to deepen the international level of know-how on possibilities and limitations of civilian conflict intervention by international organisations.

The High Commissioner for National Minorities of the OSCE has been viewed as *the* "success story" of this organisation in regulating ethno-political conflicts. However, a comparative study on his efficiency has not yet been undertaken. Since 1999, the project "*On the Effectiveness of the OSCE Minority Regime - Comparative Case Studies on the Implementation of the Recommendations of the High Commissioner on National Minorities (HCNM) of the OSCE*" (HCNM Project) has studied Russian speaking minorities in Estonia, Latvia and Ukraine, Hungarian minorities in Romania and Slovakia, as well as Albanian minorities in Macedonia in the view of the relative effectiveness of the HCNM. A particular focus has been the question of what conditions result in differences in effectiveness of the instruments of the HCNM.

Whereas the HCNM Project specifically focuses on the implementation of minority rights, the planned project "*Security through democratisation - Theoretical Framework and Comparative Case Studies on the Objectives, Adequacy, Organization and Effectiveness of OSCE Democratisation Measures Aimed at Building Security in Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan*" (Democracy Project) studies the linkages between democracy, transformation, domestic political conflict constellations and external democratisation strategies. The choice of cases consciously illustrates those sub-regions in which external democratisation policies relate to the largest democracy deficits and partially also to a competing political order of values (Islam). The project, which is planned to start in the beginning of 2002, would represent the first comprehensive study on this theme. The project will greatly profit from the already undertaken work on the HCNM and on the work carried out by the Mission Projects (see below). It also has great synergy potential with the planned study of WG IV on the relationship between democracy and global governance.

The question on the relationship between the normative base of the OSCE and the political demands of Islamic movements is studied by the current project "*Peace-Building Dialogue between Secular and Islamistic Forces in Tajikistan - Lessons Learnt for Central Asia*" (Tajikistan Project). The aim of this research experiment, which is carried out in close co-operation with the Foreign Office, is to carry out a deepening study on both the present co-operation potential that exists between the secular and moderate Islamic forces and to organise a dialogue process between the representatives of both groupings in Tajikistan. The project will be expanded to Central Asia in 2002.

Using a more instrumental approach, the research project of WG IV, "*International Police - an alternative to military conflict management*" (CivPol Project), uses case studies (e.g. East Timor, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo) to study the possibilities and limitations of international policing operations to complement, but partially also to replace military peace keeping operations. As this debate is at the time highly relevant to the present discussion that is taking place in the OSCE on executive policing, the project is undertaken in close co-operation with CORE. No similar study has of yet been undertaken in Germany. The question of international policing operations is increasing in relevance, and therefore further research projects will follow in the future.

The planned project *"Performance records of UN and OSCE field missions of varying sizes - the Cases of Georgia, Kosovo, the FYR of Macedonia and Tajikistan"* (Mission Project) will start in the second half of 2001. As the project will be the first international, systematic empirical study of its kind on multifunctional civilian UN and OSCE missions, it will be of high relevance for this field. The project, undertaken by CORE, will profit from the work of the CivPol Project, which it will closely co-operate with.

#### 4.2.2 *Tasks and instruments of the EU*

The European Union has been involved in the field of structural conflict prevention for a long time, but only strengthened its role in operative civilian crisis prevention and military conflict intervention starting 1999. The research demand on the preventive potentials of the EU, the structure of its instruments, as well as on its co-operation with other international organisations is high.

The project *"Conflict prevention as a challenge for the CFSP/ESDP of the EU"* (Conflict Prevention and CFSP Project), undertaken by WG II, will focus on conceptual questions, civilian crisis prevention as well as on military conflict intervention of the EU. As the question relates to the inter-institutional division of labour and co-operation with the UN, OSCE and NATO, the project will work in close co-operation with CORE. The conceptual analysis will be complemented by a sub-regional study on *"The possibilities and limitations of the EU in stabilising South East Europe"* (EU/South East Europe Project), and will also have synergy potentials with the CivPol-, Missions- and TRC Project (see below). These synergies between several projects will be used in particular to clarify the question on inter-institutional co-operation (and competition).

A specific theme of high relevance for the question of peace consolidation is covered by a project beginning on the 1<sup>st</sup> of July 2001 in CORE: *"Towards a Comprehensive Strategy on Forced Displacement: Integrating the Refugee Dimension into EU External Relations"* (Refugee Project). It has synergies to other CORE projects through its case studies (Balkans, Caucasus, Maghreb), and due to its central EU focus, also closely co-operates with WG II.

