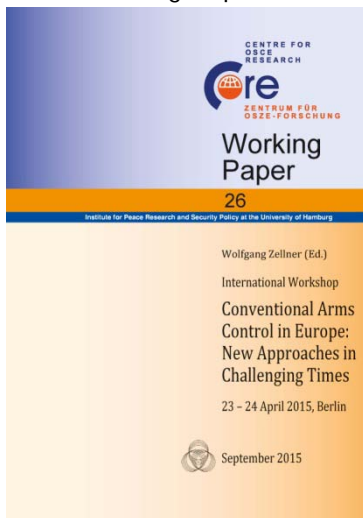




Winter 2015

New CORE Working Papers on Conventional Arms Control and OSCE Peacekeeping

In September and December 2015, CORE published two Working Papers on topics that no longer – or do not yet – attract much attention (conventional arms control / CAC) and the option of OSCE peacekeeping) – but are, in our view, key issues of a stable European security order. Working Paper 26 contains a dozen contributions



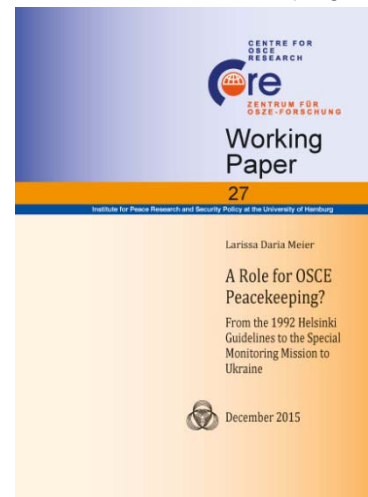
to the international workshop, “Conventional Arms Control in Europe: New Approaches in Challenging Times”, that was held on 23/24 April 2015 in Berlin, co-organized by the German

Federal Foreign Office and CORE. This workshop, with about 75 participants from more than two dozen countries, including both representatives of governments and of think tanks, took place at a time when an open war was taking place in the middle of Europe, in Ukraine. Three findings from this workshop, which are mirrored in the contributions to WP 26 should be highlighted: *First*, there was consensus that the crisis in and around Ukraine shows the need for arms control. It is remarkable that it was this conclusion that was drawn and not the other way round - that CAC was now dead. *Second*, a number of participants raised the expectation

that the German OSCE Chairmanship 2016 would feature the subject of CAC. Finally, it was interesting to see that, even in the heated atmosphere of that period, it was possible to conduct quite sober and highly substantive discussions at the expert level. This spirit of addressing CAC, taking into account the current political situation, but not falling back on mutual accusations, is characteristic for the contributions to this Working Paper. They address many problems, show the need for CAC, and open up a lot of avenues for tackling problems.

Working Paper 27 is the Master's thesis (Master of Peace and Security Studies) of Larissa Meier on “A Role for OSCE Peacekeeping?”

From the 1992 Helsinki Guidelines to the Special Monitoring Mission to Ukraine”. Actually, there is a discussion in the OSCE on the question of whether there is a realistic option for OSCE peace-



keeping. On the one hand, this discussion builds on the historical record of the OSCE on peacekeeping – the 1992 Helsinki decision in favor of OSCE peacekeeping, the 1994/1995 debate on an OSCE peacekeeping mission in Nagorno-Karabakh, and the subsequent 2003 review discussion, again on peacekeeping in a general sense. All of these lines of debate are highlighted in Meier's booklet in a way that a reader not familiar with the history of OSCE peacekeeping (thus almost everybody!) can

understand the different strands of thinking and their interrelationships. Now, the second element that allowed the re-opening of the discourse comes into play: Without being a military peacekeeping operation, the Special Monitoring Mission (SMM) to Ukraine fulfilled a number of functions (monitoring of ceasefires and withdrawals of certain types of military equipment from certain areas) that are usually carried out by military peacekeeping missions. Again, Meier convincingly shows that this is not absolutely new, but has parallels to the 1998/1999 OSCE Kosovo Verification Mission. Taking this all together, the author comes to the conclusion that civilian OSCE field operations can well fulfill these functions, and that the introduction of OSCE military peacekeeping operations is currently neither necessary nor feasible. The specific charm of Meier's piece is that it is well-founded, based on a three-digit number of OSCE documents that she analyzed during a research stay at the OSCE archives in Prague.

