

Institute for Peace Reseach and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg

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# **CORE Annual Report 2011**

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# Foreword

Three subjects figured most prominently among the many things we did in 2011: First, the idea of creating IDEAS, second, our continuing focus on Central Asia and third, joint projects with the German Federal Foreign Office.

IDEAS – that is, the Initiative for the Development of a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian Security Community, the most far-reaching objective ever to be adopted by the OSCE States at their 2010 Astana Summit. Together with three partner institutes in France, Poland and Russia, CORE has taken the initiative to conceptualize this far-reaching peace vision. Discussions on the multiple contradictions between vision and current realities and on the question of how to overcome these grave obstacles will take place in four planned workshops in Berlin, Warsaw, Paris and Moscow that will elaborate on national approaches vis-à-vis the goal of a Security Community. On this basis, representatives of the four institutes will jointly draft a report to operationalize the idea of a Security Community. The final report will be presented in Vienna in autumn 2012. Being conducted under the auspices of the four respective foreign ministries, IDEAS enjoys broad governmental support.

CORE activities on Central Asia have continued steadily. A major research application on the diversification of the Central Asian states' security policies, which had already been worked on in 2010, was handed in this year to a German research foundation. A pilot project on the Central Asian states' Afghanistan policies, funded by the German Foundation for Peace Research, was implemented. Its results will serve as a springboard for a larger research project on the same subject to be started next year. In addition, the two PhD projects with Central Asian topics – regional co-operation with the ADB and the EU, and public administration reform in Kazakhstan – will be finished in the first and second quarters of 2012. Two others are in the pipeline.

The third major building block of our work in 2011 is our joint work with the German Federal Foreign Office. IDEAS, for example, is strongly supported by the Foreign Office. Another major activity was a joint Workshop of CORE and the German Federal Foreign Office on "Developing OSCE Field Activities" that took place in the Vienna Hofburg on 26/27 May 2011. It brought together some 60 participants and guests from seven participating States (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Ukraine and Tajikistan) and from a number of Vienna OSCE delegations for extremely fruitful discussions on the future of the OSCE's field operations. Also in 2011, working/policy papers commissioned by the Federal Foreign Office on the results of the 2010 Astana Summit and on OSCE conflict management were produced.

Much of what has been done in 2011 would not have been possible without the generous support of the German Federal Foreign Office. CORE has profited greatly

from this relationship that has become even more productive than it has ever been at any other time. We are very grateful for the financial assistance CORE has received as well as for the fruitful exchanges we had with Foreign Office staff, especially with the OSCE unit and with the Permanent Mission of the Federal Republic of Germany to the OSCE. CORE is also very grateful to all other participating States and institutions that have commissioned and funded CORE projects, in particular the Irish Department of Foreign Affairs, the German Foundation for Peace Research, and the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) together with the Open Society Institute. We would like to thank everyone who has supported and cooperated with us. We look forward to another productive and rewarding year in 2012.

Wolfgang Zellner

# 1. CORE Profile

The Centre for OSCE Research (CORE), which is part of the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg (IFSH), is the only institution specifically dedicated to research on the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). Founded in January 2000, CORE is currently headed by Dr Wolfgang Zellner.

Established in 1971 as a civil-law foundation, the IFSH analyzes threats to peace and international security, following a policy-oriented approach. Currently, the IFSH has about 60 employees. Its Director is Prof. Michael Brzoska.

The IFSH's research agenda ranges across questions of European security, arms control, transition processes in Central and Eastern Europe, the Caucasus and Central Asia, the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy, and more recently, transnational risks and threats as well as aspects of global governance. From its inception, the IFSH has made regular contributions to research on the CSCE/OSCE process. This, in turn, paved the way for the creation of CORE.

CORE operates as a politically independent think tank, combining basic research on the evolution of the OSCE with demand-driven capacity-building projects and teaching. Addressing political actors, the academic community and the interested general public in Germany and abroad, CORE strives to contribute to the OSCE's development with analysis and critique that provide insight into the problems faced by and the opportunities open to the Organization. In support of the OSCE's goals of co-operative security, effective conflict prevention and settlement, democracy and good governance, CORE seeks to contribute to a realistic assessment of the capacities and limitations of the Organization. In analyzing the structures, instruments and activities of the OSCE and its cooperation with other international actors, CORE focuses on the following:

- OSCE activities related to crisis prevention, conflict resolution, and peace building;
- OSCE contributions to a cooperative security regime in Europe with the ultimate goal of a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian Security Community, especially through arms control and security dialogue;
- OSCE approaches to addressing transnational risks and threats;
- OSCE efforts to build peace and stability through democratization and good governance;
- The OSCE's institutional evolution and effectiveness.

In line with the OSCE's own priorities, much of CORE's work concerns the transition processes in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe, the Caucasus and Central Asia.

CORE strives to maintain an international outlook. Several CORE staff members are not only qualified academics but have also acquired practical experience in OSCE field missions and/or field research. In addition, CORE projects frequently involve collaboration with local scholars in the countries and regions being studied. Regular contact with OSCE institutions and field operations keeps CORE's research programme oriented towards politically relevant questions.

# 2. Research Projects

# 2.1. Completed Research Projects

# a) Small Players in a Great Game. The Afghanistan Policies of the Central Asian States (Pilot Study)

This five-month pilot study, which was supported by the German Foundation for Peace Research addressed the largely under-researched question of which policies the five Central Asian states have pursued on Afghanistan. What is well known is that the Central Asian states are extremely concerned about the situation in Afghanistan and the impact of developments there on their own countries. However, there is little, if any research at all, on their tactical approaches and the linkages between their Afghanistan policies, intraregional disputes and relations with external actors. Key to the project was a one-month interview trip by Dr Digol to Kazakhstan and Tajikistan where more than 40 expert interviews were conducted and research materials collected. On this basis, the project elaborated a more specific roster of the interests, relations and perceptions among the Central Asian states, Afghanistan and external actors that will serve as a basis for the elaboration of a full-fledged research proposal in 2012.

*Contact:* Dr Diana Digol

Publications:

Digol, Diana, Mind the Neighbours! Central Asian Interests and Visions of Afghanistan, in: Hans-Georg Ehrhart/Sven Gareis/Charles C. Pentland (Eds), Afghanistan in the Balance: Counterinsurgency, Comprehensive Approach and Political Order, Kingston/Montreal (forthcoming).

