## CENTRE FOR OSCE RESEARCH



# NEWS

**Summer 2013** 

## Workshop "The Future of Conventional Arms Control in Europe"



Ambassador Rolf Nikel, Federal Government Commissioner for Disarmament and Arms Control, German Federal Foreign Office (standing at the desk) and Dr Wolfgang Zellner, Deputy Director, Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg; Head of Centre for OSCE Research (CORE), Hamburg.

On 2/3 July 2013, the German Federal Foreign Office, the Centre for OSCE Research (CORE) at the IFSH, and the Federal Academy for Security Policy (BAKS) convened a workshop on the crucial issue of "The Future of Conventional Arms Control in Europe: Goals, Ways and Means". As the President of the Academy, Ambassador Hans-Dieter Heumann, stressed in his welcoming remarks, the BAKS building in Berlin-Pankow is a historical place, in which the round table of the late German Democratic Republic met as did the famous "2-plus-4" negotiators, who set relevant security policy parameters for a unified Germany.

The workshop brought together more than 60 participants from about two dozen countries, two thirds government representatives and one third from think tanks and academic institutions.

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It took place at an appropriate moment: Within the OSCE, the Ukrainian Chairmanship has made conventional arms control (CAC) one of its focal points. Prior to that, in March 2013, OSCE Secretary General, Ambassador Lamberto Zannier, organized a Security Day devoted to this issue. And finally, NATO's High Level Task Force, the Alliance's body specifically devoted to conventional arms control, is now discussing a new NATO concept that will hopefully open up perspectives for future CAC consultations and negotiations.



Dr Wolfgang Zellner, Deputy Director, Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg; Head of Centre for OSCE Research (CORE), Hamburg.

In his keynote speech, the Federal Government Commissioner for Disarmament and Arms Control, Ambassador Rolf Nikel, outlined Germany's position: "We are proponents of a broad based approach. Nuclear arms control and conventional arms control go hand in hand. Progress on conventional arms control could also facilitate progress on nuclear disarmament in Europe and vice-versa." More specifically, Ambassador Nikel stressed that we "need to reestablish a common understanding of the relevance of conventional arms control in today's European security environment. While the need has been widely recognized, we have yet to work on creating common ground." Precisely this was what the workshop tried to achieve in its five sessions.

Session I "Scope and Goals of Conventional Arms Control in Europe" asked what threats and threat perceptions should be addressed by CAC, and in what way non-strategic nuclear weapons and missile defence influence the options for CAC. Session II "Ways and Means: Substantive Issues at the European Level" asked which elements of the CFE Treaty should be maintained, which new elements should be added, and whether the focus should be more on transparency or on limitations. It was interesting to observe that while the representatives of most States favoured a transparencyfocused approach, for the representatives of some relevant states, among them Russia and Turkey, Europe-wide limitations still represented an indispensible element. Session III "Ways and Means: Substantive Issues at a Sub-Regional Level" focused on what CAC might contribute to the regulation of neighbourhood relations between large and small states, as well as in post-conflict situations. Finally, Sessions IV and V tried to find "The Way Ahead" and to sketch "A New Agenda for CAC in Europe". Here key questions concerned the appropriate format, participants and area of application of future CAC negotiations, as well as the superordinate question of what role CAC can play in a co-operative security policy on the way towards a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian security community.



The Presidency of the CAC Workshop: Mr Jens Lütkenherm, Head of Division, Division Conventional Arms Control and CSBM in Europe, German Federal Foreign Office, Ambassador Hans-Dieter Heumann, President of the Federal Academy for Security Policy, Berlin, Dr Oliver Meier, Associate, German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP), Berlin, Ambassador Rolf Nikel, Federal Government Commissioner for Disarmament and Arms Control, German Federal Foreign Office, Dr Wolfgang Zellner, Deputy Director, Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg; Head of Centre for OSCE Research (CORE), Hamburg

