CORE Annual Report 2015

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Foreword

Politically, it has become increasingly clear during 2015 how serious the disputes and conflicts between Russia and the Western countries are. Operationally, CORE’s working year 2015 was dominated by the preparations for the 2016 German OSCE Chairmanship and ongoing efforts to strengthen the OSCE Network of Think Tanks and Academic Institutions. Research on Central Asia represented another – permanent – focal point.

To start with the bad news: Two well-prepared project proposals on Central Asia that involved considerable investment – one on local peace in the Fergana Valley, the other on legitimacy production in Central Asia – were shortlisted, but ultimately not approved. However, as can be seen from this report, Central Asia researchers at CORE have not given up, but have prepared a number of (new) projects for 2016, among others, one on peace research in Europe and Eurasia and another on Tajikistan’s and Uzbekistan’s security policies towards Central Asia. Research on Central Asia remains a key focus of CORE.

During the year, CORE contributed in several respects to the preparations by the German Federal Foreign Office for the 2016 OSCE Chairmanship. CORE staff wrote two studies related to the Chairmanship, participated in several preparatory meetings and organized a two-part Chairmanship training for about 40 staff members of the OSCE Task Force in Berlin and the Permanent Representation in Vienna. Also the large Track I/Track II workshop on conventional arms control in April, which gathered about 80 participants from two dozen countries, can be seen as preparing the Chairmanship.

CORE continued to co-ordinate the OSCE Network. In 2015, one project was implemented, the study on “Reviving Co-operative Security in Europe through the OSCE”, a contribution of the Network to the “Panel of Eminent Persons on European Security as a Common Project”, initiated by the 2015 OSCE Troika – Serbia, Switzerland and Germany. Wolfgang Zellner, Head of CORE, was responsible for research by the Panel’s support staff. The OSCE Network is also getting ready for the next year. Projects are being prepared and, thanks to the generous support by the German Federal Foreign Office and the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg, the Network will be able to gather in this city for its second general meeting on 24 February 2016.

A good part of what was done in 2015 would not have been possible without the generous support of the German Federal Foreign Office. CORE has profited greatly from this extremely productive relationship. We are very grateful for the financial assistance CORE has received, as well as for the fruitful exchanges we have had with the Foreign Office staff, especially with the OSCE Task Force and with the Permanent Mission of the Federal Republic of Germany to the OSCE. CORE is also grateful to all of the other institutions that have supported and co-operated with us, particularly the Foreign Ministries of Finland, Serbia, Switzerland and Ireland, and the German Academic Exchange Service. We look forward to another productive year in 2016 – a year devoted to co-operation with the 2016 German Chairmanship.

Wolfgang Zellner
1. CORE Profile

The Centre for OSCE Research (CORE), which is part of the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg (IFSH), is the only institution specifically dedicated to research on the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE). It was founded in January 2000 in the presence of German Federal President Johannes Rau and OSCE Secretary General Jan Kubis. CORE is headed by Dr Wolfgang Zellner.

The IFSH, established in 1971 as a civil-law foundation, analyzes threats to peace and international security, following a policy-oriented approach. Currently, the IFSH has about 50 employees. Its Director is Prof. Michael Brzoska.

The IFSH’s research agenda ranges across questions of European security, arms control, transition processes in Central and Eastern Europe, the Caucasus and Central Asia, the EU’s Common Foreign and Security Policy, transnational risks and threats as well as aspects of global governance. From its inception, the IFSH has made regular contributions to research on the CSCE/OSCE process. This, in turn, paved the way for the creation of CORE.

CORE operates as a politically independent think tank, combining basic research on the evolution of the OSCE with demand-driven capacity-building projects and teaching. Addressing political actors, the academic community and the interested general public in Germany and abroad, CORE strives to contribute to the OSCE’s development with analysis and critique that provide insight into the problems faced by and the opportunities open to the Organization. In support of the OSCE’s goals of co-operative security, effective conflict prevention and settlement, democracy and good governance, CORE seeks to contribute to a realistic assessment of the capacities and limitations of the Organization. CORE focuses on the following:

– OSCE activities related to crisis prevention, conflict resolution, and peace building.
– OSCE contributions to a co-operative security regime in Europe with the ultimate goal of a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian Security Community through, among other strategies, arms control and security dialogue.
– OSCE approaches to addressing transnational risks and threats.
– OSCE efforts to build peace and stability through democratization and good governance.
– The OSCE’s institutional evolution and effectiveness.

In line with the OSCE’s own priorities, much of CORE’s work is concerned with the transition processes and security issues in Eastern Europe, the Caucasus and Central Asia. CORE was among the founders of the OSCE Network of Think Tanks and Academic Institutions in 2013 and has taken on a co-ordinating role in it.

CORE strives to maintain an international outlook. Several CORE staff members are not only qualified academics, but have also acquired practical experience in OSCE field missions and/or field research. In addition, CORE projects frequently involve collaboration with local scholars in the countries and regions being studied. Regular contact with OSCE institutions and field operations keeps CORE’s research programme oriented towards politically relevant questions.
2. Research Projects

2.1. Completed Research Projects

CORE’s research activities in 2015 included one PhD project that was completed – a study on the decay of co-operative arms control in Europe in the period from 1973 to 2014.

a) Cooperative Arms Control in Europe (1973-2014): A Case of regime Decay?

This thesis analyzes the decay of co-operative arms control in Europe – that is, the forms of the institutions and the reasons for decay. It applies a multi-theory approach to assess the foreign and security policies of the United States and the Soviet Union/Russia directed at co-operative arms control in Europe and the related institutions between 1973 and 2014.

Analysis of the thesis shows that the institutional form is that of a dense regime complex, consisting of five elemental regimes. Since almost all regimes are affected by indicators of decay, the regime complex itself is in decay. The reasons behind the decay are multi-dimensional and relate to the times when the regime complex acquired its full shape parallel to the first round of NATO enlargement. The current lack of functioning European security institutions makes reviving the complex an urgent, but hard-to-accomplish task.

The thesis was funded by the Evangelisches Studienwerk Villigst e. V. and was graded “summa cum laude” by supervisors Prof. Dr. Michael Brzoska, Prof. Dr. Götz Neuneck and Prof. Dr. Catherine Kelleher.

