

# **CORE Annual Report 2012**

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## Foreword

The two subjects that figured most prominently on CORE's agenda in 2012 were the implementation of the IDEAS project and a number of activities on and in Central Asia.

IDEAS – the Initiative for the Development of a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian Security Community – had been kick-started by the four Foreign Ministers of Germany, France, Poland and Russia who had “asked four academic institutes to organize four workshops in Berlin, Warsaw, Paris and Moscow in 2012” and invited them “to present their final report and their recommendations to all OSCE participating States in Vienna in autumn 2012”. Between March and July 2012, the institutes – the Centre for OSCE Research (CORE) at the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg (IFSH), the Fondation pour la Recherche Stratégique (FRS), the Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM) and the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (University) of the Russian Foreign Ministry (MGIMO) – organized four workshops that brought together 300 participants and guests from 40 states, who discussed various aspects of the issue of a security community.

Subsequently, representatives of the four institutes drafted the IDEAS report “Towards a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian Security Community: From Vision to Reality”. This is the first report ever in the OSCE context that makes a serious attempt to define core elements of a security community and to sketch a way towards this ambitious goal. At the invitation of the Irish Chairmanship, the four institutes presented the report on 23 October 2012 at an informal ambassadorial meeting with about 100 persons from 40 delegations. The overall reception of the report at the Hofburg meeting was very positive. Ambassadors spoke about a “very impressive report”, “forward-looking and pragmatic” that could make a contribution to the OSCE's current discussions in the “Helsinki plus 40” context. The four institutes plan to continue the IDEAS project and to enlarge it with other think tanks and academic institutes.

Again in 2012, Central Asia figured high on CORE's agenda. CORE applied for a research project on the Afghanistan policies of the Central Asian states (cf. 2.2). In June 2012, in preparation for this project, IFSH staff members Hans-Georg Ehrhart, Anna Kreikemeyer and Sebastian Schiek, together with the Eurasian University in Astana, implemented a summer school on “The Afghan Crisis – Conflict Perception and Crisis Prevention Strategies in Central Asia.” In October 2012, Arne Seifert participated in the 2nd meeting of the Berlin Eurasian Club in Astana, a joint initiative of the Kazakhstani Embassy in Berlin and the German Foreign Policy Association. Finally, on 23 October, parallel to the presentation of the IDEAS report in Vienna, Ulrich Kühn presented this report at a conference in Almaty on the issue of a security community, co-organized by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of

Kazakhstan, the OSCE Centre in Astana and the Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies under the President of Kazakhstan.

Much of what has been done in 2012 would not have been possible without the generous support of the German Federal Foreign Office. CORE has profited greatly from this extremely productive relationship. We are very grateful for the financial assistance CORE has received as well as for the fruitful exchanges we had with the 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 of the other institutions that have supported us and cooperated with us. We look forward to another productive and rewarding year in 2013.

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 Co-operation 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, 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 and security issues 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) Regional Cooperation, External Actors and Power Relationships in Central Asia: The Cases of the Asian Development Bank and the EU*

This PhD project, which was supported by a joint scholarship from the DAAD and the Open Society Institute (OSI), was concluded in late 2012. It investigates the impact of external actors on regional cooperation in Central Asia and deals specifically with the efforts of international organizations to promote cooperation in this region since independence in 1991. Given the mixed results of those activities so far and the still-ambivalent patterns of cooperative behaviour between and among the Central Asian states, the main question of the thesis is why the international organizations have largely failed to achieve their objective.

Using the case studies of the Asian Development Bank (ADB) and the EU, the project aimed at assessing the influence of international organizations at the levels of domestic and regional politics, in particular in the two areas of international transport and trade facilitation. The thesis analyzed the impact of these two international organizations on the interests and capacities of Central Asian states, which are considered as major factors explaining their non-cooperative behavior. The analytical framework is based on the concept of power, which enables a comprehensive analysis of the prerequisites, instruments and mechanisms by which the ADB and the EU attempt to exercise influence, and to identify reasons for their failures. Methodologically, the study was based on the analysis of primary sources. In addition, qualitative research methods including semi-structured interviews with representatives of selected international organizations and policy-makers in the Central Asian states were applied.

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### 2.2. Current Research Projects

*a) Multilateralism in Russian Foreign Policy: Genuine Search for Partners or a Camouflage for Unilateral Ambitions?*

The key question of this project is what Russia is doing in security-related multilateral international governmental organizations (IGO) (CSCE/OSCE, CSTO, NRC, SCO, and UNSC). Which types of engagement (different types of multilateralism) and effectiveness patterns can be identified? While the relationship between the US and multilateral institutions has been thoroughly examined and, in recent years, comprehensive theory-based studies have been conducted on the EU's and China's participation in multilateral institutions, considerably less is known about Russia's "multilateralism". The project is built upon the knowledge of state-IGO relations, multilateralism and Russian foreign policy studies. It uses a pluralism of theoretical approaches – from realism, liberal/rational institutionalism to constructivism – and a pluralism of methods (qualitative and quantitative content analysis, case studies, and interviews). In the first quarter of 2013, a research application will be finished.

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*Publications:*

Kropatcheva, Elena, Russia and the role of the OSCE in European security: a 'Forum' for dialog or a 'Battlefield' of interests?, in: *European Security*, 21: 3 (2012), pp. 370-395.

