

S C H I F F

Schleswig-Holsteinisches Institut für Friedenswissenschaften
an der Christian-Albrechts-Universität Kiel

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for 2004**

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The Schleswig-Holstein Institute for Peace Research
at the Christian-Albrechts-University Kiel

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an der Christian-Albrechts-Universität Kiel

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S H I P

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Leonid Karabeshkin & Christian Wellmann
The Russian Domestic Debate on Kaliningrad
Integrity, Identity and Economy

Kieler Schriften zur Friedenswissenschaft - Bd. 11
(Kiel Peace Research Series - Vol. 11)

LIT Verlag, Münster/Hamburg/Berlin/Wien/London, 2004

104 pp. - € 12.90 / \$ 19.95

ISBN 3-8258-7952-6

The book investigates into the domestic background of Russia's policy with respect to its Baltic exclave, the EU and NATO encircled Kaliningrad region.

Based solely on Russian sources, the book strives for deepening the understanding of Russia's Kaliningrad policy by non-Russian actors and of why it quite often appears to be unsuitable, eruptive or offensive. The policy issues studied in-depth concern identity formation, economic development and the visa regime. Common to all is that the respective federal policies are strongly affected by worries about the territorial integrity of Russia and the possibility of alienation of the exclave from the mainland. The book concludes with lessons to be learned on how to respond constructively to the mode of Russia's Kaliningrad policy.

Leonid Karabeshkin is chairman of the Baltic Club, St Petersburg, Russian Federation; *Christian Wellmann* is deputy director of the Schleswig-Holstein Institute for Peace Research, Kiel, Germany.

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1. A Survey of SHIP

1.1 Status and Statutory Responsibilities

In accordance with paragraph 2 of its statutes SHIP carries out basic and application-oriented academic work in topics relevant to the maintenance of peace. Its goal is that of improving the state of knowledge on the conditions leading to, on the opportunities for and on the obstacles to advances in integration, non-violence, and justice in the international system as well as in individual societies and to contribute to the dissemination of that knowledge. To this end SHIP endeavours

- to bring together a variety of different academic disciplines in a problem-oriented manner, and to make them useful and usable in that combination (orientation towards inter-disciplinarity),
- to co-operate in its work with other academic institutions as well as with potential users of the results of its research (orientation towards co-operation and praxis), and
- to combine its research and development work with lecturing in tertiary institutions, in particular the University of Kiel, as well as communicating the results of its work to the sections of the general public to whom they are of interest (orientation towards teaching and publicisation).

A particular emphasis shall be placed on questions of relevance to the State of Schleswig-Holstein as well as to the Baltic Sea region at large. Not least, the statutes also point out: "SHIP will involve women in peace research and particularly emphasise the treatment of topics, which interest and concern women."

1.2 At the Centre of SHIP's Concerns: the Baltic Sea Region

SHIP's academic work is currently organized in two subject areas:

- co-operation and conflict prevention (for details see section 3.1)
- arms control, disarmament and human security (for details see section 3.2)

Overarching and amending these two subject areas special attention in SHIP's work is directed towards the Baltic Sea region, or more precisely expressed, towards "the Baltic Sea region in the New Europe". Its past and present politico-geographical structure makes it particularly suitable for the study of such developments and the determinants thereof, which are relevant and characteristic also for European development as a whole. The region on the one hand is large enough and differentiated enough to represent also the structures characteristic for Europe at large, and on the other hand remains "manageable" enough, to allow the formulation of concrete ideas as well as to take into consideration regional and individual national peculiarities and particularities. Further, North-Eastern Europe is the area where the enlarging Western structures of integration, the EU and NATO, directly meet with the other centre of gravity of European development, the Russian Federation. It is the Baltic Sea region that provides the test case for whether or not a Europe of the future will be characterized by a new dividing line or by truly pan-European integration, not ending at the outer borders of the EU.

Thus the Baltic Sea region provides the main empirical reference point for research work at SHIP, however less from a regional studies point of view, but

rather from the perspective of shaping peace in Europe. What role is in store for the Baltic Sea region in the development of new European peace structures and, on the other hand, how will the transformations in Europe affect the Baltic Sea region and its residents? In looking into this question the potentials for conflict in the region will be investigated, as also will the possibility of reducing them and applying a constructive treatment of them, through reinforced trans-border regional co-operation at the state, sub-state and societal level.

1.3 Structure

From a juridical point of view, the Schleswig-Holstein Institute for Peace Research (SHIP) is an academic institution under public law of the Federal State of Schleswig-Holstein. It is attached to the Christian-Albrechts-University Kiel (a so-called *An-Institut*). The financial basis is provided from the budget of the Ministry for Education, Science, Research, and Cultural Affairs of the State of Schleswig-Holstein. In addition to this basic funding, there are grants for specific projects from third parties.

Members of the SHIP are the scholars employed by the Institute as well as scholars who engage in the Institute's activities without having entered any contractual relationship. Further, there are associated members who work with the Institute only in an irregular or otherwise reduced capacity.

SHIP is managed by a board of two directors. The Research Council, the general assembly of all members of the Institute, develops in consultation with the board the outlines of the research programme and related activities, decides on the admission of new members, and takes part in the process of employment of academic staff. The Board of Directors is responsible for the operation of the Institute and its outward representation.

In addition the Minister for Education, Science, Research, and Cultural Affairs of the State of Schleswig-Holstein has appointed an Advisory Board with the task of advising the directors of SHIP in fundamental matters. To it belong one representative each of the Christian-Albrechts-University, of the Schleswig-Holstein Council of Heads of Tertiary Institutions, the Schleswig-Holstein Student Union's Council, the SHIP Research Council, and the German Association for Peace and Conflict Research as well as two academics from other Baltic Sea littoral states working on issues relevant with respect to peace research.

1.4 On the Future of SHIP

As indicated in the previous report of activities, discussions are going on since quite some time on possibly integrating SHIP with an Institute of Social Science, as it is under consideration to be established in the Faculty of Economics and Social Sciences of the University of Kiel.

In this context the advisory board of SHIP unanimously adopted by occasion of its 2004 annual meeting the following resolution:

In Anbetracht

- des hohen Ansehens, das sich das SCHIFF mit seiner ostsee-bezogenen Arbeit gerade auch im Ausland erworben hat,

- der mit der aktuellen EU-Erweiterung noch wachsenden Bedeutung der Ostseezusammenarbeit für Schleswig-Holstein und
- der hohen Effizienz und der überdurchschnittlichen Drittmittelquote, mit der das SCHIFF bei bescheidenem Einsatz von Haushaltsmitteln seit seiner Gründung gearbeitet hat, sowie
- der Erfahrungen, die anderenorts mit der Zusammenlegung von Forschungseinrichtungen unterschiedlichen Profils zu größeren Einheiten gemacht wurden,

vertritt der von der Ministerin für Bildung, Wissenschaft, Forschung und Kultur des Landes Schleswig-Holstein berufene Beirat des SCHIFF die Auffassung:

Den Interessen des Landes ebenso wie den Arbeitsmöglichkeiten des Instituts ist am besten dadurch gedient, dass das SCHIFF als eigene Einrichtung des Landes in Form eines Instituts an der Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel erhalten bleibt.

Eine Aufgabe des spezifischen Kompetenzprofils, der institutionellen Identität ("corporate identity") und der gewachsenen Expertise wäre schädlich und würde die geleistete Arbeit und die dafür aufgebrauchten Landesmittel nachträglich entwerten.

Gleichwohl ist der Beirat sich der Notwendigkeit von Veränderungen bewusst. Er empfiehlt dem Institut, sein Profil weiter zu schärfen und hält es zugleich für sinnvoll und angemessen, dass die "An"-Beziehung des Instituts zur Universität aus dem derzeit überwiegend formal-technischen Zustand in eine inhaltliche Kooperation überführt wird. Das SCHIFF hat die Kompetenz, im Bereich von Friedensforschung, Ostseepolitik, EU-Russland-Beziehungen, naturwissenschaftlichen Fragestellungen von Rüstung und Abrüstung und angrenzenden Themenfeldern zur Behebung von Lehrenpässen im Bereich politikwissenschaftlich orientierter Studiengänge beizutragen. Der Beirat hält es deshalb für eine für alle Seiten ertragreiche und insgesamt optimale Lösung, aus der halben Professorenstelle des derzeitigen Institutsdirektors und Haushaltsmitteln des Instituts eine dem Institut zugeordnete Leitungsstelle auszuweisen, die im Einvernehmen mit der Universität ausgeschrieben und besetzt wird und deren Inhaber oder Inhaberin zugleich jener Fakultät angehört, der das zu schaffende Sozialwissenschaftliche Institut zugehören wird. Auf diese Weise kann und sollte die äußerst erfolgreiche Arbeit des SCHIFF unter Wahrung seiner bekannten Identität für die Universität nützlich gemacht werden und dort insbesondere die politikwissenschaftliche Ausbildung stärken.