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2.2. Current Research Projects

Ongoing research at CORE focuses on a broad variety of topics. Subjects of research include Russia’s engagement within multilateral governmental security frameworks, peace-building in the Kyrgyz Fergana Valley, peace research in Europe and Eurasia (in co-operation with the Centre for Peace Studies at the University of Tromsø), issues of coexistence of secular values and Islamic traditions in Tajikistan, and the security policies of Tajikistan and Uzbekistan towards Afghanistan.

a) Multilateralism Russian Style – Why and How Russia Engages with Multilateral Governmental Frameworks in the Area of European and Eurasian Security

The question which lies at the centre of this project is what Russia is doing in security-related, multilateral, international governmental organizations (IGOs) (CSCE/OSCE, CSTO, NRC, SCO and UNSC). While the relationship between the US and multilateral institutions has been thoroughly examined, comprehensive theory-based studies have been conducted in recent years on the EU’s participation in multilateral institutions, and even China’s engagement with multilateral IGOs has been researched, there is considerably less known about Russia’s “multilateralism.”
This project is built upon the knowledge of state-IGO relations, “multilateralism” and Russian foreign policy studies. It will analyze why Russia chooses certain IGOs to engage with, how it engages with them and what goals it wants to achieve through this engagement. Neoclassical realism will be used to explain variations in Russian foreign policy. The project is conditioned upon funding. Application for funding will be submitted to the German Research Foundation (DFG) in 2016.

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Publications:

Kropatcheva, Elena, He who has the pipeline calls the tune? Russia’s energy power against the background of the shale “revolutions”, Energy policy 66 (March), pp. 1-10.

Kropatcheva, Elena, Ukraine’s EU Integration during the Presidency of Viktor Yanukovych, CEURUS EU-Russia Papers 16, Tartu.


b) Peacebuilding by Local Non-State Institutions in the Kyrgyz Fergana Valley

Peacebuilding by external actors in the Kyrgyz Fergana Valley is increasingly criticized, both by Central Asia experts and officials of donor organizations, for the inadequacy of universalistic liberal concepts and self-referential procedures detached from the realities on the ground. Against the background of a crisis of external peace-building, critical localism raises hopes of bridging the often deplored gap between external concepts and local social orders in non-Western societies. It has developed an analytical framework to conceptualize peaceful agency at the local level of post-conflict societies.

This project is interested in prospects for local peacebuilding in the Kyrgyz and Tajik Fergana Valley. It aims at better understanding the local social order and the local population and applying the indicators of critical localism in the search for actors and instruments of local peace. The main questions are: How do local actors and institutions contribute to peace at the local level? Which social practices have proven to be legitimate, effective and sustainable in the eyes of the local population? Ultimately, the answers to these questions are related to multiple disturbances from outside the local level. Based on a fact-finding mission to Bishkek and the Kyrgyz Fergana Valley and the fieldwork of the co-operation partner, Khushbakt Hojiev at the Centre for Developmental Studies (ZEF) at the University of Bonn, two articles were written in 2015 that are currently under review.

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Publications:


Between (post-)liberal, local and illiberal peace. Coping with everyday hybridity, in: Birgit Bräuchler / Philipp Naucke (eds.), 'Diverging Conceptualizations of the Local in Peacebuilding,' Special issue (article accepted by editors, application phase for special issue, review after acceptance)

c) Norwegian-German Research Collaboration on Central Asian and Russian Peace-Building Issues

From 1-8 June 2015, Anna Kreikemeyer, Christiane Fröhlich (IFSH) and Sebastian Schiek (CORE) visited the Centre for Peace Studies (CPS) at the University of Tromsø 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. As a countermove, a CPS delegation (Percy Oware, Elisabeth Sandersen, Benjamin Schaller, Christine Smith-Simonsen, Nils Vidar Vambheim, and Christine Webb) visited IFSH from 14-18 September 2015. The main purpose of the two visits was the joint development of the project proposal “Eurasia Peace Studies Exchange”, which was submitted to the Eurasia Program of the Norwegian Centre for International Cooperation in Education (SIU). Should it be approved, the two institutes will cooperate from 2016 to 2019 with partners in the field of peace studies from Georgia, Kyrgyzstan and Ukraine, as well as with universities from other post-Soviet states. Beyond this common endeavour, Anna Kreikemeyer’s co-operation partner, Khushbakht Hojiev, 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 co-operation partner.

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d) Peace Research in Europe and Eurasia: between Liberal Universalism, Social Order and Hegemonic Influence

The planned project aims at a new approach to co-operative peace research with scholars from the post-Soviet space. The concept comprises five components: 1) A preparatory workshop with academic teachers from the participant states (Armenia, Georgia, Germany, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan) at Erevan State University will jointly develop a new approach with a module “Peace research in Europe and Eurasia”. 2) This module will be tested by these academic teachers at a summer school at Osh State University in Kyrgyzstan with 15 PhD students from the participant states. 3) After a successful test phase, the module will be made available online for further use in Master’s programs for peace and conflict studies in Europe and Eurasia. 4) Four researchers from the participant states will receive fellowships for a joint three month research stay at IFSH. The aim is to reconsider undesirable developments in the previous and existing European peace research on the Eurasian space and work out new dialogue formats for concrete conflict areas. 5) The participants in the project shall closely communicate with the "Eurasia Peace Studies Exchange", planned by IFSH and the Centre for Peace Studies at the University of Tromsø (see above). The project was approved by the DAAD in November 2015.

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e) Reconstructing Political Legitimacy in Central Asia (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan)

While ‘Western’ theories and concepts capture crucial aspects of legitimacy in non-Western societies, they usually do not reveal local meanings of power, subjacent beliefs and, thus, the foundations of legitimacy. However, these foundations are crucial for a proper understanding of legitimacy. This is why we still lack empirical evidence on how legitimacy is constituted and carried out in non-Western societies, including Central Asia. As a result, we have difficulty understanding authoritarian stability in the region and, thus, the trajectories of change or the lack thereof. Four of the five states in Central Asia are governed by stable, fully authoritarian regimes. We argue that neither “repression and money” nor pre-defined Western accounts of legitimacy are enough to understand stability and instability in the region.