Kropatcheva, Elena, Russian Foreign Policy in The Realm Of European Security Through The Lens Of Neoclassical Realism, in: *Journal of Eurasian Studies*, 3: 1 (2012), pp. 30-40.

Kropatcheva, Elena, 2013, Elections in Russia in 2011-2012: Will the Wind of Change Keep Blowing?, in: IFSH (ed.), *OSCE Yearbook 2012*, Baden-Baden (forthcoming).

*b) The Afghanistan Policies of the Central Asian States*

The planned withdrawal of most of the ISAF forces from Afghanistan in 2014 will change the security situation in the region and make the role of the Central Asian states more prominent. Against this background, this project will analyze the Afghanistan policies of the Central Asian states as well as the objectives that guide the concrete policies. The project's starting hypothesis is that, despite some ambiguities, the main objective of the Central Asian governments is stability in Afghanistan. The project builds on a pilot project funded by the German Foundation for Peace Research (DSF) and implemented by Diana Digol in 2011. An application for project funding has been submitted to the German Foundation for Peace Research.

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*c) The Role of Traditional Informal 'Networks of Trust' for Peace in the Ferghana Valley (1992-2013). A Comparative Analysis*

In the era of globalization, peace studies need to take into account new security dimensions with respect to issue and reference areas, spaces, actors and threats. Contradictions and fragmentation between the local level of societies and the state can lead to conflict. Our planned research project addresses this issue with respect to the security political role of traditional informal institutions in the Central Asian Ferghana Valley, a sub-region which has been increasingly prone to conflict since 2005 and where local conflicts have frequently and even regularly arisen. Given our research interest in conflict prevention in Central Asia, we address the role of traditional informal actors and institutions, especially of transnational "networks of trust" in view of the security risks resulting from weak state capacities. Based on both a broad desk study as well as extensive fieldwork in Kyrgyzstan, we will try to answer research questions on the contribution of informal actors and institutions to peace, on possibilities and barriers in the interaction between traditional informal actors and institutions and formal institutions and on the limits and peculiarities of informal action.

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*d) Contradictory State Formation: The Conservative Modernization in Kazakhstan*

Kazakhstan has an ambivalent appeal to scholars. Some stress the authoritarian and patrimonial regime and the conservative attitude of the elite, who want to fight off any 'positive' change and want only to save their oil rents. According to this

interpretation, visible reform is just a façade to please the international community and to obscure the hegemony of the selfish political elite. Other scholars view Kazakhstan as the most successful country in the post-Soviet space thanks to the adoption of an Asian ‘developmental state’ model, paying less attention to the political structure of the state. Indeed, theorists of patrimonialism and rentier states suggest that its leaders and the elite concentrate their energies on keeping power and are politically and economically completely conservative. How can we explain the theoretical and empirical contradiction between patrimonial power and a strong modernization impetus?

The key to this contradiction is the project of conservative modernization in Kazakhstan. While modernization is often understood as economic reform and the introduction of a democracy and rule of law, conservative modernization aims to modernize the economic system in order to preserve the political status quo. This PhD project explains the historical evolution of the simultaneity of two logics, patrimonial and modernization logics, and analyzes the practice of conservative modernization. The project shows that patrimonialization and modernization can occur at the same time, but ‘suffer’ from contradictory practices. The project uses a sophisticated theory of state formation, based on the theoretical writing of Bourdieu, Elias and Weber and fresh modernization theories.

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*e) Coexistence between Secular Values and Islamic Traditions in Tajikistan: Possibilities and Barriers of the Secular-Islamic Dialogue (1997-2014)*

In October 2012, Nodira Aminova from Dushanbe, Tajikistan started working on a PhD thesis, funded by the DAAD. It aims at an in-depth analysis of the dialogue between secular and moderate Islamist forces in Tajikistan since the end of the Tajik civil war. The investigation integrates both normative and policy-oriented conditions for a consensual way of governance and interaction. Thus, the theoretical background has to combine theories of inter-cultural and inter-religious relations and of conflict prevention. The main question is, whether and how conditions for a peaceful coexistence between secular values and Islamic traditions have been taken into account by the conflicting parties. Their fragile relationship is complicated by the authoritarian neo-patrimonial character of the secular government of President Imomali Rahmon. After theoretical and methodological studies, a research design will be developed that allows an empirical analysis of the developments on the ground. The thesis can profit from CORE’s ten year experience in mediating and studying this dialogue in Tajikistan in particular and in Central Asia in general.

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*f) CFE and the Demise of the Co-operative European Security Regime*

The Conventional Armed Forces in Europe Treaty (CFE) remains in limbo for the 12th year in a row. Aside from the CFE, the Treaty on Open Skies (OS) has run into challenging difficulties in recent years. The Update of the Vienna Document on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures (VD) in 2011 dealt merely with technical and procedural steps. 22 years after the end of the Cold War the cooperative security landscape in Europe has come under increasing strain. Even though the bilateral US-Russian Reset has yielded a number of positive results,



Europeanization of the Reset is still lacking. Meanwhile the general climate between Washington and Moscow has again cooled down.

This PhD project, which is supported by the Evangelisches Studienwerk Villigst e.V., aims at a twofold approach. On the one hand, concrete options and forward-looking approaches to conventional arms control in Europe are to be elaborated. On the other hand, the theoretical framework will try to prove the existence of a cooperative European security regime with CFE as a key element. By considering Realist and Neoliberal explanations for regime decay in conjunction with the CFE stalemate, this dissertation highlights the potential negative effects of CFE's downfall for the overall cooperative European security regime.

