



The OSCE and Moldova 2003 – finally a success story?

The settlement of the Transdniestrian conflict in the Republic of Moldova has been declared one of the top priorities of the Dutch OSCE Chairmanship in 2003. The attention Moldova has received among delegations has consequently increased. The discussions in Vienna, The Hague and Chisinau are concentrated on three strongly interlinked subjects: (1) the conclusion of a final settlement agreement, (2) the withdrawal of the Russian troops still stationed in the Transdniestrian region by the end of 2003 and (3) the deployment of a peacekeeping operation under OSCE supervision.

To conclude, a final settlement agreement by the end of 2003 will be a hard task – although it is theoretically still possible. Following up an initiative by Moldovan president Vladimir Voronin from February this year, a Joint Constitutional Commission of Moldovan and Transdniestrian experts has been set up in April in order to draft a new constitution for Moldova. This constitution, which would transform Moldova into a federal but united state, would be subject to a referendum in early 2004. Elections for a new parliament of the re-integrated Moldovan state are envisaged for February 2005. However, only in mid-July did the Joint Commission start to work on actual drafts for the new constitution. Its work had been blocked by technical questions, mainly on its regulations and the question on where to meet. Political will to bring things forward rapidly is currently neither present in Chisinau nor Tiraspol. More incentives and sanctions by the European Union, the United States and also by Russia might bring the process forward. Still, one might advise the Bulgarian and even the Slovenian chairmanship to be prepared for intensive work in Moldova in the years to come.

Developments in the issue of troop withdrawal were more promising in the first half of 2003. At the 1999 Istanbul Summit, Russia committed itself to withdrawing all its troops and military equipment from Moldova by the end of 2002. This deadline was missed mainly due to Transdniestrian blockades and was extended at the Porto Ministerial to the end of 2003. Two developments have led to an end of Transdniestrian blockades in early March 2003: First, visa restrictions were imposed on 17 Transdniestrian leaders by the European Union, the associated countries and the United States and, secondly, an agreement has been reached between Transdniestria and the Gazprom on a 100 million dollar debt-write-off for gas deliveries in exchange for the withdrawal of military equipment.

Thus, between March and June 2003, the withdrawal of Russian military equipment and ammunition was proceeded with unprecedented speed, making the task of meeting the Porto deadline a realistic one.

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However, in mid-June, the withdrawal process stalled again after Transdniestrian authorities resumed their blockades with the argument that the agreed to write-off of debts had not been implemented. Thus, meeting the deadline set in Porto will be a tough task again. Therefore, Russia, the EU and the United States should consider using more leverage to assure at least a success in this field.

The question of a future peacekeeping operation is linked to progress in at least one of the issues mentioned above. Currently, a joint peacekeeping operation composed of Russian, Moldovan and Transdniestrian units has been deployed in a security zone stretching across both sides of the Dniestr River. These troops should be replaced by an operation under OSCE supervision after a final settlement agreement has been reached or even upon the completion of Russian troop withdrawal. Whether the future operation would be a genuine OSCE peacekeeping operation would also be dependent on the conclusions of the OSCE working group on peacekeeping, which is tasked to present its results on the reform of OSCE peacekeeping at the 2003 Maastricht Ministerial. Currently, it seems that the OSCE does not have the capacity to mount such an operation. A peacekeeping operation run jointly by the European Union and Russia, but mandated by the OSCE, may therefore be another option. In any case, some more diplomatic arm-wrestling in Chisinau, Tiraspol, Vienna, Brussels, Moscow and Washington might be needed before an agreement on this issue can be reached. Thus, by mid-2003, perspectives for a huge success in Moldova in 2003 will not be the best. However, 2003 might, for the first time, be referred to as the year of building the foundations for the OSCE success story in Moldova. (CN)

