



The OSCE Network of Think Tanks and Academic Institutions Personnel changes and meetings in Vienna

In February, the members of the OSCE Network of Think Tanks and Academic Institutions held elections for a new Steering Committee and the Network Coordinator, a post that had been held by Wolfgang Zellner since the Network's creation in 2013. Eight members were elected to the Steering Committee: Irina Chernykh (KISI, Kazakhstan), Barbara Kunz (IFRI, France), Marko Lehti (TAPRI, Finland), Amb. Philip McDonagh (Edward M Kennedy Institute for Conflict Intervention, Ireland), Amb. Philip Remler (Carnegie, USA), Sonja Stojanovic Gajic (BCSP, Serbia), Stefan Wolff (University of Birmingham, United Kingdom), and Andrei Zagorski (IMEMO, Russia). The voter turnout was high, at 79 percent, and the new Steering Committee members were endorsed by a large majority of the votes cast. For the first time, an electronic voting procedure, set up by Eckhard Schlopsna and Naida Mehmedbegović Dreilich, was used, and it proved effective.



Christian Nünlist and Cornelius Friesendorf

The member institutions also elected Cornelius Friesendorf (IFSH, Hamburg) and Christian Nünlist (CSS, Switzerland) as new Network Co-ordinators (and members of the Steering Committee), for a period of two years. They received 56 votes in favor, no votes against, and 4 abstentions.

On 14 – 15 March, Friesendorf and Nünlist, as the new Network Co-ordinators, conducted a series of meetings in Vienna to introduce themselves to the OSCE family – particularly to Amb. Luca Fratini of the 2018 Italian OSCE Chairmanship, OSCE Secretary General Amb. Thomas Greminger, OSCE CPC Director Amb. Marcel Pesko as well as the heads and representatives of various national Delegations to the OSCE and of the OSCE Secretariat. Together with CORE Deputy Head, Frank Evers, they discussed possible Network projects for 2018. A working lunch that was kindly hosted by the Permanent Representative of Bulgaria to the OSCE, Amb. Svetoslav Spassov, provided an additional opportunity

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to present the OSCE Network before the OSCE Delegations of more than a dozen EU member countries. The visit revealed the interlocutors' significant interest in making use of the OSCE Network for the ongoing political discussions in Vienna.

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OSCE Network to start five new projects

Thanks to the generous contributions of a number of OSCE participating States, among them Austria, Germany and Switzerland (talks with a number of other States have not yet been concluded), the OSCE Network of Think Tanks and Academic Institutions is in a position to start five new projects in 2018, more than ever before. This marks an excellent start for the two new Network Co-ordinators, Cornelius Friesendorf (CORE/IFSH) and Christian Nünlist (Center for Security Studies, ETH Zurich).

In the context of the project, "The OSCE in Central Asia: National Perceptions", the participants, predominantly from the region itself, will evaluate the OSCE and its activities from a Central Asian perspective. Thus, the usual perspective – Westerners talking about Central Asia – is reversed. Central Asian experts will formulate their expectations vis-à-vis an international organization in which most participating States are Western democracies. The result will be a report with recommendations about what the OSCE can do to improve its standing and effectiveness in the region. Head of Project is Irina Chernyk from the Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies under the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan (KISI).

The project "A New Concept of Conventional Arms Control" will make an attempt to conceive the building blocks for a new approach to conventional arms control in Europe, beyond the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE). This will include addressing the search for a new leading principle replacing parity, framing the relationship between European and sub-

regional arms control, looking for options to include new military capabilities and weapon systems, and thinking about better co-ordination between crisis management and arms control. Head of Project is Wolfgang Zellner from CORE/IFSH.

The project "Historical Narratives Workshops in Moscow and St. Petersburg" will translate the 2017 Network report "The Road to the Charter of Paris: Historical Narratives and Lessons for the OSCE Today" into Russian and discuss it with Russian historians and other experts at two workshops in Moscow and St. Petersburg. The project will be implemented by the two co-authors of the 2017 report, Christian Nünlist from the Center for Security Studies, ETH Zurich (principal author) and Juhana Aunesluoma from the University of Helsinki, together with colleagues from the Netherlands and the USA.

