



Autumn-Winter 2017

The German OSCE-Chairmanship 2016 Ministerial Council Meeting in Hamburg on 7/8 December



F.l.t.r.: Philip Remler, Oleksiy Semenyi, Barbara Kunz, Fred Tanner, Wolfgang Zellner, Gernot Erlner (Foto: NMD)

With the Ministerial Council Meeting on 7/8 December, the 2016 German OSCE Chairmanship came to an end. It would be an oversimplification to measure the success of the Chairmanship solely on the basis of the ten decisions of the Ministerial Council Meeting. Rather, it is much more about what the Chairmanship achieved over the entire year with crisis management, setting new topics, strengthening the OSCE as an organization and the initiation of dialogues. And all this under political conditions – from the relationship to Russia to the wars in the Middle East – that was progressively deteriorating.

Managing crises from Ukraine to Nagorno-Karabakh

Despite four summits and 13 Foreign Ministers' meetings in the Normandy format (Ukraine, Russia, Germany and France), it has not yet been possible to implement the provisions of the Minsk Agreement, a ceasefire and political

steps in a halfway satisfactory manner. There are still attacks every day. But the greatest concern, that the separatists, supported by Russia, could capture the large city of Mariupol and push through towards Transdniestria, is no longer a problem. The OSCE Special Monitoring Mission (SMM) contributed considerably to the relative stabilization of the situation. The SMM is the only source of reliable information for the international community. That the OSCE was able, under the difficult conditions prevailing, to set up and maintain this kind of large operation with about 1,000 members and a budget of around 100 million Euros, can, in itself, be considered a success.

In Moldova, the official negotiations in the 5 + 2 format (Moldova, Transdniestria, Ukraine, Russia, the OSCE plus the EU and the USA) were resumed after a longer interruption. At the same time, integrating Transdniestria into the free trade agreement between the EU and Moldova was achieved without Russia having vetoed it. On this basis, many practical everyday questions can be resolved more easily than in the other cases of "protracted conflicts." The Ministerial Council was able to agree on a declaration on Transdniestria.

In the Geneva International Discussions, in which representatives from Tbilisi, Sukhumi, Tskhinvali, Moscow and Washington participate, under the joint Chairmanship of the UN, the EU and the OSCE, a solution to the conflicts is scarcely mentioned but rather, individual security-relevant topics are discussed. Thereby, in 2016, the possibilities for status-neutral confidence- and security-building measures were talked over. At the local level, the *Incidents Prevention and Response Mecha-*

nisms (IPRM) resolve concrete issues, such as access to fields and also homicides. In 2016, it was possible, thereby, to re-activate the IPRM for Abkhazia, which had been blocked for years.

In the case of Nagorno-Karabakh, where heavy fighting broke out in April, the OSCE was able, in any event, to have a curbing effect. The suggestions made by the German OSCE Chairmanship for an expansion of the observations teams of the Personal Representative, Ambassador Kasprzyk, as well as for a reaction mechanism for violations of ceasefires, have still not been accepted.



Fred Tanner, Senior Adviser of the OSCE Secretary General (Foto: NMD)

Putting new topics on the agenda

The German Chairmanship was successful in presenting or positioning two topics a little higher. The topic of economic connectivity as a condition for political stability had already been introduced by the Swiss Chairmanship in 2014. But with a large conference – 1,000 participants and a Chinese delegation – the German Chairmanship was able to upgrade the topic. This was reflected in a decision of the Hamburg Ministerial Meeting, which legitimated further consultation on the subject.

The other topic concerns a traditional German focus, namely conventional arms control, placed prominently on the agenda by Foreign Minister Steinmeier in September 2016. It was all the more gratifying that the Hamburg OSCE Ministerial Meeting was able to agree on the decision "From Lisbon to Hamburg. Declaration on the 20th Anniversary of the OSCE Framework for Arms Control" and, thereby, on a fun-

damental commitment to conventional arms control.

At a lower level, topics, such as cyber security or migration, were followed-up or newly introduced. In the first case, the Permanent Council of the OSCE had already agreed on a second package of confidence-building measures at the beginning of 2016. The Hamburg Council of Ministers Meeting passed a resolution on migration.

Strengthening the Organization

Already at the end of 2015, the German Chairmanship succeeded in something, which is not a matter of course in the OSCE, namely adopting a budget punctually. Furthermore, this budget included some additional positions for conflict management. Unfortunately, there was no consensus on a draft resolution, which went further.