# 2.2. Current Research Projects

a) Hegemonic Change and Security in Central Asia. On the Diversification in the Kazakhstani, Turkmen and Uzbek Foreign and Security Policies (1991-2013)

In the Caspian region and Central Asia we can observe a hegemonic change and, parallel to that, a process of foreign policy diversification by the Central Asian states. The domestic and external factors influencing the foreign and security policies of these states are poorly understood. In-depth research in this field is necessary as these processes go hand in hand with the risks of destabilization as long as no adequate regional security policy framework is available. The planned research project will involve a comparative study on the foreign and security policies of the energy-exporting Central Asian states, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. The research questions are: Which patterns of security policy diversification can be observed in these states? When and why do these states diversify their security policies? Our basic assumption is that the decisive factors for the foreign and security policy action of Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan lie primarily in the respective dependencies of the Central Asian states and in the cooperation strategies

of the external actors. However, they are further qualified by the character of the regimes including their transformation performance. A research proposal has been submitted to a German research foundation.

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# *b)* Russia and International Governmental Security Organizations: Patterns of Engagement and Instrumentality

The question, which lies at the centre of this project, is: In what way does Russia behave in security-related international governmental organizations (IGO) such as CSCE/OSCE, CSTO, NRC, SCO and UNSC? What types of engagement (different types of multilateralism) and instrumentality (success or failure) patterns can be identified? While the relationship between the US and multilateral institutions has been thoroughly examined and, more recently, comprehensive theory-based studies have been conducted on the EU's and China's participation in multilateral institutions, there is considerably less known about Russia's "multilateralism." This project is built upon knowledge of state-IGO relations, multilateralism and Russian foreign policy studies. It uses a variety of theoretical approaches – from realism, liberal/rational institutionalism to constructivism – and multiple methods (*inter alia* content analysis, case studies, and interviews). A project proposal is in preparation.

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### c) The CFE Negotiations: Lessons for Multilateral Arms Control

*Global Zero* has opened up a new disarmament perspective. However, a moral commitment to the objective of *Global Zero* is not enough to achieve progress. What is needed now, are well-founded concepts for sustainable progress in disarmament and arms control. Without a viable conventional arms control agreement for Europe, Russia will not agree to disarm its tactical nuclear weapons (TNW). And without a significant reduction, if not abolition of TNW, *Global Zero* is doomed to failure. The CFE process offers both the chance to learn lessons for future multilateral arms control negotiations (both on conventional and on nuclear weapons) and to study the link between conventional and (tactical) nuclear weapons.

This PhD project, which is supported financially by the *Evangelisches Studierendenwerk Villigst e.V.*, aims at analyzing which factors have facilitated or complicated the CFE negotiations and which lessons can be learnt from CFE for future multilateral arms control negotiations. To understand the factors at work, CFE's past stages of negotiation will be examined using a comprehensive methodological-theoretical model which draws mainly on Oran Young's hypotheses on *institutional bargaining*. Combining Young's deliberations with CFE-relevant factors of influence will help in the elaboration of a realistic account of the negotiations. This model will be infused by qualitative interviews with senior officials as well as by official documents.

## Contact: Ulrich Kühn, M.A., MPS

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#### Publications:

Kühn, Ulrich, Global Zero: "perhaps not in my lifetime", in: International Politics and Society, 4/2011, pp. 98–119.

- Russlands Vorschläge für eine neue europäische Sicherheitsordnung, in: Michael Staack (ed.): Auf dem Weg zu einer europäischen Friedens- und Sicherheitsordnung, Bremen 2010 (Schriftenreihe des Wissenschaftlichen Forums für Internationale Sicherheit e.V.), pp. 138-60.
- ДОВСЕ: выход из тупика, in: Россия в глобальной политике 8:2 (2010).
- CFE: Overcoming the Impasse, in: Russia in Global Affairs 8:2 (2010).
- Medvedev's Proposals for a New European Security Order: A Starting Point or the End of the Story?, in: Connections, The Quarterly Journal 9:2 (2010), pp. 1–16.
- From Capitol Hill to Istanbul: The Origins of the Current CFE Deadlock, Hamburg 2009 (CORE Working Paper No. 19).

#### d) Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian Security Community Initiative

The Initiative for the Development of a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian Security Community (IDEAS) is a Track II initiative jointly carried out by four independent research institutes from France, Germany, Poland and Russia, namely the Centre for OSCE Research (CORE), the Fondation pour la Recherche Stratégique (FRS), the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO), and the Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM). The initiative aims at conceptualizing the vision of a "free, democratic, common and indivisible Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian security community stretching from Vancouver to Vladivostok" as adopted by the OSCE participating States in their 2010 Astana Commemorative Declaration. At the same time, IDEAS takes further the proposal of developing an OSCE network of academic institutions as suggested by the OSCE Secretary General in his inaugural speech to the Permanent Council on 4 July 2011. Under the auspices of the four respective foreign ministries, the initiative enjoys broad governmental support. One of its tasks is to provide national governments with conceptual input. To channel this process, IDEAS will conduct four workshops in the first half of 2012. The kick-off meeting in February in Berlin will be followed by similar events in Warsaw, Paris and Moscow. Representatives of the four institutes will jointly draft a final report elaborating on and operationalizing the vision of a common Security Community. The final report will be presented in Vienna in October 2012.

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### Publications:

- Zellner; Wolfgang, The 2010 OSCE Astana Summit: A First Assessment, in: IFSH (ed.), OSCE Yearbook 2010, Baden-Baden 2011, pp. 25-30.
- From Corfu to Astana: The way to the 2010 OSCE summit, in: Security and Human Rights, vol. 21 (2010), no. 3, pp. 233-241.
- Cooperative Security principle and reality, in: Security and Human Rights, vol. 21 (2010), no. 1, pp. 64-68.
- e) Regional Cooperation in and with Central Asia: Reciprocal Adaptation and Learning Processes in Cooperation Relations between International Institutions (EU and ADB) and the Central Asian States (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan)

This PhD project, which is supported by a joint scholarship from the DAAD and the Open Society Institute (OSI), investigates the role played by external actors in the regional cooperation processes in Central Asia. It specifically deals with the efforts of international institutions to promote cooperation in this region, which is considered to be the best way to achieve sustainable development and stability. Given the mixed results of those activities so far and the still-ambivalent patterns of cooperative

behaviour between the Central Asian states, the study aims at assessing why international institutions have largely failed to achieve their objective.