The project "Cross-Regional Corridors of Dialogue: Developing a Complementing Track for Transforming Protracted Conflicts" will make an attempt to organize track 2 and track 1.5 dialogues among participants coming from regions with protracted conflicts. The basic idea is that bringing together people from several regions with protracted conflicts could stimulate a conflict-transforming dynamic. The two project leaders are Cindy Wittke from the Leibniz Institute for East and Southeast Studies (IOS) and Marko Lehti from the Tampere Peace Research Institute (TAPRI).

Finally, the project "Religion and Conflict" will look into the role of religion and inter-religious dialogue at the various levels of the conflict cycle. This will include the question of the degree to which bonds of respect and loyalty within and between societies can be created from a religious perspective. The project held its first workshop in April 2018 at the Edward M. Kennedy Institute for Conflict Intervention at the National University of Ireland in Maynooth, generously sponsored by this organization. The Head of Project is Amb. Philip McDonagh, the former Permanent Representative of Ireland to the OSCE.

As usual, all member institutions of the OSCE Network are invited to participate in these projects (travel costs can only be covered for a limited number of participants actively contributing to a project). Three of the projects aim at finalizing a report by the end of the year, ideally to be presented at side events of the 2018 OSCE Ministerial Council meeting in Milan. With its 2018 projects, the OSCE Network has achieved a new level of activity.

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OSCE Network Coordinators present before the Forum for Security Co-operation in Vienna

The Forum for Security Co-operation (FSC) is a crucial OSCE body for discussing security-related issues, and one of the few remaining forums where Russia and Western states regularly interact. On 25 April 2018, the Co-ordinators of the OSCE Network of Think Tanks and Academic Institutions, Cornelius Friesendorf and Christian Nünlist, had the opportunity to present before the FSC in Vienna.



At the Forum for Security Co-operation

Their contributions were part of a meeting dedicated to Confidence- and Security-Building Measures (CSBM) under the Slovenian Chairmanship of the FSC. Ambassador Andrej Benedejčič, Permanent Representative of Slovenia to the OSCE, underlined that, despite the challenges facing the CSBM and arms control instruments, he still believed that these instruments “play a central role in

maintaining peace and stability in the OSCE region.”



Christian Nünlist and Cornelius Friesendorf

Presenting before the delegations of OSCE participating States in the Hofburg, Friesendorf gave an overview of the historical evolution and structure of the OSCE Network and highlighted the five Network projects for which participating States contributed funding for the year 2018. Nünlist then described the project on “a new concept for conventional arms control” led by Wolfgang Zellner. This project examines four aspects that are crucial for modernizing the conventional arms control regime: replacing the concept of parity with the one of sufficiency; including new capabilities and new categories of equipment; clarifying the relationship between regional and sub-regional arms control; and coordinating crisis management and arms control tools.

Following these presentations and the presentations of other invited speakers, delegations of OSCE participating States engaged in a lively debate on arms control and broader security issues. The event underlined the importance of research, including through the OSCE Network, for providing new ideas to the OSCE and for stimulating a debate among participating States.

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Presenting research at ISA annual convention



On 4-7 April 2018, Elena Kropatcheva took part in the International Studies Association's (ISA) Annual Convention in San Francisco, where she presented her research essay „Neo-classical realism and the cases of USSR's Cuba and Russia's Crimea power expansion". This study aims to analyze Russia's "unexpected" attempts at power expansion (driving and enabling factors) through the lens of neoclassical realism, by testing its advantages and, in particular, the value added of its application to the Russian case, as well as possible shortcomings. The essay deals with two situations which can be understood as attempts at power expansion: the USSR's secret construction of missile sites in Cuba and Russia's annexation of Crimea. This essay was presented at the Panel "Foreign Policy in Times of Global Power Shifts: Insights from Neoclassical Realism", organized and chaired by Alexander Reichwein (Justus-Liebig-University Giessen), which was well attended.