As one participant remarked, the workshop showed that we are becoming better and better at asking the right questions on conventional arms control. Hopefully, this will soon be followed by shared concepts and approaches. The Head of CORE, Wolfgang Zellner, pointed out in his concluding observations, that there is a tendency among States and researchers to perceive three distinct fields for CAC in Europe: European security relations, neighbourhood relations between small and large states, as well as conflict situations. While there is convergence in some fields, Zellner added, strong contradictions persist in others. This is particularly true for the so-called flank rule - specific regional limitations in the North and the South of the area of application foreseen by the CFE and the ACFE Treaty - that is seen as a key issue by Turkey, whereas Russia and many other states perceive it as outdated. A more conceptual deficit, according to Zellner, concerns the notion of 'verified transparency', an objective of future CAC in Europe shared by most states. Here it would be desirable to know in more detail, how this concept would work in practice. Zellner concluded that, in his view, neither Russia nor the USA would decisively press ahead on the CAC process. For them, this is an important, but not an urgent issue. "Consequently, the Europeans must do more, if they want to have progress in CAC," Zellner said.

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### **OSCE Network of Think Tanks Founded**

In the context of the OSCE Security Days on 17/18 June 2013, more than a dozen research

institutes founded an OSCE Network of Think Tanks and Academic Institutions, an idea first raised by OSCE Secretary General, Ambassador Lamberto Zannier. The network includes representatives from the Belgrade Centre for Security Policy, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, CORE, the Dutch Clingendael Institute of International Rela-

tions, the Foreign Policy Research Institute of Ukraine, Foraus - Forum Außenpolitik from Switzerland, the FRIDE Institute from Madrid, the Geneva Centre for Security Policy (GCSP), the Institute for World Economy and International Relations of the Russian Academy of Sciences (IMEMO), the International Peace Institute (IPI), Vienna, the Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies (KISI), the Latvian Institute of International Affairs, the OSCE Academy in Bishkek, the Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM), the Slovak Foreign Policy Association, and the University of Bath. The network aims at providing expertise for, stimulating discussions in and raising awareness of the OSCE. It is a flexible and informal structure, open for everybody and independent from the OSCE. Concrete projects will contribute to the shared objectives. The network was presented to the OSCE community during a special session at the Security Days, chaired by Wolfgang Zellner. The Head of CORE will also serve as the network's coordinator.

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## Preparing for the 2014 Swiss OSCE Chairmanship

CORE Conducts Training for the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, Bern, July 2013



Members of the OSCE Task Force of the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, of the Swiss Delegation to the OSCE in Vienna, and experts of the OSCE and CORE during the CORE training in Bern.

CORE conducted its sixth OSCE-related training course in Bern, 8 – 11 July 2013. The course was a contribution to preparations by the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs (FDFA) for its forthcoming OSCE Chairmanship. It addressed a group of about three dozen Swiss diplomats who were also joined by diplomats from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Serbia. The training course was one of Switzerland's and Serbia's first joint preparatory steps on the way to their consecutive chairmanships in 2014 and 2015.

The course began with in-depth knowledge of OSCE affairs and practical teaching experiences. In previous years, CORE had already been involved in similar training formats with diplomats from Kazakhstan, Lithuania, Ireland and Ukraine - the OSCE Chairmanships-in-Office between 2010 and 2013. The overall intention of these training courses is to broaden the respective MFA's personnel pool and give advice for qualified management of political and managerial issues of the OSCE. Therefore, they aim at communicating specific know-how on formal and informal OSCE decision-making and procedures of decision-implementation. They explain the Organization's structure and matters of the OSCE's strategic and daily management. The courses summarize experiences in dealing with the Chairmanship's limited mandate, the expectations of other participating States and the OSCE apparatus with the aim of organizing a successful year in office. They also introduce OSCE activities in specific subregions.

