

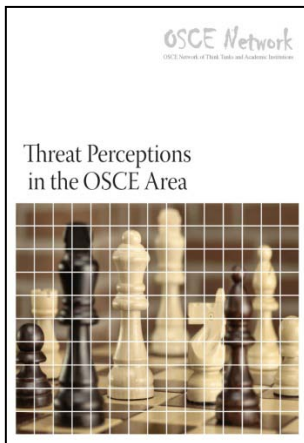


Spring 2014

## „Threat Perceptions in the OSCE Area“

Presentation of the Report at  
Helsinki +40 Meeting at Hofburg

At the invitation of the Swiss OSCE Chairmanship, Barend ter Haar from the Clingendael Institute of International Relations, Ambassador Philip Remler (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace), Sonja Stojanovic Gajic (Belgrade Centre for Security Policy), and Wolfgang Zellner (CORE) presented the report “Threat Perceptions in the OSCE Area” (TPP) at an Helsinki +40 meeting at the Vienna Hofburg on 29 April 2014.



The Threat Perceptions in the OSCE Area project was the very first project of the OSCE Network of Think Tanks and Academic Institutions. It was coordinated by Wolfgang Zellner. It analyzed the threat perceptions of 18 governments

and related experts in the OSCE area and came to the surprising result that domestic threats, combined with transnational ones, represent the most prominent category of threats perceived. With a few exceptions of states engaged in conflicts, such as Georgia or Greece, military threat perceptions ranked rather low. However, due to the timing of the project – its country studies were completed by 31 January – the impact of the Ukrainian conflict on governments’ threat perceptions could only be recognized in a very limited way.

The presentation meeting at Hofburg was well attended with almost all delegations present – about 150 people in all. The meeting was opened by Ambassador Thomas Greminger, the Chairperson of the Permanent Council, who stressed that the Helsinki +40 process should not be abandoned under the current circumstances, but also that business as usual would be impossible. After the presentations, 15 delegations took the floor. Almost all of them noted that Helsinki +40 should be continued, however, not as a routine operation. In stressing this point, representatives of delegations frequently referred to the wording of the respective recommendation of the TPP report. Other issues addressed were the (change of) perceptions of the relevance of the OSCE, threats not covered in the study, such as genocide, the OSCE’s response to the Ukrainian conflict, the assessment of separatism, the relevance of Chapter VIII of the UN Charter, and many others. After an extensive exchange of questions and answers, the meeting was closed after two and a half hours.

The report is available online at  
<<http://osce-network.net/>>

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## Activities on the Crisis in Ukraine/Crimea

On 23 April 2014, a panel discussion on “Ukraine/Crimea: Just another European Crisis or the Start of a New Cold War?” took place at the IFSH. Panelists were Anna Dyer, Polish Institute for International Affairs (PISM), War-

saw; Iryna Solonenko, Visiting Fellow of the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) and the Open Society Foundation (OSI) at the European Viadrina University, Frankfurt/Oder; Tatyana Parkhalina, Deputy Director of the Institute for Scientific Information for Social Sciences (INION), Moscow; Andreas Umland, Associate Professor at the Department for European Studies at the Kiev-Mohyla Academy and Detlev Wolter, Consul General of Germany in Donezk, Ukraine. The very well attended discussion was moderated by Elena Kropatcheva, researcher at CORE/IFSH. The panelists addressed, inter alia, such questions as whether this is just another crisis in Russian-Western relations or the start of a new Cold War in Europe, what guides Russian foreign policy, how to solve the current crisis in the East and South of Ukraine, what role radical groups have played in the past and are playing now in the socio-political life of Ukraine and what consequences the current developments have for the situation in Eastern European countries.

Earlier, on 31 March 2014, Wolfgang Zellner and Frank Evers had organized a panel discussion for the OSCE Network of Think Tanks and Academic Institutions at the Diplomatic Academy in Vienna on the subject of "Ukraine/Crimea: Crisis as Usual or new European Divide?" Here, the Chairman of the OSCE Permanent Council in Vienna, Swiss Ambassador Thomas Greminger, and the Director of the OSCE Conflict Prevention Centre, Ambassador Adam Kobieracki, introduced the discussion which was moderated by Wolfgang Zellner. On the panel were Kari Möttölä, University Helsinki, Philip N. Remler, former Head of the OSCE-Mission in Moldova, Oleksandr Tytarchuk, leading researcher at the Ukrainian Foreign Political Institute in Kiev and Andrei V. Zagorski of the Institute for World Economy and International Relations in Moscow. Fred Tanner, the liaison officer of the Swiss OSCE Chair and the OSCE Secretary General concluded the discussion. Available online at: <http://www.osce.org/cio/116863>.