#### 4.2.3 *Training and information of members of civilian UN and OSCE missions*

Based on the contribution of CORE to the training offered by the Foreign Office for future members of civilian UN and OSCE missions, two specific *scientific services* are planned. First, in 2001 CORE will compile three so-called *Mission Information Packages* for Kosovo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as for one further country, all of which will be available in English on the Internet for future mission members. The packages offer a well-structured overview on the development of the conflict in the specific country, complemented by a multitude of links for further information and an overview of the current work of international organisations that are involved in the region. The packages will be compiled in close co-operation with the Foreign Office, the *Training and Capacity Building Unit* of the OSCE, and will also utilise the expertise of the South East Europe project of WG II. In addition, in co-operation with the *Training and Capacity Building Unit* and an additional international scientific partner, CORE is planning a *Mission Training Evaluation Project*. The aim of this project is to comprehensively evaluate the training level of mission members, and hence indirectly also the training programmes for missions offered by various OSCE member States. The project is of particular importance as it will be the first CORE project that works in direct

institutional co-operation with an international organisation. Further similar activities will be pursued in the long term.

#### *4.3 Fields of civilising violent conflict*

Three central research fields of the Institute are democratisation, law in international relations and sustainable development. Due to the limited capacities of the Institute, these three fields have not been developed at an equal rate. Though projects exist for the first two themes, only a few pilot studies and plans exist for the third field. In this section, plans that have not previously been mentioned will be introduced. Projects that have already been described will only briefly be mentioned in this section. The following projects are planned by the working groups II and IV as well as by CORE.

##### *4.3.1 Civilising conflict through democratisation*

In addition to the comparative case analyses of the HCNM and Democratisation Project, WG IV is planning a study on *"The differences and similarities in reference to the past: a study on the formation of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) for Kosovo"*. This project will study the extent to which the instrument of a TRC that has been implemented in several countries is applicable to Kosovo. Third party finances are planned. WG IV also plans to organise an international workshop in either 2002 or 2003 to compare the effectiveness of already existing Truth and Reconciliation Commissions. Based on the conclusions, similar resolutions will be planned for the Korean peninsula and Kosovo. Both working groups and CORE will closely co-operated in this attempt to study the application of the TRC instrument to several regions of the world. Further research is also planned on the normative bases and possibilities to implement global governance, in particular concerning studies on the development of democracy in international relations and the effective organisation of co-operative global governance.

##### *4.3.2 Civilising conflict through law*

At the end of 2001, a third party financed project of WG IV, *"Peace through law"*, will be completed. The aim of the project is to create an optimal and realisable model of international jurisdiction and arbitration, based on a comparative analysis of empirical analyses of various cases of the International Court of Justice, the Law of the High Seas, the Permanent International Criminal Court and Permanent Court of Arbitration.

The publication of a periodical, *"Peace and Law"*, is intended as a service for science, politics and the media. A further long-term service will be the compilation of a database on international justice, which will be financed by third party means.

Terrorist forms of conflict presently pose a central international problem, as the fight against terrorism can be understood a specific form of justice. Already last year, two interdisciplinary workshops were commissioned by DaimlerChrysler AG and carried out on the themes *"Terror with weapons of mass destruction - the vulnerability of industrial and urban centres"* and *"Cyber terror - the vulnerability of communication and information structures"*. Participants included representatives of the sciences and known personnel from the government and states. In 2003, a further workshop on the theme *"The fight against terrorism and the possibilities of verification"* will be carried out together with WG I.

### 4.3.3 *Civilising conflict through sustainable development*

The projects of WG IV on this theme are still in their initial phases. Primary pilot studies, commissioned by the Ministry of Economic Co-operation and Development, include the evaluation of development criteria with regard to decisions on arms exports and military aid to developing countries. The findings of the IFSH were taken into account in the debate on reforming the Federal Republic's policy line on arms exports. In the framework of the broad theme "resources and violent conflict", the IFSH will play a co-ordinating and leading role in a research association of the University of Hamburg on the theme "*Practical and synergic tools and methods for the de-escalation of limited conflict scenarios (Tool-Box)*". With regard to concrete conflict scenarios, a three-year river management project is planned to begin in 2001 on the theme "*Conflict scenarios due to resource use - the example of the Yellow River*". This project will be financed by third party funds and will be carried out in the framework of a multidisciplinary working group of scientists in Hamburg. Additionally, in the first half of 2001, CORE will as a service for the Foreign Office compile a report on OSCE decisions and recommendations on the theme "ecological security" as a preparation for an OSCE seminar on "ecological security", initiated by Germany and which is to take place in Switzerland.