Der Beirat fordert den Geschäftsführenden Vorstand des Instituts ausdrücklich dazu auf, alle weiteren Gespräche und Verhandlungen an den vorstehend genannten Grundsätzen und Perspektiven zu orientieren. Sollten sich diese nicht umsetzen lassen, erwartet der Beirat vor weiteren Schritten zu einer ggf. auch außerplanmäßigen Sitzung einberufen zu werden und Berichterstattung zu erhalten.

The negotiations were continued in the course of 2004 and will hopefully end with a solution acceptable for both, SHIP and the University of Kiel.

2. Staff and Infrastructure

Members of the Institute / Research Staff

In the course of 2004 the following researchers were full members of SHIP, may it have been in full-time or in part-time capacity:

- Hanne-Margret Birckenbach (from August 1)
Born in 1948. University studies and diploma in sociology, political science, and social psychology at the University of Frankfurt/Main; Ph.D. in political science, Free University Berlin; Habilitation for Sociology at the University of Bielefeld. Jean-Monnet-Professor for European Studies at the Institute of Political Science at Gießen University. Head of SHIP's research project "Pilot-region Kaliningrad?". On leave from Gießen University for the period August 2004 until the end of March 2005.
- Tobias Etzold
Born in 1974. University studies in Münster, Marburg and Nijmegen; M.A. in political science at the University of Nijmegen; post-graduate course of international relations studies at the Netherland's Institute of International Relations '*Clingendael*'; internships at SIPRI, CBSS-Secretariat and ECMI. Research assistant in SHIP's research project "Pilot-region Kaliningrad?".
- Ulrike Kronfeld-Goharani
Born in 1956. University studies, Diploma and Ph.D. in Physical Oceanography. Since autumn 1991 Research Fellow at PRUK (Peace Research Unit Kiel) which later became the SHIP. Research focus on arms control, disarmament and sustainable development.
- Klaus Potthoff
Born in 1942. University studies, diploma and Ph.D. in mathematics at the Technical University Hannover. Habilitation in logic and mathematics, 1976 Associate Professor, since 1985 engagement in peace and conflict research. Co-initiator of the *Projektgruppe Friedenswissenschaften Schleswig-Holstein* and 1990 co-founder of the *Peace Research Unit Kiel* (PRUK).
- Silke Schielberg
Born in 1973. University studies, M.A. in political science, East-European history and slavistics at the Christian-Albrechts-University of Kiel. Since June 2002 engaged at SHIP as research associate in the subject area *Co-operation and Conflict Prevention*. Since July 2002 in parallel Ph.D candidate at the Institute of Political Science, Justus-Liebig-University of Gießen, supervisor: Prof. Dr. Hanne-Margret Birckenbach.
- Aude Thoumine
Born in 1972. Licentiate in German Culture and Literature at the University Rennes (France); State exam and M.A. in French and German at the University of Kiel. Teacher in French language and culture at the Centre Culturel Français in Kiel and since 1997 freelance participation in different projects at SHIP. Since spring 2001 affiliated with SHIP as the organizer for its *International Summer Academy*.
- Christian Wellmann
Born in 1948. Diploma in sociology, University of Frankfurt/Main; lecturer and Ph.D., Department of Political Science at the Free University Berlin (*Otto-Suhr-Institut*). In Kiel since spring 1990; co-ordinator of the *Projektgruppe Friedenswissenschaften Schleswig-Holstein*; co-founder of PRUK/Peace Research Unit Kiel. Currently primarily engaged in the subject area *Co-operation and Conflict Prevention*.

Further, in 2004 closely, however informally associated with SHIP was:

- **Walter Westphal**

Born in 1932. Diploma, Ph.D. and habilitation in physics. Professor emeritus in didactics of physics at the *Institut für die Pädagogik der Naturwissenschaften* at the University of Kiel. Co-founder of PRUK/Peace Research Unit Kiel. Main Interest: the political dimension of the natural sciences; responsibility in natural sciences, especially for peace, and its thematization in school and university courses.

The figure of seven scholars in the list of members of SHIP, however, draws a too positive picture of the real personal capacities at the disposal of the Institute. To what extent the individual researchers contribute to SHIP's activities varies considerably, depending on whether they are professional or honorary members, full-time or part-time employed, and whether or not the affiliation has lasted for all of the year. Taking these factors into consideration, only the equivalent of slightly less than four full-time posts for academic staff were at SHIP's disposal in 2004.

Board:

Throughout 2004, the Board of SHIP consisted of *Klaus Potthoff* as Director and *Christian Wellmann* as Deputy Director. The activity of the board is based upon rules of procedure and a plan of the distribution of work. On this basis, the responsibilities as to research projects and research staff are currently distributed as follows: Klaus Potthoff is responsible for the subject area "Arms Control, Disarmament and Human Security", the "International Summer Academy", and the activities concerning "Intercultural Learning", whilst Christian Wellmann takes responsibility for the subject area "Co-operation and Conflict Prevention" ("Intercultural Learning" excluded) as well as for "Baltic Sea activities" not classed elsewhere.

Advisory Board:

The members of the Advisory Board are appointed by the Minister of Sciences of the Federal State of Schleswig-Holstein for a three years term on the proposal of the institutions which are entitled by SHIP's Statutes to nominate candidates. For the term which began in 2004 the following board members have been (re-)appointed:

- *Prof. Dr. Eberhard Dall'Asta*, University of Kiel, Institute for Political Science (nominated by Christian-Albrechts-University Kiel);
- *Dr. Ulrike Kronfeld-Goharani*, SHIP (nominated by the Research Council of SHIP);
- *Amir Makee Mosa*, student of law at Kiel University (nominated by the Schleswig-Holstein Student Union's Council);
- *Carl-Einar Stålvant*, National Defence College, Sweden (nominated by the Advisory Board of SHIP);
- *Prof. Dr. Peter Schlotter*, Peace Research Institute Frankfurt – PRIF/HSFK and Darmstadt University (nominated by the Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Friedens- und Konfliktforschung - AFK; German Peace Research Association);
- *Director Marc Weller*, European Centre for Minority Issues (ECMI), Flensburg (nominated by the Schleswig-Holstein Council of Heads of Tertiary Institutions);

- *Håkan Wiberg*, Danish Institute for International Studies (DIIS), Department of European Studies (nominated by the Advisory Board of SHIP).

Administrative Staff / Assistants / Practitioners:

For all of the year the secretariat of the Institute was managed jointly by *Ulrike Abel* and *Christel Naumann*, both on a half-time post.

Florian Siegesmund, on contract basis, was responsible for matters concerning electronic data processing. *Cécile Fischer*, former student assistant with SHIP, supported on contract basis until July 2004 SHIP's international Summer academy as a scientific assistant. *Olga Sagorowskaya*, also a former student assistant with SHIP, had a work place at SHIP for the purpose of preparing her M.A. thesis in political science.

Finances:

The basic financing of the Institute comes from the budget of the Ministry for Education, Sciences, Research, and Culture of the Federal State of Schleswig-Holstein. In 2004, a total of 328,000 € were spent by the institute, some 262,000 € provided by the state budget and some 66,000 € out of donations and grants the institute had successfully applied for. Grant giver / donor were the Berghof-Foundation for Conflict Research and the NordWestLotto Schleswig-Holstein respectively. Further, the Heinrich-Böll-Foundation Schleswig-Holstein contributed some 2,400 € in kind. Additionally, half a post of a C2 professorship was at the disposal of SHIP, whilst formally remaining within the university.

Location:

SHIP is housed in the buildings of the Technical Faculty of the Christian-Albrecht-University, located in the suburb of Gaarden in Kiel. SHIP's staff may express its cordial gratitude to the Technical Faculty and its staff for the hospitality constantly shown to the scientifically quite alien "peace people" from SHIP.

