



International Workshop “Conventional Arms Control in Europe: New Approaches in Challeng- ing Times”

The Centre for OSCE Research (CORE) hosted an international workshop together with the German Federal Foreign Office on conventional arms control in Europe at the Red City Hall (Rotes Rathaus) in Berlin on 23-24 April 2015. This was the second joint effort of this kind after an earlier brainstorming event conducted by the Federal Foreign Office and CORE in July 2013.

The workshop started from the premise that arms control and CSBMs in Europe are facing a series of important security challenges that require action. Gernot Eler, Special Representative of the Federal Government for the OSCE Chairmanship in 2016, noted in his keynote speech that the crisis in Ukraine revealed the gap between the spirit in which the existing



International Arms Control Workshop in Berlin: Gernot Eler, Special Representative of the Federal Government for the OSCE Chairmanship in 2016, delivering the keynote speech.

The aim of the workshop was to give further momentum to discussions on the relevance of conventional arms control as well as Confidence and Security Building Measures (CSBMs), in general, and their usability for conflict resolution and confidence building, in particular. The workshop was specifically meant to provide input to ongoing preparations for Germany's OSCE Chairmanship in 2016. For this purpose, it brought together more than 80 government officials and Track-II experts from 25 countries as well as representatives of international organizations.

conventional arms control regime was developed and the conditions under which it has to be applied. Patricia Flor, Federal Government Commissioner for Disarmament and Arms Control, emphasized that the regime of conventional arms control needs to adapt to the changing European security environment and, particularly, to new types of war and new categories of warfare. Many participants in the workshop agreed that arms control and CSBMs should be further developed to restore trust and confidence, thereby enhancing transparency and predictability. Modernizing the existing arms



Participants at the International Arms Control Workshop

control regime is therefore, in their opinion, an urgent issue.

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“Rethinking Security Policy” – in Frankfurt

250 people listening to a security-policy debate for more than three hours? Impossible! No longer! On 22 June 2015, at a conference on “Rethinking Security Policy”, organized by the Hessen South district of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) with Foreign Minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier, around this number of participants followed the hours-long discussion attentively.

After a thorough introduction to the current conflict constellation, given by Prof. Lothar Brock (Frankfurt Peace Research Institute / PRIF), a panel including the former Federal Minister Heidi Wieczorek-Zeul, Dr Matthias Dembinski (PRIF), and Dr Wolfgang Zellner, Head of CORE, discussed the role of international security organizations for a new détente policy. The panel was moderated by the former Member of Parliament, Uta Zapf, the longstanding chairwoman of the Bundestag’s disarmament subcommittee. While Wieczorek-Zeul requested a comprehensive strengthening of the UN system with a special focus on refugees, Dembinski and Zellner focused on the European scene. Zellner assessed the current relationship between Russia and the West as primarily confrontational with a few co-operative elements and sketched out a strategy for a “framework for stability”. The highlight of the evening was

Steinmeier’s keynote speech. He qualified the present situation saying that we had never had so many and such dangerous situations as currently. The three worst cases would be the failure of the Minsk ceasefire agreement, a Grexit and the taking over of government by right-wing populists in a large EU country. Therefore, according to Steinmeier, keeping ourselves aloof from all these troubles is no option at all. The Frankfurt SPD conference clearly showed that many people are deeply concerned and feel the need to learn more about foreign policy issues.

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How safe is the Silk Road? Central Asia, Afghanistan and their Neighbors in View of Regional and Global Challenges. New GIGA-IFSH Roundtable Series in Hamburg

For a long time, romantic impressions of the Silk Road determined the picture of Central Asia in Western perceptions. After the dissolution of the USSR, especially after 9/11, this vision of the five CA states – Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan - was changed by fears. Time and time again, both politicians and analysts have worried about the instability of the nearly exclusively authoritarian, even dictatorial, regimes in the region, about international power shifts as a result of the withdrawal of the international community from Afghanistan, about a possible



The panel at the first GIGA-IFSH Roundtable on authoritarianism, f.l.t.r.: Dr Sebastian Schiek (IFSH), Dr Thomas Richter (GIGA), Wolfgang Lenk, Federal Foreign Office, Dr Maxim Ryabkov, Deutsche Welle Akademie

increase of Islamist movements, and about a decline of the old revisionist and nationalist hegemon, Russia, and the rise of the new economic hegemon, China. Despite increasing research, comparatively little is known about domestic change and the foreign and security policies of the Central Asian states. Trends are visible, but open questions dominate. Which threat perceptions and strategies prevail in these states? What rooms for maneuver and what patterns of action are visible? How are relations with neighboring states and regional powers developing? What are the consequences for Western actors?