### 4.4 *The civilian incorporation of the military factor*

The civilian incorporation of the military factor demarcates a broad field, within which the IFSH focuses on the themes "*Reform and democratic control of forces*" (WG II and IV) and "*Arms control and disarmament*" (WG I together with CORE). All working groups are therefore involved with this central topic.

#### 4.4.1 *Reform and democratic control of the armed forces*

Armed forces must adapt to various tasks, sizes, structures and equipments. They must always be democratically controlled. In this field, IFSH projects that are carried out in WG II and IV concentrate on NATO states, in particular on Germany, on the transformation states of Central-, East- and Southern Europe, as well as on a selection of developing countries.

##### 4.4.1.1 *The Federal Republic of Germany: Military Reform Project*

The project "*European security and the future of the military*", which is to be carried out by WG II in co-operation with scientists, officers and politicians, is to be concluded in 2001. The project "*Institutional aspects of domestic leadership*", which analyses the deficits of societal integration of the German forces and offers policy solutions, is also to be concluded in the end of 2001.

##### 4.4.1.2 *Central-, Southeast- and Eastern Europe: Baudissin-Fellowship*

The 21st fellow at the IFSH of the "*International fellowship programme of Lord Baudissin*" (IFGB), which has taken place since 1996, will be the last fellow to complete the programme between July and December 2001. The aim of the IFGB, carried out in co-operation with the

Military University, is to offer the opportunity for officers and employees of the civilian defence administration, as well as partner scientists from Central-, Southeast- and Eastern Europe to carry out research work at the IFSH for six months. During this time, the fellow is to study domestic leadership with regard to European security. As the IFSH believes there is high demand for such a project, WG II is presently trying to gather finances to continue the programme.

#### *4.4.1.3 Developing countries: Security Sector Reform Project and database*

The comprehensive reform of the security sector is of increasing relevance for developing and transformation states, and is increasingly a prerequisite for the attainment of sustainable development and for ensuring human security. A central task related to this issue is to further train key personnel in the respective countries. The *Baudissin Fellowship* of WG IV contributes to this aim, as officers and security experts of the respective countries are given the opportunity, in co-operation with the Federal Republic of Germany, to scientifically research problems and reforms of the security sector of their country during a six month stay at the IFSH. The programme is intended to run for at least three more years, and third party financing has been applied for from the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (German Union for Technical Co-operation, GTZ). To complement the programme, a *database for security sector reforms* is planned, and will run for five years and will be financed by third party funds. In addition, an application will be made together with WG I at the GTZ for a *research project to contain the spread of small arms*.

#### *4.4.2 Quantitative, qualitative und preventive demarcation of military capacities through arms control and disarmament*

Projects on arms control and disarmament are carried out by WG I, whereas themes on European arms control will be run in co-operation with CORE. The small researcher team of WG I does not mean that this theme is of little importance. On the contrary, activities on this theme must be expanded as key documents that were thought secure (ABM Treaty, START, Bio-weapon convention) are undermined and as the conceptual demand increases for certain neglected fields, e.g. increasingly linking arms control to crisis prevention. Therefore the main aim of WG I for this planning period is to find third party finances to cover this theme.

##### *4.4.2.1 Conceptual questions on arms control*

In recent decades, the theme of arms dynamics and arms control has significantly diversified. At the same time, the conceptual aspects have not sufficiently been able to move beyond the bipolar paradigm of the era of East-West confrontation. Despite this challenge, no scientific work has been undertaken on this issue. This will be rectified in the framework of the planned project *"Interdisciplinary introduction to arms dynamics and arms control"*, which will be financed by third party funds.

##### *4.4.2.2 Nuclear arms control and missile defence*

With the background of stagnating nuclear arms control, the problem of introducing missile defence plays a key role. In July 2001, a third party financed two-year project will begin on

the theme "*The situation and concrete examples of preventive arms control: missile defence and new technologies*". The focus of this analysis lies in the relationship between defensive and offensive components of the disposition on nuclear strategy, in particular taking into account new weapons such as laser weapons and electromagnetic canons. Also planned for 2001 is a third party financed project on "*Armament in space and arms control*". This project will offer an overview of technological possibilities and programmes on armament in space (missile defence, laser weapons, anti-satellite weapons etc.), as well as offer new or reworked practical recommendations for arms control.

