

Spring 2016

## 2<sup>nd</sup> Meeting of the OSCE Network in Hamburg



The participants of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Meeting of the OSCE Network in Hamburg (Photo: Florian Felten)

The 2<sup>nd</sup> Network meeting took place in Hamburg on 24 February 2016. It was attended by representatives of 40 of the 54 Network member institutions, the German Federal Foreign Office, the OSCE Documentation Centre and the OSCE Secretariat.

### **Report by the Network Co-ordinator**

The Co-ordinator, Wolfgang Zellner, stressed that the Network, although it has neither a legal personality nor a budget, has implemented three major projects and has held half a dozen workshops and presentations. He noted that the significant growth of the Network, from 16 founding institutions in June 2013 to 54 currently, also entails major challenges: Whereas in 2013/2014, almost all Network institutes could participate in a project, this is no longer the case. Thus, new leadership approaches have to be found. More specifically, the Co-ordinator proposed that the member institutions should connect themselves horizontally.

This proposal played a major role in the discussion. Representatives of the OSCE Secretariat and of the German MFA showed their interest in and appreciation of the Network's activities. A number of speakers highlighted specific areas of interest, among them cyber security, conventional arms control and confidence- and security-building measures, chemical weapons in the Baltic Sea, protracted conflicts, the effectiveness of missions, the conflict in and around Ukraine, the Austrian Chairmanship 2017, and the active inclusion of Mongolia in the OSCE. In addition, several speakers discussed what horizontal co-operation could mean, and pointed to the possibility of using social networks. The Co-ordinator announced that the Steering Committee would elaborate respective proposals.



F.l.t.r.: Dr. Wolfgang Zellner, Head of the Centre for OSCE Research, Hamburg and Amb. Philip Remler, Fellows Program, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, D.C. (Photo: Florian Felten)

### **Discussion of future projects**

Ambassador Philip Remler presented the project "Protracted Conflicts in the OSCE Region: Building Security and Co-operation in the Conflict Zones". He is the head of project. A key element will be a workshop in Vienna on 4 July

2016 with three panels, one on “Tools in the arms control and security field”, another on “Tools of economic and non-security CBM engagement” and, finally, one on “Tools of social and cultural engagement”. Remler noted that input to the workshop should be provided through papers authored by Network institutes. On the basis of these and contributions by other experts, the head of project will elaborate a final report to be presented at a side event of the 2016 Ministerial Council meeting in Hamburg.

Wolfgang Zellner presented the project “Study Group: European Security – Addressing Challenges at the Societal Level”. Zellner is the head of project. He pointed out that this two-year project has two objectives: *First*, to understand the main problems of the current situation; *second*, to elaborate contributions to a more co-operative policy approach, with a focus on the societal level. The first aim includes the elaboration of a number of “narratives”, perspectives from different countries, particularly those “in-between” Russia and the West. The focus on the societal level is based on the observation that those studies which, in their recommendations, focused on the state-to-state level, came to very similar results and that it is not advisable to repeat this exercise. In the first year, the project will focus on the analysis of the current situation. In the second year, it will turn to relevant societal fields, such as norms, historical narratives or people-to-people contact. Both projects were greeted with a lot of interest and were thoroughly discussed.

### **OSCE Chairmanship meets OSCE Network**

In the afternoon, participants and guests from Hamburg assembled for a speech by Dr Gernot Erler, Special Representative of the Federal Government for the OSCE Chairmanship in 2016, and a subsequent panel discussion with members of the Network. Erler spoke on the “Priorities and Objectives of the German OSCE Chairmanship 2016”, highlighting at the same time, the conditions under which this chairmanship is happening. This was followed by six comments from quite different country perspectives: Hüseyin Bağcı from Turkey, Sonja Stojanović Gajić from Serbia, Barbara Kunz from France, Philip Remler from the USA, and Andrei Zagorski from Russia. This entailed a lively general debate that focussed on the issue of what is possible under the current circumstances in and around Ukraine.

