

Summer 2012

## OSCE Security Days: A New Forum for Exchange between the OSCE and Track II Initiatives



*Wolfgang Zellner at the OSCE Security Days*

At the initiative of the OSCE Secretary General, Ambassador Lamberto Zannier, the first of the OSCE Security Days took place in the Vienna Hofburg on 24/25 June 2012. This is a new format specifically dedicated to interaction between the OSCE delegations and security policy think tanks and track II initiatives. In four sessions, internationally renowned experts such as Prof. Alyson Bailes, Igor Yurgens, former Polish Foreign Minister Adam Rotfeld, and the former UN Special Representative for Afghanistan, Kai Eide, discussed a broad range of issues from general questions on a security community to conventional arms control and reconciliation.

Wolfgang Zellner, Head of CORE, participated in session IV, chaired by Ambassador Zannier and dedicated to the issue of reconciliation. According to Zellner, there might be lessons learnt of a more general nature from past and present reconciliation processes, although each case has unique features. Zellner proposed that the OSCE should focus more on this question,

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pointing to the explicitly political nature of the issue of reconciliation. He also informed participants about the work of IDEAS – the Initiative for the Development of a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian Security Community supported by CORE, the Fondation pour la Recherche Stratégique (FRS, Paris), the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (University) of the Russian Foreign Ministry (MGIMO), and the Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM).

Under consideration is organizing OSCE Security Days on a regular basis and using them as a starting point for an OSCE network of academic institutions, another initiative of the OSCE Secretary General already raised in his inaugural speech in July 2011.

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## CORE/IFSH Summer School in Astana, Kazakhstan

The Centre for OSCE Research (CORE) at the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy (IFSH) successfully organized a summer school on the impact of the Afghanistan crisis on Central Asia and the Afghanistan policies of the Central Asian states. The summer school which was funded by the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) took place from 25 June to 1 July 2012 in Astana, Kazakhstan. It was jointly organized by the IFSH and the Center for International and Regional Studies at the Eurasian National University (ENU) in Astana, Kazakhstan. The participants were mostly PhD Candidates from all of the Central Asian states including Turkmenistan. Moreover, two participants from Afghanistan were invited and had registered to participate in the summer school but had to cancel their participation at short-notice. The summer school was planned and organized by Sebastian Schiek, researcher at CORE/IFSH.



*The participants of the summer school during a crisis game.*

The summer school offered seminars by IFSH, ENU and external lecturers. The Head of the Centre for European Security and Peace Studies (ZEUS) at the IFSH, Hans-Georg Ehrhart, gave two lectures on "Security Development Nexus: A Challenge for International Security Governance" and "COIN and State-building in Afghanistan: A Contradiction in Terms". Anna Kreikemeyer, senior researcher at CORE/IFSH, conducted a workshop on "Power and Security in Eurasian

Regional Organizations: The Example of the CSTO". The project partner was represented by Aigerim Shilibekova, Director of the Center for



*The participants of the summer school*

International and Regional Studies at the Eurasian National University. Shilibekova gave a lecture on "External Actors in the Regional Security of Central Asia". Moreover, two external lecturers, Alexander Knyazev and Abdulvohid Shamolov, offered seminars during the summer school. Knyazev has specialized for many years in political and socioeconomic developments in Afghanistan and their impacts on Central Asia. At the summer school, he offered two seminars „Ethnopolitical Aspects of the Afghanistan Conflict and the Risk of a Transformation of the Regional Order" and "Recent Developments in the Regional Security in Central Asia". Shamolov is Director of the Institute for Philosophy and Political Science at the Academy of Sciences in Dushanbe, Tajikistan. He gave a lecture on socioeconomic developments in Afghanistan and their impacts on its neighbor, Tajikistan. Moreover, a controversial discussion took place with another guest of the summer school, Daniele Riggio, a Central Asia expert in the Public Diplomacy Program of the NATO.

Another advantage of the summer school was the pronounced high profile expertise of its participants, who came from all of the Central Asian states. Amongst the participants were post-docs, PhD candidates as well as advanced Master's students. All participants were required to submit a research paper in advance of the summer school and present it during the

participant panels. The majority of the participants took this as an opportunity to present and discuss their PhD projects. The papers presented offered a broad range of topics. Amongst them were research on transborder trade between rural regions in Afghanistan and Tajikistan, prospects of peace building with violent extremist groups, development assistance and drug fighting in the Soviet Union and Russia in a historical perspective, as well as the situation of the Turkmen minority in Afghanistan. Other papers examined the Afghanistan policies of the Central Asian states, the interdependencies between Islamic movements in Central Asia and Afghanistan as well as the Afghanistan policy of the CSTO.