#### *4.4.2.3 European arms control*

In co-operation with CORE, an international conference to be held in 2002 will be planned in 2001. The theme will be "*Arms control and crisis prevention*", and participants will include both scientists and practitioners. The aim is to study to what extent, under which circumstances and in which escalation phases instruments of arms control (mainly the CFE Document, Vienna Document 99, Open Skies Document) can also be applied as instruments of crisis prevention. CORE will also continue to study the CFE implementation process, the OSCE Forum on security co-operation, the development of the Dayton Agreement, and Annex IB and Article V process (FRY and its neighbouring states).

#### *4.4.2.4 Preventive arms control*

Based on the German Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF) framework project that is to be concluded in the 1st quarter of 2001 on "*Methods, criteria and concepts for preventive arms control*" and building on prior activities, a 15-month project, financed by third party funds, on "*Preventive arms control and information warfare*" is to be initiated in the end of 2001. The IFSH will organise the first workshop on this theme, and this will take place in the end of June 2001.

### *4.5 Regional focuses: Balkans, Caucasus, Central Asia*

The regional focuses of the IFSH concentrate on the Balkans, Caucasus and Central Asia, as well as secondarily on Easter Europe/Russia, Asia and the Middle East. In this section, projects that have not been mentioned will be briefly introduced.

#### *4.5.1 Balkans*

As the HCNM Project, the Missions Project and the EU/South East Europe Project, as well as the TRC Project and the *Mission Information Packages* primarily or partially focus on the Balkans or the states that lie therein, this region is covered to a high extent. The IFSH expects to continue its concentration on the problems of the Balkans also in the long run, and several projects will be undertaken on this region in the future. This is important also to ensure that researchers of the institute increase and maintain their knowledge on the region.

#### 4.5.2 *Caucasus*

In addition to the case of Georgia in the Mission Project, Azerbaijan and Georgia in the Democracy Project and possibly (dependent on agreement with the Foreign Office) of Georgia in a *Mission Information Package*, the project "*The foreign and security policy of Georgia: The role of small and weak states in creating a new European peaceful order*" contributes with a specific case to the security-political problems of Caucasian states. A useful synergy potential exists between the projects in particular for the case of Georgia. This also allows for the existing expertise on the Caucasus to be deepened. The focus on Caucasus will be continued in the long run, and will also be extended to include Northern Caucasus.

#### 4.5.3 *Central Asia*

The Tajikistan Project and the OSCE-Islam-Paper are the first steps in building competence in the region of Central Asia. As it is expected that this region where conflicts occur in high density will continue to remain central politically, culturally, normally and strategically, this focus will be maintained and expanded also in the long run.

#### 4.5.4 *Eastern Europe and Russia*

Eastern Europe and Russia have traditionally been central focus regions of the IFSH. Concentration on this region, and in particular on Russia, is already necessary due to the reason that the Russian Federation is an *interested party* in several of the conflicts in the region, and these conflicts cannot be solved without its (at least the partial) co-operation.

#### 4.5.5 *Asia*

Alongside the already-mentioned Yellow River Project, a new study is intended to complement several years of study on both Korean states, as well as studies on the applicability of the CSCE process, the German Eastern policy and the German reunion to the Korean situation. The planned project, that will take place for several years, will identify co-operative policy options to decrease military risks in North-East Asia in co-operation with the Sejong Institute in Seoul and the Kim Dae-Jung Foundation.

WG II is planning a project on "*Global Player EU? On the EU's Asian policy in the framework of the EFSP*". Third party finances will be applied for in 2002. Central to the project will be the analysis of EU policies towards East Asia and South-East Asia, as well as the Asian Pacific region with specific focus on the FR of China and ASEAN. The planning and carrying out of the project will be done together by WG II and IV.

#### 4.5.6 *Middle East*

During 2002 and 2004, the German-Israeli Foundation is to fund and apply for a scientific project on "*Terrorism and security: The role of Islam in violent processes of nation- and state-formation in the post-bipolar world*". The project, undertaken by WG IV, will be carried out in co-operation with Tel Aviv University and the Beit Berl College in Israel, and will also be contributed to by CORE.

## 5. Outlook for research

Research that is successful in the long run must be oriented on long-term goals. This section includes thoughts on two research organisational key questions, namely those of national and international co-operation as well as personnel and qualifications.