The empirical research is based on the following case studies: The EU and ADB on the one hand, and Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, on the other hand. In addition to the analysis of primary sources, qualitative research methods, including semi-structured interviews with representatives of the selected multilateral institutions and policy-makers in the Central Asian states are applied.

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# f) Power, State-building and Public Administration Reform in Kazakhstan

The political transformation in Central Asia since independence has been scrutinized mainly through the lens of democracy and democratization. Other aspects of the state, such as power and public administration, have been largely neglected. This PhD project aims at shedding light on this part of statehood in Kazakhstan. The country is an interesting object of study as it is the only one in Central Asia, which has carried out intensive administrative reforms. The reform's objective of "modernizing" or "rationalizing" the administration indicates *prima facie* emerging dynamics between modernity and tradition.

Employing a sophisticated theory of the state and drawing on Weber's ideal types of domination, the core of the project consists of intensive field research. Special attention is paid to the role of external actors who have been involved in the area of administrative reform since independence.

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# 3. Consultancy Projects

# 3.1. Completed Consultancy Projects

Activities in 2011 included the organization of a workshop on "Developing OSCE Field Activities" jointly conducted with the German Federal Foreign Office (cf. 6.2), the elaboration of two working or policy papers commissioned by the German Federal Foreign Office, and the organization of an OSCE-related training course for officials from the Irish Department of Foreign Affairs.

# a) CORE Working Paper: "Assessing Astana. Expectations and Outcome"

Commissioned by the German Federal Foreign Office, CORE conducted research on the results of the 2010 OSCE Astana Summit. The analysis starts with the aim of overcoming "a serious decline of trust among the participating States" (Greek Foreign Minister Dora Bakoyannis) as the key intention for the Corfu Process in June 2009 and the 2010 Astana Summit. The working paper examines Russia's expectations and goals for Corfu and Astana, the priorities of the USA and the EU, as well as Kazakhstan's specific intentions as host of this high-level event. The paper summarizes various national views on the Summit's outcome and some conclusions the Lithuanian 2011 OSCE Chairmanship has drawn from the event. It closes with a number of policy options.

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# b) Policy paper: "OSCE Conflict Management and the Kyrgyz Experience 2010"

Commissioned by the German Federal Foreign Office, a policy analysis of OSCE conflict-management concepts, structures and activities was undertaken by CORE. Managing conflict was one of the OSCE's most important assets in the 1990s. Now, the OSCE is clearly in a process of relinquishing its outstanding position in this field. Paradoxically, the OSCE States have, on the one hand, recently confirmed that the OSCE is "the most inclusive and comprehensive regional security organization in the Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian area [... for] preventing and settling conflicts" and that "efforts should be made to resolve existing conflicts" (Astana Commemorative Declaration 2010). On the other hand, the dissent over protracted conflicts prevented them from adopting the largely completed Astana Framework for Action. More than this, there was and is little awareness of latent potentials for conflict in the Balkans, Ukraine, the North Caucasus and Central Asia. Moreover, the hesitant involvement of the OSCE in Kyrgyzstan in June 2010 highlighted once again the uncertainty of some participating States about the OSCE's conflict management activities. The policy paper analyses the long process of OSCE discussions on this subject. It studies respective OSCE concepts and structures and compares them to the requirements and potentials of the Organization in future conflict management.

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# c) CORE Training for the Irish Department of Foreign Affairs: "Preparing for the 2012 Irish OSCE Chairmanship", Dublin, 09 – 11 May 2011

CORE conducted its fourth OSCE-related training course in Dublin, 09 – 11 May 2011. The course was designed to prepare officials of the Irish Department of Foreign Affairs for the forthcoming Irish OSCE Chairmanship in 2012. The preceding three training courses were conducted for groups of diplomats from Kazakhstan and Lithuania – the OSCE Chairmanships 2010 and 2011.

The general intention of such training is to broaden the respective country's MFA personnel pool qualified to deal with the political and managerial issues of an OSCE Chairmanship. They aim at a better understanding of how an OSCE Chairmanship can utilize the Organization to build consensus among participating States. They are meant to communicate know-how on formal and informal OSCE decision-making and procedures of implementation. They focus on explaining the genesis of the Organization's structures and on matters of the OSCE's strategic and daily management. The courses give detailed introductions to specific security issues of various OSCE sub-regions. This year's training course addressed diplomats of the OSCE Taskforce of the Irish Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA) in Dublin as well as representatives of the Permanent Mission of Ireland to the OSCE in Vienna. A video link to Irish representatives in Vienna and Brussels enlarged the geographic scope of the group of trainees. The training course was conducted by CORE staff (Frank Evers, Anna Kreikemeyer, Wolfgang Zellner) along with senior staff members of the OSCE Secretariat and ODIHR and was supported by the OSCE Secretariat

General, Ambassador Marc Perrin de Brichambaut, and the Director of the ODIHR, Ambassador Janez Lenarčič.

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# 3.2. Current Consultancy Projects

### *a)* OSCE Depository Library and CORE Website

With the establishment of CORE, an OSCE Depository Library was set up within the IFSH Library with the support of the German Federal Foreign Office. Its current inventory includes CSCE/OSCE documents, both grey and published literature on the OSCE itself, and books with a focus on nation building, nationalism and majority-minority relationships in the OSCE countries. References to literature can be searched in the online catalogue of the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg (Campus Katalog): https://kataloge.uni-hamburg.de/ and http://www.core-hamburg.de/CORE\_English/services\_libr\_verz.htm. The library and documentation centre of IFSH/CORE compile three different bibliographies on OSCE-relevant publications:

- The bibliography of the OSCE Yearbook, which covers documents from the OSCE itself as well as articles and books on the OSCE.
- A quarterly bibliography with the latest OSCE-related publications: http://www.core-hamburg.de/CORE\_english/services\_biblio\_select.htm
- A comprehensive bibliography with references to CSCE and OSCE documents and relevant articles and books, established in 1995 and regularly updated since then: http://www.core-hamburg.de/CORE\_english/services\_biblio.htm

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The CORE website (http://www.core-hamburg.de) has constantly updated information on the structure of CORE, its projects, staff, activities, and events. Not only can CORE Working Papers, CORE News (cf. 4.2), and OSCE bibliographies be downloaded, but the individual articles of all the OSCE Yearbooks from 1995 to 2009, of which there are more than 400, are also available to read online or be downloaded in full. A keyword search function is available to help readers find relevant articles. A regularly updated database with nearly 3,800 references to books and articles on the CSCE/OSCE and a comprehensive link database assist readers in finding general and OSCE specific information. The website also contains information on vacancies and internships at CORE.