Therefore, the research question of this project is: “How is political legitimacy constituted in Central Asia?” The project focuses on three countries: Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. Using text analysis and ethnographic methods, it aims to reveal the “culturally rooted templates against which people come to understand the political legitimacy of institutions, ideas, policies, and procedures” (Schatzberg). Project partners are Dr Aigerim Shilibekova (Eurasian National University), Dr Chinara Esengul (Kyrgyz National University) and Dr Kholahmad Samiev (Tajik National University).

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Publication:
Central Asian Autocracies: Political Legitimacy and Political Scandals in the Social Media Age, paper presented at the 9th Pan-European Conference of the European Association for International Studies, Giardini-Naxos, Italy, 22-26 September 2015.

f) Coexistence between Secular State and Islamic Actors in Tajikistan: Barriers to the Secular-Islamic Dialogue (1997-2014)

Since October 2012, Nodira Aminova from Tajikistan, has been working on a PhD thesis, funded by the DAAD. It aims at an in-depth analysis of the dialogue between the secular state and the moderate Islamist actors in Tajikistan since the end of the Tajik Civil War. The main question is: “What constitutes barriers to the secular-Islamic dialogue in Tajikistan?” Methodologically, the study approaches the research question with the help of a congruence method. This method enables one to look at the barriers to the secular-Islamic dialogue from five different conceptual points of view: clash of civilizations, neopatrimonialism, authoritarianism, conflict transformation and state-society approach. These conceptual frameworks are applied to the case study independently from each other. This allows for an explanation of the barriers to the secular-Islamic dialogue from different perspectives. The aim of this method is to enrich the range of explanations for the failure of the dialogue since the end of the civil war. The thesis can profit from CORE’s ten years of experience in mediating and studying this dialogue in Tajikistan, in particular, and in Central Asia, in general.

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g) Foreign and Security Policy of Tajikistan and Uzbekistan towards Afghanistan: Common Structures, Varying Outcomes

In October 2013, Azamjon Isabaev from Tashkent, Uzbekistan, started working on a PhD thesis funded by the DAAD. His research investigates the policies of Central Asian states toward Afghanistan. In particular, the thesis deals with the two cases of Tajikistan and Uzbekistan and builds on the question of why these states, despite many commonalities, conduct different strategies vis-à-vis Afghanistan. Methodologically, the topic corresponds with “most similar system design” and aims to discover one (or more) particular variable(s) that bring about the variation in outcomes. In so doing, the research applies a mixed rationalist-constructivist approach: apart from material factors, ideational factors, such as perceptions, will also be studied. The theoretical framework of the research consists of neoclassical realism and regional security complex theory, which provide unit- and system (regional)-level analysis respectively.

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3. Consultancy Projects

3.1. Completed Consultancy Projects

CORE’s consultancy activities in 2015 were largely connected with the preparations for the German OSCE Chairmanship in 2016. These included the elaboration of two policy papers for the German Federal Foreign Office – one on “Experiences of the Swiss OSCE Chairmanship 2014. Recommendations for Defining Objectives, Conducting the Operational Business and Managing Crises” and one on “Co-operative Policy with Russia in the OSCE. Approaches and Suggestions Outlined in Russian Periodicals from the Years 2010 to 2015”. Moreover, CORE took part in various brainstorming meetings of the German OSCE Task Force and organized two Chairmanship-related training courses in Berlin and Vienna for officials of the German Federal Foreign Office.

A significant workload was related to CORE’s keeping the function as the coordinating institution of the OSCE Network of Think Tanks and Academic Institutions that currently has 48 member institutes from 35 OSCE states. CORE initiated projects and lobbied for them, ran the network’s communications with partners among the OSCE delegations in Vienna and managed the network’s fundraising efforts. On the project level, CORE took part in the elaboration of the network study on “Reviving Co-operative Security in Europe through the OSCE”, giving input to the dialogue of the OSCE “Panel of Eminent Persons on European Security as a Common Project”.

Finally, CORE conducted four international workshops and summer schools (cf. 6.2).
a) Policy Analysis “Experiences of the Swiss OSCE Chairmanship 2014. Recommendations for Defining Objectives, Conducting the Operational Business and Managing Crises”

Commissioned by the German Federal Foreign Office, CORE elaborated an internal study on managerial and operational experiences of the Swiss OSCE Chairmanship 2014. The aim of this paper was to give input to the preparations for the German OSCE Chairmanship in 2016. It continues a 2013 CORE study on “Experiences of Successful OSCE Chairmanships: Objectives, Political Options, Management”. For the paper’s elaboration, CORE conducted about a dozen and a half interviews with officials from Swiss governmental offices in Vienna and Bern in February 2015.

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b) Policy Analysis “Co-operative Policy with Russia in the OSCE. Approaches and Suggestions Outlined in Russian Periodicals from the Years 2010 to 2015”

Commissioned by the German Federal Foreign Office, CORE elaborated a study of the views of Russian experts on Russia’s role in European security arrangements and its involvement in the OSCE. The basis of the study is an analysis of official Russian foreign policy periodicals and scientific journals considered to be “close to the government” from the years 2010 to 2015, among them, “International Affairs. A Russian Journal of World Politics, Diplomacy and International Relations”, “Security Index. A Russian Journal of International Security”, “World Economy and International Relations”, “Russia in Global Affairs” and publications of the Russian International Affairs Council (RIAC).

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c) Consultancy project “Supporting Preparations for Germany’s OSCE Chairmanship in 2016”

In its capacity as a consultancy organization, CORE was intensely involved in the preparations for Germany’s OSCE Chairmanship in 2016. Throughout the year 2015, CORE took part in various internal consultations, expert meetings and other brainstorming formats with the German OSCE Task Force. Commissioned by the German Federal Foreign Office, CORE delivered written and oral contributions to the preparations on conceptual matters and a broad range of subjects related to all three OSCE dimensions.

