



Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg



# ANNUAL REPORT

2005



## Contents

	Foreword	2
1.	CORE Profile	3
2.	Research Projects	4
2.1	Completed Research Projects	4
	a) UN and OSCE Field Missions Project	4
	b) OSCE Democratization Project	5
	c) Multi-Ethnic Police Forces Project	7
2.2	Current Research Projects	9
	a) Discourses on the Roma Project	9
	b) Media Assistance in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo Project	10
	c) Kosovo Human Rights Project	10
	d) Macedonia Project	11
	e) External Democratization in South Eastern Europe Project	12
	f) Russian Foreign Policy Project	12
	g) UN Mediation on Abkhazia Project	13
	h) Transnational Migration in Central Asia Project	14
3.	Consultancy Projects	15
3.1	Completed Consultancy Projects	15
	a) OSCE Reform Project	15
	b) OSCE Booklet Project	15
	c) Policy Paper on Economic Tools for Conflict Management	16
	d) Policy Paper on Sharing the OSCE Acquis with the ARF	16
	e) Policy Paper on EU and OSCE Projects in Central Asia	17
3.2	Current Consultancy Projects	17
	a) OSCE Academy in Bishkek (Kyrgyzstan) Project	17
	b) Swiss-German OSCE Networking Project	17
	c) OSCE Depository Library and CORE Website	18
4.	Publications	19
4.1	OSCE Yearbook	19
4.2	Other Publications	21
5.	Teaching	22
5.1	Master of Peace and Security Policy Studies	22
5.2	European Master's Degree in Human Rights and Democratisation	23
5.3	Master of Political Science (Central Asia) at the OSCE Academy in Bishkek	23
5.4	PhD Programme	23
6.	Inter-Institutional Co-operation and Conferences	24
6.1	Inter-Institutional Co-operation and Guests	24
6.2	Conferences and Lectures	26
7.	Personnel and Financing	31
	Annex 1: CORE Staff as of 1 December 2005	32
	Annex 2: Publications by CORE Staff Members in 2005	33

## Foreword

In 2005, CORE completed the first generation of research projects focusing on the OSCE's most important instruments for crisis prevention, crisis management, and post-conflict rehabilitation. These projects comprise a comparative analysis of **OSCE and UN field missions**, research on **OSCE democratization efforts in Central Asia**, and a study on the OSCE efforts to train **multi-ethnic police forces in the Balkans**. They provide the indispensable research basis for related CORE consultancy projects.

A new generation of research efforts is essentially built upon younger CORE staff members' PhD studies. While two dissertations – the **Sinti and Roma Project** and the **Media Assistance in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo Project** – will soon be completed, six others – the **Kosovo Human Rights Project**, the **Macedonia Project**, the **External Democratization in South Eastern Europe Project**, the **Russian Foreign Policy Project**, the **UN Mediation on Abkhazia Project**, and the **Transnational Migration in Central Asia Project** are in the midst of their elaboration.

The year 2005 marked a major step ahead for CORE consultancy projects commissioned by states. Tasked by the Finnish MFA, CORE and a group of international experts have produced a report on OSCE reform titled “**Managing Change in Europe - Evaluating the OSCE and Its Future Role: Competencies, Capabilities, and Missions**”. At the initiative of Finland and with the financial support of a group of OSCE participating states, CORE has elaborated a booklet on “**The Culture of Dialogue. The OSCE Acquis 30 Years after Helsinki**” that was published on the occasion of the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the signing of the 1975 Helsinki Final Act. In addition, three policy papers for the German Foreign Office were completed in 2005 on **Economic Tools for International Conflict Management in Transdnistria and South Ossetia**, **Prospects for Sharing the OSCE Acquis and Know-how with the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF)**, and **EU and OSCE Project Activities in Central Asia**.

CORE has continued its teaching activities during 2005. As well as participating in the University of Hamburg and the IFSH's **Master of Peace and Security Policy Studies** Programme, CORE staff also teaches within the framework of the **European Master's Degree in Human Rights and Democratisation** programme and the **Political Science (Central Asia)** master's programme at the OSCE Academy in Bishkek (Kyrgyzstan).

Once again CORE has invested considerable effort in disseminating information on the OSCE via the **OSCE Yearbook** and other publications. The **OSCE Networking Website** has been maintained with its own funding; an **OSCE Depository Library** offers access to OSCE-related documents and secondary literature.

Much of what has been done in 2005 could not have been achieved without the generous support of the German Foreign Office. CORE has profited greatly from this relationship and is very grateful for the financial assistance it has received as well as the fruitful discussions it has held with Foreign Office staff, particularly with the OSCE unit and with the Permanent Mission of the Federal Republic of Germany to the OSCE. CORE is particularly grateful to all participating States that have funded CORE projects, namely Finland, which took the lead in two projects, as well as Austria, Belgium, Iceland, Ireland, Liechtenstein, Netherlands, Slovenia, Sweden, Switzerland, and Turkey. CORE would like to thank everyone who has supported us and co-operated with us. We are looking forward to another active and rewarding year.

Wolfgang Zellner

## 1. CORE Profile

The Centre for OSCE Research (CORE), which is part of the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg (IFSH), is the first institution specifically dedicated to research on the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE). CORE was founded on 6 January 2000. The President of the Federal Republic of Germany, Johannes Rau, attended the opening ceremony. Prof. Dieter S. Lutz headed the Centre until his sudden death in early 2003. Currently, Dr Wolfgang Zellner is Head of CORE.

Established in 1971 as a civil-law foundation, the IFSH analyses threats to peace and international security, following a policy-oriented approach. Currently, the IFSH has about 60 employees. Until his death, Prof. Dieter S. Lutz was the Director. Dr Reinhard Mutz, the current Acting Director, will be followed by Prof. Michael Broszka.

The IFSH's research agenda ranges across questions of European security, arms control, transition processes in Central and Eastern Europe, the Caucasus and Central Asia, the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy and aspects of global governance. From its inception, the IFSH made regular contributions to research on the CSCE/OSCE process. This, in turn, paved the way for the creation of CORE.

CORE operates as a politically independent think tank, combining basic research on the evolution of the OSCE with demand-driven consultancy projects and teaching. Addressing political actors, the academic community and the interested general public in Germany and abroad, CORE strives to contribute to the OSCE's development by performing analysis and critique that provide insight into the problems and opportunities faced by the Organization. In support of the OSCE's goals of effective conflict prevention and settlement, democracy and good governance, CORE seeks to contribute to a realistic assessment of the capacities and limitations of the Organization. In analysing the structures, instruments and activities of the OSCE and its co-operation with other international actors, CORE focuses on the following:

- OSCE activities in the fields of crisis prevention and conflict resolution;
- OSCE efforts to build peace and stability through democratization and good governance;
- OSCE contributions to a stable and undivided pan-European security space, especially through arms control and assistance with security-sector reforms;
- The OSCE's institutional evolution and effectiveness.

In line with the OSCE's own priorities, much of CORE's work concerns conflict regulation, security building and democratization, and the transition processes in South-Eastern Europe, the Caucasus and Central Asia.

CORE strives to maintain an international outlook and to work towards viable solutions. Several CORE staff are not only highly qualified academics but have also gained practical experience in OSCE field missions and/or field research in Central, Eastern and South-Eastern Europe, the Caucasus and Central Asia. In addition, CORE projects frequently involve collaboration with local scholars in the countries and regions being studied. Regular contact with OSCE institutions and field operations keeps CORE's research programme oriented towards politically relevant questions.

## 2. Research Projects

### 2.1 Completed Research Projects

#### *a) Performance Records of UN and OSCE Field Missions of Varying Size: the Cases of Georgia, Kosovo, Macedonia and Tajikistan*

During the past decade, over 20 multi-functional UN peacekeeping missions and OSCE missions have been deployed. They are among the most important instruments currently available to international actors for crisis prevention and conflict management. However, there is a gross discrepancy between the political importance of these missions and the volume of academic research on this innovative instrument. These missions have been planned and implemented in a very tight timeframe, in a climate of political crisis, and with the obligation to react exclusively with civilian measures.