3. Research Activities

3.1 Co-operation and Conflict Prevention

In geographical and empirical terms the research activities in this subject area predominantly deal with aspects of co-operation and conflict in the Baltic Sea Region. Most of the activities are guided by *two basic strands of interest* which serve as "umbrellas" for the projects, adding coherence to them. These guiding lines are:

1. *"Forging links": Russia, Baltic Sea Co-operation and the Future of European Integration*

In the Baltic Sea Region the two centres of gravity of European development meet each other directly: the dynamically integrating Europe of the EU and of NATO on the one hand and the Russian Federation, suffering from deep political and economic crisis, on the other hand. Thus, the region plays an outstanding role in the forming of the relationship between Russia and the rest of Europe. It is the Baltic Sea Region where the danger becomes most apparent that Russia, in the course of domestic, European and global developments, might fall politically, economi-

cally and societally into isolation instead of being an integral part of a diversely linked Europe. Thus, the core questions of European security at the beginning of the 21st century are, how to avoid Russia and the other European countries to drift apart and, instead, how to strengthen existing trends of integration. What is at stake is nothing less than preventing division and confrontation to re-emerge in Europe.

Research questions emerging out of this constellation are among other the following: Does regional cross-border co-operation of state, sub-state and non-state actors as well as of regional international organisations include the potential to counter-balance an unfavourable tendency of Russia and the Europe of the EU and NATO to drift apart? Which are the possibilities of strengthening such potential of Baltic Sea regional co-operation and to make it more effective and resistant against crisis? How can it be avoided that Russia becomes an outsider to region-building in the course of a dynamic which is at first shaped by the process of EU enlargement?

2. Human Rights-oriented Politics as a Field of Conflict in the Societal World

From the point of view of peace research, human rights and minorities policies represent a field of conflict which is characteristic to the present development of a societal world. In the course of its development issues raised on the layer of the international system of human rights and issues raised in the context of security and military policies overlap more and more and require a refinement of instruments of peaceful conflict resolution, not at least due to the enlarged number of actors involved from above and from beneath the level of nation states. Region-building in the Baltic Sea Region provides evidence for respective processes and allows to study closely the potential for both, intra-societal, inter-societal, and inter-state integration as well as fragmentation.

3.1.1 *Pilot-region Kaliningrad? Participatory Research on Conflict Prevention*

Researchers: Christian Wellmann (SHIP), Hanne-Margret Birckenbach (Justus-Liebig-University, Gießen / SHIP) and Tobias Etzold

Nowadays, the insight is widely shared that international conflict prevention is the more successful the earlier it starts. However, the knowledge on how *pre-escalation prevention* actually works is still rather limited. The project strives for narrowing this gap of knowledge by investigating into a sensitive case which at present is on the agenda of European politics: the future development regarding Russia's Kaliningrad exclave.

There are numerous indications that within the Kaliningrad region and with respect to it a broad variety of internal, bilateral and international tensions are mounting up and form a "syndrome of conflict". Kaliningrad is subject to a high pressure for change; at the same time it is also true that any change holds the danger of tensions and conflicts being - unintentionally - aggravated. The project aims to explore the preparedness of international actors to act constructively in relation to the particular constellation emerging in Kaliningrad. The basic research questions are: How do international actors act, when they are aware (or can be aware) that a political constellation bears a potential for escalation into a mode of confrontation?

To which extent do they take advantage of the opportunities for conflict prevention which exist today within the European context? How can peace research contribute to the strengthening of proactive action?

Focal points of research in 2004 were (a) the development of the EU's policy towards Kaliningrad and (b) the Russian domestic debate on the issue. Whilst the former was dealt with by Hanne-Margret Birckenbach when being at SHIP on leave from Gießen University and strongly supported by Tobias Etzold, the latter was conducted by Christian Wellmann in co-operation with Leonid Karabeshkin, St. Petersburg, Russia.

Besides else, in 2004 the researchers presented the Kaliningrad case at various academic as well as non-academic occasions such as a joint workshop by the Geneva Centre for Security Policy and the Swedish National Defence College or a meeting of the directors of those German parliaments having special relations with Kaliningrad.

The Kaliningrad project is co-financed out of SHIP's regular budget and by a grant, generously provided by the Berghof-Foundation for Conflict Research (BSK).

Status: in progress

Publications:

Christian Wellmann (together with Leonid Karabeshkin): The Russian Domestic Debate on Kaliningrad. Integrity, Identity and Economy; Münster: Lit, 2004 (= Kieler Schriften zur Friedenswissenschaft, 11); 102 pp. (ISBN 3-8258-7952-6).

Hanne-Margret Birckenbach: Is there a Role for International Organizations? The Case of the Russian Exclave Kaliningrad; in: Konstantin K. Khudoley (ed.), New Security Challenges as Challenges to Peace Research. 16th Nordic and 4th Baltic Peace Research Conference Proceedings; St Petersburg: St Petersburg State University School of International Relations, 2004 (= St Petersburg Peace Research Series, 1); pp. 300-311 (ISBN 5-288-03387-0).

Christian Wellmann: Overcoming the Remnants of the Past in the Baltic Sea Region: Considerations Derived from the Kaliningrad Case; in: Konstantin K. Khudoley (ed.), New Security Challenges as Challenges to Peace Research. 16th Nordic and 4th Baltic Peace Research Conference Proceedings; St Petersburg: St Petersburg State University School of International Relations, 2004 (= St Petersburg Peace Research Series, 1); pp. 281-299 (ISBN 5-288-03387-0).

Christian Wellmann: Future Co-operation – Through States, Institutions or Civil Society? The Case of the Kaliningrad Oblast; in: Carl-Einar Stålvant / Erik Windmar (eds.): The Baltic Sea Choir – Still in Concert? Stockholm / Geneva: The Swedish National Defence College / The Geneva Centre for Security Policy, 2005 (Försvarshögskolans Acta B, 33); pp. 49-58.

Christian Wellmann: Grenzüberschreitende Kooperation mit der russischen Oblast Kaliningrad: einige Besonderheiten – insbesondere aus deutscher Perspektive; in: Horst Brezinski / Karl von Delhaes (Hrsg.), Die Entwicklung inter-regionaler Netzwerke und länderübergreifender Kooperation in Ostmitteleuropa; Freiberg: Technische Universität Bergakademie Freiberg, 2005 (= Freiburger Forschungshefte, D 216 Wirtschaftswissenschaften, Reihe des Center for International and Institutional Economics, 4); pp. 183-202.

3.1.2 *Follow-up to the Kiel International Ad-hoc Group of Experts on Kaliningrad (Workshop Project: The Kaliningrad Challenge)*

Organizers and Researchers: Christian Wellmann (SHIP) and Hanne-Margret Birckenbach (Justus-Liebig-University, Gießen / SHIP)

In 2002 SHIP's Kaliningrad project initiated an internationally composed group of experts on Kaliningrad which met for workshops, drafted and adopted jointly a trilingual policy paper "Kaliningrad in Focus" and published an edited volume with 14 chapters "The Kaliningrad Challenge. Options and Recommendations" (cf. # 3.1.2 in the Reports of Activity for 2002 and for 2003). The endeavour inspired some follow-up activities in which SHIP is involved.

1. *AIKE – Association of International Experts on the Development of the Kaliningrad Region*

The Kiel expert meetings provided the starting point for establishing a formal organization of Kaliningrad experts. AIKE was registered as an NGO in Kaliningrad, however with international membership. It serves the purpose to enhance communication and co-operation among a transnational community of independent experts. Meanwhile a detailed website was launched which provides comprehensive up-to-date information on relevant developments and incidents concerning Kaliningrad, as well as newly published studies (<http://www.kaliningradexpert.org>). SHIP's Kaliningrad project throughout 2004 participated actively in AIKE activities.

2. *EWI project "Support to Transforming the Kaliningrad Oblast into a Pilot Region of EU-Russia Partnership"*

In 2004 the EastWest Institute's Russian Transfrontier Co-operation Programme initiated a series of round-table events aiming at bringing together high-ranking representatives of Russia and the European Union with experts on Kaliningrad for establishing a confidential and substantial dialogue on the development perspectives of the exclave in the context of the four common spaces under discussion between Russia and the EU. The first two round table meetings with subsequent closed experts meetings were held in June 2004 in Moscow and in December 2004 in Warsaw. The endeavour draws on the experience and results of the Kiel international ad-hoc group of experts on Kaliningrad. SHIP researcher Christian Wellmann acts as a consultant to the EastWest Institute and co-authors the inputs to the round tables. Hanne-Margret Birckenbach participated actively in the round tables and in the related expert team and its closed sessions.