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d) OSCE-Related Training Courses for Officials of the German Federal Foreign Office, Berlin and Vienna, September 2015

In preparation for Germany’s OSCE Chairmanship in 2016, CORE conducted a two-part series of training courses for about 40 officials from the German Federal Foreign Office. The courses took place at the Berlin City Hall on 3 and 4 September 2015 and at the Vienna Hofburg on 7 and 8 September 2015. The idea of conducting these courses goes back to experiences gathered since the provision of the first training course of this kind conducted by CORE for Kazakh diplomats in 2007. Since then, CORE has trained the teams of the Kazakhstan, Lithuanian, Irish, Ukrainian, Swiss
and Serbian OSCE Chairmanships, as well as the team of Mongolia’s Chairmanship in the OSCE Forum for Security Co-operation in 2015. In implementing the courses, CORE was, as always, supported by a number of partner institutions – the OSCE Conflict Prevention Centre, the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights and the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, the Berlin Senate Chancellery and the OSCE Conference Services.

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e) Contribution to the OSCE Network Study “Reviving Co-operative Security in Europe through the OSCE”

CORE took part in the third project of the OSCE Network of Think Tanks and Academic Institutions – the elaboration of a study on “Reviving Co-operative Security in Europe through the OSCE”. As the current co-ordinating institution of the OSCE Network, CORE had lobbied for the project and given attention to the project’s key settings (initial design, funding, management). The project was implemented by a group of twenty-one contributors, including CORE representatives. It was co-ordinated and the summary report was written by Teija Tiilikainen, the Director of the Finnish Institute of International Affairs (FIIA). As suggested by the Panel of Eminent Persons, it was the project’s task to analyze pre-formulated questions dealing with the functions and future of the OSCE. The summary report was presented and handed over to the Panel of Eminent Persons at the Belgrade Security Forum in October 2015.

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3.2. Current Consultancy Projects

CORE’s ongoing consultancy efforts include the co-ordination of the activities, communications and fund-raising efforts of the OSCE Network of Think Tanks and Academic Institutions and the maintenance of the OSCE Network website, of the OSCE depository library and the CORE website.

a) OSCE Network of Think Tanks and Academic Institutions

The network was launched by a group of 16 institutes in Vienna on 18 June 2013 within the framework of the OSCE Security Days in the presence of Secretary General, Ambassador Lamberto Zannier. The OSCE Network is an autonomous OSCE-related Track II initiative. It is neither an OSCE structure nor is it subordinated to the OSCE or its participating States. It now has more 48 member institutions from 35 states. Members of the Network’s Steering Committee are Sonja Stojanovic (Belgrade Centre for Security Policy), Ambassador Jim Collins (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace), Andrei Zagorski (Institute for World Economy and International Relations, Russian Academy of Sciences (IMEMO)), and Wolfgang Zellner (CORE), with the latter being the Network Co-ordinator. He is supported by Naida Mehmedbegović Dreilich.
In 2015, the Network implemented its third project “Reviving Co-operative Security in Europe through the OSCE” led by Dr Teija Tiilikainen, the Director of the Finnish Institute for International Affairs as an input to the discussions of the Panel of Eminent Persons on European Security as a Common Project (see above).

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b) OSCE Depository Library and CORE Website

With the establishment of CORE, an OSCE Depository Library was set up within the IFSH Library with the support of the German Federal Foreign Office. Its current inventory includes CSCE/OSCE documents, both grey and published literature on the OSCE itself, and books with a focus on nation building, nationalism and majority-minority relationships in the OSCE countries. References to literature can be searched in the online catalogue of the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg (Campus Katalog): https://kataloge.uni-hamburg.de and http://ifsh.de/en/core/services-ressources/depository-library/. The library and the documentation centre of IFSH/CORE compile three different bibliographies on OSCE-relevant publications:

- The bibliography of the OSCE Yearbook, which covers documents from the OSCE itself as well as articles and books on the OSCE.
- A quarterly bibliography with the latest OSCE-related publications: www.ifsh.de/en/core/services-ressources/ausgewaehlte-bibliographie.
- A comprehensive bibliography with references to CSCE and OSCE documents and relevant articles and books, established in 1995 and regularly updated since then: www.ifsh.de/en/core/services-ressources/bibliographie-zur-kszeosze.

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The CORE website (www.ifsh.de/en/core/profile) provides constantly updated information on the structure of CORE, its projects, staff, activities, and events. Not only can CORE Working Papers, CORE News (cf. 4.2), and OSCE bibliographies be downloaded, but the individual articles of all the OSCE Yearbooks from 1995 to 2013, of which there are more than 400, are also available to read online or be downloaded in full. A keyword search function is available to help readers find relevant articles. (www.ifsh.de/en/core/publications/osce-yearbook)

A special page of our website summarizes the extensive results of CORE’s research on Central Asia (publications, seminars, and research projects) during the last 15 years. (www.ifsh.de/en/core/central-asia).

Direct access to the WAO (World Affairs Online) database, which contains more than 4,000 references to OSCE/CSCE-related articles books (many of them with links to the full online text), assists readers in finding OSCE/CSCE-specific information. The website also contains information on vacancies and internships at CORE.

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4. Publications

CORE publications include the production of the OSCE Yearbook, of OSCE Working Papers and CORE News.

4.1. OSCE Yearbook

Now in its 21st edition, the OSCE Yearbook brings together a unique range of perspectives on Europe’s largest security organization. In another year of intense activity for the OSCE, contributions by leading academics and practitioners document key developments and ongoing situations in the Organization and its 57 participating States. 2015 also marks the 40th anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki Final Act, which created the precursor to the OSCE, the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. Yet current events demand that our attention be focused on the present. Hence, the special focus section in the OSCE Yearbook 2015 is dedicated to reflection on the state of European security 40 years after Helsinki.

The IFSH has published the OSCE Yearbook in English, German, and Russian since 1995. The international co-editors of this flagship CORE publication are Dr Pál Dunay (George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies, Garmisch-Partenkirchen), Prof. Adam Daniel Rotfeld (Member of the Executive Board of the European Leadership Network, Warsaw), Dr Andrei Zagorski (Moscow State Institute of International Relations/MGIMO), and Prof. P. Terrence Hopmann (Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, Washington, DC). The editorial staff members are based at the IFSH in Hamburg. Ursel Schlichting, editor-in-chief, is assisted in the tasks of editing and translating by Susanne Bund, Graeme Currie, Elena Kropatcheva, and Michael Weh. In 2015, additional translating and editing work was carried out by Roman Dobrokhotov, Anastasia Raevskaya, and Sergei Rastoltev.

