



## New CORE-Project Security through Democratization?

The liberalization and democratization of the post-soviet states can be seen in the overall context of the global trend of the transition of totalitarian or authoritarian to democratic political systems. But, the mostly "from above" initialized democratization efforts lead to ambivalent results. Especially in such transition countries, in which state and nation building coincided, disturbing potentials surfaced causing destabilizing effects or even violence. Such destabilizations are initiated by a rapid increase of particular interests (sub-state actors, old elites such as military, bureaucracy, mafia, etc.) and their mutual interaction and will be further strengthened by a parallel weakness of institutions. During the transition phase only few cases (states) developed into functioning, representative democracies. Moreover, it can be observed that democratically elected regimes constantly ignore constitutional limitations to their power. Such political regimes which exist in the twilight zone of open autocracy and consolidated, liberal democracy, finally show a higher potential of political instability.

The OSCE is characterized by an unique normative connection between the human dimension and security. Therefore the democratic quality of intra-state relations becomes the legitimate object of interstate security concerns and co-operative regulation measures. The democratization work of the OSCE is thus not legitimized by the direct goal of perfecting democracy, but indirectly by the aim of averting threats to inter-state stability and security. Through this conduct the OSCE becomes an instrument of conflict prevention.

The planned CORE research project "Security through democratization?" is supposed to engage in a theoretically based analysis of those democratization measures of the OSCE which are relevant for security building by carrying out comparative case studies in the post-soviet region (Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan). It is therefore a first building brick in a larger context of the more or less undiscovered area of security building through democratization measures of external actors.

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The research project's theoretical objective is to formulate hypotheses about the interaction between liberalization and democratization processes and security.

Regarding the peace-strategic connections of the objectives of democracy and stability by the external actor OSCE the key question will be: In which way do OSCE democratization measures contribute to maintaining and strengthening stability and security?

The empirical aim will be a qualitative, inter-regional comparative analysis of three case studies. With the help of local co-operation partners the CORE researchers will investigate the security relevance of democratization processes and measures as well as institutional steering mechanisms of stable democracies and democratic stabilization by the OSCE (Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, Representative on Freedom of the Media, Parliamentary Assembly and OSCE field missions).

In this way the planned project contributes to the research of conflict prevention and the development of a strategy of democratic security. Furthermore, recommendations shall be given for optimization of field activities, instruments and cooperation networks in the field of the human dimension.

The project is funded by the Volkswagen Foundation. It will be carried out in 2003-2004 by Dipl.-Pol. Andrea Berg and Dr. Anna Kreikemeyer. (AK)

### **The OSCE and the Creation of Multi-ethnic Police Forces in the Balkans**

In the framework of OSCE post-conflict rehabilitation activities, the police components of missions are of increasing importance. Alongside monitoring human rights practices of local police forces it is necessary to reform, or even completely restructure, the indigenous police forces in order to secure a sustainable peace process. After international security forces have withdrawn, the local police must have both the ability and the will to prevent human rights violations, protect democratic institutions and resolutely fight corruption, organized crime and terrorism. The ability to provide for public security is one of the basic preconditions for socio-economic stabilization of crisis regions.

With regard to police reforms, the establishment of ethnically mixed police forces within multi-ethnic societies presents a particular challenge. In an environment which is characterized by ethnically motivated hatred and societal mistrust, police forces must be constituted of members of each group in the population. In any other case, the population groups – at least the minorities – will not have confidence in the security force, and will either flee or rely on vigilantism.

The OSCE police missions in Kosovo, Southern Serbia (Presevo Valley) and Macedonia as well as the UN police mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the WEU police mission in the city of Mostar illustrate how complex the task of creating multi-ethnic, indigenous police forces is following a civil war.

The aim of the study is to compare those five missions in order to analyse the specific problems of OSCE police reform missions, thereby contributing to the lessons learned process within the OSCE. Based on the analytical findings of the comparative case studies, conclusions will be drawn towards the development of a concept of “democratic police reforms” in areas of civil wars in the OSCE region. The concept will provide answers to the following questions:

How can former combatants be incorporated into the new police force? What selection criteria has to be applied? How can members of ethnic minorities be integrated into the new police force? Which measures are required to win the confidence of the population for the new police force? Which police models and principles of law can be used as a common ground for police reforms in different OSCE participating States, which have different traditions with regard to the police and justice?

What should a training curriculum look like? Which time frames are required for successful police reform? Which materials, financial and personnel resources are indispensable? Which means must the OSCE provide? And finally: What should a constructive contribution of Germany look like with respect to the development of OSCE police reform capacities?

The project is funded by the German Foundation for Peace Research [Deutsche Stiftung Friedensforschung] and is carried out by Thorsten Stodiek in 2003-2004. (TS)

## CORE-Workshop: Integrating Political Islam in Central Asia into a Peaceful Political Process

In the framework of the Tajikistan project the second CORE Workshop on the role of political Islam in the OSCE area took place from 22-24 November 2002 in Hamburg. It was sponsored by the German Foreign Office. While in the end of 2001 around 30 participants, among them four from Central Asian States had come together, to discuss the situation in the region, one year later the focus was directed to an exchange on selected problems amongst Western experts on Central Asia.

Around 25 researchers and representatives of international institutions in a first section addressed successes and deficits after one year of anti-terror-policy in Central Asia, the role of political Islam in state-and-nation-building processes, violent islamist extremism, the role of non-governmental organizations in their relationship towards civil society and religion and the question of conditionality in Western politics towards Central Asia. A second section was devoted to institutional responses to the above-mentioned questions. Representatives of the OSCE, the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR), the German and the Swiss Ministries for Foreign Affairs and the Japanese International Cooperation Agency (JICA) presented selected aspects of their Central Asia policy.