In the existing literature on civilian UN and OSCE missions studies based on systematic empirical research have been the exception rather than the rule. This project was an attempt to close the current gap in the research. The following questions were crucial for the study: What are the organizational characteristics of these missions and their parent organizations? To what extent do these traits explain the different performance records of civilian UN and OSCE missions deployed in the same country for crisis prevention, conflict management and peace-building? Do the comparative advantages and disadvantages of UN and OSCE missions have a particular effect on certain activities in specific conflict situations and phases?

The project, funded by the Volkswagen Foundation, commenced in January 2002. CORE staff members and local researchers in host countries were responsible for implementation. In 2003 and 2004, CORE staff members travelled to the target countries and to UN and OSCE headquarters and conducted interviews with representatives from both organizations. Publications were finalized in 2005.

Far beyond its initial range of research, this project has further stimulated thinking on international organizations' field operations both on a scholarly and a consultancy level. This ranges from methodological deliberations on measuring the effectiveness of international organizations' democratization strategies, which was accepted into one of the PhD studies done at CORE, to developing new forms of field operations as a contribution to the current debate on OSCE reform. Some parts of these efforts have been organized into separately funded projects.

*Contact:* Dr Annette Legutke [legutke@gmx.net](mailto:legutke@gmx.net)

#### *Publications:*

Centre for OSCE Research, Mission Information Package South Caucasus, Hamburg 2003, at: <http://www.core-hamburg.de/english/serviceprojects/mip>.

- Mission Information Package Kosovo, Hamburg 2002, at: <http://www.core-hamburg.de/english/serviceprojects/mip>.

Evers, Frank, Regionale Interessen an der Erhaltung und Diversifizierung von OSZE-Feldoperationen: Unterstützung für einen Trend, in: IFSH (ed.), OSZE-Jahrbuch 2004, Baden-Baden 2004, pp. 479-499 (co-authored with Wolfgang Zellner).

Legutke, Annette, From lessons lost to lessons learned? in: Helsinki Monitor, Vol. 16 (2005), No. 3, Special Issue, pp. 263 -266.

- The Reform of OSCE Field Activities, in: Victor-Yves Ghebali/Daniel Warner (eds), The Reform of the OSCE 15 Years after the Charter of Paris for a New Europe: Problems, Challenges and Risks (PSIO Occasional Paper, forthcoming).

Neukirch, Claus, Georgien im sich wandelnden Kräftefeld der Großmächte, in: Corinna Hauswedell/Christoph Weller/Ulrich Ratsch/Reinhard Mutz/Bruno Schoch (eds), Friedensgutachten 2003, Münster 2003, pp. 119-128.

Sporrer, Wolfgang, The OSCE and the Stability Pact for South-eastern Europe: Can a new relationship improve co-operation? in: Helsinki Monitor, Vol. 14 (2003), No. 1, pp. 11-21.

- Managing the Ethnic Question in Kosovo, in: Minority Rights Group International/Association for Democratic Initiatives (eds), Emerging Frameworks of Power-Sharing in Southeast Europe – Strengths and Weaknesses, Tetovo 2003 (Conference Report), pp. 109-118.
- The Role of Civil Society in the Search for a Final Status for Kosovo, in: OSCE Mission in Kosovo (ed.), The Impact of Civil Society, Pristhina 2003 (Conference Report).

Zellner, Wolfgang, The Future Development of OSCE Field Missions, in: Victor-Yves Ghebali/Daniel Warner (eds), The Politico-Military Dimension of the OSCE: Arms Control and Conflict Management Issues, Geneva 2005 (PSIO Occasional Paper 2/2005), pp. 31-64.

- et al., New forms and support structures for OSCE field operations, in: Helsinki Monitor, Vol. 15 (2004), No. 2, pp. 91-102 (co-authored with Frank Evers, Claus Neukirch and Wolfgang Sporrer).

*b) Security through Democratization?: Theoretical Framework and Comparative Case Studies on the Objectives, Adequacy, Organization and Effectiveness of OSCE Democratization Measures Aimed at Building Security in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan*

Many arguments have been raised in favour of democracy as a universal value. The international community has made democracy building a key element of foreign policy efforts. However, there is some evidence that many international organizations lack tailor-made democratization concepts i.e. for the Central Asian states, based on in-depth regional expertise. Democratization efforts “from above” sometimes lead to flawed results.

Research on post-Soviet Central Asia still frequently revolves around the question of which obstacles prevent the emergence of fully-fledged democracies. The five states of the region are characterized as democracies with adjectives such as “illiberal”, “authoritarian,” “neo-patrimonial,” “pseudo” or “proto”. What these approaches have in common is that they compare the current regimes in Central Asia to the consolidated liberal democracies. Consequently, the situation is evaluated as a failure of democratization. This kind of value-driven research is all too often unable to recognize the region’s political realities.

In its results, the project refers rather to the argument of another strand of research, mainly applied to the Middle East and North Africa, focusing not on the “failure” of democracy but rather on the “success” of authoritarianism. It is argued that the three Central Asian countries Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan do not belong to a third wave of democratization but to a wave of regime change that leads either to



- Introduction: Democratization Policies in Central Asia Revisited, in: Andrea Berg/Anna Kreikemeyer (eds), Realities of Transformation. Democratization Policies in Central Asia Revisited, Baden-Baden 2006, pp. 9-19.

- The ODIHR Human Rights Monitoring and Reporting Training. A Cross-National Analysis, in: Andrea Berg/Anna Kreikemeyer (eds), Realities of Transformation. Democratization Policies in Central Asia Revisited, Baden-Baden 2006, pp. 117-125.

Berg, Andrea, Who's Afraid of George Soros? The Conflict between Authoritarian Rulers and International Actors in Central Asia, in: Andrea Berg/Anna Kreikemeyer (eds), Realities of Transformation. Democratization Policies in Central Asia Revisited, Baden-Baden 2006, pp. 127-140.

- All Eyes on Central Asia. Disintegration in Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan, in: Andrea Berg/Anna Kreikemeyer (eds), Realities of Transformation. Democratization Policies in Central Asia Revisited, Baden-Baden 2006, pp. 211-225.

- Central Asia quo vadis? Fragile Security in Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan, in: IFSH (ed.) OSCE Yearbook 2005, Baden-Baden 2005/2006 (forthcoming).

- Usbekistan. Blutbad in Andijan, in: Inamo, Vol. 11 (2005), No. 43, pp. 35-39.

Kreikemeyer, Anna, Instability in the Ferghana Valley: International Reactions, in: Andrea Berg/Anna Kreikemeyer (eds), Realities of Transformation. Democratization Policies in Central Asia Revisited, Baden-Baden 2006, pp. 227-246.

- Balancing between Commitments and Co-operation. The OSCE in Central Asia, in: Andrea Berg/Anna Kreikemeyer (eds), Realities of Transformation. Democratization Policies in Central Asia Revisited, Baden-Baden 2006, pp. 101-115.

### *c) The OSCE and the Creation of Multi-Ethnic Police Forces in the Balkans*

In the framework of the OSCE's post-conflict rehabilitation activities, the police component is of increasing importance. The aim of this study was to analyse the OSCE police missions in Kosovo, Southern Serbia (Presevo Valley) and Macedonia, to inquire whether and to what extent multi-ethnic police services can help to overcome the legacy of ethno-political conflicts, and to study the problems confronting the OSCE, UN and EU when they developed and implemented their training concepts.

The three central research questions were: To what extent could multi-ethnic police forces be established in the post-war societies of the Western Balkans? To what degree have the populations gained confidence in them? Which factors explain the success or failure in establishing multi-ethnic police services?

The findings of the study are primarily based on interviews with and surveys of about 1,100 local police officers and their OSCE, UN and EU police instructors and monitors in Kosovo, Southern Serbia and Macedonia. The results of the study are mixed. One clear success consists in the fact that all three missions were able to recruit and train as many officers as planned. Furthermore, a general climate of professionalism and comradeship has developed within the multi-ethnic police units. Moreover, in all three cases the ethnic Albanian population has gained confidence in the new police forces.