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#### *Publications:*

Kühn, Ulrich, Vertrag über den Waffenhandel: Staatenkonferenz 2. – 27. Juli 2012, in: Vereinte Nationen. German Review on the United Nations, 60:5 (2012), pp. 223–5 (with Michael Brzoska).

Kühn, Ulrich, To Fuel Cooperation, in Global Perspectives, Magazine for International Cooperation (International Edition, March 2012), pp. 21–22.

Kühn, Ulrich, Non-Proliferation through Fuel Cooperation. Viewpoint at [www.nuclearabolition.net](http://www.nuclearabolition.net).

Kühn, Ulrich, Generalversammlung: Kernwaffenfreie Zone Nahost, in: Vereinte Nationen. German Review on the United Nations, 60:1 (2012), pp. 28–29.

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

Kühn, Ulrich, ДОВСЕ: выход из тупика, in: Россия в глобальной политике, 8:2 (2010).

Kühn, Ulrich, CFE: Overcoming the Impasse, in: Russia in Global Affairs, 8:2 (2010).

Kühn, Ulrich, From Capitol Hill to Istanbul: The Origins of the Current CFE Deadlock, Hamburg 2009 (CORE Working Paper No. 19).

### **3. Consultancy Projects**

#### **3.1. Completed Consultancy Projects**

Activities in 2012 included the elaboration of a policy paper on enhancing the role of the OSCE Secretary General commissioned by the German Federal Foreign Office, the recommendation part of the CORE Working Paper No. 24 “OSCE Conflict Management and the Kyrgyz Experience in 2010. Advanced Potentials, Lack of Will, Limited Options” also commissioned by the German Federal Foreign Office, conducting the opening workshop of the French, German, Polish and Russian Initiative for the Development of a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian Security Community (IDEAS), and the lead in drafting the final IDEAS report, as well as conducting an OSCE-related training course for officials from the Ukrainian Ministry of Foreign Affairs financed by the German Federal Foreign Office.

a) *Policy paper: “Enhancing the Role of the OSCE Secretary General? Decisions, Discussions, Options”*

Commissioned by the German Federal Foreign Office, CORE conducted research on the topic of enhancing the role of the OSCE Secretary General. The division of competences between the OSCE Chairmanship and the Secretary General and the

possible increase of the latter's role is a recurring agenda item in the OSCE. It played a role during OSCE reform discussions (2005-06) and the Corfu Process (2009-10). Over the years, numerous proposals have been made to entrust the Secretary General with more political functions. Instead, his mandate curbs his authority to being merely a representative of the Chairman-in-Office and the OSCE's Chief Administrative Officer. In his inauguration speech in July 2011, OSCE Secretary General Lamberto Zannier slightly enlivened discussions about this subject by stating that "[m]any – perhaps most – participating States expressed a wish to enhance the political role of the Secretary General." Most recently a minor, although practically significant, step was taken when the Secretary General was given a broadened role in OSCE's early warning activities (Vilnius 2011). This paper analyzes the history and present status of the respective discussions.

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b) *Policy paper: "OSCE Conflict Management and the Kyrgyz Experience in 2010. Advanced Potentials, Lack of Will, Limited Options. Part II: Recommendations"*

In April 2012, CORE completed a consultancy project on OSCE conflict management by submitting part II of the 2011 paper on "OSCE Conflict Management and the Kyrgyz Experience in 2010: Advanced Potentials, Lack of Will, Limited Options". The project was commissioned by the German Federal Foreign Office. The sixteen recommendations of this concluding part of the project address OSCE conflict-management structures and specific challenges to the forthcoming Ukrainian, Swiss and Serbian OSCE Chairmanships (2013 – 2015) and reflect, as well, recent OSCE decision-making in this field. They focus regionally on efforts in and with Central Asian participating States and Afghanistan.

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c) *The Initiative for the Development of a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian Security Community (IDEAS): Workshops and Report*

CORE took the conceptual and managerial lead in the 2012 activities of the Initiative for the Development of a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian Security Community (IDEAS). IDEAS is a quadrilateral Track II initiative that was launched in Vienna, 8 November 2011. It is jointly carried out by the Centre for OSCE Research (CORE) at the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg (IFSH), the Fondation pour la Recherche Stratégique (FRS), the Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM) and the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (University) of the Russian Foreign Ministry (MGIMO). It aims at conceptualizing a "free, democratic, common and indivisible Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian security community stretching from Vancouver to Vladivostok", as envisioned by the OSCE participating States in their 2010 Astana Commemorative Declaration. In late 2011, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Germany, France, Poland and the Russian Federation asked the four institutes to organize a series of workshops to advance the discussion on the future character of a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian security community and to present a report with recommendations to the participating States of the OSCE in Vienna.

Four workshops were held in Warsaw, Paris and Moscow between March and July 2012. Subsequently, CORE took the lead in elaborating the commissioned IDEAS report. CORE hosted an editing workshop in Hamburg in September 2012. The final

report titled "Towards a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian Security Community. From Vision to Reality" was presented to the OSCE ambassadors at an informal ambassadorial meeting, which Ambassador O'Leary of the Irish OSCE Chairmanship-in-Office hosted at the Vienna Hofburg, 23 October 2012. This was followed by another presentation at NATO's Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council in Brussels on 18 December 2012. The involvement of CORE in the IDEAS activities was financed by the German Federal Foreign Office.