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# b) Summer School on Conflict Prevention in Central Asia

CORE has applied for funds from the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) for a summer school on conflict prevention in Central Asia in 2012. The course will work on the Central Asian states' Afghanistan policies, a subject that still represents a research gap. Initial steps were taken in a pilot project in 2011 by CORE staff member Dr Digol. The summer school aims at deepening this knowledge by addressing the

perceptions of Afghanistan in society and business as well as the governments' conflict prevention strategies. About 15 younger researchers and PhD students from all five Central Asian countries will be invited on the basis of a competition.

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# 4. Publications

### 4.1. OSCE Yearbook

Unique in terms of its scope and the diversity of its authorship, the OSCE Yearbook is an essential resource for OSCE scholars, practitioners and policy makers alike. Both an overview of OSCE activities and a forum for debate, the OSCE Yearbook has been published in English, German, and Russian since 1995. The IFSH produces the OSCE Yearbook in co-operation with retired Ambassador Jonathan Dean (Union of Concerned Scientists, Washington), Dr Pál Dunay (Geneva Centre for Security Policy), Prof. Adam Daniel Rotfeld (former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Poland), and Dr Andrei Zagorski (Moscow State Institute of International Relations/MGIMO). The editorial staff are based at the IFSH in Hamburg. Ursel Schlichting, editor-inchief, is assisted in the tasks of editing and translating by Susanne Bund, Graeme Currie, Elena Kropatcheva, Ina Shakhrai, and Keith Semple. In 2011, additional translating and editing work was carried out by Uwe Polley.

The German and English editions are published by Nomos in Baden-Baden, while the Russian edition is printed by Izdatelstvo "Prava Cheloveka" in Moscow. The German Federal Foreign Office funds the printing of the Yearbook and some of the staff costs associated with its production. Additional funds are earmarked for the distribution of free copies to members of parliaments, foreign ministries, and OSCE institutions, including the Secretariat, and to universities, libraries, and other interested institutions. The OSCE Yearbook is used for teaching purposes at universities in CIS countries, at the OSCE Academy in Bishkek, at the MGIMO, and elsewhere. The 2011 OSCE Yearbook, the 17th edition, is currently in preparation and will be published in winter 2011/12, with the German edition following in summer 2012. The Russian edition of the OSCE Yearbook 2010 will also be published in winter 2011/2012. The entire texts of all previous editions of the OSCE Yearbook in English (up to 2009) and German (up to 2009) are available to read or download at the CORE website: http://core-hamburg.de.

As always, following the Foreword by this year's Chairperson-in-Office, the Lithuanian Foreign Minister Audronis Ažubalis and Wolfgang Zellner's obituary of Max van der Stoel, the OSCE Yearbook 2011 covers a range of OSCE-relevant issues in both breadth and depth. In the opening section, "The OSCE and European Security", Pál Dunay looks back on Kazakhstan's groundbreaking 2010 Chairmanship of the Organization, while the OSCE's long-serving Secretary General Marc Perrin de Brichambaut reflects on his six years in office. Ian Cliff also discusses the Corfu Process, while Bernhard Knoll and Jens-Hagen Eschenbächer consider the significance of the Astana Commemorative Declaration in terms of human rights.

The special focus section of the 17th edition of the OSCE Yearbook highlights what is perhaps the OSCE's most prominent institution, the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, which is celebrating its 20th year of existence. We are delighted that Christian Strohal, the former Director of ODIHR, has contributed an article on the protection of human rights in the post-Astana environment. A range of further contributions discuss the legacies of key ODIHR documents (Grigory Golosov), the OSCE's contribution to gender equality (Nadezda Shvedova; Andreea Vesa and Kristin van der Leest), human rights education (Pavel Chacuk), election observation (Geert-Hinrich Ahrens), the future of democracy support (Jos Boonstra, Natalia Shapovalova, and Richard Youngs), the role of national parliaments in the work of the OSCE (Karin Esposito and Ruben-Erik Diaz-Plaja), 20 years of human rights promotion (Snježana Bokulić and Assia Ivantcheva), national human rights institutions in the OSCE area (Liane Adler), the OSCE's work on Roma and Sinti (Andrzej Mirga), and judicial independence in Eastern Europe, the Caucasus, and Central Asia (Adam Bodnar and Eva Katinka Schmidt). Finally, ODIHR's Deputy Director Douglas Wake describes the evolution of ODIHR from the small Office for Free Elections to the successful major institution it is today.

In the section on the OSCE participating States, Ambassador Ian Kelly, Head of the US Mission to the OSCE, describes the US's regional engagement through the OSCE, Elena Kropatcheva discusses the situation in Belarus following the 2010 presidential elections and Payam Foroughi considers the human rights situation in Tajikistan.

The section on conflict prevention and dispute settlement is always a major chapter of the OSCE Yearbook. This year, Claudio Formisano and Georgia Tasiopoulou review the performance of the OSCE Mission in Kosovo, Claus Neukirch looks at the possibility of conflict settlement in Moldova, Carel Hofstra discusses police development in Armenia, Hans-Joachim Schmidt asks whether war could return to Nagorno-Karabakh and Arne C. Seifert looks at the nature of political authority in Central Asia.

Recent developments in arms control and CSBMs is the topic of Pierre von Arx's learned contribution on the OSCE's politico-military dimension.

Finally, there are two contributions that focus on the OSCE's external relations: Rita Marascalchi and Oleksandr Pavlyuk consider the potential for an expanded role for the OSCE's Mediterranean partnership following recent events in North Africa, while Timur Dadabaev analyzes Japanese policy towards Central Asia.