The 2013 training course in Bern addressed the team members of the OSCE Taskforce at the FDFA in Bern and the Swiss Delegation to the OSCE in Vienna, headed by Ambassador Heidi Grau and Ambassador Thomas Greminger respectively. As mentioned, it also provided an introduction to early Chairmanship preparations for the Serbian MFA. The course was conducted by CORE staff along with senior representatives of the OSCE Secretariat, the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) and the Irish OSCE Chairmanship 2012. CORE is grateful for this active personnel support to ensure the course's success.

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## New Approaches to Understanding Contemporary Global Energy Relations

First European Workshops in International Studies (EWIS), Tartu, Estonia, 5-8 June 2013

Dr Elena Kropatcheva together with Dr Anke Schmidt-Felzmann (Stockholm University) convened a special workshop with the aim of encouraging the analysis of the effects of recent international political and economic developments on states as well as non-state actors in global energy politics and encouraging the application of alternative theoretical approaches from IR and cognate disciplines. Altogether, approximately 20 scholars presented their research. Elena Kropatcheva also presented a paper entitled "Russian Energy Policy against the Background of New External Challenges," which considered the impact of global challenges to Russian foreign energy policy and its power capabilities.

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## **Euro-Asian Peace Research Network**



Fact Finding Mission to Kyrgyzstan

Members of the Fact Finding Mission in front of the Diplomatic Academy in Bishkek (f.l.t.r.): Prof Kairat Osmonaliev, Deputy Head of the Diplomatic Academy, Dr Frank Evers, deputy head of CORE, Naida Mehmedbegovic Dreilich, Academic Co-ordinator of the IFSH Postgraduate Program Peace and Security Studies, Dr Anna Kreikemeyer, researcher at CORE and Azamat Temirkulov, Assistant Professor at the American University in Bishkek.

From 26 May to 1 June 2013, Dr Frank Evers, Deputy Head of CORE, Dr Anna Kreikemeyer, researcher at CORE and Naida Mehmedbegovic Dreilich, Academic Coordinator of the IFSH Postgraduate Program Peace and Security Studies, visited Bishkek, Osh and Jalal-Abad in Kyrgyzstan on a fact-finding mission, financed by the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD). The aim of this mission was to sound out the readiness, prerequisites, needs and possibilities for a higher education partnership with faculties of political science, to create a "Euro-Asian Peace Research Network" and work out a proposal for co-operative module development. The CORE/IFSH delegation met university teachers from ten Kyrgyz faculties, among them the Schools of International Relations at the Kyrgyz State, the Kyrgyz-Russian Slavic, the Kyrgyz-Turkish Manas Universities and the OSCE Academy in Bishkek as well as the Osh and Jalal-Abad State universities. The delegation also met with the Head of the Higher Education Department in the Kyrgyz Ministry for Education, the head of the Committee for Education, Science, Youth and Sport in the Parliament of the Kyrgyz Republic and representatives of OSCE, EU and Kyrgyz NGOs, as well as the German Ambassador in Bishkek. At the end of this week, the Euro-Asian Peace Research Network was established in Bishkek. It will advance high quality peace research by bridging academic and cultural divides between European and post-Soviet states. With respect to the risks of violence and security political voids on the ground in the fragile Fergana states, it can contribute to conflict prevention by raising awareness of the causes of the conflicts as well as of cultural differences among disseminators in the network and students of the module. Its participatory approach strengthens ownership and dialogue and will, thereby, help overcome developmental deficits on the ground and improve development policies of external actors.

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## The Relationship between State and Religion in Germany and Tajikistan

Exchange of Experiences with High-Level Representatives from Tajikistan, Berlin and Hamburg, 13 - 20 April 2013

German-Tajik talk on state and religion: German and Tajik interlocutors with Ambassador Dr Heinrich Kreft, German Federal Foreign Office Special Representative (2nd from left), Mr Subhon Koshonov, Senior Advisor to the President of Tajikistan (2nd from right) and Ambassador (ret.) Dr Arne C. Seifert, CORE (far right).