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*Publications:*

Zellner, Wolfgang/Yves Boyer/Frank Evers/Isabelle Facon/Camille Grand/Ulrich Kühn/Lukasz Kulesa/Andrei Zagorski, Towards a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian Security Community. From Vision to Reality, Hamburg/Paris/Warsaw/Moscow 2012.

Zellner, Wolfgang, The 2010 OSCE Astana Summit: A First Assessment, in: IFSH (ed.), OSCE Yearbook 2010, Baden-Baden 2011, pp. 25-30.

Zellner, Wolfgang, From Corfu to Astana: The way to the 2010 OSCE summit, in: Security and Human Rights, 21: 3 (2011), pp. 233-241.

*d) CORE Training for the Ukrainian Ministry of Foreign Affairs: "Preparing for the 2013 Ukrainian OSCE Chairmanship", Kyiv, 6 – 8 November 2012*

CORE conducted its fifth OSCE-related training course in Kyiv, 6 – 8 November 2012. The course was designed to prepare officials of the Ukrainian Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the forthcoming Ukrainian OSCE Chairmanship in 2013. The preceding four training courses were conducted for diplomats from Kazakhstan, Lithuania and Ireland – the OSCE Chairmanships between 2010 and 2012.

The three-day training event aimed at a better understanding of how to build consensus among participating States and was meant to explain specifics of the Organization's structures and matters of the OSCE's strategic and daily management, to communicate expertise in formal and informal OSCE decision-making and implementation procedures. The training addressed a group of 17 trainees and was a collective effort of nine institutions and offices: It was jointly conducted by experts from the Irish 2012 OSCE Chairmanship, ODIHR, the Office of the OSCE Secretary General, the OSCE Conflict Prevention Centre and CORE. The training was sponsored and politically encouraged by the German Federal Foreign Office, logistically supported by the German Embassy in Kyiv and hosted by the Ukrainian MFA in cooperation with the Ukrainian Diplomatic Academy.

Along with senior staff members of the OSCE and the Irish Chairmanship, lectures were given by CORE researchers Frank Evers, Anna Kreikemeyer and Wolfgang Zellner. The training was, not least, personally supported by Ambassador Eoin O'Leary of the Irish 2012 Chairmanship, OSCE Secretary General, Ambassador Lamberto Zannier, and the Director of the ODIHR, Ambassador Janez Lenarčič.

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### 3.2. Current Consultancy Projects

#### *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 [www.core-hamburg.de/CORE\\_English/services\\_libr\\_verz.htm](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: [www.core-hamburg.de/CORE\\_english/services\\_biblio\\_select.htm](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: [www.core-hamburg.de/CORE\\_english/services\\_biblio.htm](http://www.core-hamburg.de/CORE_english/services_biblio.htm).

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The CORE website ([www.core-hamburg.de](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 2010, 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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## 4. Publications

### 4.1. OSCE Yearbook

Now in its 18th year, the OSCE Yearbook continues to be an unparalleled resource for the academic and political communities with an interest in the OSCE. No other publication brings together so many experts from so many diverse fields, all with a common interest in the world's largest regional security organization. The IFSH has published the OSCE Yearbook in English, German, and Russian since 1995. The international co-editors of this flagship CORE publication are 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-in-chief, is assisted in the tasks of editing and translating by Susanne Bund, Graeme Currie, Elena Kropatcheva, Ina Shakhrai, and Keith Semple. In 2012, additional translating and editing work was carried out by Alexander Molter, Ute Nissen, Uwe Polley, Isabelle Tannous and Michael Weh. Further editing was undertaken by Vuliya Sudnik and Sergey Rastolzev.

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 2012 OSCE Yearbook, the 18th edition, is currently in preparation and will be published in winter 2012/13, with the German edition following in summer 2013. The Russian edition of the OSCE Yearbook 2010 was published in 2012. The entire texts of all previous editions of the OSCE Yearbook in English (up to 2010) and German (up to 2010) are available to read or download at the CORE website: [www.core-hamburg.de](http://www.core-hamburg.de).

As has become customary, the OSCE Yearbook 2012 begins with a foreword by the current Chairperson-in-Office, the Irish Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, Eamon Gilmore. In the section on "The OSCE and European Security", Rytis Paulauskas and Walter Kemp look back on the achievements of the 2011 Lithuanian Chairmanship; Rolf Mützenich and Matthias Karádi discuss the concept of a security community, and whether the OSCE is on the way to becoming one; Wolfgang Zellner reports on the Initiative for the Development of a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian Security Community (IDEAS). Finally in this section, Elisa Perry presents the conclusions of the Euro-Atlantic Security Initiative (EASI) of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, which ran from 2009 to 2012.

Participating States whose domestic developments are in focus this year include Russia, where both Duma and presidential elections were held (Elena Kropatcheva), Hungary (with a focus on controversial recent changes to the constitution and media law, Pál Dunay), Bosnia and Herzegovina (Tobias Flessenkemper), Kyrgyzstan (Azamat Termirkulov), and Uzbekistan (Alisher Ilkhamov). In this section, Rosemarie Will also considers the failure of the German state to deal with a recent far-right murder campaign.