### 5.1 National and international co-operation

In the upcoming years, the IFSH will base its national and international scientific co-operation relationships on the following guidelines, which are all interdependent:

- faster, more frequent and stronger goal-oriented *communication* with scientific, political and other partners;
- stronger concentration on *international co-operation relationships* in key regions and countries;
- stronger concentration on the national and international co-operation relationships with *relevant actors/organisations*;
- increasing *degree of institutionalisation* of scientific co-operation.

With regard to the ambivalent international demand for scientific information and the frequently short actuality of demand for conflict analysis, a new challenge is to supply peace- and security-political studies *quicker, more frequently and using stronger goal-oriented communication*. The following steps should help to achieve this aim:

- After the completion of the renewed IFSH and CORE Websites in the first half of the year, all publications of the IFSH where publication rights are owned by its researchers will immediately be placed *online*. To accommodate information demand, a theme-oriented free *online* subscription will be introduced, as has already been done by CORE.
- Scientific specialists such as the German Association for Peace and Conflict Research (AFK), the German Association for Political Science (DVPW) and the Association of German Scientists will be increasingly used for communicative purposes. The aim is to attain a sufficient degree of institutionalisation of relations, also on the international level.
- On-going projects will be strengthened with workshops and presentations in order to provide an opportunity to discuss intermediate results.

To support the content orientation, a stronger *concentration on international co-operation relations in key regions and countries (parts of countries)* is required. The IFSH's regional focuses are the Balkans/Kosovo, Caucasus/Georgia and Central Asia/Tajikistan. This aim requires scientific, political and other (e.g. NGOs) partners to be found. The goal is to create at least one institutionalised partnership per focus country during the planning period.

New thematic challenges and demands often develop in the dialogue between national and international actors and scientific establishments: e.g. the theme security sector reform is arguably pushed for by the World Bank. To accommodate this demand for scientific analysis, a *stronger concentration on national and international co-operation relations and relevant actors/organisations* is required. Present co-operation relations in Germany to Ministries, the German Parliament and various other public and semi-public institutions can be described as

very good. However, a broader differentiation is still required. In contrast, on the international level, several deficits still exist. Contacts to the European Council and OSCE employees have been formed and the most important goal at present is to find contacts in the EU Commission and other EU institutions. The goal is also to expand and institutionalise the scope of organisations that commission and fund projects.

The *increase in the institutionalisation level of scientific co-operation* has two main aspects. First, the aim is to apply for and carry out research projects on peace and conflict together with other German establishments when the Institute's own funds are insufficient. With regard to the limited capacities of German research on international relations, and in particular in peace and conflict research, such a step appears to be necessary in order to be able to scientifically compete on the international level.

Second, the degree of institutionalisation of co-operation with international scientific establishments should be gradually increased. Each project is to seek a scientific co-operation partner from the region that it studies. The partners should be institutes with whom co-operation can be continued even after the project has been concluded.

## *5.2 Personnel and qualification*

This section concentrates, firstly, on the size of personnel that is necessary to continuously carry out certain thematic focuses. Secondly, the theme-oriented qualification of researchers, including also the support of young researchers, will be discussed.

*Necessary personnel.* In the medium term, each working group should have a least four research fellows as permanent employees. This size appears to be a minimum requirement in order to be able to focus on thematic focuses continuously also in the long run, without having to solely rely on the acceptance of a research application. This amount of personnel is also necessary in order to be able to continuously pursue high-quality research applications alongside the on-going projects.

*Theme oriented competence teams.* Complex questions can increasingly and especially in the long term not be worked on only by one researcher. Theme oriented competence teams are therefore required. These should be built around the employed researcher, and include both assistant researchers and young researchers. The permanently employed researchers provide for continuity, while assistant researchers with short-term contracts bring in an element of flexibility and new perspectives. At the same time, this construction allows for the incorporation of foreign research assistants as well as researchers who are able to bring in practical experience (e.g. from international organisations) alongside their scientific qualification. Quality research will increasingly be based on scientific research that is anchored in an exchange between science and practice.

*Integration of young researchers.* The aims of building a stronger research team and promoting young researchers both require the integration of young researchers into on-going research work. At present, the themes for a Masters thesis and dissertation is often chosen primarily by the student, aided by advice and support from the outside. In other words, the choice is not influenced by current research demands. In the future, however, themes as well as support should be dependent on research demand that has not (sufficiently) been satiated by research. This already takes place in the natural sciences. The research themes that are in demand will be openly published on the *Websites* of IFSH and CORE for interested young researchers. The young researchers would then become a part of a specific project team. The

above plans also apply to the planned postgraduate course "Peace research and security policy".