Beyond these events, Elena Kropatcheva gave presentations on Russia's reactions to the de-

velopments in Ukraine and to the referendum in Crimea. On 13-15 March 2014, she participated in a meeting of the Weimar Dialogue of the Friedrich-Ebert and Genshagen Foundations on EU-Russia relations and the crisis in Ukraine. Furthermore, she wrote a paper on the relationship of Russia-EU-Ukraine, available online at <http://ceurus.ut.ee/home/eu-russia-forum/>.

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### Visit of Tajik Islamic Politician and Dignitary Khodji Akbar Turadjonzoda

From 5-10 April 2014, the Tajik Islamic politician and dignitary Khodji Akbar Turadjonzoda paid a visit to Hamburg and Berlin. The visit was politically supported and financially sponsored by the Department for the "Dialogue with the Islamic World" of the German Federal Foreign Office. It was arranged and hosted by the CORE.



At the meeting with Khodji Akbar Turadjonzoda (top, right)

The purpose of the visit was to inform German interlocutors about the increasingly threatening situation in Tajikistan and to warn of the destabilizing impact of restrictions of the religious freedom in the country. Mr Turadjonzoda's intention was also to discuss the consequences of a possible ban of the Islamic Revival Party of Tajikistan (IRP) and the views of German partners on ways to preventively influence the situation in Tajikistan – bilaterally or through the OSCE and the EU.

The agenda of Mr. Turadjonzoda's visit included meetings with Gernot Erler, Coordinator for Intersocietal Cooperation with Russia, Cen-

tral Asia and the Eastern Partnership Countries, Klaus D. Streicher and Stefan Buchwald, Head and Deputy Head of the MFA Department for the "Dialogue with the Islamic World" respectively, other high-ranking MFA representatives, Ewald Böhlke, Director of the Berthold Beitz Center of the German Council on Foreign Relations (DGAP), Stephan Iro, Representative of the Council of the Evangelical Church in Germany (EKD) to the Federal Republic of Germany and the European Union, as well as Karl Jüsten, Prelate and Head of the Commissariat of German Bishops – the Catholic Office in Berlin. Mr. Turadjonzoda had intensive discussions with scientists and researchers at the University of Hamburg and universities in Berlin.

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### Just published OSCE Yearbook 2013

The OSCE Yearbook 2013, which has just been published, comprises a wealth of writing by experts and practitioners on the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, the topics it deals with, and the states that comprise it. After a foreword by the 2013 Chairperson-in-Office, Ukraine's Minister for Foreign Affairs, Leonid Kozhara, three analytical contributions consider Russian-US relations, the evolution of Euro-Atlantic security, and the ongoing Helsinki +40 process.

The section on the participating States includes a discussion of relevant developments in Armenia and Kazakhstan and a preview of the 2014

Swiss Chairmanship. A comprehensive review of OSCE conflict prevention activities is followed by a special focus section, which this year covers transnational threats, policing and border management. It contains detailed considerations of the Strategic Framework for Police-Related Activities, in-depth information on border-related issues such as border policy in Central Asia, an outline of the OSCE's counter-terrorism activities, and descriptions of community policing in Germany and the European Border Surveillance System EUROSUR.

The OSCE Representative on Freedom of the Media considers the challenges of press freedom in the digital age. There is also a review of Ireland's 2012 chairmanship, a discussion of the recently established OSCE Academic Network, and a report on the OSCE's public diplomacy.

Finally, external relations in the spotlight include OSCE engagement in Afghanistan and the role of the Arab League in conflict resolution.

The Yearbook includes compendious appendixes with data and facts on the 57 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 2013. Yearbook on the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), Vol. 19, Nomos, Baden-Baden 2014.*

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### Norwegian-German Research Collaboration

From 17-21 February 2014, Anna Kreikemeyer visited the Centre for Peace Studies (CPS) at the University of Tromsø and held talks with the Director, Christine Smith-Simonson, Associate Professor, Percy Oware, coordinator of the

CPS master program, Elisabeth Sandersen, and doctoral candidate, Randolph Rhea. The aim of this visit was to intensify the contacts with CPS as a European member of the Euro-Asian-Peace Research Network, founded by CORE in 2013, and to prepare a joint project proposal as well as an exchange with CORE/IFSH. Both institutes share an interest in peace research in general and, more specifically, in Central Asian and Russian peacebuilding issues.