However, a number of negative aspects must also be mentioned. In contrast to the ethnic Albanian population, ethnic Serbs and Macedonians view the multi-ethnic units with much scepticism. In addition, there are considerable problems with integrating the multi-ethnic units into the regular Serbian and Macedonian police forces, in particular into the special police forces that fight organized crime and terrorism. The prime reason for this poor integration is the insufficient training of the new police officers. The low educational level of many ethnic Albanian police applicants poses a significant obstacle to their further education.

The fact that unsuitable police applicants were nevertheless recruited is due to the political pressure by all ethnic communities. In addition, international actors in Kosovo had severe problems in gaining reliable information about the applicants, because relevant documents had vanished during the war. Other reasons for the often-unprofessional performance of new police officers were rooted in the over-centralized command structures of the Serbian and Macedonian post-socialist police forces that also give way to political interference into the police service. A related problem is the very low salaries of police officers that provide fertile ground for corruption. Finally, effective police work was hampered in all three cases by the severe deficits within the judiciary.

The project came to the conclusion that states and international organizations should be prepared to provide a sufficient level of resources over a longer period to secure the sustainability of police reform. In addition, they should exert more political pressure on the political actors of the host countries to combat the structural deficits in the police services and the judiciary. Moreover, additional efforts are needed to achieve better integration of minority officers in all branches of the police services, and to further promote the acceptance of the multi-ethnic police units within the ethnic Serbian and Macedonian communities.

The project was funded by the German Foundation for Peace Research and implemented by one CORE staff member, supported by a police advisor and two local researchers. It started in January 2003 and was finished in March 2005.

*Contact:* Dr Thorsten Stodiek stodiek@ifsh.de

*Publications:*

Stodiek, Thorsten, *The Creation of Multi-Ethnic Police Services in the Balkans*, Hamburg (CORE Working Paper 14) 2005.

- Friedenskonsolidierung mit polizeilichen Mitteln. Die Herausforderungen der Kosovo-Mission, in: Streitkräfteamt/Informations- und Medienzentrale der Bundeswehr (ed.), *Reader Sicherheitspolitik. Instrumente internationaler Sicherheit. 3. Überblick/Diskussion. Thema: Friedenskonsolidierung mit polizeilichen Mitteln*, No. 08/05, pp. 9-16, [http://www.reader-sipo.de/artikel/0508\\_AIV3.pdf](http://www.reader-sipo.de/artikel/0508_AIV3.pdf).
- Der Aufbau multiethnischer demokratischer Polizeien auf dem südwestlichen Balkan, in: Martin H.W. Möllers/Robert Chr. Van Ooyen (eds), *Jahrbuch Öffentliche Sicherheit 2004/2005*, Frankfurt/M. 2005, pp. 427-440.
- International Police Forces in Peace Operations, in: Harvey Langholtz/Boris Kondoch/Alan Wells (eds), *International Peacekeeping: The Yearbook of International Peace Operations*, Vol. 9 (2005), pp. 93-107.

- Nachkrieg auf dem Balkan: Die Rolle internationaler Polizeimissionen bei der Friedenskonsolidierung, in: Christopher Weller/Ulrich Ratsch/Reinhard Mutz/Bruno Schoch/Corinna Hauswedell (eds), Friedensgutachten 2004, Münster 2004, pp. 193-201.
- Die OSZE und der Aufbau multiethnischer Polizeien auf dem Balkan, in: Deutsche Stiftung Friedensforschung (ed.), Impulse für Friedensforschung und Politik. Stand und Weiterentwicklung der Stiftungsaktivitäten, Forum DSF, No. 2, Osnabrück 2004, pp. 51-56.
- The Police Component of Post-conflict Security Sector Reform, in: ZEI (ed.), SOE-Monitor: Security Sector Reform in South Eastern Europe, Vol. 4 (2004), No. 1, at: <http://www.zei.de>.
- /Wolfgang Zellner, Der Aufbau multiethnischer Polizeien auf dem Balkan. Eine Erfolgsbilanz mit Einschränkungen, in: Die Friedenswarte. Journal of International Peace and Organization, 2005 (forthcoming).

## 2.2 Current Research Projects

### a) *“Gypsies” and “Roma” – The Discursive Opening-up of Political Space by the Institutions of the European Union*

This project, which is being conducted within the framework of the PhD programme at the IFSH, sponsored by the German Foundation for Peace Research, is concerned with the question of how a political category called “Gypsies” or “Roma” is constructed in the discourse of the institutions of the European Union. It traces the development of the discourse of EU institutions on “Gypsies”/“Roma” over time and considers how political space was and continues to be opened up in this process.

Based on documents published by these institutions as well as interviews with members of the European Parliament, officials from the EU Commission and representatives of NGOs conducted during May 2004 in Brussels, the project analyses continuities and discontinuities in EU discourse on Roma since the European Community started to touch upon the issue in the 1970s. For the purpose of the analysis, the category of “Roma” is not taken as an unchallenged starting point for further consideration, as this would mean following the “realism of the group” (R. Brubaker) as applied by the political actors. “Instead of taking categories of practice as categories of analysis” (R. Brubaker), the research project explores precisely the process of constructing this category and reveals the relevance of language in this process. To achieve this, the research concentrates on constitutive assumptions underlying the discourse and interpretative patterns guiding it.

The project builds on some of the author’s studies on national minorities and international organizations’ responses to problems arising in this field.

*Contact:*           Katrin Simhandl, M.A.                           katrin.simhandl@gmx.net

#### *Publications:*

Simhandl, Katrin, Antidiskriminierungspolitik, in: Werner Weidenfeld/Wolfgang Wessels (eds), Europa von A bis Z. Taschenwörterbuch der Europäischen Integration, Baden-Baden 2005, pp. 59-62 (co-authored with Isabelle Tannous).

- ‘Western Gypsies and Travellers’ – ‘Eastern Roma’: The Creation of Political Objects by the Institutions of the European Union, in: Nations and Nationalism, Vol. 12, No. 1 (forthcoming).

b) *Media Assistance as an Instrument of External Democracy Promotion. Motives, Objectives and Implementation Strategies of International Actors in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo*

Independent media are considered key for democracy, conflict prevention and human rights. Media assistance, understood as any activity in support of local media by international actors, is therefore a vital instrument of international democratization policy. In the former Yugoslavia it has achieved its highest visibility, particularly in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo, where external actors function as *de facto* protectorate powers. Media assistance receives sizeable resources; external actors influence the media situation by drafting laws, funding specific institutions, and training journalists.

The project's key question concerns the specific interests of external media assistance actors in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo. What strategies and what media concepts do they follow with their activity? This PhD project aims at identifying the driving factors for external media assistance and providing basic data for impact assessment of media assistance efforts. It is a contribution to the larger context of the research on security building through democratization by external actors.

Contact: Friederike Gräper, M.A. fgraeper@gmx.de

c) *Sustainable Peace-Building in UN-Mandated Territories: Conflict Civilization, Human Rights Protection and State-Building by International Missions in Kosovo*

Immediately following the war in Kosovo, the joint efforts of the UN, OSCE, EU and NATO missions in Kosovo were considered a success: an exemplary case of international administration and peace building in a deeply rooted conflict situation. This assessment has radically changed since major violence erupted again in Kosovo in March 2004. The 2005 UN-sponsored report by Kai Eide, assessing the situation for the initiation of the future status process in Kosovo, reaffirms the need of the provisional self-governing structures to fulfil necessary standards with respect to law enforcement, the rule of law, freedom of movement, security, inter-ethnic crime, return of minority groups, property rights, etc.

Focussing on Kosovo as a case study, the PhD project, which is sponsored by the German Foundation for Peace Research, combines three constitutive dimensions of sustainable peace building: a) measures that help to civilize violent conflict; b) measures to protect human rights in a post-conflict scenario; c) measures of state-building in order to guarantee democratic development and the rule of law.