In the area of conflict prevention and dispute settlement, the 2012 Yearbook has chapters on the latest developments in the ongoing Chechen conflict (Sven Singhoven) and an up-to-date overview of the Organization's work in the area of conflict prevention (Alice Ackermann).

This year's special focus section once again celebrates twenty years of the existence of an OSCE institution. This time, it is the turn of the High Commissioner on National Minorities (HCNM). After an introduction by HCNM Knut Vollebæk, this special section includes an overview of the institution's mandate, history, and work by Olivier Brenninkmeijer; a run-through of the institution's evolution by Natalie

Sabadnadze; and case studies from Ukraine (Klemens Büscher), the Baltic states (Jennifer Croft), and Macedonia (Marcin Czaplinski). Manon De Courten also introduces the idea of “policy through projects” with reference to Georgia; while Hans-Joachim Heintze looks at the HCNM’s six sets of thematic recommendations in detail.

Two chapters look at the work of the OSCE in its three dimensions of security: Penny Satches-Brohs considers the Organization’s border-related activities in Central Asia, while Loïc Simonet discusses the Code of Conduct on Politico-Military Aspects of Security and its implementation.

Last but not least, in the final section on organizational aspects of the OSCE, Juliane Markard-Narten and Jens Narten review the OSCE’s Project Management Evaluation system with reference to the Mission in Kosovo, while Graeme Herd considers the consequences of the Arab Spring for the OSCE.

As always, the OSCE Yearbook includes extensive annexes comprising facts and figures on all 57 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](http://core-hamburg.de/CORE_English/pub_workingpapers.htm)). Subscriptions to the e-mail version are available free of charge. In 2012, the following working papers were published:

Evers, Frank, OSCE Conflict Management and the Kyrgyz Experience in 2010. Advanced Potentials, Lack of Will, Limited Options, Hamburg 2012 (CORE Working Paper 24).

Seifert, Arne, Political Islam in Central Asia – Opponent or Democratic Partner?, Hamburg 2012 (CORE Working Paper 25).

The electronic newsletter CORE News provides information on current CORE activities and events. It can be downloaded from the CORE website, at: [www.core-hamburg.de/CORE\\_English/pub\\_news.htm](http://www.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](mailto:core@ifsh.de).

## **5. Teaching**

### **5.1. Master of Peace and Security Studies**

Within the framework of the co-operation 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, the 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), the Protestant Institute for Interdisciplinary Research (FEST), and the European Centre for Minority Issues (ECMI).

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 2012/2013 course has 25 participants, nine of whom come from abroad. Upon completion of the programme, the Master’s diploma is certified by the University of Hamburg.

CORE staff members are contributing to the MPS 2012/2013 teaching programme: Elena Kulipanova is giving a seminar on “Central Asian Politics and Security”, Elena Kropatcheva one on “Russian Energy Policy”, and Wolfgang Zellner is offering a seminar on “European Security Policy: OSCE”.

### **5.2. PhD Dissertations**

In 2012, five PhD students worked on their dissertations at CORE. One finished her dissertation; another interrupted it 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 Cooperation and Conferences**

### **6.1. Co-operation and Guests**

On 26 January 2012, Dr Andrey Devyatkov, Senior Lecturer at the Institute of Human Sciences of the Tyumen State University visited different CORE researchers and discussed options for cooperation.

On 30/31 January 2012, Wolfgang Zellner participated on a Council of Europe (CoE) workshop, hosted by the University of Oslo on a draft study on CoE and OSCE co-operation.

On 15 – 17 February 2012, Wolfgang Zellner and Frank Evers conducted a series of meetings with Ambassador Eoin O’Leary, Head of the Permanent Mission of Ireland to the OSCE and Chairperson of the OSCE Permanent Council, Ambassador Lamberto Zannier, OSCE Secretary General, and the heads of a number of other national delegations and officials of the OSCE Secretariat.

On 16 February 2012, Wolfgang Zellner gave a briefing on the Initiative for the Development of a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian Security Community (IDEAS) to the representatives of the national delegations to the OSCE at Vienna Hofburg.

On 20 March 2012, Wolfgang Zellner and Frank Evers invited representatives of the Initiative for the Development of a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian Security Community (IDEAS) to a series of meetings with leading representatives of the German Federal Foreign Office, the German Federal Ministry of Defence, and parliamentarians from several Bundestag factions in Berlin.

On 23 April 2012, Wolfgang Zellner participated in a Brussels workshop organized by the Carnegie Endowment on reflections on the EASI experience.

On 24 April 2012, Arne Seifert and Wolfgang Zellner participated in the 1st meeting of the Berlin Eurasian Club in the Kazakhstani embassy in Berlin.

From 7 May – 8 July 2012, Azamat Temirkulov, Assistant Professor at the American University in Central Asia, Bishkek (Kyrgyzstan) joined CORE as a visiting researcher and PhD candidate at the University of Hamburg.

On 10 May 2012, Frank Evers, Ulrich Kühn and Wolfgang Zellner attended the second workshop of the Initiative for the Development of a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian Security Community (IDEAS) in Warsaw.

On 10 May 2012, Anvar Hidirov, Third Secretary of the Embassy of Uzbekistan in Berlin visited CORE together with Dr Bahrom Khudsanov, political scientist, Tashkent.