The organizers from GIGA: Prof Henner Fürtig (l.) and Prof Patrick Köllner (r.)

Two Hamburg research institutions, the German Institute of Global and Area Studies (GIGA) and the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg (IFSH), seek to assess this situation and to further expand their cooperation on security issues in Central Asia. Under the banner, "How safe is the Silk Road? Central Asia and its

neighbors", the two institutes have started a joint roundtable series with selected experts from research, politics, the military, the media and civil society. On 21 May 2015, an initial roundtable on authoritarianism took place. Dr Thomas Richter (GIGA), Dr Maxim Ryabkov (Deutsche Welle Academy, Cologne), Dr Sebastian Schiek (IFSH) and Thomas Lenk (Federal Foreign Office, Berlin) discussed the question: "How stable are the authoritarian regimes in Central Asia and what foreign political behavior can be expected?" One month later, on 18 June 2015, Thomas Ruttig (Afghan Analyst Network), Amb. Michael Schmunk (GIGA/Federal Foreign Office), Dr Christian Wagner (German Institute for International and Security Affairs - SWP, Berlin) and Azamjon Isabaev (IFSH) addressed the question: How to proceed with Afghanistan and what does this mean for Central Asia? On 17 September 2015, the burning issue of possible radicalization in this region will be discussed. Can we talk about threats due to the influence of extremist ideologies? The 22 October 2015 will be devoted to the view from outside. What are the strategies of neighboring states, such as China and Iran, but also of international actors, such as Europe, towards Central Asia?

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"The OSCE 40 Years after Helsinki" – Conference at The Hague

On 26 June, the Dutch Telders Foundation organized a workshop at the The Hague-based Institute for Global Justice under the title, "Are European Borders (Still) Inviolable? The OSCE 40 Years after Helsinki". Moderated by Ida van Veldhuizen, a former Dutch Ambassador to the OSCE, Dr Marc Jansen (University of Amsterdam), Dr Wolfgang Zellner (CORE), and the High Commissioner on National Minorities, H.E. Astrid Thors, discussed the issue. Jansen dealt mainly with the ideological features of the Putin regime – "Ukraine between the 'Russian World' and 'Gayropa'". Zellner gave an overview of the OSCE's current tasks, with an

eye to the forthcoming 2016 German OSCE Chairmanship. Finally, Thors introduced her mandate and outlined some highly interesting aspects of her current work. However, the quality of the panel speakers notwithstanding, the real highlights of this workshop were the contributions by many participants from the audience – more than 100 personalities including ambassadors, former members of government and a number of (retired) diplomats. The lively discussion ultimately focused on the statement that a solution for the crisis in Ukraine will not be likely as long as Ukraine's NATO accession is on the agenda.

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DAAD Forum on Higher Education Cooperation between Germany and the Eastern Bologna States in Tbilisi

Between 11 and 13 May 2015, Anna Kreikemeyer participated in the Tbilisi Forum on Higher Education Cooperation between Germany and the Eastern Bologna States. This Forum was organized by the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) to link the growing interest of universities in Eastern Bologna States and the readiness of German partners for co-operation.



Participants of the Higher Education Forum in Tbilisi

The Forum aimed at reducing widespread information deficits on the respective educational systems, but also in contemporary co-operation

programs and funding opportunities (<<https://eu.daad.de/veranstaltungen/aktuell/uebersicht/de/31848-forum-zu-hochschulkooperationen-zwischen-deutschland-und-den-oestlichen-bologna-mitgliedstaaten/>>). In order to strengthen the interest of German universities, the DAAD opened a competitive call for proposals to be presented at this forum. Anna Kreikemeyer's project on the "Creation of a Peace Research Network with Eastern Bologna Universities" won a place among the presentations from Germany. In Tbilisi she introduced the idea, noting that peace research and conflict studies, which have developed in Northern Europe and in the U.S. since the 1950-60's, have not yet had a spill-over to the post-Soviet space, where political science has only recently been introduced in universities. As the research infrastructure for peace research is still being built up, the capacities for theory-based, analytical and critical thinking in the field of peace and conflict can still grow. Her project idea was taken up by, in particular, several participants from Armenia and Georgia, who will now begin taking bilateral as well as regional co-operative steps in a bottom-up approach.