### **Reception by Second Mayor Katharina Fegebank**

In the evening, the participants were invited to a reception hosted by Ms Katharina Fegebank, Second Mayor of the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg and Senator for Science, Research and Equality. The Mayor welcomed the guests, highlighting the value of networks such as the OSCE Network, particularly in these crisis times. Prof. Michael Brzoska, the Director of the IFSH, thanked Ms Fegebank and addressed the networkers and the other guests.

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F.l.t.r.: Dr. Barbara Kunz, Dr. Wolfgang Zellner, Dr. Gernot Erler, Sonja Stojanović Gajić, Amb. Philip Remler  
(Photo: Florian Felten)

### **CORE participates in SWP / DGAP South Caucasus workshop in Berlin**

On 16 March 2016, the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP) together with the German Council on Foreign Relations (DGAP) conducted a workshop on "Addressing Conflicts in a Shared Neighbourhood: Prospects and Limitations of EU-Turkish Cooperation in the South Caucasus". The meeting was organized within the framework of an EU-funded project, "Inter- and Intra-Societal Sources of Instability in the Caucasus and EU Opportunities to Respond (ISSICEU)". It addressed the role Turkey plays or could play vis-à-vis its three neighbours in the South Caucasus, with a particular view at the protracted conflicts in the region. Another subject was EU perspectives of conflict resolution in the region. Frank Evers represented CORE at this meeting.

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### **CORE Fieldwork in Tajikistan**

From 2-26 March, 2016, Azam Isabaev, PhD candidate at CORE/IFSH, made a field trip to Dushanbe, Tajikistan, where he carried out interviews with local experts. The visit was possible, thanks to the kind support from both the Tajik National University and CORE/IFSH, which have long experience of productive cooperation. In Dushanbe, Isabaev was able to meet with representatives of local scientific institutions, such as the Tajik National University, the Academy of Studies, the Russian-Tajik Slavonic University, the University of Central Asia, and the Centre for Strategic Studies. Independent experts were also among his interlocutors. A similar round of interviews was conducted by Isabaev in October 2015 in Tashkent. Interviews are one of the main methodological parts of his ongoing dissertation project, which deals with the policies of Tajikistan and Uzbekistan toward Afghanistan. Building on theories of neoclassical realism and the regional security complex theory the research places emphasis on, *inter alia*, the factor of percep-

tions. Direct conversation with an array of local experts was, thus, an attempt to explore those perceptions. Field trips to Dushanbe and Tashkent have provided Isabaev with an opportunity to conduct a systemic comparative analysis of both cases.

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### **"Does peace require order?" Annual conference of the Study Group for Peace and Conflict Studies (AFK) in Bonn**

On 3-5 March 2015, the 48<sup>th</sup> annual conference of the Study Group for Peace and Conflict Studies (Arbeitsgemeinschaft Friedens- und Konfliktforschung, AFK) took place in Bonn. The conference was devoted to the relationship between peace and order. The investigation of (non-)peaceful orders and related concepts of peace, but also different dimensions of the concept of order as such, were critically discussed. An IFSH research group had organized a panel on "Elements of a theory of trans-liberal peace" to contribute to the ongoing debate on peace strategies at the breaches of globalization. In this framework, Dr. Anna Kreikemeyer (CORE/IFSH) presented a paper on "Hybridity in theory and practice. A contribution to transliberal peace?" In it she asks: "What is the use of different concepts of hybridity in view of growing disorders in the era of globalization?" and "What can theoretical ideas contribute to a better understanding of multiple norms, agencies and practices of peace in the case of the Fergana Valley?" Kreikemeyer holds the view that concepts of hybridity display many differences in the roles of governance, agency and order. The concept as such can be helpful in analyzing the simultaneity of different norms and practices but, at the moment, there are many wide open research gaps.