In a first step, the combination of these interlinking concepts helps design an analytical tool for comparing applied peace-building efforts of international missions under a UN mandate. In the second step, the project analyses the actual application of these interlinked dimensions in three distinct post-war phases: the immediate post-war emergency phase, the consecutive build-up phase, and the exit phase accompanied by a complete handover of authorities and the withdrawal of the international peace missions. In the final step, the project tries to identify social factors that contribute to the observed deficits in peace building, such as self-referential processes of international missions and their structural limitations in reflecting conflict dynamics

by means of pre-coded observation and internal communication. The project will provide an in-depth analysis with practical recommendations for international peace missions in UN-mandated territories.

*Contact:* Jens Narten, Dipl.-Sozialwiss. jens.narten@web.de

*Publications:*

Narten, Jens, Human Rights as a Human Dimension: The Approach of the OSCE, in: Malte Brosig (ed.), Human Rights in Europe - A Fragmented Regime?, Frankfurt/M. (forthcoming).

- Promoting Democracy by Means of International Election Observation: The ODIHR Election Observation Mission to Albania, in: IFSH (ed.), OSCE Yearbook 2005, Baden-Baden 2005/2006 (forthcoming).
- Menschenrechtsschutz in internationalen Mandatsgebieten und seine strukturellen Widersprüche am Beispiel des Kosovo, in: Humanitäres Völkerrecht, Informationsschriften (HUV-I), Vol. 17 (2004), No. 3, pp. 144-151.

*d) The Implementation of the Framework Agreement of Ohrid and its Influence on the Stability of the Republic of Macedonia*

Macedonia's peaceful post-Yugoslav transition was unexpectedly disrupted by a small-scale civil war in 2001. The armed conflict between Albanian activists and Macedonian security forces attracted international attention to the former "oasis of peace". The international community succeeded in stopping the conflict by mediating the Framework Agreement of Ohrid signed in August 2001. The study's key question is whether this agreement has achieved the aim of securing "the future of Macedonia's democracy" and dissolving inter-ethnic tensions.

After the near-complete implementation of the agreement's stipulations it is doubtful whether it represents a workable strategy of sustainable conflict transformation for Macedonia. This PhD project analyses the terms of the agreement and its consequences for the stability of the Macedonian society and state. Has the crisis of 2001 been really overcome? Has Macedonia been successful in neutralizing the negative consequences of the armed conflict? Four years after the conflict, the polarization between the two main ethnic groups has continued. Precisely those constitutional changes that should facilitate inter-ethnic reconciliation have become additional factors that fuel bitterness, mistrust, and power struggles.

Macedonia's complex conflict structure cannot be explained by treating the various factors in isolation. The PhD project will focus on the external actors' approach related to the implementation of the Ohrid peace agreement. It will analyse how external actors deal with the different conflict levels in Macedonia. The project, which is sponsored by the German Foundation for Peace Research, aims at going beyond the dominant paradigm of interethnic conflict by investigating the complex interdependence of all conflict factors that are relevant for the Macedonian context.

*Contact:* Merle Vetterlein, Dipl.-Pol. vetterlein@ifsh.de

*Publications:*

Vetterlein, Merle, Deeskalationsbemühungen internationaler Akteure im Kosovo und in Makedonien, in: Ulrich Ratsch/Reinhard Mutz/Bruno Schoch/Corinna Hauswedell/Christoph Weller (eds), Friedensgutachten 2005, Münster 2005, pp. 79-87 (co-authored with Sabine Klotz).

*e) The Effectiveness of External Democratization Efforts for Internal Transition: International Organizations in South Eastern Europe*

International organizations such as the OSCE and the EU have substantially intervened in the transition process in post-Communist states. The compendium of instruments they have employed comprises various less direct activities as well as the quasi-protectorate structures we know from Bosnia and Kosovo. After nearly ten years of democratization assistance, one of the key findings of empirical studies is that, alongside positive effects, these interventions have also had negative and unintended impacts on the transition process in these countries. A comprehensive analysis of the effects of external factors on the internal democratization process has not so far been published either from the perspective of International Relations theory or from that of Comparative Transition Research.

This PhD project will be conducted at the University of Dresden and at CORE. Its objectives are twofold: An analytical approach for measuring the effects and impact of international organizations at the subsystemic level will be developed, based on theories of International Relations (especially socialization and europeanization) and theories of transition. This will focus not only on the achievement of “democratization goals” set by these international organizations but also on their contributions to the transition process. Framed by this analytical schema, the project will undertake a detailed empirical exploration of the OSCE’s democratization efforts by means of case studies in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Serbia and Montenegro.

During 2005, CORE Researcher Solveig Richter presented the theoretical approach at several academic conferences. For the purpose of collecting empirical data she undertook extensive field trips to South-Eastern Europe and had interviews with more than 100 representatives from the OSCE and EU, foreign embassies, domestic institutions and NGOs.

*Contact:* Solveig Richter, M.A. solveig.richter@csp-network.org

*Publications:*

Richter, Solveig, Frieden schaffen mit den Waffen der Demokratie? Theorie und Praxis von Demokratisierung als Friedensstrategie, in: Zeitschrift für Internationale Beziehungen (ZIB), Vol. 12, No. 1, pp. 77-116.

- Kroatien: Zitterpartie nach Europa. Zwischen EU-Konditionalität und politischen Manövern, in: Südosteuropa Mitteilungen, Vol. 45, No. 6 (forthcoming).

*f) Russian Policy towards Ukraine as a Source of Contention with the West*

This PhD project, which is sponsored by the Friedrich Naumann Foundation, focuses on Russian policy towards Ukraine and its effects on Russian-Western relations. The

analysis seeks to explain which features of this policy make it a source of either contention or co-operation with the West (the EU, the US, and NATO), by including economic, security and ideological aspects. The dissertation concentrates on the period of Putin's presidency since 2000, but also deals with the legacies of the past that continue to influence Russian-Western relations on Ukraine. In addition to an analytical review of primary and secondary sources, the methodological approach includes semi-structured interviews with policy-makers and representatives of political elites in Berlin, Brussels, Kiev, Moscow, and Washington, D.C.

The main question to be answered is about the role of Ukraine in Russia's relations with the West: Can Ukraine become a mediator or a bridge between them or will it continue to be "a buffer zone" or a zone of rivalry? Can Ukraine help to bring Russia and the West closer together or will it be one of the issues that drives a wedge between them? The research on both Russian and Western interests in Ukraine from a comparative perspective is quite novel, and its results are likely to continue to be relevant in years to come.

*Contact:* Elena Kropatcheva, M.A. ekropatcheva@list.ru

*Publications:*

Kropatcheva, Elena, Perspektiven der Integrationsmodelle Russlands, in: Forschungsstelle Osteuropa (ed.), Integration und Ausgrenzung im Osten Europas. Beiträge für die 13. Tagung junger Osteuropa-Experten, veranstaltet von der Forschungsstelle Osteuropa an der Universität Bremen, dem Osteuropa-Institut der Freien Universität Berlin und der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Osteuropakunde (Arbeitspapiere und Materialien, No. 70), Berlin 2005, pp. 8-12.

*g) United Nations Field Operations in Ethno-Political Conflicts: Analysing the Effectiveness of UNOMIG Mediation between Georgie and Abkhazia*

This dissertation project, which is supported by the Friedrich Naumann Foundation, deals with the United Nations' mediation efforts in the conflict between Georgia and Abkhazia. The research focuses on the questions of whether and how UNOMIG's interventions have had an impact on the process of resolving this violent conflict, and on the factors that have determined the effectiveness of these interventions. Special attention is paid to the complex interaction between the UN and the primary internal and external actors involved in the conflict.

The basic goals of the empirical-analytical study are a) a systematic coverage of UN activities; b) the analysis of the effectiveness of UN interventions, and c) the evaluation of factors that influence the relative success of UN activities. The study's key focus concerns the question of why the UN, despite eleven years of mediation efforts, has not been able to facilitate a solution for the Abkhaz-Georgian conflict.

The added value of the study lies in the examination of the potentials and limits of the UN in resolving regional conflicts, with the Abkhaz-Georgian conflict, which has not yet been dealt with in a systematic manner, as an example. Thereby, the project will contribute to studying the effectiveness of civilian UN field operations.