Publication of some of the presented papers in the Kazakhstani social science journal ISPR is currently planned, as is online publication of all of the papers.

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#### **ECMI Conference: „HCNM 20 Years on“**

On 6 July 2012, the Flensburg-based European Centre for Minority Issues, a leading think tank in this issue area, organized a conference to commemorate the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the creation of the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities (HCNM), most probably the most innovative of the OSCE's institutions.

The charm of this conference lay in the selection of its participants – the High Commissioner, Ambassador Knut Vollebæk himself, former leading advisers of the HCNM, and long-standing scholars on the issue of minority rights and conflicts. This offered the chance for a dialogue between scientists and practitioners, a chance the High Commissioner used actively and repeatedly.

The Head of CORE, Wolfgang Zellner, participated in Panel 1 on “Taking Stock”, focusing on the question of the degree to which

the High Commissioner has contributed to European security and stability. In discussing this question on the basis of a number of country cases, Zellner came to the conclusion that the High Commissioner has, indeed, substantially contributed to European security and that his most relevant force multiplier in this respect was the conditionality used in the EU enlargement process. Zellner also stressed that much of the future work of the High Commissioner in Eastern Europe, the Caucasus and Central Asia will take place under less benign circumstances and that innovative approaches are, therefore, required.

The reflection on the OSCE High Commissioner will be continued at a more scientific level within the framework of the 2012 conference of UACES – the Academic Association for Contemporary European Studies – in September in Passau / Bavaria, where David Galbraith from the University of Bath has convened a panel on the work of the OSCE High Commissioner.

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#### **Issues in Russia's Foreign and Security Policies** BISA-ISA conference in Edinburgh



On 20-22 June 2012, Elena Kropatcheva participated in the 2012 International BISA-ISA conference in Edinburgh. She spoke on Russia's policy towards the OSCE within the panel “Issues in Russia's Foreign and Security Policies,” organized by the BISA Working Group on Russian and Eurasian Security. She also took part in a pre-conference workshop of this working group “Where the Regional meets the Global: Changing Patterns of Cooperation between 'the West', Russia and Eurasia in the Context of 'Emerging Powers'”. She presented



a paper on "New Challenges and Opportunities in the NATO-Russia Relationship and the Impact of the Chinese Factor - An Ignored Variable".

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### **Towards a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian Security Community, Part IV**

Final IDEAS Workshop, Moscow, 3 July 2012

The four member institutes of the Initiative for the Development of a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian Security Community (IDEAS) held their fourth and final workshop in Moscow on 3 July 2012, organized by the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (University) of the Russian Foreign Ministry (MGIMO). The other three partners are CORE, the Fondation pour la Recherche Stratégique (FRS, Paris), and the Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM).

The Moscow workshop brought together some 90 participants and guests, among them about a dozen OSCE ambassadors and the leading figures of the Moscow-based security policy think tanks. The meeting was opened by the Rector of the MGIMO-University, Ambassador Anatoly Torkunov, and the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Russia, Alexander V. Grushko, who started with a *tour d'horizon* of the current problems and challenges the OSCE is facing.

As in earlier IDEAS workshops, the three roundtables were devoted to fundamental questions of a security community, its institutional aspects as well as thematic issues such as arms control, conflict resolution and transnational threats. A final roundtable, which was introduced by the former Russian Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov, dealt with open questions and conclusions.

As with the workshops in Bonn, Warsaw and Paris, most of the contributions at the Moscow meeting sought to bridge the fundamental gap

between the need and chance for a security community and the immobility of current politics that are largely unable to move away from deep-seated mistrust and traditional thinking in terms of recurring zero-sum games. However, one could feel the will of the participants to elaborate recommendations that might at least open some windows of opportunity for a more adequate way of thinking.

The day before the workshop, the members of the IDEAS working group had the possibility for an exchange of views with the Russian Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Grushko and other officials of the Russian MFA. Over the summer, the IDEAS partners will draft a report that will be presented to the OSCE community in Vienna in October 2012.

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### **DAAD Student Group from Central Asia Visits the IFSH**



On 21 June 2012, a group of students from Kazakhstan visited the IFSH during a DAAD-sponsored educational trip in Germany. The

participants were students from the faculty for International Relations at the Al Farabi University in Almaty, Kazakhstan. They were accompanied by the professor of International Relations, Prof Mara Gubaidullina and DAAD staff member Ms Julia Hildt. IFSH Director Prof Michael Brzoska welcomed the students and gave a presentation on the history of the IFSH, which is closely linked to the history of peace research in Europe. Anna Kreikemeyer, Lena Kulipanova, Dauren Akberdiyev and Sebastian Schiek presented current and future research projects, related to the Central Asian region, which are mainly run by the IFSH Centre for OSCE Research. Senior researcher, Regina Heller, presented the results of her research project "Claiming respect – the socio-emotional dimension of Russia's policy towards the West: Insights from the 1999 Kosovo case". Finally, Naida Mehmedbegović Dreilich gave a presentation on the IFSH study program „Master of Peace and Security Studies“.

