



Many Decisions, No Final Declaration

11th Meeting of the OSCE Ministerial Council
Maastricht (The Netherlands)
1 – 2 December 2003

On 1 – 2 December 2003, the OSCE held the 11th Meeting of the Ministerial Council in Maastricht (Netherlands). In positive contrast to last year's meeting in Porto (Portugal), the overwhelming majority of the OSCE participating States was represented by its ministers of foreign affairs or officials equal in rank. In light of recent developments in Georgia, U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell, his Russian colleague Igor Ivanov and Acting President of Georgia Nino Burjanadze were the focus of attention. Meanwhile, public awareness of the 11th Ministerial appeared to be OSCE in-house manufactured. The event's international media coverage was negligible.

The 2003 Maastricht Ministerial took a number of decisions. The main decisions were as follows: The Annual Report; Terms of Reference for the OSCE Counter-Terrorism Network; Man Portable Air Defence Systems; Tolerance and Non-Discrimination; the OSCE Document on Stockpiles of Conventional Ammunition; Combating Trafficking in Human Beings, the Action Plan on Improving the Situation of Roma and Sinti within the OSCE Area; the OSCE Strategy Document for the Economic and Environmental Dimension; the OSCE Strategy to Address Threats to Security and Stability in the Twenty-First Century; the Further Dialogue and Co-operation with the Partners for Co-operation and Exploring the Scope for Wider Sharing of OSCE Norms, Principles and Commitments with Others; Elections and the Travel Document Security.

For the first time since three years, the Maastricht Ministerial did not issue a final declaration. The reason for this was a split between Russia and the West over the conflict in Transdniestria (Moldova) and the political crisis in Georgia after President Eduard Shevardnadze's overthrow. Consequently, the Ministerial Council did also not issue any regional statements on Moldova and Georgia. The intensive negotiations on these statements which were conducted until the early hours of 2 December were all in vain as Russia decided to take an intransigent and non-co-operative attitude.

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The OSCE Ministerial Council meets once a year towards the end of every term of chairmanship to consider issues relevant to the OSCE and to make appropriate decisions. In the interim between the OSCE summits, decision-making and governing power lies with the Ministerial Council, whose members are the foreign ministers of the OSCE participating States. The OSCE emphasises that Ministerial Councils help to maintain a link between the political decisions taken at the summits and the day-to-day functioning of the OSCE, thus providing a point of reference to its other institutions. The Ministerial Council was established by the Charter of Paris for a New Europe (1990) under the original name of "Council of Ministers for Foreign Affairs". The 1992 Helsinki Document reaffirmed its role as the central decision-making and governing body of the OSCE and gave it more extensive powers in the field of conflict prevention and crisis management. The 1994 Budapest Document renamed "Ministerial Council" and fully confirmed its pivotal political role.

In both cases, the most contentious issue was the Russian military presence in these countries. Particularly, the Dutch OSCE Chairperson-in-Office and the US blamed Russia for not fulfilling its earlier commitment to completely withdraw its forces from Moldova and Georgia by the end of 2003. The Russian Federation was also criticized by the US and the EU for trying to side-line the OSCE in the Moldovan-Transdnestrian negotiation process. The draft agreement of mid-November proposed by Russia to both sides – which was without prior co-ordination with the OSCE Mission there – would have assured a Russian military presence in Moldova until at least 2020. What is more, the Russian plan would have given Transdnestria, de facto, veto rights to the extent that the viability of the future of the Moldovan state would have been put into question. Consequently, the Russian plan was not endorsed by the OSCE, and there are strong reasons to believe that the reservations expressed by the OSCE Chairpersonship, the US and the EU have contributed considerably to the collapse of the plan the week before Maastricht.