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CORE Contributes to Discussions on the Future of the OSCE in Berlin

CORE participated in an event titled "Charter of Berlin 2016 - A Discussion on the Future of the OSCE" that was jointly conducted in Berlin by the Berlin grassroots think tank "Polis 180" and



the Swiss think tank "foraus" on 2 November 2015.



The event's prominent keynote speakers were Gernot Erler, Special Representative of Germany for the OSCE Chairmanship 2016, Tim Guldemann, former Personal Envoy on Ukraine to the Swiss OSCE Chairperson-in-Office 2014 and former Swiss Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany, as well as Ernst-Christoph Meier, head of the Department for Arms Control, Non-proliferation and the OSCE of the German Federal Ministry of Defense. CORE representative, Frank Evers, gave the kick-off presentation to the event. He spoke in his presentation on the general conditions of and challenges to the German OSCE Chairmanship in 2016.

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Conference "Forty Years after Helsinki and Five Years after the Astana Summit"

On 23 October 2015, the conference "Forty Years after Helsinki and Five Years after the Astana Summit" took place in the Kazakhstani capital of Astana, co-organized by the OSCE Programme Office in Astana, the Kazakhstani Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies under the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan



(KISI). The conference was opened by Erlan Idrissoev, Foreign Minister of Kazakhstan, Erlan Karin, Director of KISI, and Ambassador Natalia Zarudna, the Head of the OSCE Programme Office. In his keynote speech, Kassym-Jomart Tokayev, Chairman of the Senate of Kazakhstan, called the Ukraine crisis a national tragedy and voiced concern that Ukraine would slide into the status of a frozen conflict. Tokayev raised no objections against Western countries, but stressed that the Kazakhstani President Nazarbayev had mediated between Russia and Ukraine. All in all, 28 contributions by speakers from Kazakhstan, Serbia (CiO), the OSCE, the EU, the United Nations Regional Centre for Preventive Diplomacy for Central Asia, the USA, Germany, Switzerland, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Georgia were organized in three panels. Wolfgang Zellner, Head of CORE, spoke on "Risks and Challenges in a Most Difficult Period of Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian Security". Apart from the conference, it was interesting to witness the quick growth of the Kazakhstani capital of Astana.

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5th Chambésy Roundtable on European Security

The 5th Chambésy Roundtable on European Security, with the participation of almost 30 governmental representatives and think tankers from Europe, Russia and the USA, among them Wolfgang Zellner, Head of CORE, took place in Geneva on 15/16 October, organized by the Geneva Centre of Security Policy and the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs of Switzerland. Participants agreed that the relations between Russia and Western countries are worse than they have ever been since the end of the Cold War and that we are witnessing a remilitarization of security policy. Trust finally collapsed with the Russian annexation of Crimea. The big question is how we got from the rather good cooperation of the 1990s to the current situation, characterized by tensions, mistrust and (violent) conflict. Although it is too early for a compre-

hensive answer to this question, elements thereof were presented: the deep differences in sometimes almost mutually exclusive perceptions, increasing normative divergences, the standstill of the Russian reform dynamism of the early 2000s, the exclusionist policies of the EU and NATO or, more generally, the lack of an inclusive strategy or any strategy at all. Beyond that, a number of more concrete questions were addressed, among them, possible military incidents and accidents, the use of the Vienna Document and the Minsk Agreements. The fact that the tone of the discussions was generally friendly and open shows that serious exchange is still possible, particularly on Swiss soil.

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Norwegian-German Research Collaboration

Within the framework of a DAAD mobility grant, that seeks to establish and expand the contact between educational and research institutions in Norway *and* Germany, a delegation from the Centre for Peace Studies (CPS) at the University of Tromsø (Dr. Percy Oware, Elisabeth Sandersen, PhD candidate Benjamin Schaller, Dr. Christine Smith-Simonsen, Dr. Nils Vidar Vambheim, Christine Webb) visited IFSH from 14-18 September 2015.