Developing New Levels of Dialogue

Dialogue, for one thing, was conducted on almost all OSCE questions from military doctrine to anti-Semitism. For another, the German Chairmanship tried to better promote dialogue among the "bosses". The informal Foreign Ministers meeting on 1 September in Potsdam and the dinner of the Foreign Ministers in Hamburg on 8 December served this purpose.

Conclusion and Outlook

Although the difficult times are by no means over, the OSCE is in better shape at the end of the year 2016 than it was at the beginning. To have achieved this, even under the very difficult circumstances, represents a success. What was important was that Germany, by taking on the Chairmanship, demonstrated that it attaches importance to the OSCE and is prepared to invest political capital in it. This encouraged a range of other states. In 2017, Austria will have the OSCE Chairmanship, followed by Italy in 2018 and Slovakia in 2019.

The OSCE Network at the Ministerial Meeting

Thanks to the support of the German Foreign Ministry, the OSCE Network had the opportunity to invite around 20 members, who had cooperated on the two Network projects on *European Security* and *Protracted Conflicts*, to Hamburg.



Participating members of the OSCE Network (Foto: NMD)

The project report, “European Security – Challenges at the Societal Level”, was presented by Wolfgang Zellner (IFSH), Oleksiy Semeniuk (Institute for Global Transformations, Kyiv), Barbara Kunz (Institut Français des Relations Internationales) and Philip Remler (Carnegie Endowment) in the so-called “Mixed Zone” of the Ministerial Council Meeting, moderated by Ambassador Fred Tanner, Senior Adviser to the OSCE Secretary General. Gernot Erler, the Special Representative of the German government for the German OSCE Chairmanship, emphasized in his commentary, that the report is based on around 15 national narratives. The project was supported by the Foreign Ministries of Austria, Finland and Switzerland as well as the German Federal Foreign Office.

The report on the project “Protracted Conflicts in the OSCE Area. Innovative Approaches for Co-operation in the Conflict Zones”, supported by the German Federal Foreign Office, was presented by the principal drafter, Philip Remler, Nino Kemoklidze (University of Birmingham), Tanja Tamminen (Institute for East- and Southeast European Studies, Regensburg) and Hajo Schmidt (Peace Research Institute, Frankfurt) at the premises of the IFSH. Wolfgang Zellner moderated it. The report and, in particular, its recommendations, can be seen as the

most broadly developed publication on this topic.

In addition, the “networkers” and other guests discussed the three possible follow-on projects on historical narratives, a values and norms dialogue as well as economic confidence-building measures.

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Development of the OSCE Network of Think Tanks and Academic Institutions

66 members from 37 countries,
two policy papers, plans for 2017

The OSCE Network of Think Tanks and Academic Institutions has developed significantly since its establishment in June 2013. From the initial 16 member institutions it has grown to currently 66 member institutions in 37 countries from across the OSCE area. CORE is the Network’s coordinating institute. The Network contributes to the ongoing debates on the European security order. Within the OSCE family, the Network is a well-known and appreciated platform for Track-II discussions.

Throughout 2016, Network members conducted a series of workshops, brainstorming meetings and presentations – in Geneva, several times in Hamburg and Vienna, and in Moscow. The Network welcomed representatives of the German OSCE Chairmanship to the “OSCE Network meets the Chairmanship” panel discussion in Hamburg. Its members conducted a general Network meeting - also in Hamburg. Network members also gave a presentation at a side event of the 23rd OSCE Ministerial Council meeting.

Additional major projects of the Network in 2016 were the collective elaborations of two policy papers – one on “European Security – Challenges at the Societal Level” and one on “Protracted Conflicts in the OSCE Area - Innovative Approaches for Co-operation in the Conflict Zones”. These papers were launched at a side

event of the 23rd OSCE Ministerial Council (“European Security”) and at CORE’s premises (“Protracted Conflicts”) respectively in December 2016. The Network activities in 2016 were commissioned and jointly sponsored by the Austrian Federal Ministry for Europe, Integration and Foreign Affairs, the Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, the German Federal Foreign Office and the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs.

After having successfully finished two projects in 2016, the OSCE Network is preparing three projects for 2017. So far, under consideration is implementing a project that is to deal with “Elaborating a Set of Economic and Environmental Confidence-Building Measures”. Under the second project, it is planned to establish a working group of historians for continuing discussions on “Analyzing Historical Narratives”, while the third project is intended to focus on “Conducting a Norms Dialogue at the Societal Level”. These projects are based on the respective recommendations of the “European Security” report. On the margins of the Hamburg Ministerial Council meeting, a group of about fifteen Network members discussed details of these activities.