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Eurasia Peace Studies Exchange

Second Co-ordination Meeting at IFSH

The Eurasia Peace Studies Exchange (EPSE) Network pursues the objective of bringing together and discussing cultural, normative and political differences and communalities in Europe and Eurasia (post-Soviet space and neighbouring countries) through academic dialogue and exchange in the area of peace research. The second EPSE Co-ordination Meeting took place on the 21/22 of March 2018 at IFSH. In an informal exchange of views on the perspectives of peace research in Europe and Eurasia, a roundtable, moderated by Anna Kreikemeyer, on the key issue of "Prospects for Peace in/with Ukraine and Russia" in which teams of the Faculties for

International Relations of the Odessa (Volodymyr Dubovyk, Deniz Kuzmin, Sergyi Glebov) and the Tbilisi State Universities (David Aprasidze, Giorgi Gvalia, Archil Abashidze), the Academy for Educational Sciences in Kiev (Iryna Hubeladze, Vadym Vasiutynsky), the Department for Social Anthropology of the American University of Central Asia in Bishkek (Cholpon Chotaeva, Aida Abdykanova), of the Centre for Peace Studies at the Arctic University Tromsø (Christine Smith-Simonsen, Elizabeth Sander-sen) and of IFSH (Regina Heller, Elena Kropatcheva, Hans-Georg Ehrhart) took part.



The EPSE Members at IFSH

The focus of the Ukrainian and Georgian participants was all too clearly on the conflict behaviour of Russia. By contrast, from the Kyrgyz perspective efforts for an arrangement with the more powerful hegemon in the North was a priority. All of the project members supported not breaking off the existing channels of communication with the Russian colleagues and developing new contacts. Admittedly, these threat perceptions, primarily directed at Russia, left little room for other issues, such as global climate change or worldwide migration. After the evaluation of the last intensive workshop in Tbilisi in October 2017, the group turned to the preparation of this year's workshops in Kiev and Odessa in June 2018. Thereby, it became clearer that, since the first co-ordination meeting in April 2017 in Tromsø a trusted platform has emerged among the core participants of the three year project, supported by the Norwegian Centre for International Co-operation in Education (SIU).

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Staff News



Cornelius Friesendorf started working as a senior researcher in the Centre for OSCE Research (CORE) at IFSH in March 2018. He is also Co-Coordinator of the OSCE Network of Think Tanks and Academic Institutions. Before moving to Hamburg, he was senior advisor for an EU police reform support project in Myanmar. Other previous positions include working as a research associate at Goethe University Frankfurt and the Peace Research Institute Frankfurt, fellow at the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, post-doctoral researcher at Ludwig-Maximilians-University Munich, and project officer at the Center for Security Studies, Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Zurich. Friesendorf received his habilitation from Goethe University Frankfurt in 2017 with a study on military interventions (*How Western Soldiers Fight: Organizational Routines in Multinational Missions*, Cambridge University Press, 2018). His doctoral thesis (University of Zurich) examines counter-narcotics strategies (*US Foreign Policy and the War on Drugs: Displacing the Cocaine and Heroin Industry*, Routledge, 2007). He also holds a Diploma in Political Science from the Free University Berlin and a Master of Science in European Studies from the London School of Economics and Political Science. Prior to that, he studied political science in Bristol and Göttingen. He was guest researcher or lecturer at Taras Shevchenko State University Kyiv, St. Petersburg State University, the Centre for Civil-Military Relations Belgrade, the Center for Security Studies Sarajevo, South East European University Tetovo, and the Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University. From 2018-2021, he will lead, together with Ursula Schröder, a project that examines multinational police missions, funded by the German Research Foundation.

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Publications

Frank Evers/Jeanette Klötzer/Arne C. Seifert/Esther Somfalvy, Civilian Prevention of Radicalization in Central Asia, CORE Working Paper, no. 30, Hamburg, 18 p,

https://ifsh.de/file-CORE/documents/Working_Papers/CORE_WP30_en.pdf.

In April 2018, CORE published a working paper on the “Civilian Prevention of Radicalization in Central Asia”. The paper deals with the role of Islam in Central Asia in state-building and the relationship between religious organizations and the state. They draw attention to the context in which radicalization in the region takes place and is addressed. National and international actors alike base their activities on an oversimplified understanding of the causal processes linking Islam’s renaissance in public life with the emergence of radical thought, extremism and terrorism and, consequently, address questions of prevention with security-political instruments. In order to prevent radicalization effectively, the authors conclude that it is necessary to adopt an all-encompassing approach that particularly strengthens civilian measures. The paper is the outcome of a project commissioned by the German Federal Foreign Office, which was implemented by CORE together with partners from Moscow, Almaty, Bishkek and Dushanbe.