As Russia blocked the OSCE on all matters related to Georgia and Moldova, the OSCE Chairperson-in-Office reflected the position of the remaining participating States on these issues in a perception statement. The most sensitive issues which were touched upon at the Ministerial were also quasi summarized in statements made by US Secretary of State Colin Powell. In addition to the aforementioned criticism of Russia, the proposal was made that the OSCE take a leading role in creating a genuinely international peace-consolidation force for Moldova which is multilateral in character and limited in scope and duration. Developments in Moldova were verbally mentioned in the context of EU enlargement plans that imply Moldova as a neighbouring country of the European Union after Romania's possible accession in 2007. Russia and Georgia were urged to resolve remaining issues relating to Russian military activities in Georgia. With respect to this, the future ratification of the Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty by the US was made dependent on Russia's fulfilment of its 1999 Istanbul commitments regarding Moldova and Georgia. It was requested that Russia ensure respect for human rights, even as it combats terrorism and upholds its territorial integrity. In light of developments in Chechnya, it was stated that, according to the Helsinki Final Act, lasting security requires not only respect for the sovereignty of states, but also respect for the integrity of human beings. In addition, Belarus was criticized for conducting a systematic campaign against the independent media and against non-governmental organizations. Turkmenistan was criticized for persecuting political opponents and religious minorities.

Unquestionably, the records of the Maastricht Ministerial Council show a number of positive results. Among the decisions listed above, it is especially worth drawing attention to its intention to establish an OSCE Counter-Terrorism Network (CTN). Decisions made on Man Portable Air Defence Systems (MANPADS) and Tolerance and Anti-Discrimination might be viewed in the same anti-terrorism context. The OSCE Strategy Document for the Economic and Environmental Dimension represents the outcome of the collective efforts of one of the special OSCE working groups. It develops the 1990 Bonn Document. The eleven-page "OSCE Strategy to Address Threats to Security and Stability in the Twenty-First Century" includes a short catalogue of security threats. It views the prime responsibility of providing security as lying with the individual participating States. The Strategy deals with the OSCE response to security threats and decisions which were made on the details of annual reporting procedures. The Maastricht Ministerial Council brought together pledges made to provide more than five million euros in immediate assistance to Georgia to help the country organize presidential and parliamentary elections. It was decided that Belgium would exercise the functions of the OSCE Chairpersonship in 2006. The 12th Meeting of the OSCE Ministerial Council convenes in Bulgaria on 6 and 7 December 2004.

Irrespective of the 55 delegations' divide over the abovementioned positions of Russia, it is questionable whether the entire event was a "setback". The many decisions that were made demonstrated rather the OSCE's ability to gradually surmount obstacles to European security-building while not rushing into (final) decisions. In this respect, Maastricht has also proved those voices wrong which had earlier claimed that it is a "do or to die" situation for the OSCE in Maastricht. Neither did the OSCE "sell" Moldova and Georgia to Russia as critics have claimed, nor has the organization lost relevance. (FE/CN)

Working in OSCE Field Missions

In December 2003, CORE completed its first consultancy project for the OSCE, namely for the Training Section of the Department of Human Resources at the OSCE Secretariat in Vienna.

The 15-month project addressed recruitment, selection and preparation as well as working and employment conditions of international seconded field personnel. It also examined to what extent employees are able to contribute to the achievement of the Organization's goal. Dr. Annette Legutke conducted the project which was mainly based on an OSCE-wide survey among all seconded field personnel in missions, and in-depth interviews with senior officials in the missions and the OSCE Secretariat.

The final report comprises of the results of the study and includes recommendations which focus on procedural and broader structural areas. The study was funded by the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs, OSCE voluntary contributions and by the OSCE Training Section. (AL)

Consultancy for the Informal Open-Ended Group of Friends of the Chair on Improving the Functioning and Effectiveness of OSCE Field Operations

At the personal invitation of the Canadian Chair of the Group of Friends, CORE researcher **Dr. Frank Evers** provided special input to the Group's second plenary meeting at the Vienna Hofburg Palace on 13 November 2003. In an opening presentation to the plenary, Dr. Evers explained CORE's position on new forms and thematic focuses of OSCE on-site operations in various countries and regions. Prior to the plenary, the Canadian Chair of the Group, **Ambassador Evelyn Puxley**, arranged three regional discussions for sounding out and discussing particular positions towards maintaining and hosting OSCE field operations. These meetings were also based on opening speeches delivered by Dr. Evers.

The meetings were a continuation of earlier consultations between CORE and the Chair of the Group, which were conducted throughout the year. A positive response was received from the Dutch OSCE Chairperson-in-Office. Once again, CORE attested its developed capacities in providing consultancy in on-going OSCE reform discussions.