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### **BTS Summer School: „The Paradox of Stability: The Role of Peace and Conflict in State-building“, Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan**

Sebastian Schiek, researcher at CORE/IFSH, gave lectures at the international summer school „The Paradox of Stability: The Role of Peace and Conflict in State-building“, which took place in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan. The summer school was organized by the Berlin Graduate School of Transnational Studies (BTS), which is the joint graduate school of the Free University (FU) Berlin, the Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin and the Hertie School of Governance. Lecturers included the director of the BTS, Dr Daria Isachenko, Prof. Markus Jachtenfuchs (Hertie School of Governance) and Dr Alexander Kupatadze (St. Andrews). Schiek gave five lectures on Max Weber's sociology of domination and its application for analyzing state formation processes in the post Soviet space, on habitus and state building and on the

history of the Soviet Union, analyzed through the lens of the sociology of domination.

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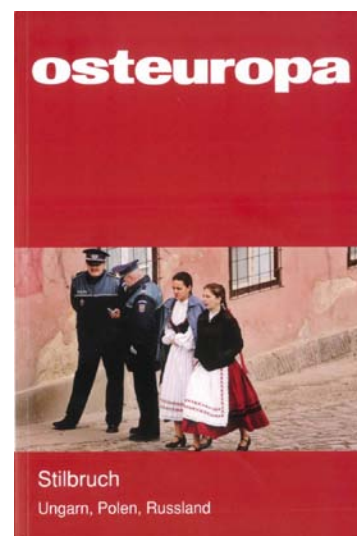
### **Publications**

**Anna Kreikemeyer, Power Instead of Security: The Collective Security Treaty Organization, in: Osteuropa, vol. 62, no. 5, pp. 81-91.**

In accordance with the will of its seven member states, the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO), founded in 2002, has the aim of providing security in the post-Soviet space. In practice, however, it does not provide this. This lack of functionality has structural

reasons: The primary aim of the ruling authoritarian regimes from Minsk to Moscow to Dushanbe is the preservation and extension of their power bases. Regional cooperation, beyond lip service, would pose a challenge to the claims of these regimes to comprehensive domestic and external sovereignty.

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### **Recent OSCE Relevant Publications**

Azimov, Anvar, OSCE, The Search for Its Niche is Ongoing, in: International Affairs (Minneapolis, MN), no. 2, 2012, pp. 19-22.

Bader, Max, OSCE Electoral Assistance and the Role of Election Commissions, in: Security and Human Rights, no. 1, 2012, pp. 19-29.

Boonstra, Jos / Marlène Laruelle / Sébastien Peyrouse, Security and Development in Central Asia, EUCAM Working Paper no. 11, Madrid 2012.  
<[http://www.fride.org/download/WP11\\_Security\\_development\\_approaches\\_Central\\_Asia.pdf](http://www.fride.org/download/WP11_Security_development_approaches_Central_Asia.pdf)>

Chernyavsky, Stanislav, Russian Diplomacy and the Nagorno-Karabakh Settlement, in: International Affairs (Minneapolis, MN) no. 2, 2012, pp. 155-169.

Digol, Diana, Russia's Foreign Policy in Central Asia: From Yeltsin to Medvedev, in: Maria Raquel Freire / Roger E. Kanet (Eds.), Russia and Its Near Neighbours, Basingstoke 2012, pp. 174-200.

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Griep, Ekkehard, OSZE, in: Ekkehard Griep, Regionale Organisationen und die Weiterentwicklung der VN-Friedenssicherung seit dem Ende des Kalten Krieges, Baden-Baden 2012, pp. 279-300.

International Crisis Group (Ed.), Armenia: An Opportunity for Statesmanship, Europe Report, no. 217, Brussels 2012.  
<<http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/europe/caucasus/armenia/217-armenia-an-opportunity-for-statesmanship>>

Schmidt, Hans-Joachim/Wolfgang Zellner, Limiting Conventional Arms to Promote Military Security: the Case of Conventional Arms Control in Europe, in: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, SIPRI Yearbook 2012, New York 2012, pp. 442-452.

### **Imprint**

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