

Spring 2012

Successful Kick-off Workshop "Towards a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian Security Community"



Opening of the IDEAS Workshop in Berlin: Dr. Wolfgang Zellner, CORE and Foreign Minister Dr. Guido Westerwelle (Photo: CORE)

On 20 March 2012, the first workshop of the Initiative for the Development of a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian Security Community (IDEAS) took place in Berlin at the German Federal Foreign Office. IDEAS is a joint initiative by CORE, the Fondation pour la Recherche Stratégique (Paris), 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 giving more substance to the vision of a security community – a region where conflicts are resolved without war or the threat of war. The objective of creating a security community was adopted by the OSCE Heads of State and Government at their 2010 Astana Summit meeting.

The Berlin meeting brought together more than 100 participants and guests from 30 OSCE participating States, among them 25 ambassadors.

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Among the participants of the IDEAS Workshop: Dr. Pál Dunay, Geneva Center for Security Policy and State Secretary ret. Wolfgang Ischinger (Photo: CORE)

The workshop opened with a passionate and comprehensive speech by Federal Foreign Minister Guido Westerwelle, who touched on the most pressing working areas of the OSCE from conventional and nuclear arms control to the human dimension. The Foreign Minister stressed, in particular, the need to give substance to the vision of a security community, and confirmed that the German Federal Government is interested in and will promote IDEAS' work. In his welcoming statement, Wolfgang Zellner, the Head of CORE, ex-

pressed his sincere gratitude to the Federal Foreign Office for its extensive support, without which the workshop would have been impossible.



State Secretary Dr. Emily Haber during her opening speech at the evening reception for the participants of the IDEAS Workshop (Photo: CORE)

The first roundtable, which dealt with the basic preconditions for a security community, was introduced by Professor emeritus Robert H. Legvold from Columbia University. He is also Director of the Euro-Atlantic Security Initiative (EASI), an initiative founded by former U.S. Senator Sam Nunn, former Russian Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov and former German State Secretary Wolfgang Ischinger, which published a widely read report in February 2012. Robert Legvold identified the major obstacles on the way to a security community as distrust and a lack of political will and outlined a number of key areas of co-operation, including missile defence and energy issues. In the ensuing debate, this idea of strategic and 'game-changing' co-operation projects was taken up by a number of speakers. Other participants addressed issues such as global interdependence, the growing stress on national and international institutions, the ongoing impact of security dilemmas, and the absence of shared values. Also questioned was whether there is a real objective need for a security community or whether this is only a nice idea put forward by well-meaning people.

The workshop's second roundtable focused on the institutional dimension of a security com-

munity. It was introduced by Ruprecht Polenz, Member of the German Bundestag and Chairman of its Foreign Affairs Committee. He stressed the need to create more security in a globally interdependent world on the basis of common security arrangements and shared values. Subsequently, high-ranking representatives of NATO (Assistant Secretary General Ambassador Dirk Brengelmann) and the EU (Ambassador Mara Marinaki) explained their organizations' mandates and missions, followed by contributions on, among other topics, unresolved sub-regional conflicts, the specific place of Eurasia in the concept of a security community, Russia's place in such a framework, the OSCE's current and future contributions to a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian security community, and the need for a breakthrough.



A group of participants at the IDEAS Workshop (Photo:Foreign Office)

Pál Dunay from the Geneva Centre for Security Policy introduced the third roundtable, which dealt with arms control. He highlighted a decline in identifiable inter-state armed threats. He spoke about the 2008 Georgian-Russian war, and warned that the level of military transparency has already been declining and that the U.S.-Russian 'Reset' has, so far, been confined to nuclear issues only. Questions touched upon in the discussion included the contradictory links between conventional arms control and sub-regional conflicts, the relationship between military co-operation and arms control, legal versus political instruments, and the pros and cons of the currently fashionable transparency-only approach.

Finally, the fourth roundtable (which was not devoted to a specific subject) provided another opportunity to raise any questions that needed

further debate. In his introduction, former State Secretary Wolfgang Ischinger stressed that global and regional governance is a growth industry, and warned against the negligence of arms control, which is one of the few foreign policy instruments that enjoys bi- or multi-partisan support in most countries. Another contribution stressed the need to explain *why* we need a security community.

There was general agreement that the Berlin workshop produced a wide variety of useful contributions to clarifying the substance of a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian security community and has thus been a good start to the whole cycle of IDEAS workshops, which will be continued in Warsaw (May), Paris (June), and Moscow (July).