CORE Contribution to the OSCE Academy for Central Asia

A crucial period of CORE consulting activities at the OSCE Academy for Central Asia ended on 6 May of this year. At an informal meeting of the OSCE participating States in Vienna, the Co-ordinator of the academy, Ms. **Anara Nasyrova**, gave a report on the current state of activities establishing this new institution. She presented drafts of the academy's concept and budget including a proposal for a future M.A. programme "Central Asian Security and Co-operation Studies". The presentation was followed by talks with the Dutch Chairman-in-Office of the OSCE, the EU Troika, the Head of the Permanent Mission of the Federal Republic of Germany to the OSCE **Ambassador Dr. Dieter Boden** and staff of the OSCE Secretariat. The Acting Head of CORE **Dr. Wolfgang Zellner**, and **Dr. Frank Evers** also actively participated in these talks.

Tasked with assisting the process of establishing the academy by the German Foreign Office, CORE participated in drafting initial documents with the academy management. In this context, CORE was able to draw on the experiences it gained through its own establishment only three years ago as well as the know-how that the IFSH has accumulated while preparing and initiating its post-graduate "Master of Peace and Security Studies" programme. The creation of the OSCE Academy is, in addition to CORE, supported on an international level by the Geneva Centre for Security Policy; the Austrian Study Center for Peace and Conflict Resolution (ASPR), Stadtschlaining; and the Netherlands Institute of International Relations, Clingendael. On the Kyrgyz side, the academy is being given special attention by the president. Moreover, it is being championed by the foreign minister and the minister for education and culture who visited CORE in November of 2002.



Ambassador Alisher Salakhitdinov, Uzbekistan;
Dr. Sabine Machl, OSCE Secretariat; Dr. Wolfgang Zellner, Acting Head of CORE; Fredrik Schiller, Dep. Head, OSCE Conflict Prevention Centre

The academy will be an institution devoted to research and education. In these areas, it will develop special expertise on Central Asian security issues with and for the OSCE. Additionally, it will contribute to disseminating OSCE values in Central Asia. A special emphasis will be on "regionality", that is, the cooperation between the partners of all five Central Asian as well as neighbouring countries.

The future administrative set-up of the academy is to include, an international Board of Trustees, responsible for fundamental decisions, an Advisory Board who will deal with curricula and research projects as well as two co-directors, one Kyrgyz and an international one. CORE has expressed its willingness to contribute to the work of both these bodies on a long-term basis.

Currently, the work of the curriculum development group is receiving the most attention; **Dipl.-Pol. Andrea Berg** and **Dr. Frank Evers** are addressing this area. Ms Berg was seconded to Bishkek by the German Foreign Office to support the development of a curriculum for the master's program as well as to assist in drafting the regulations. On June 25, 2003 she had a meeting with the Minister of Education and Culture of the Kyrgyz Republic, **Prof. Dr. Ishengul Boljurova**, where she delivered the draft regulations. During the meeting Mrs. Boljurova expressed her gratitude to the German Foreign Office in general and CORE in particular. Upon the invitation of the Minister of Education and Culture high level government representatives and experts from Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan together with representatives of the OSCE and international academic institutions (Clingendael Institute, CORE) met in Issyk Kul/ Kyrgyzstan for a regional meeting on the status of the OSCE Academy for Central Asia. The participants adopted a proposal on the status of the Academy and decided to temporarily function as a Technical Steering Group (TSG). **Dr. Wolfgang Zellner** presented the draft study regulations elaborated by the Curriculum Development Group. The participants reviewed a draft working plan which had been developed by CORE and decided to meet again on 17 September in Bishkek to formally adopt the provisions on the status of the Academy as well as an updated work plan. (FE/AB)

German Association for Political Science (DVPW) Meeting of the Working Group on Pan-European Security Policy/OSCE