Under the headline "Diversifying and Focusing" and pursuant to requests of the Chair of the Group and a number of national delegations, Dr. Evers and Acting CORE Head **Dr. Wolfgang Zellner** submitted a position paper to the Group summarizing CORE proposals on new forms of OSCE field operations. (FE)

Further CORE Engagement toward Establishing the OSCE Academy in Bishkek

CORE's advisory efforts toward establishing the OSCE Academy in Bishkek have been carried forward by Acting Director **Dr. Wolfgang Zellner** as well as **Dr. Andrea Berg** and **Dr. Frank Evers**. In early 2003, CORE was tasked by the German MFA to continue its earlier work on this subject. In particular, CORE was decisively engaged in the establishment and activities of the Academy's Technical Steering Committee (TSC) - an international interim body designed to co-ordinate co-operation between the Government of the Kyrgyz Republic, the Academy Management, the OSCE CPC in Vienna, the OSCE Centre in Bishkek, as well as the Academy's four international partner institutes. The Committee which was established in July 2003 took general responsibility for setting all necessary inauguration procedures in motion. On behalf of CORE, Dr. Zellner attended the Committee's two working meetings at Lake Issyk-Kul and in Bishkek in July and September 2003 respectively.

Also, CORE contributed to the further elaboration of the concept and the curriculum of the Academy's "Master of Political Science (Central Asia)". In this regard, the activities of the international Curriculum Development Group were largely based on CORE contributions, elaborated by Dr. Evers. Dr. Berg participated in the Group's activities during two business trips to Bishkek. Under CORE engagement, the

Curriculum Development Group, inter alia, elaborated details for launching a pilot semester on 1 February 2004. In addition, CORE provided assistance to the whole foundation process by means of intensive editorial work via e-mail and consultancy activities for the interested delegations of the OSCE participating States. Corresponding lobbying work was mainly based on individual talks with heads and other members of the delegations in Vienna.

On 21 October 2003, Dr. Zellner, Dr. Berg und Dr. Evers gave a special CORE-briefing to about 20 delegations of OSCE participating States on the subject of the Academy's concept and possibilities of utilizing and contributing to the Academy. The briefing was arranged at the invitation of the Permanent Mission of the Federal Republic of Germany to the OSCE at the Vienna Hofburg Palace. In this form, the briefing was a novelty in the co-operation efforts between CORE and the Mission.

The briefing and a number of purposeful talks between CORE and the heads of the delegations was conducted with a special view toward the pending decisions of the Technical Steering Committee. In this respect, the TSC Vienna meeting on 22 October established the Academy's international board of trustees. As a result of earlier discussions, the TSC finally agreed on the Academy's name, which is now "OSCE Academy in Bishkek". The Delegations of Canada, Germany and Switzerland made statements on likely voluntary non-budgetary contributions to the Academy's 2004 budget. Long-term secondments of experts arranged by Austria and Germany were also emphasized. Of special political weight was the expression of intention by a number of Central Asian Delegations to promote and contribute to the Academy. In a separate meeting on the same day, the newly established Board of Trustees made decisions on the Academy's management, which is now under the leadership of a Kyrgyz President, two international Co-directors (for Management and Academic Affairs respectively) and a Deputy Director. Decisions were made on the structure of the Advisory Board and the Admission Commission. In the future, Dr. Berg und Dr. Evers will represent CORE at the Advisory Board, Dr. Evers in the Admission Commission. (FE)

CORE Releases Mission Information Package on South Caucasus

Now available at the CORE website is a Mission Information Package (MIP) on the South Caucasus. The MIP is the second in a series of induction papers for incoming members of the OSCE, UN and other international field missions. CORE researcher **Dr. Frank Evers** has compiled the package with the support of a special CORE team. Valuable advice from experts from the region has been included in the MIP. The paper's purpose is to provide background information on the region and international field endeavours in a concise and user-friendly format. The MIP includes basic country information on Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia, a brief history and concise analysis of regional conflicts and conflict potentials in the South Caucasus, an overview of foreign interests in South Caucasus affairs, an overview of international organizations that are involved in conflict management and development co-operation in the region as well as references to relevant Internet resources.