*Contact:* Marietta König, M.A. Marietta.Koenig@gmx.de

*Publications:*

König, Marietta, Strengthening the Co-operation of International Organizations with NATO in Conflict Management: The Case of Abkhazia and South Ossetia in the South Caucasus, Preparation Paper for the External Discussion Forum at the Vienna Model United Nations 2005, at: <http://www.afa.at/vimun/2005EDF-Paper.pdf>.

*h) Transnational Migration and Socio-Political Change in Central Asia: A Cross-Country Study on Labour Migration from Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan to Russia*

Labour migration in Central Asia has become a crucial issue. One can hardly find a family there that does not have a member working in Russia. To what extent do transnational Central Asian migrant networks in Russia contribute to sociopolitical changes in their home countries? This is the question that this Ph.D project aims to answer.

While post-Soviet state elites try to advance sovereignty and national self-consciousness in the process of state- and nation-building, a gamut of actions among migrant networks can be observed that extend beyond the territorial framework of nation states. As migrants' actions circumvent territorial borders, there is a need to go beyond state-related 'container' conceptions of migration processes. The project is therefore based on a transnational approach that looks at cross-border communication through the prism of the global movement of capital, goods, information and cultural symbols. Since the research concerns countries in a transition period, the transnationalist approach to migration will be integrated into the area of development sociology. It is for this reason that the Ph.D project will be implemented at the International Graduate School in Sociology at the University of Bielefeld in co-operation with CORE.

The project requires field research, surveys on migrants and individual interviews. Preliminary field research has already been carried out within the framework of a Marie Curie Predoctorate Fellowship Programme in Moscow. Further field trips to Russian cities are planned for 2006.

*Contact:* Delia Rahmonova-Schwarz, M.A. [schwarzdelia@web.de](mailto:schwarzdelia@web.de)

### 3. Consultancy Projects

#### 3.1. Completed Consultancy Projects

CORE makes its research expertise available for consultancy services to governments and international organizations. Among the 2005 activities were the production of a report on the prospects of OSCE reform as well as a booklet on the OSCE acquis. In addition, CORE produced three policy papers for the German Foreign Office.

*a) Report “Managing Change in Europe - Evaluating the OSCE and Its Future Role: Competencies, Capabilities, and Missions”*

At the initiative and with the financial support of the Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, CORE elaborated a comprehensive report on the background and prospects of OSCE reform. This report is a collective effort written by Wolfgang Zellner, in consultation with an international task force consisting of Amb. Alyson Bailes, Director of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), Prof. Victor-Yves Ghebali, Graduate Institute of International Studies (Geneva), Prof. Terrence Hopmann, The Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University (Providence, RI, USA), and Dr Andrei Zagorski, Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO). Additional support was provided by a team of CORE experts. Drafts were discussed extensively at two workshops in Hamburg in April and May 2005. The report was presented at the Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs on 11 July 2005.

*Contact:* Dr Wolfgang Zellner zellner@ifsh.de

*Publication:*

Zellner, Wolfgang, *Managing Change in Europe. Evaluating the OSCE and Its Future Role: Competencies, Capabilities, and Missions*, Hamburg 2005 (CORE Working Paper 13, in consultation with Alyson Bailes, Victor-Yves Ghebali, Terrence Hopmann, and Andrei Zagorski).

*b) OSCE Booklet Project “The Culture of Dialogue. The OSCE Acquis 30 Years after Helsinki”*

With a view to the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the signing of the 1975 Helsinki Final Act, CORE was approached by a group of delegations of OSCE participating States with the request to produce a booklet on the OSCE acquis in terms of principles, norms, commitments, and activities and its development over the three decades of the CSCE/OSCE’s existence. This booklet, drafted by CORE in close consultation with 16 participating States assembled by the Head of the Permanent Delegation of Finland to the OSCE, Ambassador Aleksi Härkönen, was issued in July 2005. It highlights the OSCE’s contribution to international, group and individual security in Europe. It shows the institutional character of the OSCE and the Organization’s ability to adapt to new challenges and the changing political priorities of its participants and partners.

The booklet’s production was supported financially by the governments of Austria, Belgium, Finland, Germany, Iceland, Ireland, Liechtenstein, Netherlands, Slovenia,

Sweden, Switzerland, and Turkey. It was written by Frank Evers, Martin Kahl and Wolfgang Zellner. Documentation was provided by Katri Kamppainen.

*Contact:* Dr Frank Evers eversfrank@lycos.com  
Dr Martin Kahl martinkahl@web.de  
Katri Kamppainen, MSc. katrituulia@yahoo.com  
Dr Wolfgang Zellner zellner@ifsh.de

c) *Policy Paper: “Economic Tools for International Conflict Management in Transdniestria and South Ossetia”*

The unsettled conflicts in Transdniestria and South Ossetia affect regional security and even the relationship between the European Union, the Russian Federation and the US. This paper reflects the economic background of these frozen conflicts. It analyses how economic instruments might be used to encourage a constructive dialogue between the parties to the conflicts. In this context, the paper pays attention to the leading positions the European Union and the OSCE take in internationally mediated conflict resolution in both regions. The paper was written by Frank Evers in consultation with members of the OSCE Missions to Moldova and Georgia. Background research was undertaken and expert advice was given by Csongor Aron Buzogány and Marietta König.

*Contact:* Dr Frank Evers eversfrank@lycos.com  
Csongor Aron Buzogány, M.A. buzogany@yahoo.com  
Marietta König, M.A. Marietta.Koenig@gmx.de

d) *Policy Paper: “Prospects for Sharing the OSCE Acquis and Know-how with the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF)”*

The ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) is a multilateral security institution of regional format. It consists of 10 ASEAN members and 14 ASEAN dialogue partners. As a regional dialogue platform it has some similarities to the OSCE, *inter alia* in the way of its gradual development, but also with respect to the main subjects of its political agenda. Since 1999, the ARF has looked for intensified co-operation with the UN and the OSCE. Similarly the OSCE has maintained contact with the ARF. Countries like Japan, South Korea and Thailand want to intensify the exchange between both organizations. Accordingly, this paper researches the prospects of transferring elements of the OSCE acquis to and sharing OSCE know-how in regional security-building with the ARF. Special attention is drawn to co-operation through the group of the OSCE Partners in Asia. Drafted by Frank Evers, the paper is based on background research undertaken by Torsten Stodiek, and on interviews carried out with leading representatives of delegations of OSCE Partners in Asia in Vienna in September 2005.

*Contact:* Dr Frank Evers eversfrank@lycos.com  
Dr Torsten Stodiek stodiek@ifsh.de

e) *Policy Paper: “EU and OSCE Project Activities in Central Asia - Parallel Activities, Overlapping, Deficits and Synergies”*

The European Union and the OSCE provide democratization assistance as well as technical and development co-operation support to the Central Asian states. This paper elaborates an overview of the relevant project work of both organizations. It contains an analysis of common characteristics of these activities and points at co-operation deficits, (possible) synergies and fields of mutual complementation. The paper was written by Anna Kreikemeyer in co-operation with Wolfgang Zellner.

*Contact:*            Dr Anna Kreikemeyer                    annakreikemeyer@gmx.de  
                          Dr Wolfgang Zellner                      zellner@ifsh.de

### **3.2. Current Consultancy Projects**

a) *Supporting the OSCE Academy in Bishkek*

CORE has been providing consultancy services on establishing the OSCE Academy in Bishkek (Kyrgyzstan) and developing its training and research activities since 2002. The Academy was inaugurated on 17 December 2002. Since 2004, it has been registered in Bishkek as a non-governmental organization under Kyrgyz law.

Acting at the request of the German Foreign Office, CORE is one of the four academic partner institutions providing assistance to the Academy. From the very beginning, CORE has been among the leading proponents of this regional project. CORE played a range of roles in the early stages of the Academy’s evolution: from advising on its basic design, to helping train managerial staff, to giving some of the first lectures held at the Academy.