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## **CORE participates in SWP Workshop on “Energy Security in the OSCE Area”, Berlin**

On 22 February 2016, the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP) conducted a workshop on energy security in the OSCE area. The intention of the workshop was to define and identify energy risks between Vancouver and Vladivostok and to explore the main challenges to energy governance in Eurasia. The workshop assessed the potential role of the OSCE in this field and addressed relevant stakeholders’ attitudes towards the OSCE’s involvement. Frank Evers represented CORE at this event.

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## **7<sup>th</sup> Workshop “Ways out of Violence” in Hamburg**

On 12 February 2016, the 7<sup>th</sup> workshop “Ways out of Violence – New Developments in Peace and Conflict Research”, took place at IFSH. Nowadays, peace is often endangered by multiple fluid forms of violence. Warfare can be described as hybrid or post-modern and the state monopoly on the use of force is becoming shaky. Given the general complexity of crises in the era of globalization, the search for peace has become more complicated. Against this background, Dr. Anna Kreikemeyer (CORE/IFSH) presented her ongoing research and academic teaching project, “Peace Research in Europe and Eurasia”. Together with colleagues from universities in Armenia, Georgia, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, she will study different approaches to questions of conflict and peace in Europe and post-Soviet states and work out a joint module for master’s programs that will be tested in a summer school in Osh, Kyrgyzstan in autumn 2016.

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## **CORE discusses Germany's OSCE Chairmanship 2016 with retired diplomats**

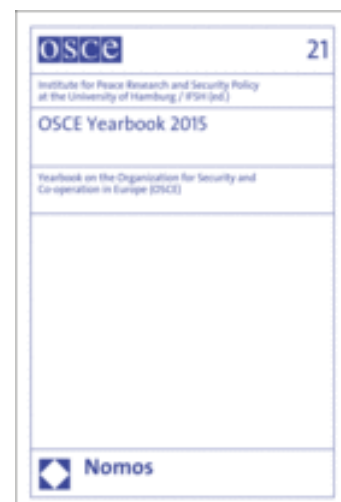
On 10 February 2016, CORE researcher Frank Evers delivered a presentation on “Germany's OSCE Chairmanship 2016: Objectives and Opportunities” at the Association for International Affairs and International Law in Berlin. In particular, he discussed the general security situation in and around Europe, expectations of the German OSCE chairmanship, the main points of the Chairmanship program and criteria for a successful OSCE chairmanship. The event was part of the annual thematic program of the association. It was moderated by CORE adviser Amb. ret. Arne Clemens Seifert.

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## **Publications**

### **OSCE Yearbook 2015**

In 2016, Germany is assuming the OSCE Chairmanship – and it does so in turbulent times. Against the backdrop of the crisis in and around Ukraine, the OSCE Yearbook 2015 not



only undertakes to shed light on the events and developments in European security in the run-up to the German Chairmanship; it also portrays the OSCE as an organization that, from its inception, epitomized a concept of co-operative security by means of confidence-building and permanent multilateral dialogue in Europe, which has lost none of its relevance 25 years after the end of the Cold War.

In another year of intense activity for the OSCE, contributions to the OSCE Yearbook 2015 by leading academics and practitioners document key developments and ongoing situations in the Organization and its 57 participating States. While 2015 also marks the 40th anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki Final Act, current events demand that our attention is focused on the present. Hence, the special focus section in the OSCE Yearbook 2015 links the anniversary of the CSCE/OSCE with the reflection on the state of European security 40 years after Helsinki.

The German Minister for Foreign Affairs, Frank-Walter Steinmeier, discusses the OSCE's legacy and contemporary relevance. Reinhard Mutz returns to the original CSCE process, and subjects it to critical scrutiny. Matt Rojansky and Mikhail Troitskiy address Russian-Western relations in view of the Ukraine crisis, while David J. Galbreath and Maxime Lefebvre reflect upon the OSCE's role in European security.