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**"The Politics of Double Standards?
Revisiting the EU's Engagement with
Authoritarian Regimes"**
ECPR Workshop in Antwerp

Elena Kropatcheva took part in the 40th ECPR Joint Session of Workshops in Antwerp on 10-15 April 2012. The joint session "The Politics of Double Standards? Revisiting the EU's Engagement with Authoritarian Regimes" united a number of theoretical papers and empirical studies on EU's policies towards such different regions as Eastern Europe, Africa, China and Central Asia. This wide perspective helps to see differences in the EU's approaches, but also commonalities. Elena Kropatcheva presented a paper titled "The EU-Ukraine Relationship: a case of double standards?", in which she paid special attention to the current period of the presidency of Victor Yanukovych.

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**"Russia has elected –
Analysis of the Results of Voting"**
Panel discussion in Magdeburg

On 8 March 2012, Elena Kropatcheva together with Sabine Adler, spokesperson of the Bundestag, and Susan Stewart of the German Institute for International and Security Affairs, Berlin took part in a panel discussion, organized by the Friedrich-Ebert-Foundation in Magdeburg, on the subject "Russia has elected - Analysis of the Results of Voting". About 150 visitors came to listen to the opinion of experts and asked many interesting questions regarding Russia's future domestic development and foreign policy.

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**"Afghanistan – Pakistan, Central Asia –
New Regional Political Realities"**
Symposium in Dushanbe

At the invitation of the Moscow office of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Foundation Arne C. Seifert participated in a symposium organized by the foundation in cooperation with the Center for Strategic Studies at the President of the Republic of Tajikistan on 8 December 2011 in Dushanbe. Participants from Tajikistan, the Russian Federation, China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Afghanistan discussed the prospects for security in Central Asia after the withdrawal of ISAF in 2014. As one of the key note speakers Arne C. Seifert outlined aspects of the impact of the situation on political Islam in Central Asia after 2014.

**State and Religion:
The Challenges of Secularism**
International Seminar in Dushanbe

At the invitation of the Ambassadors of Germany, France and the EU in Tajikistan, Arne C. Seifert participated in a seminar of the same name organized by them in Dushanbe on 7 December 2011. The seminar, dealing with the relationship of secularism and Islam in Tajiki-

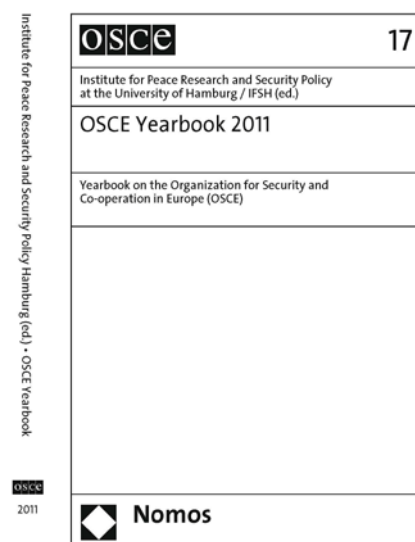
stan discussed many aspects of the relationships between the state and the religious sphere. While state representatives expressed the view that with the Inner-Tajik Peace Agreements of 1974 the relationship between secularism and Islam had been finally regulated, Islamic politicians, for their part, criticized the deviation of the government from the agreements in an anti-Islamic sense. With practice reports, European and German participants showed that coexistence between the secular state and Islam is possible. Arne C. Seifert presented an assessment of political Islam in Central Asia.

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PUBLICATIONS

OSCE Yearbook 2011 published

The OSCE Yearbook 2011 opens with Marc Perrin de Brichambaut's reminiscences on his six years as OSCE Secretary General. This is followed by evaluations of Kazakhstan's OSCE Chairmanship and the Corfu Process.



The special focus topic of the OSCE Yearbook 2011 is one of the OSCE's most successful institutions: The Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR), which celebrated its 20th jubilee in 2011. More than 20

experts and practitioners describe ODIHR's roles and tasks and contribute to debates on topics including human rights protection, gender equality, Roma and Sinti issues, election observation, and the independence of the judiciary in Central Asia and the Caucasus.

In the chapter on developments in OSCE States, our authors consider the engagement of the United States in the OSCE framework, human rights in Tajikistan, and domestic developments in Belarus. Activities in the areas of conflict prevention and peacebuilding are discussed with reference to the OSCE field operations in Kosovo, Moldova, and Armenia. Considered as well is whether the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh is in danger of reigniting.

Other current topics include the effect of the Arab Spring on co-operation between the OSCE and its Mediterranean partners, Japan's policy towards Central Asia, and the future of confidence-building measures.

The Yearbook includes compendious appendixes with data and facts on the 56 OSCE States as well as a full bibliography of recent publications.

Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg/IFSH (ed.), OSCE Yearbook 2011. Yearbook on the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), Vol. 17, Nomos, Baden-Baden 2012, ISBN 978-3-8329-7311-7, €79

The OSCE Yearbook can be ordered from:
 Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft
 Postfach 10 03 10, D-76484 Baden-Baden
 at: www.nomos-shop.de/14484
 or by email from: Vertrieb@nomos.de

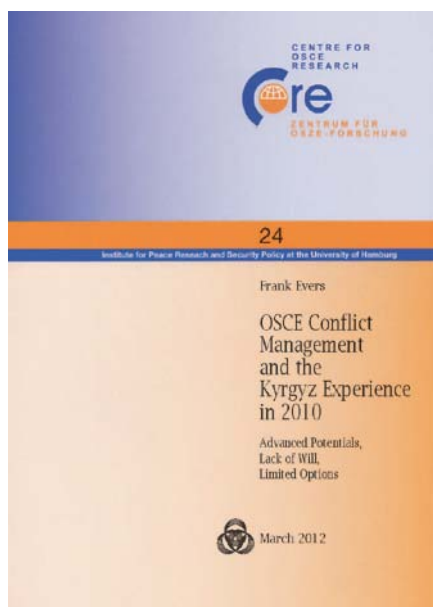
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CORE Working Paper 24

OSCE Conflict Management and the Kyrgyz Experience in 2010.

Advanced Potentials, Lack of Will, Limited Options

Years of weakening the OSCE's political standing and structural capacities have been combined with the participating States' reluctance to effectively use the Organization. This has created an unfavourable background for OSCE conflict management in general and for the Organization's performance during the events in Kyrgyzstan in 2010 in particular.



In CORE Working Paper 24, Frank Evers defines and analyses OSCE conflict management activities. He describes its key features and looks into specific conflict management issues that have been or still are under discussion. He analyses the OSCE's limited role during the events in Kyrgyzstan in 2010.

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Arne C. Seifert, *The Political Process in Central Asia and the System Question*, OSCE-Yearbook 2011, Vol. 17, Baden Baden 2011, pp. 181- 200.

This essay raises critical questions on the methodology of the analysis of transformation as well as the political orientation in Central Asia over the last twenty years of independence. The characteristics of the political process are derived from country analyses of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. The authors of the country analyses work with a homogeneous criterion approach that takes the dialectic of the relationship between the political regime, political power and the political community as well as the influence of the transformation processes as an analytical starting point.

Arne C. Seifert, *Afghanistans sorgenvolle Nachbarn*, [Afghanistan's worried neighbors], *Welttrends, Zeitschrift für internationale Politik*, [Welttrends, Journal for International Politics], No. 82, Jan./Feb. 2012, pp. 15 – 20.

This article reacts to worries in the Central Asian states neighboring Afghanistan, but also in Russia and China, that the withdrawal of NATO could lead to an activation of the Islamic underground in Central Asia and thus to another security threat. Although one cannot deny such a risk, the article moves into the foreground those challenges that grow out of the tense, often hostile relations between secular governments and political Islam and serious internal problems in Central Asia itself. Faced with these challenges, Europe and, in particular, the OSCE should become aware of their conflict-preventive responsibility through an alternative policy change in their relationship to political Islam in the Eurasian region.

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Recent OSCE Relevant Publications

Anin, Anatoly/Rodion Ayumov, Conventional Forces in Europe: Yesterday, Today ... Tomorrow? ..., Part 2, in: Security Index 4/2011, pp. 15-28.

International Crisis Group (Ed.), Tackling Azerbaijan's IDP Burden, Europe Briefing No. 67, Baku/Tbilisi/Istanbul//Brussels 2012.
<http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/europe/caucasus/azerbaijan/b067-tackling-azerbajjans-idp-burden.pdf>

Peski, Caecilia J. van, Diplomacy and Life on Georgia's Boundary Line, in: Security and Human Rights 4/2011, pp. 357-371.

Sender, Wolfgang, Russland und die Wahlbeobachtungen der OSZE. Eine empirische Studie zu den Ursachen des Widerstands der Putin-Administration gegen das ODIHR, [Russia and the OSCE election observation. An empirical study of the reasons for the resistance of the Putin administration against ODIHR] Frankfurt am Main 2012.

Shamshidov, Kushtarbek/Pal Dunay/Graeme P. Herd/Maxim Ryabkov (Rapporteurs), The 4th GCSP-OSCE Academy-NUPI-NESA-GCMC Seminar "Central Asia 2011", September 2011, Bishkek, Geneva Papers, Conference Series No. 24, Geneva 2012.
<http://www.gcsp.ch/content/download/7889/90917/download>

Spitzer, Hartwig, Open Skies in Turbulence, a well Functioning Treaty is Endangered by Outside Developments, in: Security and Human Rights 4/2011, pp. 373-382.

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