The German and English editions are published by Nomos in Baden-Baden, while the Russian edition is printed by Izdatelstvo “Prava Cheloveka” in Moscow. The German Federal Foreign Office funds the printing of the Yearbook and some of the staff costs associated with its production. Additional funds are earmarked for the distribution of free copies to members of parliaments, foreign ministries, and OSCE institutions, including the Secretariat, and to universities, libraries, and other interested institutions. The OSCE Yearbook is used for teaching purposes at universities in CIS countries, at the OSCE Academy in Bishkek, at the MGIMO, and elsewhere. The 2015 OSCE Yearbook is currently in preparation and will be published in winter 2015/16, with the German edition following in autumn 2016. The Russian edition of the OSCE Yearbook 2014 will also be published in winter 2015/16. The entire texts of all previous editions of the OSCE Yearbook in English and German up to 2013 are available to read or download at the CORE www.ifsh.de/en/core/publications/OSCE-yearbook.

The 2015 edition of the OSCE Yearbook contains a foreword by the OSCE Secretary General Lamberto Zannier, who reflects on the Organization’s 40-year history and the need to uphold the “spirit of Helsinki”. An extended special focus section is dedicated to the OSCE and European Security 40 years after Helsinki. The German
Minister for Foreign Affairs, Frank-Walter Steinmeier, who will chair the Organization in 2016, reflects on its legacy and contemporary relevance. Reinhard Mutz returns to the original CSCE process, and subjects it to critical scrutiny. Several authors also directly address Russian-Western relations in view of the Ukraine crisis: Matt Rojansky considers whether we are in a new Cold War; Mikhail Troitsky considers commonalities and differences in Russian and Western interests; and David J. Galbreath looks at possibilities for reinvigorating European security cooperation.

The specific participating States in direct focus in 2015 are France (with a contribution by Maxime Lefebvre), Albania (Jenny Nordman), and Georgia (David Aprasidze). Gaffor Mirzoyev analyses religion and culture in Tajik national consciousness, while Thomas Kunze and Michail Logwinow consider what effects ISAF’s withdrawal from Afghanistan may have on Central Asia, Arne C. Seifert considers how best to combat the spread of “Islamic State” into Central Asia, and Daniela Pisoiu and Reem Ahmed look at the recent growth of support for right-wing populist movements in Western Europe.

Once again in 2015, several contributions in the section on conflict prevention and dispute settlement dwell on the ongoing Ukraine crisis. Ambassador Heidi Tagliavini, the OSCE’s representative on the Trilateral Contact Group on Ukraine until June 2015, gives a detailed inside view of the OSCE-led mediation process in the conflict, Claus Neukirch provides a parallel insight into the continuing work of the Special Monitoring Mission, Jean P. Froehly sketches the work undertaken by the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) in connection with the Ukraine crisis, while P. Terrence Hopmann compares the responses to the Ukraine crises of 1992-96 and 2014-15. Also in this section, Jennifer Croft updates us on the status of non-citizens in the Baltic States and there are contributions on the activities of the OSCE’s field presences in Uzbekistan, and Moldova.

The chapter on the OSCE’s three dimensions of security and cross-dimensional challenges features a discussion by Prof. Reinhold Mokrosch on religious tolerance and satire, a plea for the need for balance between state security and human security in handling the Mediterranean refugee crisis by Omar Grech and Monika Wohlle and an analysis of the OSCE’s role in the implementation of the Arms Trade Treaty by Paul Holtom. Rory McCorley considers what lessons can be learned from the experience of the Border Monitoring Operation in Georgia. Finally, Natascha Cerny and Laurent Goetschel look at the OSCE’s history of involvement with civil society.

As always, the OSCE Yearbook includes extensive annexes comprising facts and figures on all 57 participating States, a list of recent conferences, meetings, and events, and a selected bibliography of current literature. The OSCE Yearbook is intended for politicians, policy- and decision-makers at all levels, OSCE staff, particularly in the OSCE missions, students and researchers, journalists, and the general public. The publisher’s goal is to contribute to the political and academic discussion of European security in national, regional, and international contexts and to create links among academic circles, political practice, and the public. Although the Yearbook is not an official OSCE publication, it is strongly supported by the Organization, and particularly by the Secretariat in Vienna.

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4.2. Other Publications

CORE Working Papers and CORE News

CORE Working Papers comprise CORE research reports, policy papers and other texts. They are available in both printed and digital form (on the internet at: www.ifsh.de/en/core/publications/working-papers). Subscriptions to the e-mail version are available free of charge. In 2015, two working papers were published:


The electronic newsletter CORE News provides information on current CORE activities and events. It can be downloaded from the CORE website, at: www.ifsh.de/en/core/publications/core-news. Subscriptions, which are free of charge, may be taken out by sending an e-mail to core@ifsh.de.

5. Teaching

CORE teaching activities in 2015 embraced its staff members’ contributions to the postgraduate Master’s programme on “Peace and Security Studies (M.A.)” and the work of PhD students on their dissertations.

5.1. Peace and Security Studies (M.A.)

Within the framework of the co-operation network, “Peace Research and Security Policy”, and under the supervision of the IFSH, a postgraduate Master’s programme on “Peace and Security Studies (M.A.)” was initiated at the University of Hamburg in 2002. This programme is both practical and interdisciplinary. It combines structured teaching with a learning-by-doing approach to help students acquire the skills needed to work in relevant fields. The course teaches the methods and findings of peace studies and prepares participants for careers in research or international organizations.