To a still greater extent than last year it became clear that there is a great need for clarification and research on questions of political Islam in Central Asia. The clarification of terminology is an important prerequisite to enter into the complexity of the questions mentioned above. In the course of the current research on Central Asia CORE will work out a list of research questions in 2003 and discuss it with the participants of the „Hamburg Group“. CORE also plans a follow-up workshop for next year.

### Guests

#### Delegation of Central Asian Parliamentarians Visits CORE

It was already for the second time that a multinational delegation of Central Asian parliamentarians visited CORE in the framework of the Federal Republic of Germany's guest programme. This year the trip to Germany was devoted to the theme "freedom of press and religion". Among the participants were experts for these questions. From Kazakhstan came Ms. **Saure Kadyrova**, the chairman of the Committee for Social and Cultural Development of the Kazakh Parliament, from Tajikistan the chairman of the Committee for Religious Affairs at the Government of Tajikistan, **Said Akhmedov**, together with **Amonullah Negmatov**, the chairman of the Council of Islamic Scholars (Ulema), from Kyrgyzstan **Kabai Dshabajevich Karabekov**, the chairman of the Committee for Public Associations and Information Policy together with **Alisher Akhmedovich Sabirov**, the chairman of the Committee for Religious Affairs, from Uzbekistan **Shersodchon Toshiddinovich Kudratchushajev**, Leading Member of the Press Service of the Presidential Apparatus together with the Secretary of the Embassy of Uzbekistan in Germany, **Ziyadulla Pulatchodshajev**. In this way, the objective of this project also is to contribute to corresponding country-specific training programmes of international organizations. The project is sponsored by the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (FE)



*The guests from Central Asia with CORE members (Photo HP)*

The deputy head of CORE, **Dr. Wolfgang Zellner** and several CORE researchers welcomed the guests. Zellner gave an introductory presentation on “The Research Tradition of IFSH – From Common Security During the East-West-Confrontation to Conflict Prevention as a Challenge and Duty” and introduced the work of the Centre for OSCE research. In a second part the Central Asia adviser of CORE, **Dr. Arne C. Seifert**, gave a presentation on “Dialogue between Secular and Islamist Forces in Central Asia.” In a pleasant atmosphere the topics of crisis prevention, common security with Central Asia and questions of the politization of Islam were discussed. (AK)

### Visit of the Kyrgyzs Minister of Education

On 15 November 2002 the Kyrgyzs Minister of Education, **Prof. Ishengul Boljurova**, visited CORE in the framework of the guest programme of the German Academic Exchange Service. Ms. Boljurova is decisively engaged in the build-up of an OSCE Academy in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan which is supported by the OSCE. The academy will be inaugurated on 17/18 December 2002. The proposal for the step-by-step-build up of such an academy was designed amongst others by CORE. It is based on the young researchers programme of IFSH (master and doctoral programme).



*Prof. Boljurova's lecture at CORE (to the left Dr. Wolfgang Zellner, to the right David Mikaelian (interpreter)  
(Photo MJ)*

In a talk in which also the Personal Representative of the Chairman-in-Office for Central Asia, **Ambassador Herbert Salber**, took part, Ms. Boljurova informed herself extensively about the research and activities of CORE and on the master as well as on the doctoral programme. On the IFSH side the deputy director **Prof. Dr. Hans-Joachim Giessmann**, on the side of CORE its deputy head **Dr. Wolfgang Zellner** and the CORE researchers **Dipl.-Pol. Claus Neukirch** and **Dr. Anna Kreikemeyer** took part in the meeting. All interlocutors agreed that a further institution for research and lecture on OSCE in the Euro-Asian area is most welcome and has to be supported with all energy. Ms Kreikemeyer will take part as a CORE representative in the inauguration of the OSCE Academy in December. In 2003 CORE researcher **Dr. Frank Evers** will work on co-operation issues with the Kyrgyzs OSCE Academy. After the talk Prof. Boljurova gave a lecture on the “Education Policy in a Global and Regional Context” for students of the master programme, members of the institute and guests. Once again it became clear how important it is to have more indepth information on this country far away at the Chinese border.

## Publications

### Now Available: OSCE Yearbook 2002 (German edition)

The question what contribution the OSCE can make to combating terrorism and/or what it has already undertaken in this area as well as a revived debate on OSCE reform have dominated the discussion within the OSCE in the past months. Both issues are extensively examined in the OSCE Yearbook 2002. In a proven manner, this eighth volume in the series contains first-hand reports on the activities of the Organization in numerous former and current conflict areas including, for the first time, an article on the OSCE Mission to Yugoslavia. In addition central topics of this volume embrace the “new era of cooperation” between the US and Russia as well as political Islam in Central Asia. Other articles are dedicated to such distressing topics as “trafficking in human beings” and “children in armed conflict”.

A total of over 30 internationally renowned authors, scientists as well as politicians and diplomats deal with questions of conflict prevention and peaceful settlement of disputes, the human dimension and democratic development, arms control and other OSCE task areas.

The volume has been supplemented with an appendix containing important OSCE documents, facts and figures on the 55 OSCE participating States as well as a comprehensive topical bibliography. After having been edited in Russian every other year from 1995-1999, the OSCE Yearbook is now also available in Russian language on a yearly basis, starting with the 2000 edition.

*Institut für Friedensforschung und Sicherheitspolitik an der Universität Hamburg/IFSH (Hrsg.), OSZE-Jahrbuch 2002. Jahrbuch zur Organisation für Sicherheit und Zusammenarbeit in Europa (OSZE), Baden-Baden 2002, 513 pages, ISBN 3-7890-8324-0.*

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