Status: in progress

Publications:

Hanne-Margret Birckenbach / Christian Wellmann (eds.): *The Kaliningrad Challenge. Options and Recommendations*, Münster: Lit Verlag, 2003 (= Kieler Schriften zur Friedenswissenschaft, 10); 298 pp.

Christian Wellmann (together with A. Ignatiev, J. Święcicki, St. Dewar) *Policy Recommendations: Support to Transforming Kaliningrad into a Pilot Region of EU-Russia Partnership*; draft input for Moscow Round Table, June 2004; 19 pp.

3.1.3 *PhD Project: Regional Co-operation between the Russian Oblast Kaliningrad, Poland and Lithuania. An analysis of cross-border co-operation at the external borders of an enlarged EU*

Researcher: Silke Schielberg

Cross-border co-operation is mostly dealt with only in the context of an "Europe of regions" in terms of internal relations of the EU. This thesis however addresses the issue in an overall European perspective by focussing on co-operation across the EU's external borders. It analyses possibilities to counteract the division between the inside and the outside of the EU by cross-border co-operation on state-level as well as on the level of regions, in particular border regions. Such an objective renders more difficulties due to an obvious asymmetry among the actors, which results from the emergence of different cultural assets, social and political developments and economic possibilities in the history of both sides. Above all it will be interesting to analyse, what cross-border co-operation between regions under asymmetric conditions means and how it should appear to entail the requested effects.

In empirical terms the analysis places special emphasis on the situation at the borders of the Russian Oblast Kaliningrad and the neighbouring Polish and Lithuanian regions. This regional focus specifically suits the basic question of research as cross-border co-operation might here be hindered by EU enlargement. How will the accession of Poland and Lithuania to the EU affect the Russian exclave and its cross-border relations with the surrounding EU environment? Furthermore, in this area vigorous asymmetries will collide directly and might be reinforced by EU support schemes which apply for Poland and Lithuania, however, not for Kaliningrad.

The project aims at clarifying the conditions under which cross-border co-operation can contribute to a successful co-operation and stable relations on the EU-Russia level. To this end it has to be investigated into the existing structures and mechanisms of cross-border co-operation, how they will be affected by the accession of Poland and the Baltic States, which are the prospects for extending and re-adjusting them, and finally how and under inclusion of which actors constructive resolution of possible dispute among the regional actors as well as among the EU and Russia can be brought forward.

The project started in mid 2002. In 2004 the focus was on further developing the project's theoretical layer. A study was published in which official documents concerning the EU's new post-enlargement 2004 external borders in general and, in particular, the borders between the Kaliningrad region and Poland as well as Lithuania in particular were analysed. Further, the project was introduced to the training course "Aufbaukurs Promotion", organized by the "Graduiertenzentrum Kulturwissenschaften" at Gießen University and to a broader public at the conference "Neues Europa? Osteuropa 15 Jahre danach", organized by the "Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung" in co-operation with various other institutions related to East European studies. In the second part of 2004 the focus was on the empirical analysis. A questionnaire for interviews was developed and a study trip made to Poland (Warminsko-Mazurskie Voivodship), Lithuania (Klaipeda, Siauliai, Marijampole and Vilnius County) and the Kaliningrad Region of the Russian Federation. During the five weeks study trip interviews were taken with several members and staff of regional administrations, regional parliaments,

City administrations, Euroregions, universities and NGOs as well as representatives from chambers of commerce who are engaged in cross-border co-operation projects in the region. Additionally, the trip served the purpose to collect material from libraries and archives.

The PhD project is supervised by Professor Dr. Hanne-Margret Birckenbach at the Justus-Liebig-University Gießen.

Status: in progress

Publications:

Silke Schielberg: Die Ambivalenz der neuen EU-Außengrenze. Konsequenzen für die Ostseekooperation? Kiel: Schleswig-Holsteinisches Institut für Friedenswissenschaften, 2004 (= SCHIFF-texte, 73).

Silke Schielberg: Die Bedeutung der EU-Osterweiterung für das Kaliningrader Gebiet. Eine Analyse der grenzüberschreitenden Kooperation an den neuen Außengrenzen der EU; in: Forschungsstelle Osteuropa (Hrsg.): Neues Europa? Osteuropa 15 Jahre danach. Beiträge für die 12. Brühler Tagung junger Osteuropa-Experten. Bremen: Forschungsstelle Osteuropa an der Universität Bremen, April 2004 (= Arbeitspapiere und Materialien, 60), S. 124-128.

3.1.4 Civil Society Co-operation in the Baltic Sea Region

Person in charge (on the part of SHIP): Christian Wellmann

In follow-up to SHIP's previous research and dissemination activities with respect to civil society developments in the Baltic Sea region (cf. Report of Activities for 2000 and 2001, # 3.1.2, for 2002, # 3.1.5 and for 2003, # 3.1.4) in 2004 Christian Wellmann was invited to contribute to the Yearbook on North European and Baltic Sea Integration (NEBI) an article on regional cross-border NGO and civil society co-operation. Unfortunately, the NEBI 2004 edition is delayed considerably and will appear only in 2005 as NEBI 2004/05. Further, Christian Wellmann participated in a workshop on the improvement of parliamentary co-operation in the Baltic Sea region and presented to the attending members of various German parliaments suggestions on how the Baltic Sea Parliamentary Conference might encourage the formation of a regional transnational civil society (cf. below, # 4.1.3). Minor activities concerned consulting of NGOs, including the participation of Christian Wellmann in the meeting of the German Baltic Sea NGOs at Hamburg.

Status: pending, follow-up under preparation

Publications:

Christian Wellmann: Reflections on the State of NGO Co-operation and Civil Society Development in the Baltic Sea Region; in: NEBI Yearbook 2004/2005. North European and Baltic Sea Integration; Berlin / Heidelberg / New York: Springer, 2005 (forthcoming).

Christian Wellmann: Parlamente, Zivilgesellschaft und Nichtregierungsorganisationen in der Ostseeregion – Probleme und Chancen der Zusammenarbeit; in: Schleswig-Holsteinischer Landtag, Stenographischer Dienst: Niederschrift Workshop "Weiterentwicklung der parlamentarischen Dimension der Ostseekooperation" am Montag, dem 6. Dezember 2004; pp. 28-32.

3.1.5 *Explorative work on the issue of "Coping with the Remnants of the Past in the Baltic Sea Region"*

Persons in charge: Christian Wellmann (on the part of SHIP) and Reiner Steinweg (on contract basis)

Region-making in the Baltic Sea area is – i.a. – faced by the obstacle that the region and its people experienced especially in the recent century exactly the contrary of co-operativeness and shared identity. To a large extent the region was a theatre for power politics, war, occupation, genocide, dictatorship, collaboration, expulsion and many variants of gross violations of human and civil rights. Enemy images were fuelled and strong prejudices and traumata emerged. Additionally, collective taboos on more dull aspects of one's own history and on the uncomfortable question of whether one might have been not only a victim but to certain respects as well a culprit, an accomplice or a collaborator were established. The remnants of the past are still quite present in the collective memories and political cultures of all Baltic Sea countries. Consensus building is hindered by traumata, myths, and hesitations to constructively deal with the past. There is no understanding agreed upon among the people around the Baltic rim what happened during the Second World War, in pre-war times, and afterwards. Particularly when it comes to cross-border exchanges, we find many and contradictory attitudes, partiality, and strong reservations to deal realistically with this kind of issues. No common answer exists on the questions of what National Socialism, Soviet rule and the Cold War have meant to different places in the region. Instead, many stereotypes, some cold war attitudes and the use of scapegoats have survived and taboos have been established and form barriers against a creative approach to the various problems of today and to the making of a region which will be more than a region of merchants.

In fact, the process of region-making has to be brought forward against the remnants of the past in the minds of the people. However, it can be brought forward only if it not ignores and circumvents these remnants but instead makes them subject to domestic and cross-border dialogue.

In 2004 SHIP started to think about whether and how it should make the problem described above more topical in its future academic work. In support of this thought Reiner Steinweg (Friedensforschung Linz) was contracted to elaborate a dossier, providing more insight into the state of the academic (and public) debate on the respective issues in the Baltic Sea countries. The dossier is meant to ease SHIP's further decision-making on whether and how to proceed with making the "remnants of the past in the Baltic Sea region" subject of its academic work.