The guests from Tromsø in Hamburg

CORE researchers had visited CPS in June 2015. Both sides continued their mutual exchange on teaching and research in peace studies. The main purpose of the visits was the joint development of a project proposal to the Eurasia Program of the Norwegian Centre for International Cooperation in Education (SIU). Beyond this common endeavor, PhD candidate Khushbakt Hojiev, Centre for Developmental

Studies (ZEF) at the University of Bonn, who is closely cooperating with CORE in this project, visited CPS for a two week teaching fellowship and Benjamin Schaller from CPS is teaching in the IFSH Master's program in which CPS has become a new cooperation partner.

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Contribution of the OSCE Network to the Panel of Eminent Persons

At the initiative of the foreign ministers of the OSCE troika states, Switzerland, Serbia and Germany, a "Panel of Eminent Persons" consisting of retired stateswomen and -men elaborated a report on "European Security as a Common Project". As this represents a major attempt to reinvigorate the still-blocked process of dialogue at the governmental level, the OSCE Network of Think Tanks and Academic Institutions decided to support the Panel's efforts with a contribution of its own.

OSCE Network

OSCE Network of Think Tanks and Academic Institutions

Under the leadership of Dr. Teija Tiilikainen, the Director of the Finnish Institute of International Affairs, 17 Network member institutes elaborated papers answering ten questions that she posed. On this basis, the head of project wrote a draft report that was thoroughly discussed at a workshop in Vienna on 1 September. Chapters of this report include, among others, "Innovations for Better Early Warning and Conflict Management", "The Human Dimension as an OSCE CORE Function", "A Multi-Ethnic OSCE – National Minorities", "Tackling Protracted Conflicts" and "Strengthening the System of Arms Control". The report was presented by Dr. Tiilikainen in an OSCE panel at the Belgrade

Security Forum on 1 October and handed over to the Panel of Eminent Persons.

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How safe is the Silk Road? Central Asia, Afghanistan and their Neighbours in View of Regional and Global Challenges

4th GIGA-IFSH Roundtable in Hamburg

For a long time, romantic impressions of the Silk Road determined the Western perception of Central Asia. After the dissolution of the USSR and especially after 9/11, this vision of the five Central Asian states was changed by fear. Time and time again, both politicians and analysts have worried about the instability of the nearly exclusively authoritarian regimes in the region, about international power shifts as a result of the withdrawal of the international community from Afghanistan, about a possible increase in Islamist movements, about a decline of the old revisionist and nationalist hegemon, Russia, and the rise of the new economic hegemon, China.



At the 4th IFSH-GIGA roundtable: (f.l.t.r.)
Anna Kreikemeyer, Henner Fürtig, Nele Nösselt

Two Hamburg research institutions, the German Institute of Global and Area Studies (GIGA) and the Centre for OSCE Research (CORE) at the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy (IFSH), sought to assess this situation in a new roundtable series with selected experts from research and politics. After

discussing the authoritarian regimes, the security challenges from Afghanistan and the question of Islamist radicalization, the 4th roundtable, held on the 22nd of October, 2015 was devoted to the strategies of neighboring states and international actors towards Central Asia. Following a presentation by Dr. Anna Kreikemeyer (CORE/IFSH) on characteristics of foreign and security policies of Central Asian states, Dr. Beate Eschment (Zentralasien-Analysen, Berlin) spoke on Russian interests and policies towards the region, Prof. Henner Fürtig (GIGA) addressed the view from Iran and Dr. Dr. Nele Nösselt (GIGA) provided information about China's policies.

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CORE Participates in IDCAR Network Conference in Austin, Texas



*At the University of Texas in Austin (f.l.t.r.):
Anastasiya Bayok, Sebastian Schiek, André Bank*