In 2005, CORE again contributed to academic and teaching activities at the OSCE Academy in Bishkek. Andrea Berg participated in the meetings of the Academy’s Final Admission Committee and of the Final Colloquium Commission in June 2005, Frank Evers gave a series of lectures on the “Comparative Advantages and Shortcomings of the OSCE Economic and Environmental Dimension” in November 2005, and Anna Kreikemeyer supervised the master theses of two students.

*Contact:*            Dr Frank Evers                              eversfrank@lycos.com

b) *Swiss-German OSCE Networking Project*

Since June 2000, CORE has been a member of the “Specialized Information Network of International Relations and Area Studies” (FIV), a consortium of eleven German research institutes that aim to pool their collective information resources. The Network’s database is one of the largest bibliographical resources for the social sciences in Europe, containing more than 600,000 entries compiled since 1974. CORE’s task is to register OSCE documents and materials, journal articles, grey literature and publications on the OSCE.

Since January 2001, CORE has also participated in the joint Swiss-German OSCE Networking Project together with the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva (GIIS) and with the support of the International Relations and Security Network (ISN) in Zürich and the FIV in Berlin. This project was funded by the Swiss Foreign Ministry from January 2001 to December 2002. Its goal was to create a website that would serve as a source of general and specific information on the OSCE. The OSCE Networking database section of the FIV bibliographies collection currently contains 2,500 entries on CSCE- and OSCE-related literature. These are regularly updated, ensuring that the latest data is available for scholarly purposes. The online library catalogues from the OSCE/CSCE archives in Prague, the GIIS in Geneva, and CORE in Hamburg, as well as two extensive online bibliographies, are also valuable sources of information.

A survey of research institutions (websites, addresses, e-mail addresses, research programmes, publications and events) that deal with the OSCE and relevant areas provides an up-to-date overview of OSCE research. A user-friendly search engine provides access to more than 3,500 Internet links to sites containing information on a range of economic, social and political topics for all 55 OSCE participating states. The website was restructured and redesigned in 2004 and has been continuously updated during 2005. OSCE Networking can be visited at: <http://www.isn.ethz.ch/osce>.

*Contact:* Uwe Polley, Dipl.-Pol. [dokumentation@ifsh.de](mailto:dokumentation@ifsh.de)

*c) OSCE Depository Library and CORE Website*

With the establishment of the Centre for OSCE Research, an OSCE Depository Library was set up within the IFSH library with the support of the German Foreign Office. Its current inventory includes CSCE/OSCE documents, both grey and published literature on the OSCE itself, and books with a focus on nation building, nationalism and majority-minority relationships in the European and Central Asian OSCE countries. The library is continuously being expanded.

At regular intervals, the library and documentation centre of IFSH/CORE compile three different bibliographies on OSCE-relevant publications:

- The bibliography of the OSCE Yearbook covers new releases from the OSCE itself (documents, brochures and books) and articles/books on the OSCE.
- A quarterly bibliography that is submitted inter alia to the OSCE Secretariat and the Netherlands Helsinki Committee (NHC), with references to the latest OSCE-related publications:  
[http://www.core-hamburg.de/CORE\\_english/ress\\_biblio\\_select.htm](http://www.core-hamburg.de/CORE_english/ress_biblio_select.htm).
- A comprehensive bibliography with references to CSCE and OSCE documents and CSCE/OSCE-relevant articles and books, that was established in 1995 and has been regularly updated since then:  
[http://www.core-hamburg.de/CORE\\_english/ress\\_biblio.htm](http://www.core-hamburg.de/CORE_english/ress_biblio.htm).

*Contact:* Ute Runge, Dipl.-Bibl. [bibliothek@ifsh.de](mailto:bibliothek@ifsh.de)  
Uwe Polley, Dipl. Pol. [dokumentation@ifsh.de](mailto:dokumentation@ifsh.de)

The CORE website (<http://www.core-hamburg.de>) contains constantly updated information on the structure of CORE, its projects, staff, activities, and events. CORE Working Papers and CORE News (cf. 4.2), the Mission Information Packages and OSCE bibliographies can be downloaded, and the website also contains information on vacancies and internships at CORE.

*Contact:* Carsten Walter [walter@ifsh.de](mailto:walter@ifsh.de)

## **4. Publications**

### **4.1 OSCE Yearbook**

The IFSH has produced the OSCE Yearbook since 1995 in co-operation with retired Ambassador Jonathan Dean (Union of Concerned Scientists, Washington), Dr Pál Dunay (Geneva Centre for Security Policy; since mid-2004 also Stockholm International Peace Research Institute/SIPRI), Prof. Victor-Yves Ghebali (Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva), Prof. Adam Daniel Rotfeld (former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Poland, Member of the National Security Council, Warsaw), and Dr Andrei Zagorski (Moscow State Institute of International Relations/MGIMO). Editor-in-chief, Ursel Schlichting, is assisted in the tasks of editing and translating by Susanne Bund, Graeme Currie, Daria Filippov, and Elena Kropatcheva. Three editions of the Yearbook are produced each year: in German, English, and Russian. The German and English editions are published by Nomos, Baden-Baden; the Russian edition is published by Izdatelstvo “Prava Cheloveka”, Moscow.

The German Foreign Office funds the printing of the Yearbook and some of the staff costs associated with its production. Additional funds are earmarked for the distribution of free copies, for instance to foreign ministries and OSCE institutions, including the Secretariat, and to universities, and libraries. The OSCE Yearbook is used for teaching purposes at universities in CIS countries, at the OSCE Academy in Bishkek, and at the MGIMO, to name but a few.

The English edition of the OSCE Yearbook 2004 (Volume 10) and the Russian OSCE Yearbook 2003 were published during 2005 (for details of their contents, see the respective Annual Reports). The English and the German editions of the OSCE Yearbook 2005 (Volume 11) will be published in winter 2005/2006. Starting with this Yearbook, the English edition will be produced prior to the German one.

In his preface to the OSCE Yearbook 2005, Slovenian Foreign Minister and current OSCE Chairman-in-Office, Dimitrij Rupel, not only outlines his agenda for the current year, but reminds us of the 30th anniversary of the Helsinki Final Act, which was signed in 1975. Indeed, the first chapter of the Yearbook, which usually deals with “Developments and Prospects of the OSCE”, this year has a historical focus and is entitled “30 Years of the CSCE/OSCE”. This historical overview pays particular attention to the early years of the CSCE. Eyewitnesses closely involved in the key events of the CSCE’s early days, including Egon Bahr and John J. Maresca, revisit the 1970s, evoking in captivating detail the sense of possibility that accompanied the start of negotiations on the Final Act, but also the tensions, rooted in the Cold War, that at times cast doubt on the CSCE’s chances of success. Jiřina Šiklová, a former dissident

who today is a professor at Prague's Charles University, describes vividly the particular importance that the CSCE had for civil rights movements in the Eastern bloc. Another contribution to this chapter is dedicated to a no less exciting topic: the tension with Moscow over the CSCE's human dimension at the time of the anti-Communist revolutions of 1989-1990. Further contributions analyse other important developments in the history of the CSCE/OSCE and provide an overview of the 30 years as a whole.

The following chapter, on the interests and commitment of OSCE States, includes contributions on France and Belarus and introduces the group known as the "like-minded countries" – Canada, Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway, and Switzerland – and their especially positive approach to co-operation and multilateralism.

The second section of the Yearbook is devoted to the responsibilities of the OSCE in its three dimensions of security – politico-military, economic-environmental, and human – and describes the instruments, mechanisms, and procedures it has at its disposal. The first chapter within this section, "Conflict Prevention and Dispute Settlement", deals mainly with the OSCE's long-term missions and other field operations. This year, the focus is on the work of the OSCE Missions to Bosnia and Herzegovina, Moldova and Georgia, and the OSCE Presence in Albania. Further articles also shed light on current developments in Central Asia, especially on this year's dramatic events in Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan.

In the chapters on "The Human Dimension and the Development of Democracy" and "Building Co-operative Security", the OSCE Yearbook 2005 first turns its attention to one of the most abhorrent human rights violations, the phenomenon of torture. Ben Ward of Human Rights Watch, London, considers the extent of torture in the OSCE region and ways it can be dealt with. Further in-depth expert analyses look at the links between the OSCE's human dimension and the formation of customary international law, and discuss election standards and election monitoring in the OSCE region. This last topic is complemented by an eyewitness report on election monitoring in Albania. The section concludes with a critical analysis of the Organization's politico-military dimension and a discussion of the role of the OSCE as a platform for co-operative counter-terrorism activities in Central Asia.