Status: pending

3.1.6 *Preparatory work on a project: "Intercultural Learning and International Co-operation in the Baltic Sea Region"*

Organizers and Researchers: Klaus Potthoff, Aude Thoumine and Cécile Fischer

Never since World War II have there been so many contacts and projects between East and West Europe than in the past 15 years. In the field of politics, administration, science and NGOs project work and networking are getting more and more professional. Despite this fact for many partners there is still the need to

learn more about cultural differences, to deal with soft skills of intercultural co-operation and with methods of project management. The reason for this is the accumulation of conflicts of interests, relationships and cultures, just in international co-operations, because of a restricted communication, deficits in cultural knowledge and a general ethnocentric attitude. In the case of the Baltic Sea Region the development of sustained international co-operation is furthermore complicated through cultural decline, prejudices East-West and South-North as well as resentments.

Against this background the following research questions are significant: Can the ability of international acting persons to co-operate be increased through intercultural learning? Which international training concepts should be developed in order to help organisations, institutes and networks initiating such cross border learning processes?

Attending these research questions one goal of SHIP is to develop, organise and evaluate advanced training programmes for members of academical and extra-curricular institutions in order to support international co-operation and network and thus peace oriented conflict management.

In 2004 several concepts were carried out during events as the International Summer Academy „The Baltic Sea Region in the new Europe“, an international workshop for members of the administration department and the government in the Baltic Sea Region and a basic seminar for German and foreign students of the university in Kiel. The results will be published in 2005.

Status: preparatory work in progress

Publication:

Aude Thoumine, Cécile Fischer: Die Internationale Sommerakademie 2002 – 2004 “The Baltic Sea Region in the New Europe”, Kiel: Schleswig-Holsteinisches Institut für Friedenswissenschaften, 2005 (= SCHIFF-texte Spezial); 43 pp..

3.2 Arms Control, Disarmament and Human Security

After the end of the Cold War non-military causes and dynamics of conflicts became a new focus of political and scientific interest. In the nineties it was debated on whether the traditional militarily and politically oriented concept of security had to be extended also to social and environmental dimensions. Whilst this discourse lead to nowadays emphasizing a conceptualization of security as *human security*, threats stemming from the dynamics of armament have been disregarded. Indeed, within the framework of international treaties (INF, CFE, START I or the Chemical Weapons Convention), the past fifteen years saw some achievements concerning *quantitative* disarmament. However, simultaneously *qualitative* improvements of armament for the new century are prepared for in large research labs around the world. Particularly, developments in the domain of bio- and genetic engineering, IT technologies, materials science and micro-, nano- and nuclear technologies cause concerns that new systems of weapons and new threats will influence the future fate of people and nations.

At the moment the armament dynamics are undergoing a rapid change, which will generate new facts and severe security risks. The possibilities of *information warfare* or the endangerment of critical infrastructures provide evidence for the military to proclaim new threats guided by the motto of a *revolution in military affairs*. Military technological developments and strategies are in the pipeline, which transcend by far what might be regarded necessary for internationally legitimized crisis intervention by military means. In this context research on and application of modern technologies, which both are impossible without a scientific technical expertise, play a decisive role.

The main question arising against this background is how to respond pre-emptively to the new technological developments and the modified threats and how to reduce the new risks by developing and applying non-military concepts and instruments.

3.2.1 *Preparatory work on a project "Terroristic Attacks and Critical Infrastructures"*

Researcher: Ulrike Kronfeld-Goharani

Since September 11 in many countries people think about the vulnerability of critical infrastructures and the potential consequences of terroristic attacks. Modern life has become dependent on several services and socio-economic activities like transportation of goods and people, communications, banking and finance, and the supply and distribution of electricity and water. All these activities, which refer to components of a nation's critical infrastructure, are vital for the functioning and security of a country. Most of these facilities and capabilities are increasingly relying on computers and computer networks. Because of the growing complexity and the interconnectedness resulting from networking, a serious malfunction in one part may lead to disruptions in others.

In a modern industrialised society, the state, industry and the public all benefit from the advantages of information and communication technologies. However, as these increasingly spread into every area of life, they bring with them novel types of threats. Solutions that will minimise the risks and dangers must therefore be found.

Against this background the research interest is directed towards the following questions:

- What is criticality and how can it be defined?
- What are potential future security threats against vulnerable sectors in Germany (in Europe)?
- What kind of emergency response systems and teams are needed to cope with a disaster?
- What are adequate measures to protect critical infrastructures?
- What will be the impact on human rights, as security becomes an increasingly important issue?
- How can potential hazards be identified and vulnerability be reduced?
- What are the main components for a functioning infrastructure?

Analysing past and future trends may make it possible to predict where future threats might come from. Understanding the objectives and past behaviours of terrorists and current and future transformations in their behaviour may assist to decide on preventative measures.

In 2004 a preliminary design for the research project was developed and discussed with the potential partners of co-operation (the Interdisciplinary Research Group on Disarmament, Arms Control and Risk Technologies (IFAR) of the Institute of Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg and with the Research Association for Science, Disarmament, and International Security (FONAS), Darmstadt). Further elaborated, the project shall become subject of a grant application to a respective foundation.

Status: preparatory work in progress

3.2.2 *Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) and Terrorism: The Threat Posed by Chemical Weapons (CW)*

Researcher: Ulrike Kronfeld-Goharani

Weapons of mass destruction pose grim examples of threats to human security especially since the end of the Cold War, where the acquisition and potential use of chemical technologies and materials by sub-state actors have become increasingly real threats. Terrorist attacks as the sarin gas attack on the Tokyo subway system in 1995 have demonstrated the extent to which terrorists will go to disseminate public fear and damage. It is known that in training camps in Afghanistan manuals with indications to produce poison gas were found.

Furthermore, some 20 states are suspected to pursue clandestine and offensive CW capabilities, although the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) imposes restrictions on the acquisition and use of CW. Proliferating states of particular concern include China, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Libya, North Korea, Russia, Sudan, Syria and the USA. Despite of all efforts to eliminate CW worldwide by the CWC, the possibility for terrorists or subnational groups to purchase CW is growing.

The project analyses security measures which could make the use of CW for terrorists more difficult and investigates into how the likelihood of early detection and prevention can be increased.

Status: preparatory work in progress

Publication:

Ulrike Kronfeld-Goharani / Paul Walker: Stand und Perspektiven der Chemiewaffen-Konvention, in: G. Neuneck / C. Mölling (eds.): Die Zukunft der Rüstungskontrolle, Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2005 (forthcoming).

3.2.3 *Annual Meeting of the Research Association for Science, Disarmament, and International Security (FONAS) (jointly with IANUS)*

Person in charge (on the part of SHIP): Ulrike Kronfeld-Goharani

As it was the case in the previous year (cf. Report of Activities for 2003, # 3.2.2) also in 2004 SHIP organized jointly with the "Interdisziplinäre Arbeitsgruppe Naturwissenschaft, Technik und Sicherheit (IANUS)", TU Darmstadt, the annual meeting of FONAS. The conference was hosted by the Deutsche Stiftung Frie-

densforschung (DSF) at its premises in Osnabrück. From September 23 to 29 the participants, mainly natural scientists, gave presentations on topics such as the dual use and ambivalence problem of modern biotechnology, especially genetic engineering, options of Plutonium elimination in reactors, a new method for mine detection, problems of missile defence, risks by outer space armament, methods for verifying launches of intercontinental ballistic missiles and implications of current US developments in the field of nuclear weapons.

As an opening of the meeting a discussion on the future tasks of natural scientists in the field of peace research was held with the DSF director Prof. Rittberger. In particular he emphasized the following topics: military use of outer space and possibilities for arms control, risks of proliferation, investigation of modern physical developments, e.g. nanotechnology, and potential risks of genetic engineering.

Publication:

Ulrike Kronfeld-Goharani: FONAS-Herbsttagung 2004 in Osnabrück. Tagungsbericht; in: FONAS-Newsletter, vol. 6 (2004), no. 6, pp. 16-19.

4. Dissemination and Publication Activities

4.1 Lectures and Other Events

4.1.1 *The SHIP-Colloquium "Co-operation and Conflict in the Baltic Sea Region"*

Person in charge: Christian Wellmann

The *SCHIFF-Colloquium* offers lectures and discussions with the participation of experts from Germany and abroad on political, economic, societal, and ecological issues relevant for co-operation and conflict in the Baltic Sea region. The Colloquium aims at improving the knowledge of the integration processes in the region and initiating a critical reflection on the role of Schleswig-Holstein concerning the emergence of a transnational region. In particular, the Colloquium addresses those persons who by profession or voluntary engagement are concerned with aspects of transborder co-operation in the Baltic Sea region. The Colloquium is a forum for open debate free of institutional restrictions and limitations resulting from daily politics. The Colloquium aspires to contribute to peace, welfare and justice in the Baltic Sea region in the framework of the new Europe in the sense of the 1990 CSCE Charter from Paris.