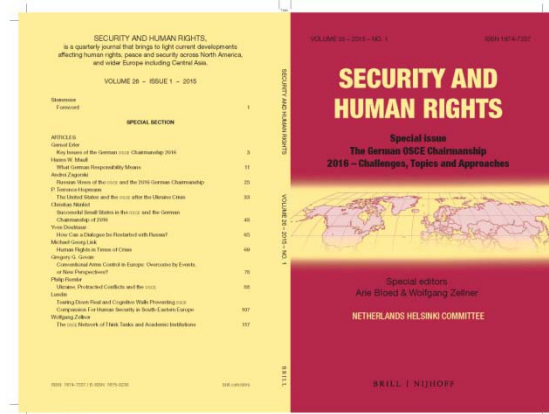
On October 2-3, 2015, the second IDCAR (International Diffusion and Cooperation of Authoritarian Regimes) network conference took place at the University of Texas in Austin (USA). The main discussion was around the topic “Regional Clusters of Authoritarian Diffusion and Cooperation: Interest vs. Ideology?” Sebastian Schiek presented a paper co-authored with Azamjon Isabaev under the title “The diffusion of illiberal norms and laws in the post-Soviet space: Learning or emulation?”. Anastasiya Bayok presented the results of her ongoing research in a paper entitled “Regional patterns of authoritarian learning: counterterrorism policies in Russia, China and Central Asia”. The conference was characterized by a very friendly and warm atmosphere, which provided

all of its participants — 17 members of the IDCAR Network — a wonderful platform not only for presenting and sharing the results of their research, but also for getting valuable feedback from the senior network members and from each other. Discussions and academic exchange went well beyond the official part of the conference.

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Forthcoming OSCE-Relevant Publications

Special Issue “Security & Human Rights” on the German 2016 OSCE Chairmanship



Co-edited by Arie Bloed and Wolfgang Zellner, “Security & Human Rights” will publish a special issue on the German 2016 OSCE Chairmanship in January 2016. Authors will include the German Federal Foreign Minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier, Gernot Erlar, the Special Representative of the German Federal Government for the OSCE Chairmanship 2016, ODIHR Director Michael Georg Link, Prof. Andrei Zagorski from IMEMO / Moscow, Prof. Terrence Hopmann from John Hopkins University / USA, Prof. Hanns Maull (Germany), Dr. Christian Nünlist (Center for Security Studies at the ETH Zurich), General ret. Greg Govan, Ambassador Philip Remler (former Head of the OSCE Mission to Moldova), Ambassador Lundin (former

representative of the EU to the OSCE), and Ambassador Doutriaux, former representative of France to the OSCE.

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Recent OSCE Relevant Literature

Björkdahl, Annika/Ivan Gusic, 'Global' Norms and 'Local' Agency - Frictional Peacebuilding in Kosovo, in: *Journal of International Relations and Development* 3/2015, pp. 265-287.

Kropatcheva, Elena, The Evolution of Russia's OSCE Policy: From the Promises of the Helsinki Final Act to the Ukrainian Crisis, in: *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* 1/2015, pp. 6-24.

Marcicq, Florent, Building European Security in the Western Balkans – the Diffusion of European Norms in the Context of Inter-Organisational Interactions, in: *Journal of International Relations and Development* 3/2015, pp. 337-360.

Meier, Larissa Daria, A Role for OSCE Peacekeeping?" From the 1992 Helsinki Guidelines to the Special Monitoring Mission to Ukraine, CORE Working Paper No. 27, Hamburg 2015.
<<http://ifsh.de/core/publikationen/arbeitspapiere/>>

Mosser, Michael W., Embracing "Embedded Security"- the OSCE's Understated but Significant Role in the European Security Architecture, in: *European Security (Ilford)* 4/2015, pp. 579-599.

Zellner, Wolfgang (Ed.), Conventional Arms Control in Europe - New Approaches in Challenging Times. International Workshop 23-24 April 2015, Berlin, CORE Working Paper No. 26, Hamburg 2015.
<http://ifsh.de/file-CORE/documents/CORE_WP26_en.pdf>

Zellner, Wolfgang, Entfeindung durch Dialog. Vom heißen Krieg in der Ukraine zum Frieden in Europa, in: *Blätter für deutsche und interna-*

tionale Politik 8/2015, pp. 89-98.

Teija Tiilikainen (Ed.), Reviving Co-operative Security in Europe through the OSCE. Contribution of the OSCE Network of Think Tanks and Academic Institutions to the Panel of Eminent Persons 2015, Vienna 2015.
<http://osce-network.net/file-OSCE-Network/documents/Reviving_Cooperative_Security_in_Europe_through_the_OSCE_web.pdf>

Imprint

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