Members of the co-operation network are research and academic institutions: the Faculties of Law, of Business, Economics and Social Sciences, and of Humanities at the University of Hamburg, the Institute for International Law of Peace and Armed Conflict (IFHV) of the Ruhr University Bochum, the Bonn International Center for Conversion (BICC), the Berghof Foundation, the Institute for Theology and Peace, Hamburg (IThF), the Bundeswehr Command and Staff College, Hamburg, the Protestant Institute for Interdisciplinary Research (FEST), the Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker Centre for Science and Peace Research (ZNF), the German Institute of Global and Area Studies (GIGA), the Institute for Development and Peace (INEF) of the University of Duisburg-Essen, the European Centre for Minority Issues (ECMI), the Center for International Peace Operations (ZIF), the Institute for International Policy of the Helmut Schmidt University of the Federal Armed Forces, Hamburg (HSU), the General Staff Academy of the German Armed Forces, Hamburg, the
Federal Academy for Security Policy, Berlin (BAKS), the MPS Alumni Association and the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg (IFSH) with the Centre for European Peace and Security Studies (ZEUS), the Interdisciplinary Research Group on Disarmament, Arms Control and Risk Technologies (IFAR²) and CORE.

The programme is implemented in close co-operation with the institutions mentioned above. During the second semester, the students are divided among these institutes, where they participate in research and write their Master’s theses. The 2015/2016 course has 24 participants from ten countries. Upon completion of the programme, the M.A. diploma is certified by the University of Hamburg.

CORE staff members are currently contributing to the 2015/2016 teaching programme: Anna Kreikemeyer offers a course in academic writing, Naida Mehmedbegović Deilich on “Intercultural Communication and Co-operation”, Sebastian Schiek a seminar on “Politics and Political Protest in Eastern Europe, the Caucasus and Central Asia”, and Wolfgang Zellner a seminar on “European Security Policy: OSCE.”

5.2. PhD Dissertations

In 2015, four PhD students worked on their dissertations at or in co-operation with CORE. One of them finished his dissertation. CORE will continue to support the applications of individual PhD students to various sponsoring bodies.

6. Inter-Institutional Co-operation and Conferences

6.1. Co-operation and Guests

On 10 February 2015, Dr Giulia Piccolino, Alexander von Humboldt postdoctoral Research Fellow at the Institute of African Affairs, German Institute of Global and Area Studies (GIGA) visited Anna Kreikemeyer to prepare a joint panel on “Autonomous and illiberal peace-building in comparative perspective”.

On 23-24 February 2015, Frank Evers and Wolfgang Zellner visited Vienna, where they met with OSCE officials and representatives of delegations to the OSCE to discuss OSCE matters. With representatives of the Permanent Mission of Switzerland to the OSCE, they discussed experiences during the Swiss OSCE Chairmanship.

On 25-26 February 2015, Frank Evers and Wolfgang Zellner visited Bern, where they met with officials of the office of the President of the Swiss Confederation and the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs (FDFA) to discuss experiences during the Swiss OSCE Chairmanship.

On 18 March 2015, cand. phil. Khushbakt Hojiev, Junior Researcher at the Centre for Development Studies (ZEF), University of Bonn, visited Anna Kreikemeyer to discuss a joint article.
On 24 March 2015, Dr Tamirace Fakhoury, Assistant Professor at the Lebanese-American University Beirut and Visiting Fellow at the Institute of Middle East Studies at the German Institute for Global and Area Studies (GIGA), visited Anna Kreikemeyer to discuss perspectives for co-operation.

On 25-26 March 2015, Wolfgang Zellner and Frank Evers visited Vienna, where they met with OSCE officials and heads and representatives of delegations to the OSCE to discuss OSCE matters.

On 7-8 May 2015, Wolfgang Zellner and Frank Evers visited Vienna, where they met again with OSCE officials and heads of delegations to the OSCE to discuss OSCE matters.

On 12 May 2015, Frank Evers took part in a brainstorming meeting, conducted by the German Federal Foreign Office in Berlin, on how to strengthen the second dimension of the OSCE.

On 1 June 2015, Wolfgang Zellner and Frank Evers took part in a brainstorming meeting conducted by the German Federal Foreign Office in Berlin on matters related to the German OSCE Chairmanship in 2016.


On 19 June 2015, Thomas Ruttig, Afghan Analyst Network, visited Anna Kreikemeyer, Sebastian Schiek and colleagues from IFSH to discuss the current state of security in Afghanistan.

On 1 July 2015, Wolfgang Zellner took part in a meeting with OSCE General Secretary Lamberto Zannier hosted by the German Federal Foreign Office.

On 9 September 2015, Dr Annette Ranko, researcher at the Institute of Middle East Studies at the German Institute for Global and Area Studies (GIGA) visited Anna Kreikemeyer to prepare the 3rd GIGA-IFSH roundtable.

On 22 September 2015, Frank Evers took part in a brainstorming meeting conducted by the German Federal Foreign Office in Berlin on the prospects of energy security co-operation in the OSCE.

On 2 November 2015, Frank Evers took part in an exchange of views on aspects of the German OSCE Chairmanship in 2016 that was jointly conducted by the German Federal Foreign Office and the Center for International Peace Operations (ZIF) in Berlin. Participants included about sixty NGO representatives and academicians.

Between November 2015 and January 2016, three researchers from Kazakhstan, Tajikistan and Georgia visited CORE for a research stay, financed by the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD). Aigerim Shilibekova, Director of the Center for Regional and International Studies at the Eurasian National University in Astana, Kazakhstan, visited the IFSH on 14 – 26 December. Jafar Usmanov, PhD candidate at the Tajik National University in Dushanbe, Tajikistan, will visit CORE from 20 December 2015 – 3 January 2016. Ekaterine Danelia, PhD candidate at the Ilia State University visited CORE from 28 November – 26 December. The researchers are working on issues of political legitimacy in Central Asia and the Caucasus together with CORE staff members, Anna Kreikemeyer and Sebastian Schiek.
6.2. Conferences Organized by CORE

During 2015, CORE staff members organized four workshops and summer schools.


The German Federal Foreign Office, together with CORE, hosted an international workshop 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 following an earlier brainstorming event conducted by the Foreign Office and CORE in July 2013. The aim of the workshop was to give further momentum to discussions on the relevance of conventional arms control and confidence- and security-building measures (CSBMs) in general and their suitability for conflict resolution in particular. The workshop was intended to give input into 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 from international and national organizations, among them Gernot Erler, Special Representative of the Federal Government for the OSCE Chairmanship in 2016, and Patricia Flor, Federal Government Commissioner for Disarmament and Arms Control.