The working group on Pan-European Security Policy/OSCE met at the IFSH on 11 February 2003. Jointly chaired by **Prof. Kurt P. Tudyka** and the Acting Deputy Director of the IFSH **Dr. Wolfgang Zellner**, the participants discussed questions on the present development of the OSCE and presented ongoing projects. **Dr. Claus Neukirch** provided the participants with information on the 9th meeting of the OSCE Ministerial Council in Porto in December 2002. A lively debate ensued after the former head of the German Delegation to the OSCE **Ambassador Reinhard Bettzuege** delivered a speech on the topic of "Perspectives of the OSCE against the Background of NATO and EU enlargement". During the afternoon meetings, **Dipl.-Pol. Andrea Berg** introduced the new CORE project funded by the Volkswagen Foundation on the OSCE democratization initiatives in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan. **Prof. Peter Schlotter** of the Peace Research Institute Frankfurt (HFSK) spoke on a project concept which will examine EU and OSCE democratization policies comparatively exemplified in various case studies. **Dr. Heiko Borchert** (Dr. Heiko Borchert & Co., Consulting & Research, Luzern) presented the results of research on the topic of "The Development of the EU Regarding Security Policy and the Consequences for Switzerland". The participants of the meeting agreed to intensify their collaboration within the working group and to organize a larger meeting within the framework of the DVPW congress in September 2003. (WZ)

Meeting of German-Danish Network of Ethnic and Conflict Studies

On 4 March, the Institute for International Affairs (IIA) at the University of Hamburg and CORE jointly organized the "Third Meeting of the German-Danish Network of Ethnic and Conflict Studies". After a presentation on the IIA by **Prof. Stefan Oeter** and on CORE by its Acting Head, **Dr. Wolfgang Zellner**, Prof. Oeter gave a talk on "The Protection of Sinti and Roma as an Open Problem of European Minority Law". This was followed by a lecture by **Katrin Simhandl, M.A.** (CORE) on the issue of "The EU's Policy Regarding Roma Minorities in the Enlargement Process". After a spirited discussion following both presentations, the almost twenty members of the group decided to ask the University of Kiel to host the next meeting. (WZ)

OSCE Panel at the Annual Meeting of the German Society for East European Studies

Upon the invitation of the German Society for East European Studies (DGO), the Acting Head of CORE, **Dr. Wolfgang Zellner** moderated a panel on the issue of "Conflict Prevention by International Organiza-

tions? – The Role of the OSCE in Eastern Europe” on 6 March within the framework of the annual meeting of the German Society for East European Studies. Senior Advisor to the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities **Dr. Walter Kemp**, **Dr. Frank Evers** (CORE) and Senior Mission Programme Officer in the Conflict Prevention Centre at the OSCE Secretariat **Dr. Sabine Machl** were part of the panel. The very erudite discussion saw the participation of, among others, the Former Vice-President of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly **Prof. Dr. Rita Süßmuth** and the Former German Ambassador to Macedonia **Dr. Klaus Schrameyer**. (WZ)

Members of CORE Visit OSCE Institutions in Vienna

In the second week of March, the Acting Head of CORE **Dr. Wolfgang Zellner** and researchers **Dr. Frank Evers**, **Dr. Claus Neukirch** and **Wolfgang Sporrer M.A.** travelled to Vienna for talks with the heads and other personnel of various permanent delegations to the OSCE, and with representatives of the Chairman-in-Office and the Secretariat. The discussions concentrated on the reform of OSCE field missions, the so-called “new threats” and a range of regional problems. The Norwegian and the German delegation offered Dr. Zellner the opportunity to present CORE and its work to a wider audience of heads of delegations and other parties. In an exchange with the Secretary General of the OSCE **Ambassador Jan Kubiš**, Dr. Zellner discussed the current state of ongoing co-operation projects and possibilities of extending co-operation between the OSCE and CORE. (WZ)

Interregional Research Co-operation with Central Asia

In April 2003, **Dipl.-Pol. Andrea Berg** and **Dr. Anna Kreikemeyer** began on site co-operation with Central Asian partners in the context of their research project on “Security through Democratization?” funded by the Volkswagen Foundation. The two researchers travelled to Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan in order to hold interviews with potential partners for co-operation. The local contract staff will be tasked with elaborating, within the context of the project, studies on chosen democratization processes with a special emphasis on the role of the OSCE as an external actor.