As always, the OSCE Yearbook includes extensive annexes comprising facts and figures on all 56 participating States, a list of recent conferences, meetings, and events, and a selected bibliography of current literature. The OSCE Yearbook is intended for politicians, policy- and decision-makers at all levels, OSCE staff, particularly in the OSCE missions, students and researchers, journalists, and the general public. The publisher's goal is to contribute to the political and academic discussion of European security in national, regional, and international contexts and to create links between academic circles, political practice, and the public. Although the Yearbook is not an official OSCE publication, it is strongly supported by the Organization, and particularly by the Secretariat in Vienna.

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# 4.2. Other Publications

CORE Working Papers comprise CORE research reports, policy papers and other texts. They are available in both printed and digital form (on the internet at: http://core-hamburg.de/CORE\_English/pub\_workingpapers.htm). Subscriptions to the e-mail version are available free of charge. In 2011, the following working papers were published:

- Evers, Frank, Appropriate Ways of Developing OSCE Field Activities, Hamburg 2011 (CORE Working Paper 22).
- Evers, Frank, Assessing Astana. Expectations and Outcome, Hamburg 2011 (CORE Working Paper 23)

The electronic newsletter *CORE News* provides information on current CORE activities and events. It can be downloaded from the CORE website, at: http://core-hamburg.de/CORE\_English/ pub\_news.htm. Subscriptions, which are free of charge, may be taken out by sending an e-mail to core@ifsh.de.

# 5. Teaching

# 5.1. Master of Peace and Security Studies

Within the framework of the cooperation network "Peace Research and Security Policy", under the supervision of the IFSH, a postgraduate Master's Programme on Peace and Security Studies (MPS) was initiated at the University of Hamburg in 2002. This programme is both practical and interdisciplinary. It combines structured teaching with a learning-by-doing approach to help students acquire the skills needed to work in relevant fields. The course teaches the methods and findings of peace studies and prepares participants for careers in research or international organizations.

Members of the cooperation network are: the University of Hamburg (several faculties), the Helmut Schmidt University - the University of the Federal Armed Forces Hamburg (HSU, several chairs), the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg (IFSH), the Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management, the Bonn International Center for Conversion (BICC), the Bundeswehr Command and Staff College, the Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker Centre for Science and Peace Research (ZNF), the Centre for European Peace and Security Studies (ZEUS), the Center for International Peace Operations (ZIF), the Centre for OSCE Research (CORE), the German Institute of Global and Area Studies (GIGA), the Institute for Development and Peace, the Institute for International Law of Peace and Armed Conflict, the Institute for Theology and Peace, International Institute for Politics and Economy/House Rissen, the Interdisciplinary Research Group on Disarmament, Arms Control and Risk Technologies (IFAR), the Peace Research Institute Frankfurt (PRIF), and the Protestant Institute for Interdisciplinary Research (FEST).

The programme is implemented in close cooperation with the institutions mentioned above. During the second semester, the students are divided among these institutes,

where they participate in research and write their Master's theses. The 2010/2011 course had 25 participants, eleven of whom came from abroad. Upon completion of the programme, the Master's diploma is certified by the University of Hamburg.

CORE staff members contributed to the MPS 2010/2011 teaching programme: Elena Kulipanova offered a one-day seminar on "Regional Cooperation in Central Asia: What Are the Chances for Success?" and Elena Kropatcheva ran a one-day seminar on "The EU and Its Eastern European Neighbors: Chances and Challenges". Wolfgang Zellner offered a seminar on "European Security Policy: OSCE" and, together with Christian Alwardt, Ulrich Kühn, and Götz Neuneck, another one on "Disarmament and Arms Control in Europe: Status quo and Recent Developments".

# 5.2. PhD Programme

In 2011, three PhD students worked on their dissertations at CORE. One has interrupted her dissertation to take a position with an international organization. CORE will continue to support the applications of individual PhD students to various sponsoring bodies.

# 6. Inter-Institutional Co-operation and Conferences

# 6.1. Co-operation and Guests

On 24 January 2011, Frank Evers delivered a guest speech during an After Work Briefing on the subject of "The 2010 OSCE Astana Summit. Does the OSCE Face an Identity Crisis?" at the Center for International Peace Operations (ZIF - Zentrum für Internationale Friedenseinsätze) in Berlin.

On 14 – 16 February 2011, Wolfgang Zellner and Frank Evers conducted a series of meetings with Ambassador Renatas Norkus, Head of the Permanent Mission of the Republic of Lithuania to the OSCE and Chairperson of the OSCE Permanent Council, and a number of other representatives of national delegations and the OSCE Secretariat.

In March 2011, Prof. Dr. Alena Douhan from the International Law Department of the Belorusian State University came along to CORE as a visiting fellow to discuss options for future cooperation.

A group of scholars from Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan visited CORE in May 2011 to learn more about the IFSH and CORE. The visit to Hamburg was part of an information-gathering trip on "university education in Germany" funded by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation and organized by Sebastian Schiek, PhD student at CORE. Among the participants were Prof. Dr Karimzhan Shakriov, Dean of the Department of International Relations at the Al-Farabi University in Almaty, Kazakhstan, and Prof. Dr Gulandom Bakijewa, Prorector of science at the State University of World Languages in Tashkent, Uzbekistan. Dr Anna Kreikemeyer gave an introduction on the IFSH and CORE's capacity building activities in Central Asia, which was followed by a presentation of the MPS program by Dr Patricia Schneider as well as by a discussion on future cooperation between the IFSH and universities in Central Asia.

Since 26 May 2011, Anna Kreikemeyer and Lena Kulipanova have been participating in the Research Group "Foreign Political Strategies in a multi-polar system" of the German Institute for Global and Area Studies (GIGA) directed by Dr Daniel Flemes.

On 20 June 2011, Frank Evers participated in a Workshop and Policy Briefing on "Climate Change in Central Asia: Inter-linkages between Water and Energy Security Trends" at the German Federal Foreign Office. The event was part of the Climate Security Dialogue Series jointly conducted by the adelphi consult GmbH Berlin, the KlimaCampus Research Area "Climate Change and Security" (CLISEC) at the University of Hamburg and the Institute for Peace and Security Research Hamburg (IFSH). The Climate Security Dialogue Series is organized in cooperation with and supported by the German Federal Foreign Office.