The MIP aims to offer the reader an academic synthesis of the vast literature available in a cogent, digestible and applicable form. As mentioned, it provides members of international field activities in the region with a compact source of information. It is also meant to be used by participants in international peace mission training courses which are organized by the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA). Likewise, it is hoped that the package will be of interest to officials of other international organizations, NGOs and governmental agencies as well as students and academics interested in the subject matter. The German MFA has sponsored the compilation of the MIP. (FE)

Conference Contributions, Lectures and Courses on Central Asia

In the framework of the scientific conference of 20-22 November 2003 on the latest research by the German Middle East Studies Association for Contemporary Research and Documentation (DAVO), **Dr. Anna Kreikemeyer** moderated a discussion panel on the topic of "Problems of Transition in Central Asia" and gave a lecture on the "OSCE as an external actor in Central Asia". **Dr. Andrea Berg**, who is also working on the project, lectured on the topic "It does not matter how we vote, the result is always the same - Problems of transition in Kyrgyzstan". On 14 and 21 November 2003, she also held a lecture on "Democracy: A Culture of the West? Non governmental actors, local structures and international organizations in Central Asia" at Humboldt University's post-graduate programme in Middle East and Caucasus Studies in Berlin. Additionally, on 18 Nov 2003, Ms. Berg, together with CORE research fellow

Delia Rahmonova-Schwarz M.A., gave a lecture on present-day conflicts in Central Asia at the Leadership Academy of the German Federal Armed Forces in Hamburg. (AB/AK)

CORE Lecture at German-Armenian Society

On 3 November 2003, CORE researcher **Dr. Frank Evers** held a lecture on the subject of "The OSCE and International Co-operation in Resolving the Armenian-Aseri Conflict. The Utilization of National and Group Interests". The Hessian Representation in Berlin hosted the lecture, which was a joint activity of CORE and the German-Armenian Society (GAS). The event was part of the GAS Berlin Series of Lectures. (FE)

Research Interviews at the OSCE in Vienna

From 20-23 October, CORE staff members, **Dr. Andrea Berg**, **Dr. Anna Kreikemeyer**, **Dr. Frank Evers** and Acting Head of CORE **Dr. Wolfgang Zellner** traveled to Vienna to hold background discussions. Aside from CORE briefings to the delegations of participating States on the concept of an OSCE Academy in Bishkek and participation in the constitutive meeting of the international board of trustees (see above), many discussions with members and heads of delegations took place. (AK)

Preparations for the Bulgarian OSCE Chairpersonship 2004

On 13 October 2003, the Acting Head of CORE, **Dr. Wolfgang Zellner**, gave a lecture on "The OSCE Role Today" in the framework of a training course for the Bulgarian OSCE Chairpersonship team 2004 in Sofia, organized by the Geneva Centre for Security Policy.

CORE at Human Dimension Implementation Meeting 2003

In October, **Wolfgang Sporrer**, Researcher at CORE, participated in this year's Human Dimension Implementation Meeting, which was organized by the OSCE's Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR). The meeting is the largest gathering of delegations of OSCE Participating States with NGOs and academic institutions. The conference engaged more than 600 participants from institutions active in the field of the OSCE's Human Dimension. This year's meeting was focused on Human Rights in Central Asia and Belarus, but also high up on the agenda were questions regarding the freedom of the media in the Russian Federation and the conduct of the US regarding the prisoners in Guantanamo Bay. In informal talks at the conference, CORE had the opportunity to discuss a broad range of topics with representatives of OSCE delegations and representatives of NGO's. In addition, information material on CORE's activities and projects was distributed among the participants.

Creating a Peace-Building Dialogue with Moderate Islamists in Tajikistan and Central Asia

From 13 September to 4 October 2003, the second round of discussions of the German-Swiss dialogue project was carried out in Dushanbe, Tajikistan, in which representatives of the secular and moderate Islamist forces participated. The two CORE research fellows **Dr. Arne Seifert** and **Delia Rahmonova-Schwarz** and their Swiss colleagues, **Dr. Jean-Nicolas Bitter** (Swiss Foreign Ministry) and **Frédérique Guérin** (Geneva Graduate Institute for International Studies (HEI)), worked together with five working groups and their secular and moderate Islamist project partners. The secular and the Islamic side

emphasized the importance of sustaining the dialogue process. Apart from a number of compromise papers, the Tajik project participants submitted research papers in which they delved into the five focal issues of the discussions in the working groups: further concretization of the principle of separation of state and religion, place and role of Islam in the national state, reform of religious education and religious radicalization. The results of the secular-Islamic dialogue are then to be compiled under the title of "Confidence Building Measures", which, at the same time, is the fifth issue in the dialogue process. Both the paper on confidence-building measures and the research papers of the Tajik, Swiss and German

project participants are to be published at the beginning of 2004. In addition, on 15-16 November 2003, CORE organized a workshop called "A European Blueprint for Co-operation and Co-existence with Political Islam in Central Asia". In this workshop, a group of experts on Central Asia, political sciences specialists and staff members of the German and Swiss Foreign Ministries held thought-provoking discussions about the co-existence of political Islam and security in the OSCE area. (DRS/AS)