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OSCE Panel at the Schlangenbader Talks

At the end of April, under the motto, "The End of the European Home: What Follows?", the 19th Schlangenbader Talks, a renowned German-Russian discussion format, took place, organized by the Peace Research Institute Frankfurt together with the Institute for World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO), Moscow, the Friedrich Ebert Foundation and the Konrad Adenauer Foundation. The increased role of the OSCE was reflected by the fact that there was, after many years, a specific panel on the OSCE titled: "The OSCE 40 and the pan-European Order". Here, Wolfgang Zellner, Head of CORE, discussed the topic with Ambassador Andrei Kelin, Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation to the OSCE, Andrei Zagorski, Head of the Department for Disarmament and Non-

Proliferation at IMEMO, and Rolf Mützenich, Deputy Chairman of the Social Democratic faction in the German Bundestag. The Russian side stressed the “renaissance of the OSCE” and proposed a number of subjects – i.e. arms control, transnational conflicts, and the problems of a pan-European economic space – as issues to be worked on within the framework of the OSCE. As plausible as these proposals sound, particularly to German ears, the attempt to distract attention from the war in Ukraine and the Russian activities there cannot be overlooked.

Zellner made an attempt to clarify the conflict constellation in which we actually live and what kind of strategy we need to re-establish a minimum of “pan-European order”. He noted that, unfortunately, we can no longer speak about a regime of cooperative security as was the case in the 1990s and early 2000s, despite all the deficits. Rather, the current situation is characterized by a confrontational relationship between Russia and the West, with, however, cooperative elements. This requires a double strategy of defense and a political stability framework, a kind of revival of the 1967 Harmel Report. Concrete subjects could include strategic early warning, arms control, peacekeeping and a dialogue on a pan-European economic space. All participants agreed on their high expectations of the 2016 German OSCE Chairmanship.

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OSCE Yearbook 2014

The OSCE Yearbook 2014 reviews the unusually intense and headline-grabbing activities of the world’s largest regional security organization in 2014. The 20th edition of this flagship IFSH publication pays particular attention to the Helsinki +40 Process and the ongoing crisis in Ukraine. Highlights include a defense of the OSCE by former Russian Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov, an evaluation of 40 years of the Helsinki Final Act, various contributions from inside the innovative Swiss-Serbian consecutive Chairmanships, a discussion of the OSCE’s role as a

regional arrangement under Chapter VIII of the UN Charter by OSCE Secretary General Lamberto Zannier, a review of recent US-Russian relations by Steven Pifer, and several in-depth considerations of the developments in and around Ukraine. A wide variety of high-quality contributions cover many other aspects of the work of the OSCE and developments in its participating States, partners and neighbors: from Scotland to Mongolia, from Afghanistan to North Africa.

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Recent OSCE-relevant Publications

- Galeotti, Mark, Defrosting Conflict, How Eurasian Issues Will Affect the OSCE?, in: Jane’s Intelligence Review, 11/2014, pp. 36-39.
- International Crisis Group, Stress Tests for Kazakhstan, Crisis Group Europe and Central Asia Briefing N°74, Bishkek/Brussels, 13 May 2015.
<<http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/asia/central-asia/kazakhstan/b074-stress-tests-for-kazakhstan.pdf>>
- International Crisis Group, The Ukraine Crisis: Risks of Renewed Military Conflict after Minsk II, Crisis Group Europe Briefing N°73, Kyiv/Brussels, 1 April 2015.
<<http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/europe/ukraine/b073-the-ukraine-crisis-risks-of-renewed-military-conflict-after-minsk-ii.pdf>>
- Norwegian Centre for Human Rights – University of Oslo (UiO), Northern Annual Report 2014, Oslo 2015.
<http://www.jus.uio.no/smr/english/about/programmes/nordem/publications/docs/arsrapport_nordem_2014_net.pdf>
- Shcherbak, Igor, The OSCE and Its Anti-Crisis Mechanisms in West-East Integration Processes, in: International Affairs (Minneapolis/Minn.), 1/2015, pp. 91-100.
- United States Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (Helsinki Commission), Hearing: “Wanted: Foreign Fighters – The Escalating Threat of ISIL in Central Asia”, June 10, 2015 [Washington] 2015 (unofficial transcript).
<http://csce.gov/index.cfm?FuseAction=ContentRecords.ViewTranscript&ContentRecord_id=570&ContentType=H,B&ContentRecordType=H>
- United States Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (Helsinki Commission), Hearing: Serbia’s Leadership of the OSCE, February 25, 2015 [Washington] 2015 (official transcript).
<http://csce.gov/index.cfm?FuseAction=Files.Download&FileStore_id=2711>

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