The political scientists selected met with the project researchers, **Dipl.-Pol. Andrea Berg** and **Dr. Anna Kreikemeyer**, at the beginning of June for an introductory seminar on the premises of the OSCE Academy in Kyrgyzstan. The aim was to co-ordinate planning. The scientists in Kazakhstan included **Dr. Dossym A. Satpaev**, director of the Assessment Risks Group; **Dr. Erlan T. Karin**, director and editor of the journal “Central Asia: Politics and Economy” as well as chairman of the Kazakh Political Science Association (KPSA); and **Sofia Issenova**, lawyer at the Global Internet Policy Initiative (GIPI), all from Almaty. **Gulsara Osorova**, a researcher at the International Institute for Strategic Studies, which is part of the presidential infrastructure of the Kyrgyz Republic, and **Dr. Atyrkul Alisheva**, director of the Institute for Regional Studies, were among the researchers from Bishkek/Kyrgyzstan. The Uzbek participants from Tashkent were **Dr. Farchod F. Tolipov** of the Faculty of International Relations at the University for World Economy and Diplomacy and **Marina Pikulina**, co-ordinator at the S-Monitor Group for Social Sciences and Political Analyses. The co-operation partners will work on their studies until the end of 2003 and will meet with the CORE staff again to discuss their contributions. For more information, visit www.core-hamburg.de (AK)

Visit at the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR)

Upon the invitation of the newly appointed Director of ODIHR Ambassador **Christian Strohal**, the Acting Head of CORE **Dr. Wolfgang Zellner** together with **Dr. Anna Kreikemeyer** and **Wolfgang Sporrer, M.A.** visited the ODIHR in Warsaw on 8 May this year. During the first half of the day-long meeting, Dr. Zellner introduced the ODIHR staff to the work of CORE. This was followed by regional working group meetings opened by Wolfgang Sporrer (the Balkans) and Anna Kreikemeyer (Central Asia). A luncheon with Ambassador Strohal, his deputy **Steven Wagenseil** and the Head of the Democratization Section **Eric Rudenshiold** was followed by discussions with individual staff members. The ODIHR and CORE expressed an interest in following up on this exchange between researchers and practitioners. Both institutions think this could be fruitful. (AK)

CORE at the 11th Meeting of the OSCE Economic Forum

“Trafficking in Human Beings, Drugs, Small Arms and Light Weapons – National and International Economic Impact” was the headline of the this-year’s 11th Meeting of the OSCE Economic Forum. The annual Forum which is traditionally held in Prague was conducted on 20-23 May 2003. The Forum was understood to be another contribution to ongoing discussions on designing the future role of the OSCE within the changing European security environment. The very topic of the Forum represented a subject affecting all the three baskets of OSCE endeavours. As a result of the Forum, a number of specific recommendations were made, such as involving the business community into OSCE anti-trafficking activities as well as establishing an OSCE-led international network of anti-trafficking NGOs. It is also to install a special OSCE anti-trafficking representative. The Dutch OSCE Chairman-in-Office paid special emphasis to ongoing elaborations on a specific OSCE Action Plan to Combat Trafficking in Human Beings. In a special session, the Forum discussed a new strategy for the Economic and Environment Dimension of the OSCE. As members of the German delegation, **Prof. Dr. Kurt P. Tudyka** and **Dr. Frank Evers** participated in the Forum. Earlier on, CORE was active in advising on the economic and environmental dimension of OSCE field activities. At various events of the OSCE calendar, CORE has also contributed to related security discussions, especially with a view toward developments in the South Caucasus. (FE)

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First Round Tables of the Secular-Islamist Working Group in Tajikistan

