



THE 4TH GCSP-OSCE ACADEMY-NUPI-NESA SEMINAR “CENTRAL ASIA 2011”

31 AUGUST – 3 SEPTEMBER 2011, BISHKEK

The *Geneva Centre for Security Policy* (GCSP), the *Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe* (OSCE) Academy in Bishkek, the *Norwegian Institute of International Affairs* (NUPI), the *Near East South Asia Centre for Strategic Studies* (NESAS in Washington D.C.) and the *George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies* hold an annual forum for security policy experts from Eurasia, East and South East Asia, Europe and the United States. Through a series of inter-linked panel discussions, this seminar identifies and analyses key security trends in Central Asia, with a particular focus on their likely strategic implications. This year we discuss developments in specific Central Asian countries and Afghanistan, including assessment of international response to crisis, political and military developments and human security. Two subsequent panels deal with broader geopolitical engagements in which Central Asia is included. Finally, we analyse bilateral and economic cooperation with and within Central Asia. The seminar is attended by over forty-five participants and the synthesis of the work presented and the opinions expressed during the seminar is published in a *Geneva Paper*.

PROGRAMME

Wednesday 31 August 2011:

Arrival of Participants: Ak Keme Hotel, Bishkek.

1800 Welcome Reception and Group Photo at Buddha Bar (transportation from the OSCE Academy at 17:30 and Ak Keme hotel at 17:45)

Thursday 1 September 2011:

Conflicts in Central Asia and Afghanistan: Regime Change, Conflicts and Non-state Actors

09:00 – 09:30 Welcome to the Seminar Participants

Ambassador Andrew Tesoriere, Head of OSCE Center in Bishkek
Dr Graeme P. Herd, Head, International Security Programme and Co-Director, International Training Course (ITC), Geneva Centre for Security Policy (GCSP)
Dr Maxim Ryabkov, Director, OSCE Academy in Bishkek

09:30 – 12:30 Kyrgyz crisis and its lessons: human security, international response and regional implications

Chair: Dr Maxim Ryabkov

Invited speakers:

- Mr Abdumalik Sharipov, Deputy-Director, Justice (Human Rights Organization), Kyrgyzstan: *Human rights and human security in Kyrgyzstan 2010-2011*
- Dr Vadim Koziulin, Director, Conventional Arms Programme, PIR Center, Moscow: *Kyrgyz crisis : its regional implications and Russian policies*

10:30-11:00

Coffee break

- Dr David Lewis, Senior Research Fellow, Department of Peace Studies, University of Bradford: *International response to the crisis in Kyrgyzstan*
- Prof Feng Shaolei, Director, Center for Russian Studies, School of Advanced International and Area Studies, East China Normal University
Understanding the Kyrgyz Events in the Context of Security Cooperation and Socio-Economic Development in Central Asia

12:30 – 14:00 Lunch at Dolce Vita café

14:00 – 15:30 **Tajikistan: Human security, extremism and regime stability**

Chair: Dr Tim Epkenhans, Professor of Iranian and Islamic Studies, Centre for the Studies of Asian Culture and Social Anthropology, Albert-Ludwigs University of Freiburg, Germany

Invited speakers:

- Dr John Heathershaw, Lecturer, Dept of Politics, University of Exeter:
Tajikistan amidst globalization: state failure or state transformation?
- Mr David A. Merkel, Director of the Caspian and Black Sea Policy Forum:
Fragile Tajikistan: Failed State or Fixable?
- Mr Faredun Hodizoda, Director of the Academy of Dialogue, Dushanbe, Tajikistan: *Twenty years of independent Tajikistan: the country still at the crossroads*

15:30 – 16:00 **Coffee break**

16:00 – 17:30 **Afghanistan: the transition and implications for the region**

Chair: Dr Pal Dunay, Course Director, ITC, GCSP

Invited speakers:

- Minister Ali Jalali, former Interior Minister of Afghanistan and Distinguished Professor, Near East South Asia Center for Strategic Studies:
Challenges of Transition from the Afghan Perspective
- Prof Nirmala Joshi, Director of India-Central Asia Foundation, New Delhi:
India's Central Asia Strategy – the role of Afghanistan?