On 22 June 2011, Wolfgang Zellner delivered an introductory speech on "The Code of Conduct on Politico-Military Aspects of Security" at a Special Meeting of the OSCE's Forum for Security Co-operation.

From 22 August to 22 October 2011, CORE researcher Ulrich Kühn took part in the United Nations 2011 Fellowship on Disarmament Program. Nominated by the Federal Foreign Office of Germany on behalf of the Federal Government, Ulrich Kühn is the first German participant with an exclusively civil society background. The United Nations Program of Fellowships on Disarmament was launched by the General Assembly at its first special session devoted to disarmament in 1978. The Program aims at training national officials of more Member States, particularly in the developing countries, and enabling them to participate more effectively in international negotiating fora. Implemented by the Geneva Branch of the Office for Disarmament Affairs (ODA), the Program has trained over 600 public officials from some 150 Member States, a large number of whom are now in positions of responsibility in the field of disarmament within their own governments. Study visits included the Geneva Conference on Disarmament, the Vienna-based CTBTO and IAEA, the OPCW in The Hague, national foreign ministries in Berlin, Beijing, and Tokyo, survivors of the atomic bombings in Hiroshima and Nagasaki as well as a three week stay at the UN First Committee in New York. In a final ceremony, the UN High Representative on Disarmament Affairs, Ambassador Sergio Duarte of Brazil, awarded the 25 national participants with an official certificate. Following the award ceremony, participants were invited by the Secretary-General, Mr. Ban Ki-moon, to a reception.

On 24 August 2011, Prof Alexander Redlich, faculty for psychology at the University of Hamburg, visited CORE with the members of a joint German-Russian-Moldovan research group working on mediation and discussed prospects for cooperation.

On 29/30 August 2011, Frank Evers conducted a number of meetings with the Armenian Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mrs. Karine Kazinian, and other Armenian and foreign officials, diplomats and academicians during a visit to Yerevan. Discussions focused on the security situation in Armenia, the South Caucasus and neighboring countries, as well as problems the OSCE and key participating States are facing in their efforts to stabilize the South Caucasus region.

On 29/30 August 2011, Frank Evers delivered lectures at the Diplomatic Academy of Armenia on key features and committments of the OSCE, the OSCE Corfu Process and the results of the 2011 OSCE Astana Summit.

On 6/7 September 2011, Wolfgang Zellner and Frank Evers conducted a series of meetings with OSCE officials and representatives of national delegations of OSCE participating States in Vienna.

On 7 September 2011, Rakhat Raimbekova, researcher at the National Institute for Strategic Studies of the Kyrgyz Republic, visited CORE and discussed prospects for cooperation.

On 14/16 September 2011, Frank Evers participated in the 19th Meeting of the OSCE Economic and Environmental Forum in Prague that was headlined this year "Promotion of common actions and co-operation in the OSCE area in the fields of development of sustainable energy and transport".

Between 23 September and 9 December, Ms Zhen Zhao, assistant researcher at the Department of Shanghai Cooperation Organization Studies at the China Institute of International Studies (CIIS) and participant in the Young Professional Training-Programm of the Department Global Partnerships – Emerging Economies at the German Society for International Cooperation (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit, GIZ) was visiting fellow at IFSH and CORE under the supervision of Regina Heller and Anna Kreikemeyer. On 26 October 2011, Gereon Müller-Chorus, the head of the Young Professional Training-Programm visited IFSH/CORE.

On 26 September 2011, Wolfgang Zellner participated as an expert in a hearing on "Disarmament as Crisis Prevention" jointly organized by three sub-committees of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the German Bundestag.

On 10 November 2011, Anna Kreikemeyer and Wolfgang Zellner visited Prof. Alexander Redlich, faculty for psychology at the University of Hamburg to discuss prospects of cooperation in the area of conflict management and mediation with a working group of the faculty of psychology of the University of St. Petersburg.

Between 21 and 25 November 2011, Frank Evers conducted a series of meetings with governmental officials, OSCE representatives, diplomats and researchers in Bishkek (Kyrgyzstan). The topic for his meetings was the experience with OSCE conflict management during the two Kyrgyz crises in 2010.

On 29 November 2011, Wolfgang Zellner gave a presentation on "Exploring New Fields of Cooperation between ARF and OSCE" at the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) High-Level Workshop on Confidence-Building Measures and Preventive Diplomacy in Asia and Europe, organized by the German Federal Foreign Office in Berlin.

On 14 December 2011, Wolfgang Zellner, Frank Evers and Ulrich Kuehn conducted a number of meetings with OSCE officials and representatives of national delegations of OSCE participating States in Vienna.

# 6.2. Conferences Organized by CORE

a) Joint Workshop of CORE and the German Federal Foreign Office: "Developing OSCE Field Activities", Vienna, 26 and 27 May 2011

To contribute to discussions on direct activities of the OSCE in its participating States, CORE and the German Federal Foreign Office jointly organized a workshop on "Developing OSCE Field Activities" at Vienna Hofburg, 26 and 27 May 2011. The aim of the workshop was to emphasize the particular interest of Germany in these formats of international security cooperation and to address specific issues such as the thematic orientations of OSCE field activities, the respective expectations of the host governments and matters of internal interaction within the OSCE.

Representatives of governments, OSCE field operations and academic institutions from seven participating States (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Ukraine and Tajikistan) took part in the event. They discussed conceptual and organizational issues of OSCE field work with representatives of the current Lithuanian OSCE Chairmanship and the two other members of the 2011 OSCE Troika (Kazakhstan and Ireland) as well as with experts from the OSCE, the European Union and the Council of Europe. Many representatives of OSCE Delegations also attended the event. At the center of the lively exchange of views among the some 60 participants and guests were the shared responsibility for the internal developments in the participating States and ideas to implement this responsibility in all three dimensions of the OSCE.

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# 6.3. Conferences Attended and Lectures Given by CORE Staff

During 2011, CORE staff members attended almost 25 conferences and workshops (see also 6.1) where they acted as presenters and/or rapporteurs.