The *SCHIFF-Colloquium on Co-operation and Conflict in the Baltic Sea Region* has been called into existence in mid-1997. Meetings are held irregularly in the "Aquarium" of the Technical Faculty. Due to an unfortunate combination of different reasons, only two meetings could be realized in 2004:

Stefan Musiolik (Head of the Division for European and Baltic Sea Affairs of the State Chancellery of Schleswig-Holstein): *Der Ostseebericht 2004 – 'Same procedure as every year' oder Eckwerte für eine zweite Phase der Ostseekooperation?* (September 30).

Dr. Jürgen Schöning (Director of the Parliament of Schleswig-Holstein, Kiel): *Die Ostsee-Parlamentarierkonferenz. Auf dem Weg zur parlamentarischen Dimension des Ostseerates?* (November 30) (lecture published in: *SCHIFF-texte* # 75, 2004).

4.1.2 *International Summer Academy "The Baltic Sea Region in the New Europe"*

Persons in charge: Aude Thoumine, Klaus Potthoff, Cécile Fischer

Having started in 2001 SHIP is annually organizing the International Summer Academy (ISA) "The Baltic Sea Region in the New Europe". From July 04-11, 2004, 14 young leaders and students from Baltic Sea countries participated in the fourth of this series of events, held at the Training Centre Dainava in Druskininkai (Lithuania). The participants from Germany, Poland, Russia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Sweden and Finland represented a wide range of governmental, parliamentary, municipal, academic and non-governmental organizations.

ISA 2004 focussed on conflict resolution in transnational co-operation in the Baltic Sea Region. Practice-oriented trainings and discussions with experts formed the core. A trainer was responsible for carrying out the training units which dealt with the basics of intercultural communication, co-operation and networking as well as with methods of conflict management. After an expert lecture on project development and project planning, working groups elaborated on concrete problems and developed project ideas. Finally, the projects were presented and discussed in a plenary session at the end of the ISA.

The Academy, which is held under the auspices of the CBSS and the BSPC, aims to contribute in long term perspective to more intensive relationships between the individual Baltic Sea countries by facilitating direct dialogue. A further aim is to address the issue of international co-operation on a meta level by providing knowledge on how regional networks are established, maintained and efficiently controlled, taking into account the existing cultural specifics. Finally the participants are encouraged to build up their own network.

The ISA 2004 was sponsored by NordwestLotto Schleswig-Holstein.

Status: 2004 course completed, course for 2005 under preparation (www.schiff.uni-kiel.de/summeracademy/).

Publication:

Aude Thoumine / Cécile Fischer: Die Internationale Sommerakademie 2002 – 2004 "The Baltic Sea Region in the New Europe"; Kiel: Schleswig-Holsteinisches Institut für Friedenswissenschaften, 2005 (= SCHIFF-texte Spezial); 43 pp.

4.1.3 *Support for the Development of the Parliamentary Dimension of Co-operation in the Baltic Sea Region*

Persons in charge: Klaus Potthoff, Christian Wellmann

In 2004 the future perspectives for the development of structure and contents of the work of the Baltic Sea Parliamentary Conference (BSPC) became increasingly subject of consideration among the parliamentarians. Against this backdrop the President of the Parliament of Schleswig-Holstein invited the six German parliaments participating in the BSPC for a workshop aiming at discussing and adopting proposals of the German delegation to the BSPC for a strategy on how to develop the parliamentary dimension of co-operation in the Baltic Sea Region. The workshop was held on December 6, 2004 in Kiel. Klaus Potthoff was asked to take the role of a facilitator and to introduce to the meeting. Christian

Wellmann was invited to give advice to the participants on the issue of "Parliaments, Civil Society and Non-governmental Organizations in the Baltic Sea Region – Challenges and Opportunities of Co-operation".

Status: pending, follow-up probable

Documentation:

Schleswig-Holsteinischer Landtag, Stenographischer Dienst: Niederschrift Workshop "Weiterentwicklung der parlamentarischen Dimension der Ostseekooperation" am Montag, dem 6. Dezember 2004; 45 pp.

4.1.4 University Seminar: "Massenvernichtungswaffen: Globale Bemühungen zur Nichtweiterverbreitung"

Teacher: Ulrike Kronfeld-Goharani

The need for controlling the non-proliferation of nuclear, chemical or biological weapons of mass destruction (WMD) by multilateral and global conventions has become a main focus of international arms control policy. However, in parallel some nuclear weapons states continue to modernize nuclear weaponry by laboratory experiments, computer simulations or nuke tests. As well respective mission doctrines are developed. The US administration legitimates its Nuclear Posture Review by the pointing to the risk that uncontrollable and non-cooperative states might use WMD to assert their political will and to apply pressure on the international community.

Against this background the course aimed at making acquainted with the contributions of the natural sciences to peace research on the nuclear arms race, deployment of WMD at war and arms control.

The course was offered at Kiel University twice, in the winter term 2003/04 and in the summer term 2004. Regrettably, participation was low in number although the announcement of the courses was widely spread by posters throughout all relevant faculties and institutes. The problem seems to be that the seminar is not part of any curriculum at Kiel University. Therefore, more endeavours for the announcement of future courses are necessary. On an average four students regularly participated in the event. Their fields of study were Political Science and Philosophy, German Literature, Public Law, Mathematics and Electrical Engineering. Some of their presentations are presented on the SHIP website.

Status: completed

Presentations:

Clara Seitz: "DU-Munition" (www.schiff.uni-kiel.de/pdf_files/ClaraSeitz.pdf)

Markus Sawade: "Abrüstung und Rüstungskontrolle: Übersicht über Foren und Institutionen der Vereinten Nationen" (www.schiff.uni-kiel.de/pdf_files/Sawade.pdf)

4.1.5 University Seminar: "Grundlagen der interkulturellen Kooperation"

Teacher: Aude Thoumine

In the winter term 2004/05 SHIP offered an intercultural training for students of all branches of study. In two block seminars (19-20 November and 10-11 December)

the participants dealt with the basics of intercultural co-operation. Emphasis was placed on imparting this subject in a practical and interactive way.

In the first block topics dealt with were the definition of culture, models of culture, different moral concepts as well as prejudices in intercultural co-operation. The group also analysed the reputation of the Germans abroad and their self-perception. Subsequent to a simulation Mrs. K. Abel gave a report on her 3-months stay in a refugee village in Guatemala. Among other things she discussed with the group the differences in cultural standards, about general problems concerning co-operation and living together as well as her cultural shock.

The second block focussed on the following topics: intercultural sensitivity, constructive handling of cultural shock and stress, intercultural communication and guiding principles for international co-operation. After a role-play on co-operation Huntington's polemic thesis on a "Clash of Civilizations" was discussed.

Status: completed

4.1.6 *Lecture Series: "Friedensbedrohung Terrorismus. Ursachen, Folgen, Gefahren und Gegenstrategien"*

Persons in charge (on the part of SHIP): Ulrike Kronfeld-Goharani, Klaus Potthoff

Since the disastrous terror attacks on 9/11 in the USA, the world has experienced a series of assassinations: Djerba, Mombasa, Riad, Casablanca, Jakarta, Istanbul, Madrid, Taba and nearly every day Palästina/Israel and Irak. As a consequence fear and horror of terrorism spread worldwide. Modern terrorism as a transnational phenomenon has become a serious threat to peace.

Against this background in the winter term 2004/05 SHIP organized jointly with the Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung Schleswig-Holstein a lecture series on terrorism. It convened in the auditorium maximum of the Christian-Albrechts-University and was opened for the general public. At average some 90 persons attended each single lecture, which all were recorded by the local TV station "Offener Kanal Kiel".

The aim was to allow leading experts of different disciplines to present selected aspects of transnational terrorism: What are the causes, consequences, risks and countermeasures to combat terror in an effective and sustainable manner? What are the reasons for the emergence of terroristic violence and what can be done against its consequences and impacts? In many countries new regulations and laws for the state of emergency are released, which often constrains more and more human rights. How is it possible to protect the population in an effective way without violating human rights? Which role does politics, religion, economic and social conditions of living play for the appearance of terrorism? Where will the "War on Terror" end up and do more peaceful alternatives exist?