As in 2014, several contributions dwell on the ongoing Ukraine crisis. Heidi Tagliavini, the OSCE's representative on the Trilateral Contact Group on Ukraine until June 2015, gives an 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; Fred Tanner discusses what the OSCE's experience in Ukraine means for the Organization's overall approach to crisis management, while Hans-Joachim Schmidt considers the link between conventional arms control and crisis management. 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 participating States in direct focus in 2015 are Georgia and the Western Balkan states. Further articles analyse religion and culture in Tajik national consciousness, consider what

effects ISAF's withdrawal from Afghanistan may have on Central Asia, discuss how best to combat the spread of "Islamic State" into Central Asia, and look at the recent growth of support for right-wing populist movements in Europe.

The chapter on the OSCE's three dimensions of security and cross-dimensional challenges features a discussion by 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; and an analysis of the OSCE's role in the implementation of the Arms Trade Treaty. Further contributions consider what lessons can be learned from the experience of the Border Monitoring Operation in Georgia and look at the OSCE's history of involvement with civil society. We are particularly grateful to the Secretary General of the OSCE, Lamberto Zannier, for this year's foreword.

As always, the OSCE Yearbook includes extensive annexes with facts and figures on all 57 participating States and a selected bibliography of current literature.

*Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg/IFSH (ed.), OSCE Yearbook 2015. Yearbook on the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), Vol. 21, Nomos, Baden-Baden 2016, ISBN 978-3-8487-2982-1 (Print), 978-3-8452-7365-5 (ePDF); British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data: ISBN 978-3-8487-2982-1 (Print), 978-3-8452-7365-5 (ePDF).*

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## Recent OSCE-relevant Publications

*Hakkarainen, Petri / Christian Nünlist, Trust and Realpolitik: The OSCE in 2016, Policy Perspectives 1/2016, Center for Security Studies / ETH Zurich, Zurich 2016.*  
<[www.css.ethz.ch/content/dam/ethz/special-interest/gess/cis/center-for-security-studies/pdfs/PP4-1.pdf](http://www.css.ethz.ch/content/dam/ethz/special-interest/gess/cis/center-for-security-studies/pdfs/PP4-1.pdf)>

*Institut für Friedensforschung und Sicherheitspolitik an der Universität Hamburg (Ed.), OSZE-Jahrbuch 2014, Baden-Baden 2015.*

*International Crisis Group, Statement: Responding to the Nagorno-Karabakh Escalation, Brussels, 5 April 2016.*

<<http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/publication-type/statements/statement-responding-to-the-nagorno-karabakh-escalation.aspx>>.

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<<http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/europe/ukraine/b079-russia-and-the-separatists-in-eastern-ukraine.pdf>>.

*Richter, Wolfgang, Deutscher OSZE-Vorsitz 2016. Strategische Herausforderungen, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, SWP-aktuell 7/2016, Berlin 2016.*

<[http://www.swpberlin.org/fileadmin/contents/products/aktuell/2016A07\\_rvw.pdf](http://www.swpberlin.org/fileadmin/contents/products/aktuell/2016A07_rvw.pdf)>.

*Seifert, Arne C., Preventing the "Islamic State" in Central Asia - Conditions, Risks and Peace Policy Requirements, Security Policy Working Paper, No. 7/2016, Federal Academy for Security Policy, Berlin 2016.*

<[https://www.baks.bund.de/sites/baks010/files/working\\_paper\\_2016\\_07.pdf](https://www.baks.bund.de/sites/baks010/files/working_paper_2016_07.pdf)>.

*Zellner, Wolfgang, Forty Years after Helsinki – a New Role for the OSCE in a Divided Europe?, in: Mina Zirojević / Vesna Ćorić (Eds.), Četrdeset godina od potpisivanja helsinškog završnog akta / Forty Years since the Signing of the Helsinki Final Act, Beograd 2015, pp. 25-38.*

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