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Researchers from CORE, the Japanese Ritsumeikan University and the Kyoto Gakuen University conducted a joint workshop to discuss implications of the Ukrainian crisis in twofold respects – with a view to the OSCE and security developments in Europe, as well as the OSCE’s role in security in Asia. Another subject of the discussions involved questions of Germany’s relationship with Russia and Germany’s responsibility and role in managing international conflicts. IFSH representatives, in response, shared their views on the characteristics of the current era of Russian-Western relations and reasons for changes in the European security landscape. A special subject in the discussions dealt with the challenges of and preparations for the German OSCE chairmanship in 2016. The workshop was conducted on the occasion of a Japanese delegation’s research visit to Germany and other European countries.

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c) DAAD Summer School: Political Ethnography in Peace and Conflict Studies, Tbilisi, 4-9 August 2015

Political ethnography is a promising approach for peace and conflict research in the post-Soviet space. An informal group of Central Asian researchers and IFSH staff member, Sebastian Schiek, came up with the idea of organizing a methods training
for colleagues from Central Asia and the Caucasus. The workshop took place in Tbilisi, Georgia, in August 2015, with funding from the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) and the support of the Ilia State University in Tbilisi. 20 university lecturers – postdocs and doctoral candidates – from nine countries participated.

Two renowned experts, Dr Edward Schatz (Toronto) and Dr Julian Eckl (Hamburg) gave lectures and led seminars and exercises. The first three days of the workshop were devoted to in-class inputs and exercises on the method of political ethnography. On day four, the participants applied their new methodological knowledge by conducting field research for a fictional research project on the presentation and self-representation of external actors in Tbilisi. The IFSH had prearranged appointments with staff members of external actors, among them the EU Monitoring Mission, the NATO, the U.S. and German embassies. Groups of two visited one of the ten embassies and international organizations that co-operated with the summer school. The last day of the school was devoted to the presentation and discussion of the results of the exercise. As a follow up of the summer school, some participants are planning to integrate elements of political ethnography in their lectures.

d) Loccum Conference “Reforming the OSCE. How will we get to a comprehensive European Security Order that involves Russia?” 4-6 December 2015

On 4-6 December 2015, the Lutheran Academy of Loccum organized the conference “Reforming the OSCE. How Will We Get to a Comprehensive European Security Order That Involves Russia?” with CORE as a co-operation partner. Frank Evers presented on “Economic Connectivity. How Can Mutual Economic Dependence or Independence Serve as a Guarantor for Security in Europe?” Wolfgang Zellner, together with Andrei Zagorski from Moscow and Ambassador Philip Remler from New York, summarized the challenges for the German Chairmanship at the concluding panel. With about 70 participants, some from CORE, this was the largest Track II conference preparing for the Chairmanship year 2016.

6.3. Conferences Attended and Lectures Given by CORE Staff

During 2015, CORE staff members attended more than 30 conferences and workshops (see also 6.1 Co-operation and Guests) where they acted as presenters and/or rapporteurs.

Frank Evers

- On 14 September 2015, Frank Evers delivered lectures on the OSCE and challenges for the German OSCE Chairmanship in 2016 at the General Staff College of the German Armed Forces in Hamburg.
- On 2 November 2015, Frank Evers gave a presentation at an event titled “Charter of Berlin 2016 - A Discussion on the Future of the OSCE” that was jointly conducted by the Berlin grassroots think tank “Polis 180” and the Swiss think tank “foraus”.
- On 19 November 2015, Frank Evers delivered lectures on challenges for the German OSCE Chairmanship in 2016 during the 110th advanced training meeting
for full-time youth officers at the Zentrum Informationsarbeit Bundeswehr (ZinfoABw) of the German Armed Forces in Strausberg.

Anna Kreikemeyer

- Acted as a discussant on the panel “Autonomous and illiberal peace building in comparative perspective” at a conference of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Politische Wissenschaften (DVPW, German Association for Political Science) in Hamburg on 27 February 2015.
- Gave a presentation on “Creation of a peace research network with Eastern Bologna Universities” at the “Forum on higher education co-operation between Germany and the Eastern Bologna Member Countries” of the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) in Tbilisi on 12 May 2015.
- Acted as a moderator for the first IFSH-GIGA roundtable “How safe is the Silk Road? – Authoritarianism. How stable are the authoritarian regimes in Central Asia?” in Hamburg on 21 May 2015.
- Gave a presentation on “Between (post-)liberal, local and illiberal peace. Coping with everyday hybridity” in the workshop “The peace potential of the local in violent conflicts. Ethnographic contributions to peace research” at the Annual Conference of the German Society for Ethnography in Marburg on 1 October 2015.
- Gave a presentation on “Local peace orders in Central Asia” at the Institute for Theology and Peace (ITHF) in Hamburg on 14 October 2015.
- Gave a presentation on “Between balancing and bandwagoning for profit. Foreign and security policies of Central Asian States” at the 4th IFSH-GIGA roundtable on “How safe is the Silk Road? The view from outside. Strategies of neighboring states versus Central Asia”, Hamburg, 22 October 2015.
- Gave a presentation on “Peacebuilding from outside?” at the “Nacht des Wissens” [Science Night], Hamburg, 7 November 2015.

Ulrich Kühn


Sebastian Schiek

- Gave a presentation on “Reconstructing Political Legitimacy in Central Asia” at the Workshop “Wege aus der Gewalt” [Ways out of Violence], 13 February, Hamburg.
- Gave a presentation on “Authoritarian Regimes in Central Asia: An Overview” at the roundtable “Security and Stability in Central Asia”, organized by the IFSH in
co-operation with the German Institute of Global and Area Studies (GIGA), 21 May, Hamburg.

- Presented a paper on “Central Asian Autocracies: Political Legitimacy and Political Scandals in the Social Media Age” at the section “Resilience → Legitimacy ← Resistance” at the 9th Pan-European Conference on International Relations: The World of Violence”, 23-26 September 2015, Giardini Naxos, Italy.