The third section of the Yearbook, "Organizational Aspects", focuses on the OSCE's own structures and institutions and on its relations with other international or non-governmental organizations and partners for co-operation. This year's articles include a review of the Ministerial Council Meeting in Sofia and an assessment of the Bulgarian Chairmanship in 2004, an introduction to the work of Helga Konrad, the first ever Special Representative on Combating Trafficking in Human Beings, a comprehensive report on the OSCE's Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) in Warsaw, and a discussion of the Organization's outreach activities and the potential enlargement of its role outside the territory of its participating States. Once more, this is perfectly complemented by an expert analysis of the potential role the OSCE could play in regional security and stabilization strategies for Afghanistan and its neighbours.

This year, in response to the OSCE's ongoing crisis, the annexes to the OSCE Yearbook include three major documents on OSCE reform: the Final Report and Recommendations of the Panel of Eminent Persons, entitled "Common Purpose.

Towards a More Effective OSCE”, the joint report of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly and the Swiss Institute for World Affairs on “The Future of the OSCE”, and the CORE report “Managing Change in Europe”. As always, the OSCE Yearbook contains extensive annexes comprising facts and figures on all 55 participating States, a list of recent conferences, meetings, and events, and a selected bibliography of current literature.

Like all its predecessors, the OSCE Yearbook 2005 also seeks to maintain the balance it has achieved between the perspectives of academics and of individuals engaged in relevant practical activities. The authors featured this year include leading lights from academia as well as high-ranking politicians and diplomats, some of whom have prominent positions within the OSCE or its missions. The contents reflect this mix of objective detachment and detailed first-hand knowledge and practical relevance.

The OSCE Yearbook is aimed at politicians, policy-makers, and decision-makers at all levels, OSCE staff, particularly in the OSCE missions, students and researchers, journalists, and the general public. The publishers’ intention is to contribute to the political and academic discussion of European security in national, regional, and international contexts and to create links between academic circles, politics, and the public.

Although the Yearbook is not an official OSCE publication, it is strongly supported by the Organization, and particularly the Secretariat in Vienna.

*Contact:* Ursel Schlichting, M.A. schlichting@ifsh.de  
Graeme Currie, M.A. currie@ifsh.de

## 4.2 Other Publications

During 2005, CORE staff members published one edited volume, two working papers and about 35 essays (cf. Annex 2).

*CORE Working Papers* comprise CORE research reports, policy papers and other texts. They are available both in printed and digital form (on the internet at <http://www.core-hamburg.de/english/publications/workingpapers>). Subscriptions to the e-mail version are available free of charge. In 2005, the following working papers were published:

- Zellner, Wolfgang, Managing Change in Europe. Evaluating the OSCE and Its Future Role: Competencies, Capabilities, and Missions, Hamburg 2005 (CORE Working Paper 13, in consultation with Alyson Bailes, Victor-Yves Ghebali, Terrence Hopmann, and Andrei Zagorski).
- Stodiek, Thorsten, The Creation of Multi-Ethnic Police Services in the Balkans, Hamburg 2005 (CORE Working Paper 14).

*CORE News* provides information on current CORE activities and events. It can be downloaded from the CORE website, at: <http://www.core-hamburg.de/english/publications/corenews>. CORE also publishes an electronic newsletter at more frequent intervals. Subscriptions, which are free of charge, may be taken out by sending an e-mail to [core@ifsh.de](mailto:core@ifsh.de).

## **5. Teaching**

### **5.1 Master of Peace and Security Policy Studies**

Within the framework of the co-operation network “Peace Research and Security Policy”, under the overall supervision of the IFSH, a postgraduate Master’s Programme on Peace and Security Policy Studies (MPS) was initiated at the University of Hamburg on 1 October 2002. The programme is both practical and interdisciplinary. It combines structured teaching with a learning-by-doing approach to help students acquire the skills needed to work in relevant fields. Highly qualified graduates in the social and natural sciences and the liberal arts from German and foreign universities are introduced to peace and security studies at an advanced level. The course teaches the methods and findings of peace studies and prepares participants for careers in research or international organizations.

Members of the co-operation network are: the University of Hamburg (several faculties), the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg (IFSH), the Hamburg Institute of World Economics (HWWA), the Institute for International Law of Peace and Armed Conflict, the Bonn International Center for Conversion (BICC), the Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management, the Peace Research Institute Frankfurt (HSFK), the Protestant Institute for Interdisciplinary Research (FEST), the Centre for OSCE Research (CORE); the German Overseas Institute, the International Institute for Politics and Economy/House Rissen, the Institute for Theology and Peace, the Institute for Development and Peace, and the German Armed Forces’ General Staff Academy.

The programme is implemented in close co-operation with the institutions mentioned above. During the second semester, the students are divided between these institutes, where they participate in research and write their master’s theses. The 2005/2006 course is being taken by 22 participants, more than half of whom come from abroad. This year, 15 students are receiving financial assistance from the German Foundation for Peace Research/DSF and four from the German Academic Exchange Service/DAAD; one student is seconded by the German armed forces. Upon completion of the programme, the master’s diploma is certified by the University of Hamburg.

As in the year before, CORE staff members have contributed to the MPS 2005/2006 teaching programme: Anna Kreikemeyer offers seminars on “Stability and Security in and with Central Asia” and on “Academic Writing”, as well as a compact seminar on “Finding my Job. Looking for a Job in the Fields of Peace Research, Security Policy, Development Aid and International Organizations”. Wolfgang Zellner conducts a seminar on “European Security Policy/OSCE”. As in previous years, Kurt P. Tudyka, together with Patricia Schneider, will organize a field trip to the international organizations in Vienna.

*Further information:*

<http://www.ifsh.de>

## **5.2 European Master's Degree in Human Rights and Democratisation**

In 2005, CORE has, for the third time, contributed to the programme on the European Master's Degree in Human Rights and Democratisation (E.MA) and hosted IFSH-based students in their second semester. Anna Kreikemeyer supervised the elaboration of the master thesis of E.MA student Klavdija Cernilogar on "OSCE/ODIHR Election Observation in Central Asia: A Contribution to the Process of Democratization or a Mere Registry of Facts? Cases of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan". Wolfgang Zellner lectured on "The Role of the OSCE in Eurasian Security" and led a seminar on "The OSCE's Crisis and Reform Debate" in Venice in November 2005.

*Contact:*            Dr Anna Kreikemeyer                    annakreikemeyer@gmx.de  
                          Dr Patricia Schneider                 schneider@ifsh.de

## **5.3 Lecturing at the OSCE Academy in Bishkek**

In 2005, CORE again contributed to administrative and teaching activities at the OSCE Academy in Bishkek. CORE researcher Andrea Berg participated in the sessions of the Academy's Final Admission Committee and of the Final Colloquium Commission in June 2005. Frank Evers lectured at the second full-scale postgraduate master's programme "Political Science (Central Asia)" conducted during the academic year 2005/2006. He read a series of lectures on "Comparative Advantages and Shortcomings of the OSCE Economic and Environmental Dimension" in November 2005. Anna Kreikemeyer supervised the Master's theses of two students from Kazakhstan. As in previous years, CORE co-operation with the OSCE Academy in Bishkek was supported by the German Foreign Office.

*Contact:*            Dr Frank Evers                            eversfrank@lycos.com  
                          Dr Anna Kreikemeyer                 annakreikemeyer@gmx.de

## **5.4 PhD Programme**

The IFSH PhD programme was initiated on 1 October 2002. Four out of five PhD students, two of whom are attached to CORE, received two-year scholarships from the German Foundation for Peace Research (DSF). While their doctoral dissertations were completed in 2005 or are due for completion in 2006, the second part of the programme, comprising another four PhD students (two being attached to CORE), started in November 2004. With this second round of scholarships, the DSF-financed programme comes to an end. However, this should not be taken to imply that CORE will no longer be involved in supporting PhD students: Two further PhD students attached to CORE have received scholarships from the Friedrich Naumann Foundation. CORE will continue to support the applications of individual PhD students to various sponsoring bodies.