In the framework of the German-Swiss dialogue project “Creating a Peace-Building Dialogue to Promote Co-operation and Co-existence between Cultures and Civilizations in the OSCE Area”, **Dr. Arne C. Seifert** and **Delia Rahmonova-Schwarz, M.A.** were in Dushanbe from May 31 to June 14, 2003. Preparing two round table discussions, they held individual talks with 16 Tajik participants. Both in these talks and in the discussions, the Swiss partners **Dr. Jean-Nicolas Bitter** (Foreign Office of Switzerland) and **Frédérique Guérin** (Institut des Hautes Etudes Internationales, Geneva) took part. On 9 June, two working groups held discussions on “Confidence-Building Measures” and “The Role of Islam in the National State”. Both sides were able to compromise. This persuaded the German and Swiss project coordinators to continue the discussions on open questions with the secular-Islamist working groups in September 2003. Beyond that Dr. Seifert and Ms. Rahmonova-Schwarz held preparatory talks for the visit of the Informal German-Tajik Working Group in Germany and Switzerland (see below). (DRS)

Moldova II

The Republic of Moldova is not only a priority of the Dutch OSCE Chairmanship 2003, but has also received attention from the public and academia in Germany and elsewhere. CORE’s expert for this country, **Dr. Claus Neukirch**, has therefore taken up several invitations to participate in events related to Moldova. On 10 April, he gave an introductory speech at a discussion on the future prospects of Moldova, organized by the Lutheran Academy of Berlin. On 8 May, he participated in a brainstorming session on the future of Moldova-EU relations, called on by the president of the South East Europe Association, **MP Gernot Erler**, deputy head of the Social Democratic Fraction in the German Bundestag. From 21 May to 11 June, Dr. Neukirch undertook a research trip to Moldova in order to conduct interviews with representatives of the OSCE, the Council of Europe, the International Monetary Fund as well as with local embassies, NGOs and representatives from the Moldovan and Transdniestrian authorities. Built upon these extensive interviews, which were complemented by shorter trips to the OSCE in Vienna and to the EU in Brussels, Dr. Neukirch prepared a report on the current status quo of the Moldovan-Transdniestrian negotiation process, commissioned by the International Crisis Group. The report is to be published by the end of July and can be accessed at www.crisisweb.org. While in Moldova, Dr. Neukirch gave a speech on “The European Perspectives and the Strengthening of Democracy” at a seminar titled “Moldova’s Democratic Stability: Current Situation and Perspectives”, jointly organized by the Moldovan Institute for European Studies and the Council of Europe on 30 May -1 June 2003 in Chisinau. On 10 June 2003, he acted as rapporteur for the working group on governmental structures at the round table on “Federalism, Reconciliation and Reconstruction: A Discourse on Moldova and Resolution of the Transdniestrian Conflict”, hosted by the OSCE Mission to Moldova in co-operation with the Open Society Institute. (CN)

CORE at the 1st OSCE Annual Security Review Conference

On June 25 - 26, 2003, the 1st Annual Security Review Conference of the OSCE was conducted in Vienna. The Conference was thought to be a particular contribution to strengthening the role of the OSCE in politico-military security-building in Europe. Thus, considerations about the first basket of OSCE activities built the special framework of the agenda of the conference. Discussions in the working groups aimed at preventing and combating terrorism, comprehensive security building, handling security risks and challenges across the OSCE region as well as conflict prevention and crisis management. One of the priority issues discussed at the Conference was the enlargement of NATO and the European Union having lead to a new security constellation within the OSCE area. In some understanding, newly emerging European dividing lines were understood as being interrelated with new security challenges. Attention was drawn to new features of the transatlantic relationship. Also, the conference touched upon the emergence of non-state actors threatening the European security situation. In this context, special concern was expressed about the impact of September 11 and new forms of international terrorism. The Conference was tasked with recommending new tasks in the field of collective OSCE security-building. Emphasis was put on the OSCE being uniquely designed for fulfilling commitments in areas like military confidence-building, arms control and security sector reforms. **Prof. Dr. Kurt P. Tudyka** and **Dr. Frank Evers** participated in the conference as members of the German delegation. (FE)