On 11 May 2012, Frank Evers, Ulrich Kühn and Wolfgang Zellner took part in a meeting of representatives of the Initiative for the Development of a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian Security Community (IDEAS) with senior representatives of the Polish Ministry of Defence at the Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM) in Warsaw.

On 8 June 2012, Wolfgang Zellner gave a presentation on “The Contribution of Regional Organizations to Comprehensive Security” at the Joint Meeting of OSCE Mediterranean and Asian Contact Groups.



On 11 June 2012, Frank Evers, Ulrich Kühn and Wolfgang Zellner took part in a meeting of representatives of the Initiative for the Development of a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian Security Community (IDEAS) with high-ranking officials at the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Paris.

On 12 June 2012, Frank Evers, Ulrich Kühn and Wolfgang Zellner took part in the third workshop of the Initiative for the Development of a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian Security Community (IDEAS) in Paris.

On 13 June 2012, Frank Evers, Ulrich Kühn and Wolfgang Zellner took part in a meeting of representatives of the Initiative for the Development of a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian Security Community (IDEAS) with former OSCE Secretary General Marc Perrin de Brichambaut at the Fondation pour la Recherche Stratégique (FRS) in Paris.

On 21 June 2012, a group of students from Kazakhstan visited the IFSH during an educational trip in Germany, sponsored by the DAAD. The participants were students from the faculty for International Relations at the Al Farabi University in Almaty, Kazakhstan. They were accompanied by Prof. Mara Gubaidullina and DAAD staff member Ms Julia Hildt. IFSH Director Prof. Michael Brzoska welcomed the students and gave a presentation on the history of the IFSH. Anna Kreikemeyer, Lena Kulipanova, Dauren Akberdiyev and Sebastian Schiek presented current and future research projects, related to the Central Asian region, which are mainly run by the IFSH Center for OSCE Research. Senior researcher Regina Heller presented the results for her research project "Claiming respect – the socio-emotional dimension of Russia's policy towards the West: Insights from the 1999 Kosovo case". Finally, Naida Mehmedbegovic-Dreilich gave a presentation on the IFSH study program, "Master of Peace and Security Studies".

On 25 June 2012, Wolfgang Zellner delivered a speech at the OSCE Security Day at Vienna Hofburg.

On 26 June 2012, Frank Evers and Wolfgang Zellner conducted a series of meetings with the heads and other representatives of national delegations and officials of the OSCE Secretariat in Vienna.

On 26 June 2012, CORE visiting researcher, Azamat Temirkulov, gave a presentation to representatives of the OSCE Secretariat in Vienna on electronic tools for tracking and analyzing local conflict situations in Kyrgyzstan.

On 2 July 2012, Frank Evers, Ulrich Kühn and Wolfgang Zellner took part in a meeting of representatives of the Initiative for the Development of a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian Security Community (IDEAS) with Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Russia A.V. Grushko at the Russian MFA in Moscow.

On 3 July 2012, Frank Evers, Ulrich Kühn and Wolfgang Zellner took part in the fourth workshop of the Initiative for the Development of a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian Security Community (IDEAS) in Moscow.

On 11 September 2012, Frank Evers, Ulrich Kühn and Wolfgang Zellner hosted a drafting workshop with the representatives of the Initiative for the Development of a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian Security Community (IDEAS) at CORE in Hamburg.

On 23 October 2012, at the invitation of Ambassador O'Leary of the Irish OSCE Chairmanship, Wolfgang Zellner and other representatives of the Initiative for the

Development of a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian Security Community (IDEAS) presented the IDEAS report titled “Towards Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian Security Community: From Vision to Reality” to the OSCE ambassadors at an informal meeting.

On 5 November 2012, Frank Evers and Wolfgang Zellner met with Viacheslav Yatsiuk, Head of the Ukrainian 2013 OSCE Chairmanship Task Force, and members of his team as well as Douglas Wake, First Deputy Director of ODIHR in Kyiv.

## 6.2. Conferences Organized by CORE

### a) *The Initiative for the Development of a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian Security Community (IDEAS): Workshops in Berlin, March 2012*

Within the framework of the IDEAS project, CORE arranged the opening workshop with some 100 high-ranking participants – among them 25 ambassadors - from about 30 participating States. The meeting took place at the premises of the German Federal Foreign Office in Berlin on 20 March 2012. The workshop opened with a speech by Federal Foreign Minister Guido Westerwelle and ended with a reception by State Secretary of the Federal Foreign Office Dr. Emily Haber.

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### b) *DAAD Summer School in Astana: “Afghanistan and Central Asia – Neighbour-hood in Times of Change”*

CORE/IFSH organized a summer school on the impact of the Afghanistan crisis on Central Asia and the Afghanistan policies of the Central Asian states. The summer school took place from 25 June to 1 July in Astana, Kazakhstan, jointly organized by the IFSH and the Center for International and Regional Studies at the Eurasian National University (ENU) in Astana, Kazakhstan. It was financed by the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD). Most participants were PhD candidates from all Central Asian states including Turkmenistan. The summer school was planned and organized by Sebastian Schiek, researcher at CORE/IFSH. It offered seminars by IFSH, ENU and external lecturers. The Head of the Center for European Security and Peace Studies (ZEUS) at the IFSH, Hans-Georg Ehrhart, gave two lectures on “Security Development Nexus: A Challenge for International Security Governance” and “COIN and State-building in Afghanistan: A Contradiction in Terms”. Anna Kreikemeyer, senior researcher at CORE/IFSH, conducted a workshop on “Power and Security in Eurasian Regional Organizations: The Example of the CSTO”.