In the 2004 segment of the winter-term the lectures given were:

Prof. Dr. Georg Meggle (Lehrstuhl für Anthropologie und Kognitionswissenschaften, Universität Leipzig): Was ist Terrorismus?

Dr. Ulrich Schneckener (Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, Berlin): Netzwerke des Terrors: Charakter und Strukturen des transnationalen Terrorismus

Prof. Dr. Werner Ruf (Professor für Internationale und intergesellschaftliche Beziehungen und Außenpolitik, GH Kassel): Die Schaffung neuer Feindbilder: Auch ein Kampf der Kulturen?

Dr. Thomas Scheffler (Arbeitsstelle Politik des Vorderen Orients, Otto-Suhr-Institut, Freie Universität Berlin): Islamischer Fundamentalismus und Gewalt

Prof. Dr. Volker Ladenthin (Institut für Erziehungswissenschaft, Universität Bonn): Bildung und Terrorismus

Dr. Tilman Brück (Deutsches Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung, Berlin): Ökonomische Auswirkungen des Terrorismus

Walter Andrusyszyn (ehem. Direktor für Zentral- und Nordeuropa im Nationalen Sicherheitsrat des Weißen Hauses, Washington, D.C.): "The US-War on Terror" und die neue Sicherheitsdoktrin

Dr. Wolfgang S. Heinz (Deutsches Institut für Menschenrechte, Berlin): Internationale Terrorismusbekämpfung und Einhaltung der Menschenrechte: Eine Zwischenbilanz

Elvira Claßen (Forschungsgruppe Informationsgesellschaft und Sicherheitspolitik, Trier): Die Bedeutung von Massenmedien – Integraler Bestandteil terroristischen Kalküls?

The 2004 part of the lecture series was financially supported by the Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung Schleswig-Holstein.

Status: in progress

4.1.7 Lectures by Members of SHIP and Miscellaneous

In 2004, the members of SHIP have been active as lecturers, participants in panel discussions, professional advisers etc. for a general as well as a professional audience. As the list below shows, in the course of the year members of SHIP were active as speakers or in similar capacity on several occasions, professional as well as extra-professional. Participation in additional academic and policy oriented congresses and conferences adds to this.

The SHIP was represented in the meetings of the *Arbeitskreis Städtessolidarität* of the Town President of Kiel (by *Christian Wellmann*).

Tobias Etzold

- 20.11.04 „The future of the Council of the Baltic Sea States and the Nordic Councils in a theoretical perspective“, lecture given at the conference “Nach der EU-Erweiterung..... Veränderungen und Herausforderungen in der Ostseeregion“, organizer: Södertörns Högskola, University College, Centre for German Studies, Stockholm

Ulrike Kronfeld-Goharani

- 28.01.04 „Im Meer versenkte chemische Waffen – Geht noch eine Gefahr davon aus?, presentation at the Annual Meeting of the Research Association for Science, Disarmament, and International Security (FONAS), 27.-29.9.2004, organizer: SHIP and FONAS, Osnabrück.
- 21.10.-16.12.04: introductions to the presentations at the lecture series „Friedensbedrohung Terrorismus. Ursachen. Folgen, Gefahren und Gegenstrategien“, Kiel, organizer: SHIP jointly with the Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung Schleswig-Holstein.

Klaus Potthoff

- 03.10.04: Report on the International Summer Academy at the Meeting of The Standing Committee of the Baltic Sea Parliamentarian Conference. Krakow, Poland.

Silke Schielberg

- 12.06.04: Die Bedeutung der EU-Osterweiterung für das Kaliningrader Gebiet. Eine Analyse der grenzüberschreitenden Kooperation an den neuen Außengrenzen der EU,

presentation at the conference "Neues Europa? Osteuropa 15 Jahre danach", 12. Brühler Tagung junger Osteuropa-Experten in Brühl; organizer: Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung in co-operation with Deutsche Gesellschaft für Osteuropakunde, Forschungsstelle Osteuropa an der Universität Bremen und Osteuropa-Institut der Freien Universität Berlin.

- 29.06.04: Regionale Kooperation zwischen der russischen Oblast Kaliningrad, Polen und Litauen. Eine Analyse der grenzüberschreitenden Kooperation an den Außengrenzen einer erweiterten EU; presentation of the PhD project at the training course "Aufbaukurs Promotion", organizer: Gießener Graduiertenzentrum Kulturwissenschaften (GGK), Gießen.
- 02.07.04: Future of the Relationship between the EU and the Russian Federation; lecture at SHIP's International Summer Academy 2004 "The Baltic Sea Region in the New Europe", Druskininkai, Lithuania.

Aude Thoumine

- 04.07.04: "International Co-operation and Networking in the Baltic Sea Region – Objectives of the ISA 2004", welcome and opening speech at the fourth International Summer Academy "The Baltic Sea Region in the New Europe", Training Centre Dainava (Lithuania); organizer: SHIP.
- 22.10.04: "Intercultural Learning in the Baltic Sea Region", lecture at the workshop "Diversity of the Baltic Sea Region" during the 12th BSSSC Conference "Building Bridges-Breaking Barriers. The art of moving forward in the Baltic Sea Region", Malmö; organiser: BSSSC and Region Skane.

Christian Wellmann

- 24.02.04: "Die Zukunft Kaliningrads", lecture given at the annual business meeting of the association "Hilfe und Tat e.V.", Fischerhude.
- 10.04.04: "Es gibt kein Grund zum Krieg, aber viele Gründe für Frieden", speech held by occasion of the Easter rally for a nuclear free world in Kiel; organizer: Kieler Ostermarschbündnis.
- 24.04.04: "Die russische Exklave Kaliningrad: ein Konfliktsyndrom", lecture at the annual meeting of the "Junge Samländer" (East Prussian expatriates), Gustav-Heinemann-Bildungsstätte, Malente.
- 17.-18.06.04: "Kaliningrad and the Common Humanitarian Space", presentation in the session "Principles and policy recommendations for EU-Russia partnership in Kaliningrad proposed by the project expert team" of the round-table "Prospects of the Russian-EU Relations: the Kaliningrad Dimension", Moscow; organizer: EastWest Institute, Regional and Transfrontier Cooperation Programme (support by SIDA).
- 26.-27.09.04: "Future Co-operation – Through States, Institutions or Civil Society?", presentation at the workshop on "The Baltic Sea Choir – Still in Concert?", Nordregio, Stockholm; organizer: Geneva Centre for Security Policy (GCSP) and the Swedish National Defence College.
- 06.12.04: Parlamente, Zivilgesellschaft und Nichtregierungsorganisationen in der Ostseeregion – Probleme und Chancen der Zusammenarbeit; presentation at the workshop "Weiterentwicklung der parlamentarischen Dimension der Ostseekooperation", Kiel; organizer: Schleswig-Holsteinischer Landtag.
- 09.12.04: Report on SHIP's Kaliningrad-related activities and assessment of the current state of development as concerns Kaliningrad by occasion of the Parliamentary Kaliningrad Coordination Meeting, Landeshaus, Kiel; organizer: Schleswig-Holsteinischer Landtag.

- 17.-18.12.04: "Practical Recommendations for the Use of the Kaliningrad Factor in Establishing the Common Space of Research and Education, Including Cultural Aspects", presentation in the session "Space of Research and Education, including Cultural Aspects: Perspectives and Prospects" of the round-table "Kaliningrad Region in the Context of Establishing Common Non-Economic Spaces", Stefan Batory Foundation, Warsaw; organizer: EastWest Institute, Regional and Transfrontier Cooperation Programme (support by SIDA).

4.2 Publishing Activities

4.2.1 *SCHIFF-texte*

Person in charge: Christian Wellmann

In 2004 *SCHIFF-texte* (ISSN 0948-1869) have been published as follows (in printed format and – mostly – as well in electronic format for downloading from SHIP's homepage):

- No. 73 Silke Schielberg: Die Ambivalenz der neuen EU-Außengrenze. Konsequenzen für die Ostseeregion?; 32 pp. (www.schiff.uni-kiel.de/pdf_files/073.pdf).
- No. 74 Annual Report of SHIP for 2003; 24 pp.
- No. 75 Die Ostsee-Parlamentarierkonferenz und ihre Weiterentwicklung; mit Beiträgen von Jürgen Schöning und Manfred Rietzek; 16 pp. (www.schiff.uni-kiel.de/pdf_files/075.pdf).
- No. 76 Hanne-Margret Birckenbach: Selbstbindungen neu denken. Europa muss sich hinterfragen lassen; 12 pp. (www.schiff.uni-kiel.de/pdf_files/076.pdf).