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Informal German-Tajik Working Group Meets in Berlin

On 28 June 2003, CORE welcomed the Tajik members of the Informal German-Tajik Working Group in Berlin to various meetings. The first one was a round table discussion with members of the German Bundestag. Among the participants were Ms **Hedi Wegener** (MP, Social Democrats, and chairwoman of the German and Central Asian parliamentary group), who had already participated in the Dushanbe meeting of the Working Group in 2002 and **Winfried Nachtwei** (MP, Green Party) as well as the Acting Head of CORE **Dr. Wolfgang Zellner** and the research fellows **Dr. Arne C. Seifert** and **Delia Rahmonova-Schwarz, MA**. From the Tajik secular side, the Presidential Adviser **Prof. Ibrahim Usmonov**, the Minister of Justice **Chalifabobo Hamidov** and the Deputy Foreign Minister **Prof. Abdunabi Sattorov**, and, from the Islamist side, the Deputy Heads of the Islamic Revival Party of Tajikistan, **Muhammadscharif Himmatsoda** and **Muhiddin Kabiri** took part.

The talks touched upon the relationship between Europe and the Muslim regions of the OSCE, and European security interests and political Islam in the OSCE area. The meeting at the German Foreign Office was chaired by its Islam delegate, **Ambassador Gunter Mullack**. The discussions were supplemented by two public panel discussions at the German Agency for Technical Co-operation (GTZ) and the Rosa-Luxemburg-Foundation. (DRS)

GUESTS

On 22 January 2003, the Co-ordinator of the OSCE Academy in Kyrgyzstan, Ms. **Anara Nasyrova** and a member of the OSCE Centre in Bishkek, **Peter Felch**, met with the Acting Head of CORE, **Dr. Wolfgang Zellner** and CORE researchers **Dipl.-Pol. Andrea Berg**, **Dr. Frank Evers** and **Dr. Anna Kreikemeyer**. These talks focussed on CORE's contribution towards the establishment of the master's programme at the academy and co-operation in the area of research projects. The Deputy Director of the IFSH, **Prof. Hans-Joachim Gießmann**, held a presentation on the concept behind the "Master of Peace and Security Studies" at the University of Hamburg. (WZ)

On 5 February, the Head of the Permanent Delegation of Norway to the OSCE **Ambassador Mette Kongsheim** visited the Centre for OSCE Research.



Ambassador Mette Kongsheim (right) discussing with CORE members (Photo:SK)

A lively discussion, in which the Acting Head of CORE **Dr. Wolfgang Zellner** and the CORE research fellows **Dr. Anna Kreikemeyer**, **Dr. Claus Neukirch** and **Wolfgang Sporrer, M.A.** participated, was primarily focused on questions of reforming OSCE field activities.

STAFF

In January 2003 **Dipl.-Pol. Andrea Berg** started her work at CORE in the project on “Security through Democratization?”. She studied political science and Turkish studies at Free University Berlin and wrote her Ph.D. thesis in Islamic studies at the Institute of Oriental Studies at Ruhr-University-Bochum on “Global concepts versus local reality - A study on NGOs in Uzbekistan”. Her areas of concentration are the problems of democratization in Central Asia, gender studies and network analysis. Before beginning at CORE, she worked as an advisor for development organizations in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan.

On 15 March 2003, **Delia Rahmonova-Schwarz, M.A.** started her work as a research fellow in the CORE project “Creating a Peace-Building Dialogue to Promote Co-operation and Co-existence between Cultures and Civilizations in the OSCE Area”. After her studies at the State University in Buchara, Uzbekistan she studied English Linguistics as well as American and Romance Languages at St. Michael's College, Vermont, at the Université Lille III, France and at the Ruhr-University in Bochum, Germany. Her excellent knowledge of Uzbek, Tajik and Russian is an asset in her work at CORE.

CORE-News

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