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Prospects for Peace Research in Central Asia: Between Discourses of Danger, Normative Divides and Global Challenges
3rd Central Asia Day in Hamburg



The participants of the 3rd Central Asia Day in Hamburg

On 17-18 November 2016, researchers from five European and four Central Asian states

discussed the prospects of promoting peace research in Central Asia at the 3rd Central Asia Day in Hamburg. Peace research, which is dominated by Western approaches to peace, has few prospects in Central Asia if it does not take seriously local, national and international perceptions of peace in this region.

Central Asian scholars have often used the theories and tools of traditional security studies when studying peace and conflict issues and have only just begun to develop region-specific approaches with a peace research perspective, rooted in their living conditions, political and academic cultures. John Heathershaw, associate Professor at the University of Exeter and Rustam Burnashev, professor at the German-Kazakh University, gave two keynote speeches from a European and a Central Asian point of view on the problems of peace research in and from Central Asia. Three panels, with participants from both regions, took critical stock of the added value of the current discourses for peace research and a junior panel, with two PhD students from Central Asia and two from Europe, introduced their peace-related studies. Anna Kreikemeyer, CORE/IFSH was able to welcome 25 experts and 25 guests from both regions who, in turn, very much welcomed the opportunity to discuss societal, political and economic problems of Central Asia in an international arena at IFSH. The conference was funded by the German Foundation for Peace Research.

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**Joint GIGA/IFSH Workshop
“Power-sharing in Post-conflict Societies”**

Together with the GIGA, IFSH conducted a workshop on “Power-sharing in Post-Conflict and Post-war Societies” on 16th November 2016 in Hamburg. The workshop’s goal was to contribute to the scientific and political debate surrounding the German government’s current initiative to formulate new guidelines for crisis prevention and stabilization of post-war societies (<http://www.peacelab2016.de>). The work-

shop revolved around the questions of the degree to which and how formal institutions – in particular constitutions, elections and parliaments, as well as the division of power among different levels of government – contribute to stabilizing countries after conflicts. Such institutions are common pillars for attempts to engender sustainable peace and stability by institutionalizing power-sharing agreements.



At the GIGA-IFSH Peacelab Workshop, f.l.t.r.: Christian von Soest, Christian Jetzelsperger, Naida Mehmedbegović Dreilich, Michael Brzoska, Esther Somfalvy, Julia Strasheim, Sabine Kurtenbach
(Foto: GIGA)

However, their design is often contested and may even lead to further conflict among different societal groups competing for influence. Moreover, empirical evidence on the success of the transfer of such seemingly “Western” institutions to other post-conflict contexts remains inconclusive. This shortcoming was addressed by the case-based approach of the expert workshop researchers of the IFSH who contributed two case studies. Naida Mehmedbegović Dreilich presented the lessons learnt from Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Esther Somfalvy introduced the case of the Kyrgyz Republic.

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7th OSCE Academy-NUPI Annual Security Seminar in Bishkek/Kyrgyzstan

The OSCE Academy and NUPI annually organize a security seminar in Bishkek devoted to topical regional and international issues con-

cerning the Central Asian region. The most recent seminar took place on 1-2 September under the title “Global Security Trends and their Impact on Central Asia: 2016 and on”. The event brought together Central Asian and international researchers, representatives of international organizations and students. Ambassador Peter Burian, EU Special Representative for Central Asia, delivered a keynote speech. Panels were devoted to different topics, such as intra-regional (non)cooperation in Central Asia, relations with great powers (China, Russia, USA) and regional states (Afghanistan, Turkey, Iran), activities within multilateral organizations (OSCE, CSTO, SCO), as well as issues concerning radicalization. Azam Isabaev, IFSH doctoral student, also participated in the seminar as a panelist and presented a paper on “Some Debates about Central Asian Concerns over Afghanistan”.

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Recent OSCE-relevant Publications

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Nünlist, Christian/Wolfgang Zellner, A Code of Conduct for Facilitating a Return to Dialogue: New Ideas for Strengthening European Security, in: Security and Human Rights Monitor, 22 December 2016, The Hague 2016.

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Strohal, Christian, Die Zukunft der europäischen Sicherheit und die Rolle der OSZE – einige Anmerkungen zur Ausgangslage vor dem österreichischen Vorsitz 2017, in: Wiener Blätter zur Friedensforschung 4/2016, pp. 1-8.

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