As part of the Arctic University of Norway, the University of Tromsø has a strategic focus on the High North, particularly on issues around resource management, climate changes and ethnic relations in the context of peace and social stability, and very actively promotes East-West infrastructures and collaboration within the framework of the intergovernmental Barents Euro-Arctic Council (since 1993). CPS offers a two-year Master's Degree program in Peace and Conflict Transformation (MPCT) and coordinates the Barents Peace Education Network (BPEN), cooperating with four universities and several NGOs in Russia. In recent years CPS has been developing a focal point on Central Asia.

Smith-Simonson and Kreikemeyer agreed to develop a project proposal for the buildup of a research collaboration, to establish exchange opportunities for young researchers and to share knowledge and experiences within the field of peace studies. In 2014, within the framework of the Erasmus+ program, Sebastian Schiek will teach in Tromsø on topics related to Central Asia, and Randolph Rhea will come to Hamburg to hold a seminar on disarmament, demobilization and reintegration.

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## Completed Doctorate: Sebastian Schiek, Kazakhstan's Conservative Modernization



Sebastian Schiek, researcher at CORE/IFSH, concluded his PhD project in May 2013. Recently his thesis was published by Nomos Publishers in Baden-Baden. The thesis takes Kazakhstan as an example to analyze the contradiction between a patrimonial power and modernization efforts, typical for many non-European countries. By contrast to the historical and rather static approaches dominant in research on authoritarianism and democratization, this project applied the perspective of non-European state formation as 'untimely development' and used the framework of the sociology of domination (Pierre Bourdieu/Norbert Elias/Max Weber) in the wider field of political sociology.

Kazakhstan demonstrates a case of conservative modernization, which aims at maintaining patrimonial and authoritarian power, while trying to implement partial economic and political modernization. This is explained with reference to simultaneous processes of state formation and the integration of the country into the world market and world society. The creation of a patrimonial monopoly of power in Kazakhstan cannot be regarded simply as an aim in itself, but should also be understood as a means to partial modernization: Based on extensive field research in Kazakhstan, it has been shown not only that the reform of the administrative system is a discourse vis-à-vis its own society and the international community, but also that there are real attempts to de-patrimonialize the state. This political reform project can best be seen as a power game between the modernizers within the state and segments of the elite, who resist reform. Economic modernization followed the model of a developing state, aiming at diversifying the economy. While the patrimonial monopolization of power created certain preconditions for modernization, it also generated per-

sistent obstacles to implementing the two projects of partial modernization. Thus, it is highly ambivalent. In fact, the power techniques to create and to uphold the monopoly of power stand in sharp contrast to the strategy of modernization and have created political structures that hinder industrialization and rationalization. While acknowledging a certain success in administrative reform, the thesis shows that the results of the project remain unsatisfactory and that conservative modernization will continue to be difficult to implement.

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### Recent OSCE-relevant Publications

CSCE Testimonies: Causes and Consequences of the Helsinki Final Act (1972 – 1989), CSCE Oral History Project, OSCE Prague Office Archives, compiled by Alice Němcová, Prague Office of the OSCE Secretariat, 2013.

Dominguez, Roberto (ed.), The OSCE: Soft Security for a Hard World: Competing Theories for Understanding the OSCE, Bruxelles 2014.

Fawn, Rick, International Organizations and Internal Conditionality. Making Norms Matter, Basingstoke 2013.

Kelin, Andrey, Is the Pan-European Idea Alive and Well?, in: International Affairs (Minneapolis), 6/2013, pp.105-112.

Lipiäinen, Tatjana / Jeremy Smith, International Coordination of Water Sector Initiatives in Central Asia, EUCAM Working Paper No. 15, Madrid 2013.  
<[http://www.fride.org/download/EUCAM\\_WP15\\_Water\\_Initiatives\\_in\\_CA.pdf](http://www.fride.org/download/EUCAM_WP15_Water_Initiatives_in_CA.pdf)>.

Rosin, Philip, Die Schweiz im KSZE-Prozeß 1972 - 1983. Einfluss durch Neutralität, in: Quellen und Darstellungen zur Zeitgeschichte, no. 99, München 2014.

Zellner, Wolfgang et al., „Threat Perceptions in the OSCE Area“, Ankara, Athens, Bath, Belgrade, Bishkek, Bratislava, Frankfurt/Main, The Hague, Hamburg, Helsinki, Kyiv, Madrid, Moscow, Riga, Tbilisi, Tirana, Ulaanbaatar, Vienna, Warsaw, Washington DC, April 2014,  
at: <<http://osce-network.net/documents.html>>.

### Imprint

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