# Anna Kreikemeyer

- Presented the projects "Hegemonic Change and Security in Central Asia. Diversification in the Kazakhstani, Turkmen and Uzbek Foreign and Security Policies" and "Post-Soviet Security Dialogue Network" at the workshop "Competence in the Research Field of Interdisciplinary Peace and Conflict Research in the Metropolitan Area of Hamburg", Hamburg, 11 February 2011.
- Presented the project "Hegemonic Change and Security in Central Asia. Diversification in the Kazakhstani, Turkmen and Uzbek Foreign and Security Policies" at the Research Center for East European Studies at the University of Bremen, 8 April 2011.
- Participated in the 4th GCSP OSCE Academy Nupi Nesa Seminar "Central Asia 2011" at the OSCE Academy in Bishkek and chaired a panel on "East of Vienna – West of Vienna", 1 September 2011.
- Gave two lectures within the framework of Hamburg's "Nacht des Wissens" on "How Safe is the New Silk Road? Power Structures and Foreign Policies of Central Asian States", 29 October 2011.

- Held a presentation on "Conflict Management by the OSCE.
- Chances and Barriers of Institutional Conflict Management from a Political Scientist's Point of View" at the conference "International practice and training of mediators in the light of the European experience" at the "Petersburg Dialogue", St. Petersburg, 17 December 2011.

# Elena Kropatcheva

- Made a presentation on "Russia's Captivity to its Psychological Complexes" at the BASEES Annual Conference 2011, Cambridge, April 2011.
- Made a statement on "The Meaning of the OSCE Field Activities for the Organization's Profile in the European Security," at the workshop "Developing OSCE Field Activities", jointly organized by the German Federal Foreign Office and CORE, Vienna, 26/27 May 2011.
- Presented on "Russia's OSCE Policy and the Role of the OSCE in the European Security" at the British International Studies Association (BISA) Working Group on Russian and Eurasian Security, London, June 2011.
- Lectured on "Russian Perspectives on European Energy Security" at the Summer School on Energy, organized by the Department for Northern European Studies, Humboldt University, Berlin, in cooperation with the Universities of Copenhagen, Riga, Turku, Tartu, Vilnius and Gdansk, Berlin, September 2011.
- Gave a presentation on "Russia's Captivity to its Psychological Complexes" at the Political Psychology Networking Conference, Central European University, Budapest, 25 November 2011.

# Sebastian Schiek

 Gave a presentation on "State-Building and State Reform in post-Soviet Kazakhstan" at the Annual Conference of the European Society for Central Asia Studies, at Cambridge university, UK, 20-22 September 2011.

# Wolfgang Zellner

- Held a lecture on "External Democratization in (Semi-)Authoritarian States between Normative Claims and Political Constraints" at the Humboldt University, Berlin, 12 January 2011.
- Made a presentation on "Current State and Prospects of pan-European Cooperation and Institutions" at a conference in Moscow jointly organized by the European Studies Institute at MGIMO University, the Institute of European Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, and the NATO Information Office in Russia in cooperation with the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, 11/12 April 2011.
- Made a contribution on "Arms Control and Confidence- and Security-Building Measures" at the conference "The Politico-Military Dimension of European Security: Proposals and Perspectives", jointly organized by the Greek and Russian Foreign Ministries, Athens, 17 May 2011.
- Presented a paper on "Conventional Arms Control in Europe: Is There Any Future?" in Working Group 4 "European Security and Disarmament" of the 59th

Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs: European Contributions to Nuclear Disarmament and Conflict Resolution, Berlin, 1-4 July 2011.

- Gave a presentation on "Research Challenges in the Afghanistan / Central Asia Context" at a workshop on "Conflict and peace in a changing international context, Funding opportunities, matchmaking, networking in FP7", organized by the German 7th EU Framework Programme Contact Point in cooperation with the EU Commission, Brussels, 6/7 July 2011.
- Chaired a panel on "CSBMs and CFE Process: Chances for Advancement in the Light of Overall Disarmament Difficulties in Geneva" at the OSCE Focus conference, jointly organized by the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs and DCAF, Geneva, 14/15 October 2011.
- Delivered the keynote speech on "Central Asia Challenges and Opportunities" at the conference "Political and Strategic Endgames in Central Asia" organized by the Université Catholique de Louvain, Louvain-la-Neuve (Belgium), 20 October 2011.

# 7. Personnel and Budget

During 2011, the Head of CORE managed a staff, which includes five researchers (cf. Annex 1: CORE staff as of 1 December 2011). In addition, two staff members (one senior researcher/editor, one translator/editor) were responsible for publishing the OSCE Yearbook and another for documentation and information. Three PhD students worked on their dissertation projects. The permanent staff is supported by two further translators and one IT administrator. Over the course of the year, five students completed their internships, which, on average, lasted for around six weeks (http://www.core-hamburg.de/english/staff/internship).

Less than half of the CORE budget is financed through the IFSH budget. Project financing covers the larger part of expenditures. In the year 2011, CORE projects – including PhD projects – were funded by the German Federal Foreign Office, the Irish Department of Foreign Affairs, the German Foundation for Peace Research and the German Academic Exchange Service together with the Open Society Institute.

# Annex 1: CORE Staff as of 1 December 2011

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Interne: Maia Amirezachvili: Thilisi Ceorgia: Elmira Khalitova Russia: Anuar Ospanov, Astana					

Interns: Maia Amirezashvili; Tbilisi, Georgia; Elmira Khalitova, Russia; Anuar Ospanov, Astana, Kazakhstan; Manuela Pollack, Germany; Clemens Schlink, Germany.

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# Annex 2: Publications by CORE Staff Members in 2011

#### Digol, Diana:

 Mind the Neighbours! Central Asian Interests and Visions of Afghanistan, in: Hans-Georg Ehrhart/Sven Gareis/Charles C. Pentland (Eds), Afghanistan in the Balance: Counterinsurgency, Comprehensive Approach and Political Order, Kingston/Montreal (forthcoming).

#### Evers, Frank:

- Evers, Frank, Appropriate Ways of Developing OSCE Field Activities, Hamburg 2011 (CORE Working Paper 22).
- Evers, Frank, Assessing Astana: Expectations and Outcome, Hamburg 2011 (CORE Working Paper 23).
- OSCE field activities: verbal encouragement, factual cutback, in: Security and Human Rights, 2011 (forthcoming).