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### 6.3. Conferences Attended and Lectures Given by CORE Staff

During 2012, CORE staff members attended nearly 25 conferences and workshops (see also 6.1) where they acted as presenters and/or rapporteurs.

*Frank Evers*

- On 19/20 December 2012, Frank Evers delivered lectures at the Diplomatic Academy of Armenia on key features and commitments of the OSCE, the OSCE Corfu Process, the outcome of 2011 OSCE Astana Summit and discussions over the vision of a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian security community.

*Anna Kreikemeyer*

- On a monthly basis, Anna Kreikemeyer and Regina Heller (ZEUS/IFSH) participate in the Research Group “Foreign Political Strategies” of the German Institute of Global and Area Studies (GIGA) Research Programme 4 (Power, Norms and Governance in International Relations). In this context they are preparing a paper on Russia’s status quo policies.

*Elena Kropatcheva*

- Presented a paper on “New Challenges and Opportunities in NATO-Russia Relations in the Context of the Chinese Factor – an Ignored Variable” at the BISA Working Group on Russian and Eurasian Security Meeting “Where the Regional meets the Global: Changing patterns of cooperation between ‘the West’, Russia and Eurasia in the context of ‘emerging powers’”, which took place in Edinburgh, UK, in June 2012.
- Presented a paper on “Russia’s OSCE Policy and the Role of the OSCE in the European Security” at the BISA-ISA Joint Conference, Edinburgh, UK, in June 2012.
- Presented a paper on “Values versus Interests in EU policies towards Ukraine: a Case of Double Standards?” at the ECPR workshop “The Politics of Double-Standard? Revisiting the EU’s Engagement with Authoritarian Regimes” at the ECPR Joint Sessions, Antwerp, Belgium, April 2012.
- Participated in the podium discussion “Russia has elected – analyses of the presidential election results,” organized by Friedrich Ebert Foundation in Magdeburg, March 2012.
- Presented her research project “Multilateralism in Russian Foreign Policy: Genuine Search for Partners or Camouflage for Unilateral Ambitions?” at the 3rd Workshop “Ways out of Violence”, Hamburg, February 2012.

*Ulrich Kühn*

- Presented the report of “The Initiative for the Development of a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian Security Community” (IDEAS) to the conference “The OSCE Astana Declaration: Towards a Security Community”, organized by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kazakhstan, the OSCE Centre in Astana and the Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies under the President of Kazakhstan (KISI), Almaty, 23 October 2012.

- Made an intervention on “Political-Military Relations between the West and Russia” at the opening workshop of the IDEAS project, Berlin, 20 March 2012.

*Sebastian Schiek*

- Gave four lectures on Max Weber’s sociology of domination and its application in analyzing state formation processes in the post-Soviet space at the international summer school “The Paradox of Stability: The Role of Peace and Conflict in State-building”, organized by the Berlin Graduate School of Transnational Studies, Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan, 5 – 13 July 2012.

*Wolfgang Zellner*

- Presented the IDEAS project at the workshop “Wege aus der Gewalt”, organized by the IFSH and the Centre for Science and Peace Research, Hamburg, 12 February 2012.
- Chaired a session on the European security architecture at the 3rd Chambésy Roundtable, co-organized by the Geneva Centre for Security Policy and the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, Geneva, 21/22 June 2012.
- Gave a presentation on “HCNM 20 Years on – Taking Stock” at a conference “HCNM 20 Years on” organized by the European Centre for Minority Issues, Flensburg, 6 July 2012.
- Delivered a presentation on “Working without Sanctions: Factors contributing to the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities’ (Relative) Effectiveness”, at the UACES 42nd Annual Research Conference, Passau, 3 – 5 September 2012.
- Presented “Human Dimension Events: How to Exert More Impact on the Human Dimension”, at the OSCE Focus Conference, co-organized by DCAF and the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, Geneva, 19/20 October 2012.
- Gave a presentation on “The OSCE as a pan-European Security Organization: Competencies, Missions and the Current Political Situation” at the German Armed Forces General Staff College, Hamburg, 28 November 2012.

## **7. Personnel and Budget**

During 2012, the Head of CORE managed a staff, which includes five researchers and five PhD students (cf. Annex 1: CORE staff as of 1 December 2012). 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. The permanent staff is supported by two further translators. Over the course of the year, six students completed their internships, which, on average, lasted for around six weeks ([www.core-hamburg.de/english/staff/internship](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 2012, CORE projects – including PhD projects – were funded by the German Federal Foreign Office, the German Academic Exchange Service together with the Open Society Institute, and the Evangelisches Studienwerk Villigst e.V.

## Annex 1: CORE Staff as of 1 December 2012

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**Interns:** Oibek Juraev (Kyrgyzstan), Sergej Rastoltcev (Russian Federation), Yuliya Sudnik (Belarus), Tatyana Borisova (Uzbekistan), Nurshod Saidov (Uzbekistan), Atushi Sasai (Japan).