17:45 **Group photo: Steps of OSCE Academy**

18:00 **Reception/ Buffet at Hyatt Regency Bishkek (191, Sovetskaya Street, Bishkek)**

Friday 2 September 2011:

Central Asia in Eurasian and global context

09:30 – 12:30 **West of Vienna versus East of Vienna**

Chair: Dr Anna Kreikemeyer, Senior Research Fellow, Centre for OSCE Research (CORE), Hamburg

Invited speakers:

- Dr Pal Dunay, Course Director, ITC, GCSP: *The bearable lightness of division*

10:30 – 11:00

Coffee break

- Dr Murat Laumullin, Senior Researcher, Institute of Strategic Studies, Kazakhstan *The Experience of Chairmanship of Kazakhstan in International Organizations: from the OSCE to the Organization of the Islamic Conference*
- Prof Dr Tim Epkenhans, Professor of Iranian and Islamic Studies, Albert-Ludwigs University of Freiburg, Germany: *Hearts of Lightness: The OSCE and its commitments after the Kazakh Chair*

12:30 – 14:00 **Lunch at Dolce Vita café**

14:00 – 17:00 **Strategic Games: Old and New**

Chair: Dr John C. Reppert, Dean of the College of International and Security Studies, George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies

Invited Speakers:

- Dr Gregory Gleason, Professor of Eurasian Security Studies, George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Germany: *Power trades and competition in Central Asia*
- Dr Thomas Wilhelm, Director, Foreign Military Studies Office, US Department of the Army at Ft Leavenworth, Kansas: *A contemporary history of military actions, events, and activities in Central Asia*

15:30 – 16:00

Coffee break

- Dr Neil Melvin, Head of the Eurasia Programme, Stockholm Peace Research Institute (SIPRI): *In search of a strategy: The EU in Central Asia*
- Dr Farkhad Tolipov, Director, the Education and Research Institution "Knowledge Caravan", Tashkent, Uzbekistan: *Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan: two failed leaders of Central Asia*

Saturday, 3 September 2011:
Cooperation and competition in Central Asia

09:00 – 10:30

Russia, India and US in Central Asia

Chair: Dr Graeme Herd, GCSP

Invited speakers:

- Dr Roger Kangas, Dean of Faculty and Professor of Central Asian Studies, Near East South Asia Center for Strategic Studies: ***US Policy Toward Central Asia in an Era of Austerity***
- Dr Ivan Safranchuk, Director of the Russian Representation of the International Center for Defensive Information, Chair of World Political Processes Department, Moscow State Institute of International Relations of the Russian Federation (MGIMO), Moscow: ***Russia and Central Asia 2011***
- Prof. Ajay Patnaik, Chair of the Centre for Russian, East European and Central Asian Studies, School of International Studies, JNU, New Delhi: ***India and Central Asia: Key Dynamics in 2011***

10:30 – 11:00

Coffee break

11:00 – 12:30

Regional economic cooperation in Central Asia

Chair: Ms Violetta Yan, Deputy Director, OSCE Academy

Invited speakers:

- Dr Chyngyz Shamshiev, Director, National Institute for Strategic Studies, Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan: ***Kyrgyzstan's prospective accession to the Customs Union***
- Ms Brianne Todd, Assistant Professor of Central Asian Studies, Near East South Asia Center for Strategic Studies: ***The Silk Road Initiative and Long-Term Economic Viability of the Northern Distribution Network***

14:00 – 15:30

Development assistance: concepts and perspectives

Chair: Dr Indra Overland, Head, Energy Programme, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI), Oslo, Norway

Invited speakers:

- Mr Jonathon Hornbrook, Programme Director Support of Regional Economic Cooperation in Central Asia Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH: ***It's evidently not working, so why don't we admit it and try a new approach?***
- Dr Volker Jacoby, Senior Economic-Environmental Officer OSCE Center in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan: ***Recipient country's governance and international development assistance***
- Ms Ana Hozyainova, Director of Research, Afghanistan Public Policy Research Organization: ***Role of aid in developing sub-national governance in Afghanistan***

- 15:30 – 16:00 Coffee break
- 16:00 – 17:00 Looking Forward: Free discussion and concluding remarks from the Organisers
- 19:00 Concluding Informal Dinner – Steinbraeu Café jointly with participants of the OSCE Academy Alumni Conference "Central Asia: Comprehensive Security and Sustainable Development" (transportation from the OSCE Academy at 18:30 and Ak Keme hotel 18:45)