Kaan Sahin, Status-Neutral Confidence-Building and Arms Control Measures: Options for Transnistria and Ukraine, CORE Working Paper 29, Hamburg, March 2018,

https://ifsh.de/file-CORE/documents/Working_Papers/CORE_WP29_en.pdf.

Status-related issues pose a challenge for the implementation of arms control and confidence- and security-building measures (CSBMs) in disputed areas. The status of *de facto* regimes – quasi-states which, however, are not recognized by the majority of the international state community – is a particular point of contention. This paper promotes a status-neutral approach to arms control in disputed territories that had been originally applied to the areas of the protracted conflicts in Georgia. It suggests that the status-neutral

approach can also be applied to other protracted conflicts in the European context, such as Eastern Ukraine or Moldova and Transdnestrria. Compared to the Georgian context, the political environment in these areas is even more fitting for such an approach. Nevertheless, here too, the crucial prerequisite for the implementation of status-neutral CSBMs is the political will of the parties.

Elena Kropatcheva, Power and national security, in: Andrei P. Tsygankov (ed.), Routledge Handbook of Russian Foreign Policy, London 2018, pp. 43-59.

Providing a comprehensive overview of Russia's foreign policy directions, this handbook brings together an international team of scholars to develop a complex treatment of Russia's foreign policy. Elena Kropatcheva's chapter deals with realist approaches. Despite theoretical challenges, competition and critique, realism has survived as one of the important approaches to Russian foreign policy. Especially in the last few years, realist interpretations have experienced a revival within Russian foreign policy studies. This chapter provides a review of how realism has been applied to the study of Soviet/Russian foreign policy. The first section discusses some of the major realist perspectives, which have been most frequently used by Russia scholars. The second section illustrates how these perspectives were applied in relation to specific questions often raised by Russia scholars. The last section summarizes the main conclusions of using realism, in general, in the area of Russian foreign policy studies, but also pays special attention to the advantages and caveats of using neoclassical realism (NCR), in particular, as the most useful and promising trend within realism. It concludes that the promises of NCR are strong enough for NCR analyses of Russian foreign policy to be pursued.

Khushbakht Hojiev/Anna Kreikemeyer, "Everyday Peace" in Jabbor Rasulov, Tajikistan. Local Social Order and Possibilities for a Local Turn in Peace Building, in:

Catherine Owen/Shairbek Juraev/David Lewis/Nick Megoran/John Heathershaw (eds.), Interrogating Illiberal Peace in Eurasia, London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2018, pp. 122-141.

This chapter tries to show that any local order has at its disposal inherent capacities to behave peacefully and to create conditions for peaceful coexistence. Based on field research in the Jabbor Rasulov district in northern Tajikistan (2012-2013), Hojiev/Kreikemeyer offer a perspective on the production and maintenance of 'everyday peace' - communal peace - in the rural Fergana Valley. The authors investigate conflict containment at the local level with an inductive approach and by applying framing theory. In the multi-ethnic setting of northern Tajikistan, inter-ethnic co-operation and 'everyday peace' is maintained through discursive practices of meaning, production and narrative enactment. In relating these findings to the analytical framework of the social order and to the concept of a critical localism, the authors propose that the local social order has to be taken more seriously in order to reach a true localization of external agency in regions such as the Fergana Valley.

Recent OSCE-relevant literature

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Krumm, Reinhard, Multipolar or Multilateral? A Choice of Models for the Security Order 2.0: Congress of Vienna, Yalta, Helsinki, Vienna 2018.
<<http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/wien/14193.pdf>>.

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<https://www.swp-berlin.org/fileadmin/contents/products/aktuell/2018A05_rrw.pdf>.

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<<https://www.shrmonitor.org/the-osce-in-2030-lets-first-survive-the-new-cold-war/>>.

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<<https://doi.org/10.1080/1060586X.2018.1425083>>.

Watanabe, Lisa/Christian Nünlist, The OSCE and Mediterranean Security, in: Security and Human Rights Monitor, 11 January 2018.
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