The Centre for OSCE Research (CORE) in cooperation with the Department for Dialogue with the Islamic World and the Special Representative for Dialogue among Civilizations from the German Federal Foreign Office, arranged a one-week visiting program for high-level representatives from Tajikistan. The delegation's eight members included representatives of both the secular state power and political Islam. It was headed by Mr Subhon Koshonov, Senior Advisor to the President of Tajikistan on Social Issues and Public Relations.

The intention of the visit was to exchange experiences on the relationship between a secular state and religious communities — a sensitive domestic issue in Germany and a highly controversial and explosive matter in Tajikistan. With the recently rising tensions between Tajik state institutions on the one hand, and the Islamic Renaissance Party of Tajikistan (IRP) and other groups of political Islam on the other hand, the matter may again — a decade and a half after the Civil War (1992-1997) — begin seriously aggravating the conflict constellation in the country.

This finding was the conceptual point of departure for the exchange of views that took place in Berlin and Hamburg from 13 – 20 April 2013. It included about a dozen and a half meetings, among them, those with parliamentarians of the German Bundestag; the Head of the Federal Presidential Office, State Secretary David Gill, the Foreign Office's Special Representative for Dialogue among Civilizations, Ambassador Dr

Heinrich Kreft other high-ranking experts from the Federal Foreign Office, the Federal Ministry of the Interior, the Berlin Senate Department for the Interior and Sports; the Head of the Hamburg Senate Chancellery, Dr

Christoph Krupp, and other officials of the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg as well as with representatives of the Catholic Office in Berlin, the Council of the Evangelical Church (EKD), the Berlin Jewish community, the Turkish-Islamic Union for Religious Affairs (DITIB), the Council of Islamic Communities in Hamburg (SCHURA), the Islamic Centre of Hamburg and young Muslims from the Berlin project JUMA –

Young, Muslim, Active. Discussions with the Tajik guests ended with a conversation on prospects for this kind of German-Tajik consultation on the relationship between the state and religion.

The involvement of CORE in the initiation and implementation of the visiting program was based on experiences occurring over many years of secular-Islamic dialogue work in Tajikistan. A special role in this was played by CORE's moderation between prominent secular and Islamic politicians in a secular-Islamic confidence-building project in 2001-2003. CORE maintains intensive consultancy and academic contacts to Tajikistan and other countries in the region.

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## **PUBLICATIONS**

Kropatcheva, Elena (2013), NATO–Russia Relations and the Chinese Factor: An Ignored Variable. Politics. doi: 10.1111/1467-9256.12019.

NATO-Russia relations have usually been considered in isolation from the broader changing international context, but bipolarity no longer reflects reality. This essay revisits the NATO-Russia relationship by plac-



ing it in the context of 'emerging powers', in particular China. It demonstrates that the China factor has begun – often indirectly, but significantly – to affect Russia's NATO policy and NATO–Russia relations. Despite mistrust and problems, there is also considerable potential for cooperation among these three actors. While problems in NATO–Russia relations can-

not be explained by the Chinese variable alone, it nevertheless offers new insights into some of the issues.

### **Recent OSCE-relevant Publications**

Boonstra, Jos/ Erica Marat/ Vera Axyonova, Security Sector Reform in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan: What Role for Europe? EUCAM Working Paper No. 14, Madrid/Joensuu 2013.

<a href="http://www.fride.org/download/EUCAM\_WP14\_SSR\_Kazakhstan\_Kyrgyzstan\_Tajikistan.pdf">http://www.fride.org/download/EUCAM\_WP14\_SSR\_Kazakhstan\_Kyrgyzstan\_Tajikistan.pdf</a>>.

International Crisis Group, Abkhazia: The Long Road to Reconciliation, Europe Report N°224, 10 April 2013, Brussels 2013. <a href="http://www.crisisgroup.org/~/media/Files/europe/caucasus/georgia/224-abkhazia-the-long-road-to-reconciliation.pdf">http://www.crisisgroup.org/~/media/Files/europe/caucasus/georgia/224-abkhazia-the-long-road-to-reconciliation.pdf</a>-

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### **Imprint**

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