#### Kreikemeyer, Anna:

 Weder globale Konkurrenz noch wirksame Friedenssicherung. Was kann die EU in Zentralasien erreichen?, in: Margret Johannsen/Bruno Schoch/Corinna Hauwedell/Tobias Debiel/Christiane Fröhlich (eds). Friedensgutachten 2011, Berlin 2011, pp. 155-167 (with Elena Kulipanova).

#### Kropatcheva, Elena:

- Russian Foreign Policy in the Realm of European Security through the Lens of Neoclassical Realism, Journal of Eurasian Studies, 3 (1), 2011/2012 (in press). Available online at: http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S187936651100025X.
- Ukraine's Foreign Policy Choices after the 2010 Presidential Election, Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics, vol. 27, no. 3-4, 2011, pp. 553-573.
- Playing both Ends against the Middle: Russia's Geopolitical Energy Games with the EU and Ukraine, in: Geopolitics, vol. 16, no. 3, 2011, pp. 553-573.
- Presidential Elections in Belarus in 2010: the Winner Takes It All?, in: IFSH (ed.), OSCE Yearbook 2011, Baden-Baden 2012 (forthcoming).

#### Kuehn, Ulrich:

- Global Zero: "perhaps not in my lifetime", in: International Politics and Society, 4/2011, pp. 98–119.
- Vermittler f
  ür Konferenz 
  über Massenvernichtungswaffenfreie Zone Nahost benannt, in: Vereinte Nationen. German Review on the United Nations, vol. 59, no. 6, 2011 (forthcoming).

#### Kulipanova, Elena:

 Weder globale Konkurrenz noch wirksame Friedenssicherung. Was kann die EU in Zentralasien erreichen?, in: Margret Johannsen/Bruno Schoch/Corinna Hauwedell/Tobias Debiel/Christiane Fröhlich (eds.), Friedensgutachten 2011, Berlin 2011, pp. 155-167 (with Anna Kreikemeyer).

#### Schiek, Sebastian:

 - 'Seeing like a President. The Dilemma of Inclusion' in Kazakhstan, in: Susan Stewart/Margarete Klein/Andrea Schmitz/Hans-Henning Schröder (eds), Presidents, Oligarchs and Bureaucrats: Forms of Rule in the Post-Soviet Space, Farnham (forthcoming, with Stephan Hensell).

#### Seifert, Arne:

- The Political Process in Central Asia Generalizations and Consequences, in: The Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, The Center for Strategic & Political Studies (ed.), The Political Process in Central Asia – Results Problems and Perspectives (in Russian), Moscow 2011, pp. 366-403. (Političeskij Prozess v Zentralnoi Azii – Resultaty, Problemy, Perspektivy, Učrešdenije Rossiskoi Akademii Nauk, Institut Vostokovedenja, Zentr Strategičeskich & Političeskich Issledovanii, Moskva 2011).
- Political Islam in the Political Process of Central Asia, in: The Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, The Center for Strategic & Political Studies (ed.), The Political Process in Central Asia – Results Problems and Perspectives (in Russian), Moscow 2011, pp. 64-91. (Političeskij Prozess v Zentralnoi Azii – Resultaty, Problemy, Perspektivy, Učrešdenije Rossiskoi Akademii Nauk, Institut Vostokovedenja, Zentr Strategičeskich & Političeskich Issledovanii, Moskva 2011).
- /Irina Zviagelskaja, Introduction On the Question of the Criteria , in: The Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, The Center for Strategic & Political Studies (ed.), The Political Process in Central Asia – Results Problems and Perspectives ( in Russian), Moscow 2011 (in Russian), pp. 7-16. (,Političeskij Prozess v Zentralnoi Azii – Resultaty, Problemy, Perspektivy, Učrešdenije Rossiskoi Akademii Nauk, Institut Vostokovedenja, Zentr Strategičeskich & Političeskich Issledovanii, Moskva 2011).
- Zentralasien Politischer Islam, Politischer Prozess, Transformation, Berlin 2011 (Verband für Internationale Politik und Völkerrecht e.V., Berlin, Schriften zur internationalen Politik), at: http://www.vip-ev.de.
- Abziehen, um zu bleiben, Der Plan B f
  ür Afghanistan, in: Wissenschaft und Frieden, vol. 29, no. 2, 2011, pp. 41/42.
- Abzug, um zu bleiben, in: Raimund Krämer/Christoph Sebastian Widdau (eds.), Fiasko Afghanistan, Potsdam 2011 (WeltTrends Papiere, 16), pp. 63-67.
- Den Krieg beenden und sofort zu einer politischen Regelung übergehen, Dresden 2011 (Dresdner Studiengemeinschaft Sicherheitspolitik, DSS-Arbeitspapiere, Heft 102), pp. 37-44.
- Afghanistan's Shadow over Central Asia (in Russian: Ten Afganistana nad Zentralnoi Azii), in: Prudent Solutions, Bishkek 2011, at: http://www.analitika.org.
- Der regionale historische Kontext der Anfänge der Nahostpolitik der DDR und Parallelen zur Gegenwart. Reflektionen zur bisherigen Debatte des Symposiums, in: Detlef Nakath/Gerd-Rüdiger Stephan (eds), Deutsche Außenpolitik im Nahen Osten, Potsdam 2011 (Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Brandenburg), pp. 34-39.

#### Tudyka, Kurt P.:

- Was und wo ist heute "Westen"?, in: Politisches Lernen, 1-2/2011, pp. 5-9.
- Der (Aus)Weg ist das Ziel der griechische OSZE-Vorsitz 2009, in: IFSH (ed.), OSZE-Jahrbuch 2010, Baden-Baden 2011, pp. 365-378.

#### Zellner, Wolfgang:

- Zwischen Erfolg und Scheitern: Das OSZE-Gipfeltreffen von Astana 2010, in: IFSH-Jahresbericht 2010, pp. 9-12.
- European Security Policy 40 Years a Topic at the IFSH, in: IFSH (ed.), 40 Years Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg, Hamburg 2011, pp. 11-15.
- Max van der Stoel leveraging academic expertise for conflict prevention, in: Security and Human Rights, vol. 22, no. 3, 2011, pp. 307-310.
- Prospects for Arms Control in Europe, Berlin 2011 (Friedrich Ebert Foundation, with Michael Brzoska, Anne Finger, Oliver Meier und Götz Neuneck).

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