Annual Meeting of the German Political Science Association

On 24 September 2003, the Acting Head of CORE, **Dr. Wolfgang Zellner**, chaired a panel discussion on "EU! NATO! To what end does Europe still need an OSCE?" which took place in the frame of the Annual Conference of the German Political Science Association in the city of Mainz. Participants were **Prof. Dr. Rita Süßmuth**, former Vice President of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly, **Dr. Friedhelm Frischenschlager** (OSCE Mission in Kosovo), **Dr. Andrei Zagorski**, Deputy Director of the Institute for Applied International Studies, Moscow, and **Prof. Dr. Kurt P. Tudyka** (CORE). In a lively discussion, panel discussants agreed that crises and discussions on crises have gone hand-in-hand with the CSCE and OSCE throughout its entire history. In this respect the current "crises" of the OSCE should not be overestimated, for the work of the Organization is still irreplaceable. (WZ)

CORE Member Seconded to the OSCE Mission to Moldova

Dr. Claus Neukirch, researcher at CORE, was appointed on 1 September 2003 as Press and Public Affairs Officer to the OSCE Mission to Moldova in Chisinau, Moldova. In addition to dealing with the press, he also establishes relations between the Mission and Parliament and international representations. (AK)

Guests

On 16 October 2003, **John Mikal Kvistad**, Advisor to the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, visited CORE to discuss certain problems in the development of the OSCE - in particular, problems concerning the future reform of the Organization. On 28 October 2003 and on 16 December 2003, **Dr. Hendrik Fenz** from the Asia-Africa Institute at the University of Hamburg gave a lecture on the presidential elections in Azerbaijan and on parliamentary elections in Russia at two of CORE's regular meetings. On 11 December 2003, **Prof. Akiko Fukushima**, Director of Policy Studies and Senior Research Fellow at the National Institute for Research Advancement (NIRA), Tokyo, visited CORE for discussions with members of its Central Asia Research Group. (AK)

Final Report of the Evaluation of the EC Pilot Project "Training Courses on Civilian Aspects of Crisis Management"

In 2001, the European Commission took the initiative of launching the "EC Project on Training for Civilian Aspects of Crisis Management" to contribute to the Member States' efforts in establishing personnel pools for rapid deployment in crisis management operations. During January and July 2003, fourteen EU pilot training courses were offered in nine EU Member States. Four "CORE Courses" aimed at providing general preparation for mission involvement, regardless of the participants' specific function in a future mission. Ten "Specialization Courses" in the areas of democratization and good governance, rule of law, human rights and civilian administration aimed at preparing trainees for specific functions not necessarily related to a specific mission.

The evaluation examined the overall effectiveness of the EU pilot courses with respect toward their contribution to the development of common training standards. Strengths and weaknesses in planning and implementing the first pilot training courses were assessed in order to provide guidance for further elaborating course outlines and successfully establishing personnel pools for rapid deployment in crisis management operations.

The evaluation referred to different sources of information and different types of information gathering such as analysis of documents and course material, large-scale surveys among course participants of

EU pilot courses, interviews with course organizers and lecturers as well as visits to different training courses. The evaluation report was delivered to the EU Group on training in August 2003. (AL)

Field Research in Kosovo – Report on a Research Field Trip

Three years after his last trip to the crisis region, the IFSH/CORE researcher, **Dr. Thorsten Stodiek** made a trip to Kosovo to conduct interviews, where, with the support of the Department of Police Education and Development of the OSCE Mission in Kosovo and the UNMIK Police, he launched a broad-based written survey of international and local police. While the research focus in 2000 had been directed at the set up of the international UNMIK police force, the research interest this time was in the development of the Kosovo Police Service (KPS), specifically, the creation of a multi-ethnic police unit in a post-civil war society. Since January 2003, Dr. Stodiek has been conducting a project funded by the German Foundation for Peace Research on "The OSCE and the Creation of a Multi-Ethnic Police Force in the Balkans". (TS)

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