- Presented an article, co-authored with Azamjon Isabaev, “The Diffusion of illiberal norms and laws in the post-Soviet space: Emulation or Learning” at the ‘Second Network Conference on Regional Clusters of Authoritarian Diffusion and Cooperation: Interests vs. ideology?’, German Institute of Global and Area Studies (GIGA), University of Texas, 2-3 October 2015, Austin, USA.

*Arne Seifert*


*Wolfgang Zellner*

- Gave an „Introduction to the OSCE” at the Geneva Centre for Security Policy, 11 February 2015.


- Gave a presentation on “Russland, Ukraine – was kann die OSZE leisten?” [Russia, Ukraine – What Can the OSCE Achieve?] at the annual meeting of the editors of the “Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik”, Berlin, 24 April 2015.

- Spoke on “Die OSZE 40 und die gesamteuropäische Ordnung” [The OSCE 40 and the pan-European Order] at a panel of the 18th Schlangenbader Gespräch, co-organized by Friedrich Ebert Foundation, the Peace Research Institute Frankfurt, the Institute for World Economy and International Relations of the Russian Academy of Sciences, and the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Schlangenbad, 30 April 2015.


- Discussed with Japanese colleagues “The 40 Years of the CSCE/OSCE from an Asian Perspective” at the conference “Interdisciplinary Approaches to Security in a Changing World” at the Jagiellonian University of Cracow, 15 June 2015.

- Discussed with Heidi Wieczorek-Zeul and Lothar Dembinski the challenge of “Sicherheitspolitik neu denken” [New Thinking on Security Policy] at a
conference organized by the Hessen South district of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, Frankfurt / Main, 22 June 2015.

– Presented, together with Janet Kursawe, the “Friedensgutachten 2015” in Brussels on 25 June 2015.

– Participated, together with Marc Jansen from the University of Amsterdam and OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities Astrid Thors, in a panel discussion on “Are European Borders (still) Inviolable? The OSCE 40 Years after Helsinki”, organized by the Telders Foundation, and spoke on “The Current Political Situation in Europe and the Future Role of the OSCE”, The Hague, 26 June 2015.

– Gave presentations on “Die OSZE. Überblick und aktuelle Aufgaben” [The OSCE: Overview and Current Tasks] to various audiences at the General Staff Academy of the German Armed Forces, Hamburg, 8 July, 17 September and 9 December 2015.

– Presented on “How to Strengthen the OSCE – Peace Operations” at the OSCE Focus Conference, co-organized by the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of the Armed Forces, the Geneva Centre for Security Policy, and the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, Geneva, 10 October 2015.

– Gave input on “Germany and the OSCE Presidency 2016” at the Study Group for Strategic Issues of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik [German Association for Foreign Policy], Berlin, 12 October.

– Discussed, together with Marie Louise Beck, Member of Parliament, and Thomas Lenk, OSCE Task Force in the German Federal Foreign Office, the issue of “Die OSZE – vom Kalten Krieg zu heißen Konflikten” [The OSCE – from Cold War to Hot Conflicts], at a meeting at the Heinrich Böll Foundation, Berlin, 12 October 2015.

– Served as discussant in session III “How to restore cooperative security?” at the 5th Chambéry Roundtable on European Security, organized by the Geneva Centre for Security Policy, with the support of the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, Geneva, 16 October 2015.

– Spoke on “Risks and Challenges in a Most Difficult Period of Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian Security” at the conference “Accomplishments and Challenges for the OSCE on the Anniversaries of the Helsinki Final Act (1975) and the Astana Summit (2010)”, jointly organized by the OSCE Programme Office in Astana, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Kazakhstan and the Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies under the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Astana, 23 October 2015.

– Gave a presentation on the current situation in Ukraine and the role of the OSCE at the “Nacht des Wissens” [Science Night], Hamburg, 7 November 2015.

– Gave a presentation on “Rolle und Perspektiven der OSZE bei der Überwindung der Eskalation” [Role and Perspectives of the OSCE in Overcoming Escalation] at the conference “Europa vor einer Epochenwende? Der Kampf um die Ukraine und die Folgen für die Friedensordnung in Europa” [Europe prior to Change of Epoch? The Battle over Ukraine and the Consequences for the Peace Order in
Europe], jointly organized by the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Osteuropakunde and the Institut für Theologie und Frieden, Berlin, 24 November 2015.

7. Personnel and Budget

During 2015, the Head of CORE managed a staff, which includes five researchers and two PhD students (cf. Annex 1: CORE staff as of 1 December 2015). In addition, two staff members (one senior researcher/editor, one translator/editor) were responsible for publishing the OSCE Yearbook, one for documentation and information, one for the OSCE Network, and one for project management. The permanent staff is supported by further translators. Over the course of the year, four students completed their internships, which, on average, lasted for around six weeks (www.ifsh.de/en/teaching/internship).

Less than half of the CORE budget is financed through the IFSH budget. Project financing covers the greater part of the expenditures. In the year 2015, CORE projects – including PhD and OSCE Network projects – were funded by the German Federal Foreign Office, the Foreign Ministry of Finland, the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, the Irish Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, and the German Academic Exchange Service.
Annex 1: CORE Staff as of 1 December 2015

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Interns: Natalija Jurčević, Daniar Matikanov, Lisa Pregnitzer, Mateja Tadić.
Annex 2: Publications by CORE Staff Members in 2015

**Evers, Frank**
- with Teija Tiilikainen et al., Reviving Co-operative Security in Europe through the OSCE, Helsinki 2015.

**Isabaev, Azamjon**

**Kropatcheva, Elena**

**Kühn, Ulrich**

**Schiek, Sebastian**
Schlichting, Ursel


Seifert, Arne C.

- DDR-Diplomaten und die deutsche Einheit [GDR Diplomats and the German Unity], Berlin 2015 (Verband für Internationale Politik und Völkerrecht [Association for International Politics and International Law], no. 25, 126 pp.

Zellner, Wolfgang

- with Teija Tiilikainen et al., Reviving Co-operative Security in Europe through the OSCE, Helsinki 2015.
- Forty Years after Helsinki – A new Role for the OSCE in a Divided Europe?, in: Mina Zirojevic/Vesna Coric (eds), Forty Years since the Signing of the Helsinki Final Act, Belgrade 2015, pp. 25-38.