List of seminar participants

1. Mr Kumar Bekbolotov, Director, Soros-Kyrgyzstan
2. Mr Gordon Denoon, Humanitarian Affairs Officer, UN Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, Kyrgyzstan
3. Dr Pal Dunay, Course Director, International Training Course in Security Policy (ITC), GCSP
4. Mr Rasmus Egendal, Country Director, UN WFP, Kyrgyzstan
5. Dr Tim Epkenhans, Professor of Iranian and Islamic Studies, Centre for the Studies of Asian Culture and Social Anthropology, Albert-Ludwigs University of Freiburg, Germany
6. Ms Fiona Frazer, Officer-in-charge OHCHR
7. Dr Gregory Gleason, Professor of Eurasian Security Studies, George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Germany
8. Dr Garth Glentworth, Senior Regional Governance Advisor, DFID Office in Kyrgyz Republic
9. Dr. Olaf Heidelberg, Attaché, Project Manager, Delegation of the European Union to the Kyrgyz Republic
10. Mr Richard W. Haselwood, Deputy Country Representative, Office of Transition Initiatives, USAID
11. Mr Victor Harchenko, First Secretary, Russian Embassy
12. Dr John Heathershaw, Lecturer, Dept of Politics, University of Exeter
13. Dr Graeme P. Herd, Head, International Security Programme, Geneva Centre for Security Policy (GCSP), Geneva
14. Mr Faredun Hodizoda, Director of the Academy of Dialogue, Dushanbe, Tajikistan
15. Mr Jonathon Hornbrook, Programme Director Support of Regional Economic Cooperation in Central Asia Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH
16. Ms Ana Hozyainova, Director of Research, Afghanistan Public Policy Research Organization
17. Dr Volker Jacoby, Senior Economic-Environmental Officer OSCE Center in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan

18. Minister Ali Jalali, former Interior Minister of Afghanistan, and Distinguished Professor, Near East South Asia Center (NESAC)
19. Ms Jibeke Joensson, Political Officer, Delegation of the EU to Kyrgyzstan
20. Prof Nirmala Joshi, Director of India-Central Asia Foundation, New Delhi
21. Dr Roger Kangas, Professor in Central Asian Studies, Near East South Asia Center (NESAC), National Defense University
22. Dr Vadim Koziulin, Director, Conventional Arms Programme, PIR Center, Moscow
23. Dr Anna Kreikemeyer, Senior Research Fellow, Centre for OSCE Research (CORE), Hamburg
24. Dr Murat Laumullin, Senior Researcher, Institute of Strategic Studies, Kazakhstan
25. Dr David Lewis, Senior Research Fellow, Department of Peace Studies, University of Bradford
26. Dr Neil Melvin, Head of the Eurasia Programme, SIPRI
27. Mr David A. Merkel, Director of the Caspian and Black Sea Policy Forum
28. Mr Jomart Ormonbekov, Representative and Programme Officer for the Kyrgyz Republic, UNRCCA
29. Dr Indra Overland, Head, Energy Programme, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI), Oslo, Norway
30. Prof Ajay Patnaik, Chair of the Centre for Russian, East European and Central Asian Studies, School of International Studies, JNU, New Delhi
31. Dr John C. Reppert, Dean of the College of International and Security Studies, George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies
32. Dr Maxim Ryabkov, Director, OSCE Academy in Bishkek
33. Dr Ivan Safranchuk, Director of the Russian Representation of the International Center for Defensive Information, Chair of World Political Processes Department, Moscow State Institute of International Relations of the Russian Federation (MGIMO), Moscow
34. Mr Pradeep Sharma, Deputy Resident Representative, UNDP Kyrgyzstan
35. Dr Chyngyz Shamshiev, Director, National Institute for Strategic Studies, Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan
36. Prof Feng Shaolei, Director, Center for Russian Studies, School of Advanced International and Area Studies, East China Normal University

37. Mr Abdumalik Sharipov, Deputy-Director, Justice (Human Rights Organization), Kyrgyzstan
38. Mr Hans Schodder, Representative, UNHCR
39. Mr Azamat Temirkulov, head of the ICP Department, AUCA
40. Amb Andrew Tesoriere, Head of OSCE Center in Bishkek
41. Ms Brienne Todd, Research Associate/Editor, NESAI, Washington D.C.
42. Dr Farkhad Tolipov, Director, the Education and Research Institution "Knowledge Caravan", Tashkent, Uzbekistan
43. Dr Andrew Wachtel, Rector American University in Central Asia
44. Dr Thomas Wilhelm, Director, Foreign Military Studies Office, US Department of the Army at Ft Leavenworth, Kansas
45. Mr Ulrich Winkler, Deputy Regional Director Central Asia, GIZ
46. Mr Benjamin A. Witorsch, Political Officer, Embassy of the USA in Kyrgyzstan
47. Ms Violetta Yan, Deputy Director, OSCE Academy