4.2.2 *Kieler Schriften zur Friedenswissenschaft – KSF (Kiel Peace Research Series)*

Person in charge: Christian Wellmann

In the book series "Kieler Schriften zur Friedenswissenschaft - KSF / Kiel Peace Research Series", edited by Christian Wellmann on behalf of SHIP at Lit-Verlag, Münster/Hamburg/London, volume 11 was published in 2004. The monograph resulted from the research project on Kaliningrad, listed under # 3.1.2. The print of the book was financially support by the Berghof-Foundation for Conflict Research:

- Leonid Karabeshkin / Christian Wellmann: The Russian Domestic Debate on Kaliningrad. Integrity, Identity and Economy; Münster: Lit, 2004 (= Kieler Schriften zur Friedenswissenschaft, 11); 102 pp. (ISBN 3-8258-7952-6).

4.2.3 *SHIP's Internet Presence*

Person in charge: all members of SHIP

SHIP's homepage was kept fairly up-to-date throughout all of 2004, however, without any fundamental innovations being introduced.

Addresses: <http://www.schiff.uni-kiel.de/>
<http://www.schiff.uni-kiel.de/summeracademy/>

4.2.4 *Co-supporter of MINELRES - Electronic Resources on Minorities*

Person in charge (on the part of SHIP): Christian Wellmann

The internet offer *MINELRES - Electronic Resources on Minorities* was launched in spring 1997 and consists of two parts: (a) an electronic archive containing in-

formation, documents and addresses with respect to the legal, political and societal situation of minorities in Eastern and East Central Europe and (b) a moderated e-mail discussion list on the same problems. Subscribers are mainly research institutes and non-governmental organizations dealing with minorities questions in transformation societies. Apart from SHIP, *MINELRES* is borne by five institutes resp. chairs in Latvia, Canada, Slovakia and Russia. Financial support comes from various sources, among them the Soros-Foundation. The project team of *MINELRES* is formed by *Boris Tsilevich*, Member of the *Seima* (Parliament) of the Republic of Latvia since October 1998 and by *Boris Koltchanov*, Director of the Centre for Educational and Social Research "Baltic Insight". At their disposal is an international group of experts in which SHIP is represented by *Christian Wellmann*.

Address: <http://www.minelres.lv>

4.2.5 Publications by Members of SHIP

In 2004 the following publications to which full members of SHIP contributed as (co-)authors or (co-)editors have been *released*:

Hanne-Margret Birckenbach: Is there a Role for International Organizations? The Case of the Russian Exclave Kaliningrad; in: Konstantin K. Khudoley (ed.), *New Security Challenges as Challenges to Peace Research. 16th Nordic and 4th Baltic Peace Research Conference Proceedings*; St Petersburg: St Petersburg State University School of International Relations, 2004 (= St Petersburg Peace Research Series, 1); pp. 300-311 (ISBN 5-288-03387-0).

Birckenbach, Hanne-Margret: *Selbstbindungen neu denken. Europa muss sich hinterfragen lassen*; Kiel: Schleswig-Holsteinisches Institut für Friedenswissenschaften, 2004 (= SCHIFF-texte, 76); 12 pp.

Kronfeld-Goharani, Ulrike: „Biowaffen – Propaganda oder reale Bedrohung“, in: *Dokumentation einer Abendveranstaltung zur Ausstellungseröffnung „Schwarzer Tod und Amikäfer. Biologische Waffen und ihre Geschichte“*, am 5. 11. 2003 in der Hochschule für Angewandte Wissenschaften – FB Naturwissenschaftliche Technik in Hamburg-Bergedorf, Herausgeber: Pädagogisch-Ethisches Institut in Hamburg e.V. (PEI), Hamburg, 2004, pp. 24-30.

Kronfeld-Goharani, Ulrike: „Elisabeth Mann Borgese: Ein Leben für die Freiheit der Meere“ in: *Koryphäe, Medium für feministische Naturwissenschaft und Technik*, Nr. 35, Mai 2004, pp. 4-6., „Zum Werdegang einer Ozeanographin“, in: *ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

Kronfeld-Goharani, Ulrike: „FONAS-Herbsttagung 2004 in Osnabrück“, Tagungsbericht, in: *FONAS-Newsletter*, vol. 6 (2004), no. 6, pp.16-19.

Kronfeld-Goharani, Ulrike: Editorial, in: *FONAS-Newsletter*, vol. 6 (2004), no. 6

Schielberg, Silke: Die Bedeutung der EU-Osterweiterung für das Kaliningrader Gebiet. Eine Analyse der grenzüberschreitenden Kooperation an den neuen Außengrenzen der EU; in: *Forschungsstelle Osteuropa (Hrsg.): "Neues Europa?" Osteuropa 15 Jahre danach. Beiträge für die 12. Brühler Tagung junger Osteuropa-Experten*. Bremen: Forschungsstelle Osteuropa an der Universität Bremen, April 2004 (= Arbeitspapiere und Materialien, 60), pp. 124-128.

Schielberg, Silke: Die Entwicklung der politischen Beziehungen zwischen der erweiterten EU und Russland; in: *Daniel Dettling u.a. (Hrsg.): EuroMission. Neue Perspektiven für das erweiterte Europa*. Münster: Lit Verlag, 2004 (= berlinpolis – Europäische Perspektiven, 1); pp. 59-68.

- Wellmann, Christian: Overcoming the Remnants of the Past in the Baltic Sea Region: Considerations Derived from the Kaliningrad Case; in: Konstantin K. Khudoley (ed.), New Security Challenges as Challenges to Peace Research. 16th Nordic and 4th Baltic Peace Research Conference Proceedings; St Petersburg: St Petersburg State University School of International Relations, 2004 (= St Petersburg Peace Research Series, 1); pp. 281-299 (ISBN 5-288-03387-0).
- Wellmann, Christian: Focus on Conflict and Co-operation in the Baltic Sea Region; in: Lithuanian Papers, No. 18, Lithuanian Studies Society, Sandy Bay, Tasmania: 2004, pp. 51-55.
- Wellmann, Christian: Parlamente, Zivilgesellschaft und Nichtregierungsorganisationen in der Ostseeregion – Probleme und Chancen der Zusammenarbeit; in: Schleswig-Holsteinischer Landtag, Stenographischer Dienst: Niederschrift Workshop "Weiterentwicklung der parlamentarischen Dimension der Ostseekooperation" am Montag, dem 6. Dezember 2004; pp. 28-32.
- Wellmann, Christian (together with Leonid Karabeshkin): The Russian Domestic Debate on Kaliningrad. Integrity, Identity and Economy; Münster: Lit, 2004 (= Kieler Schriften zur Friedenswissenschaft, 11); 102 pp. (ISBN 3-8258-7952-6).
- Wellmann, Christian (together with A. Ignatiev, J. Swięcicki, St. Dewar) Policy Recommendations: Support to Transforming Kaliningrad into a Pilot Region of EU-Russia Partnership; draft input for Moscow Round Table, June 2004; 19 pp.

4.3 Activities in Boards and Commissions

Hanne-Margret Birckenbach:

- Member, Board of the Berghof-Foundation for Conflict Research.
- Member, Scientific Advisory Board of the "Institut für Friedensarbeit und gewaltfreien Konfliktaustrag", Minden.

Ulrike Kronfeld-Goharani:

- Member, Advisory Board of the natural scientists' initiative "Verantwortung für Friedens- und Zukunftsfähigkeit", Berlin.
- Member, Board of the "Research Association for Science, Disarmament, and International Security" (FONAS), Darmstadt.
- Member, Advisory Board Deutsche Stiftung Friedensforschung (DSF), Osnabrück.
- Member, Advisory Board of the Schleswig-Holstein Institute for Peace Research (SHIP), Kiel.

Klaus Potthoff:

- Member, Board of the Berghof-Foundation for Conflict Research.

Christian Wellmann:

- Member, Scientific Advisory Board of the "Institut für Friedensarbeit und gewaltfreien Konfliktaustrag", Minden.
- Member, Working Group on *Städtesolidarität* with the Town President of the State Capital of Kiel.
- Member, "International Group of Experts" of "MINELRES - Electronic Resources on Minorities".