## Annex 2: Publications by CORE Staff Members in 2012

### *Evers, Frank:*

- OSCE Conflict Management and the Kyrgyz Experience in 2010. Advanced Potentials, Lack of Will, Limited Options, Hamburg 2012 (CORE Working Paper 24).
- Towards a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian Security Community. From Vision to Reality, Hamburg, Paris, Moscow, Warsaw 2012 (with Wolfgang Zellner/Yves Boyer/Isabelle Facon/Camille Grand/Ulrich Kühn/Lukasz Kulesa/Andrei Zagorski).

### *Kreikemeyer, Anna:*

- Herrschaft statt Sicherheit, Die Organisation des Vertrages für Kollektive Sicherheit, in: Osteuropa, 62: 5 (2012), pp. 81–91.
- Conflict Management by the OSCE: Chances in and Barriers to Institutional Conflict Management from a Political Scientist's Point of View, in: S.A. Manichev/A. Redlich (eds.), Embedding Mediation in Society: Theory – Research – Practice – Training. Saint Petersburg Dialogue, Frankfurt 2012, pp. 161–166.

### *Kropatcheva, Elena:*

- Russia and the role of the OSCE in European security: a 'Forum' for dialog or a 'Battlefield' of interests?, in: European Security, 21:3 (2012), pp. 370–395.
- Russian Foreign Policy in the Realm of European Security through the Lens of Neoclassical Realism, in: Journal of Eurasian Studies, 3:1 (2012), pp. 30–40.
- Ukraine's Foreign Policy Choices after the 2010 Presidential Election, in: Valentina Feklyunina/Stephen White (eds.), The International Economic Crisis and the Post-Soviet States, 2012.
- Presidential Election in Belarus in 2010: The Winner Takes It All?, in: IFSH (ed.), OSCE Yearbook 2011, Baden-Baden 2012, pp. 87–106.

### *Kühn, Ulrich:*

- Vertrag über den Waffenhandel: Staatenkonferenz 2.-27.Juli 2012, in: Vereinte Nationen. German Review on the United Nations 60:5 (2012), pp. 223–5 (with Michael Brzoska).
- Towards a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian Security Community. From Vision to Reality, Hamburg, Paris, Moscow, Warsaw 2012 (with Wolfgang Zellner/Yves Boyer/Frank Evers/Isabelle Facon/Camille Grand/ Lukasz Kulesa/Andrei Zagorski).
- A weapons of mass destruction-free zone in the Middle East: A pipe dream or a concrete goal?, in: IFSH Annual Report 2011, pp. 24–29.
- The Initiative for the Development of a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian Security Community, in: IFSH Annual Report 2011, Hamburg, 2012, pp. 14–17 (with Frank Evers and Wolfgang Zellner).
- To Fuel Cooperation, in: Global Perspectives, Magazine for International Cooperation (International Edition, March 2012), pp. 21–22.
- Non-Proliferation through Fuel Cooperation. Viewpoint at [www.nuclearabolition.net](http://www.nuclearabolition.net).
- Generalversammlung: Kernwaffenfreie Zone Nahost, in: Vereinte Nationen. German Review on the United Nations 60:1 (2012), pp. 28–29.

### *Kulipanova, Elena:*

- How Effective is Development Aid?, On Concepts and Methods of Measuring Aid Effectiveness, in: Hendrik Hegemann/Regina Heller/Martin Kahl (eds.), Studying "effectiveness" in International Relations. A guide for students and scholars, Opladen 2012 (forthcoming).
- International Transport in Central Asia, Understanding the Patterns of (Non)cooperation, Working Paper No. 2, Institute of Public Policy and Administration, University of Central Asia, 2012, online available at: [www.ucentralasia.org/ippa.asp](http://www.ucentralasia.org/ippa.asp).

- International Transport in Central Asia, Current Problems and Ways Forward, Policy Brief, Institute of Public Policy and Administration, University of Central Asia, July 2012, online available at: [www.ucentralasia.org/ippa.asp](http://www.ucentralasia.org/ippa.asp).

*Seifert, Arne:*

- Political Islam in Central Asia – Opponent or Democratic Partner?, Hamburg 2012 (CORE Working Paper 25).

*Zellner, Wolfgang:*

- Towards a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian Security Community. From Vision to Reality, Hamburg, Paris, Moscow, Warsaw 2012 (coordinator, with Yves Boyer/Frank Evers/Isabelle Facon/Camille Grand/Ulrich Kühn/Lukasz Kulesa/Andrei Zagorski).
- Limiting conventional arms to promote military security: the case of conventional arms control in Europe, in: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (ed.), SIPRI Yearbook 2012. Armaments, Disarmament and International Security, Oxford 2012, pp. 442–452 (with Hans-Joachim Schmidt).
- Conventional Arms Control in Europe: Is There a Last Chance?, in: Arms Control Today, March 2012, pp. 14–18.
- Back to reality: The 2011 Vilnius Ministerial Council Meeting, in: Security and Human Rights, 1/2012, pp. 7–9.
- Vor dem NATO-Gipfel: Dilemmata europäischer Rüstungskontrolle, in: Blätter für deutsche und international Politik, 5/2012, pp. 59–68 (with Oliver Meier and Götz Neuneck).
- The Initiative for the Development of a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian Security Community, in: IFSH Annual Report 2011, Hamburg, 2012, pp. 14–17 (with Frank Evers and Ulrich Kühn).

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