## **6. Inter-Institutional Co-operation and Conferences**

### **6.1 Inter-Institutional Co-operation and Guests**

On 24 January 2005, the Acting Head of CORE, Wolfgang Zellner, and researchers Andrea Berg and Anna Kreikemeyer visited the German Federal Agency for Civic Education (Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung) in Bonn together with two colleagues from the IFSH. While Wolfgang Zellner introduced the activities of the IFSH, Anna Kreikemeyer gave an overview of CORE's various research projects, and Andrea Berg addressed the consultancy services CORE provides. The President of the Federal Agency for Civic Education and the heads of the Publication and IT sections showed great interest in co-operating with the IFSH in areas of mutual interest.

On 1 March 2005, the Finnish Ambassador to Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYRoM) and Albania, Dr Alpo Rusi, paid a working visit to the Centre for OSCE Research (CORE). The ambassador met with CORE researchers and students from Germany and various countries in the Western Balkans to consider recent developments in the region.

On 10 March 2005, Wolfgang Zellner, participated in an expert hearing in Vienna arranged by the OSCE Panel of Eminent Persons and gave a presentation on "Adapting the OSCE to Structural Change".

From 1 April to 30 September, Delia Rahmonova-Schwarz was awarded a Marie Curie Predoctoral Fellowship hosted by MIGRINTER, a research centre at the University of Poitiers (France) that specifically deals with migration issues. Within the framework of this fellowship, Rahmonova-Schwarz travelled to Moscow in September to conduct interviews with Central Asian labour migrants, diaspora and transnational NGOs.

On 15 April, the Head of the United States Mission to the OSCE, Ambassador Stephan M. Minikes, and the Head of the Permanent Mission of the Federal Republic of Germany to the OSCE, Ambassador Dr Dieter Boden, visited CORE. The ambassadors met with CORE staff to discuss the current reform debate of the OSCE as well as regional issues and to assess the organization's prospects. In the afternoon, Ambassador Minikes delivered a presentation on "The current situation of the OSCE", followed by comments of Ambassador Boden. These contributions were followed by a lively debate.

On 3 May 2005, Mrs Claudia Nolte, Member of the German Parliament (Bundestag) and Chairperson of the General Committee on Democracy, Human Rights and Humanitarian Questions (3rd committee) of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly paid a working visit to CORE. Mrs Nolte met with a group of CORE researchers and exchanged views on – among other topics - future thematic challenges of the OSCE, such as regional conflict issues as well as thematic ones, like migration and trafficking.

Within the framework of ODIHR's and the OSCE Action against Terrorism Unit's discussions on 'Extremism' and their preparation of the Supplementary Human Dimension Meeting „Human Rights and the Fight against Terrorism“, Anna Kreikemeyer presented the activities of CORE's Central Asia Research Group on 9

May 2005 in Warsaw. She spoke about experiences in mediation between secular forces and moderate Islamists in Tajikistan as well as about CORE's consultancy work in Central Asia and made suggestions for policy options for the prevention of extremism in the region.

Within the framework of the Central Asia Research Initiative (CARI) of the Higher Education Support Programme (HESP) of the Open Society Institute, Budapest, Anna Kreikemeyer functioned as senior research adviser for Mr. Bakyt Jumagulov from the University of Jalal Abad in Kyrgyzstan for 2003-2005. Mr. Jumagulov's research and teaching project is on the "Political Role of Islam in central Asia". From 1 April - 10 May 2005, he had a second internship at CORE.

Between 23 and 27 May 2005, Kurt Tudyka and Frank Evers participated as members of the German Delegation in the Thirteenth Meeting of the OSCE Economic Forum in Prague on the subject of "Demographic Trends, Migration and Integrating Persons Belonging to National Minorities: Ensuring Security and Sustainable Development in the OSCE Area".

On July 11 2005, Wolfgang Zellner presented the CORE report "Managing Change in Europe. Evaluating the OSCE and Its Future Role: Competencies, Capabilities, and Missions" at the Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs. The presentation was introduced by Senior Researcher Kari Möttölä from the Finnish Foreign Ministry. Matti Jutila from the University of Tampere Peace Research Institute commented on the publication. The two leading Finnish newspapers, the Finnish-language "Helsingin Sanomat" and the Swedish-language "Hufvudstadsbladet" reported on the event (see 3.1.a).

On 21 July 2005, Wolfgang Zellner presented a booklet titled "The Culture of Dialogue: The OSCE Acquis 30 Years after Helsinki" to the Organization's Permanent Council in Vienna. The reception, which followed, co-hosted by the Finnish delegation and the Slovenian Chairmanship, provided opportunities for discussion. The publication was made possible by financial contributions from the governments of Austria, Belgium, Finland, Germany, Iceland, Ireland, Liechtenstein, Netherlands, Slovenia, Sweden, Switzerland, and Turkey (see 3.1.b).

From 22 August to 11 November 2005, Senior Researcher Annette Legutke was temporarily assigned as Gender Advisor to the OSCE Secretariat, Office of the Secretary General, in Vienna. Among other tasks she contributed to the development of the OSCE Implementation Plan on Gender Mainstreaming, which refers to the incorporation of gender equality into the Organization's structures as well as its programmes and projects, and the Organization's internal policy addressing inappropriate workplace behaviour such as harassment and discrimination.

On 15 September 2005, Wolfgang Zellner and Frank Evers visited Moscow to learn more on the Russian view on OSCE reform. In the Russian Foreign Ministry, they had a meeting with the Deputy Director of the Department for European Co-operation, Dr Anwar Azimov, who explained the Russian Federation's perspective. Another meeting took place with Ambassador ret. Vladimir Shustov, the second Russian member in the OSCE Panel of Eminent Persons. CORE and the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO) co-hosted a seminar on the reform process of the OSCE (see 6.2.a).

On 6 October, the former Head of the Permanent Mission of the Federal Republic of Germany to the OSCE, Ambassador Dr Dieter Boden, visited CORE and gave a presentation on “Three Years for the OSCE in Vienna and the Current Reform Process of the Organization”, followed by a lively debate.

Within the framework of the Federal Republic of Germany’s visitors’ programme, CORE, together with the IFSH’s Centre for European Peace and Security Studies (ZEUS), co-hosted a high-ranking delegation from Burkina Faso, Cote d’Ivoire, Guinea, Mali, Niger, Togo and Chad on 29 November 2005. As the delegation’s main subject was “The Role of Regional and International Organizations in Conflict Prevention and Resolution”, there was much interest in the presentations by CORE and ZEUS on the related activities of the OSCE and the EU.

In November 2005, Wolfgang Zellner was appointed to the Editorial Board of the “Helsinki Monitor”.

## **6.2 Conferences and Lectures**

### *a) Conferences and Lectures Organized by CORE*

At the initiative and with the financial support of the Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, CORE elaborated the report on OSCE reform “Managing Change in Europe. Evaluating the OSCE and Its Future Role: Competencies, Capabilities, and Missions”. This was achieved together with an international task force consisting of Amb. Alyson Bailes, Director of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), Prof. Victor-Yves Ghebali, Graduate Institute of International Studies (Geneva), Prof. Terrence Hopmann, The Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University (Providence, RI, USA), and Dr Andrei Zagorski, Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO). In order to discuss the draft report, the task force and CORE staff met at two workshops in Hamburg on 18-20 April and 18-20 May 2005.

On 15 September 2005, CORE and the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO), represented by Dr Andrei Zagorski, co-hosted a seminar at the MGIMO premises on the reform process of the OSCE. Participants included Ambassador ret. Oleg Grinevsky, Prof. Vladimir Baranovsky, Deputy Director of the Institute for World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO), Dr Tatyana Parkhalina, Deputy Director of the Institute of Scientific Information for Social Sciences, Dr Dimitri Danilov, Head of Department at the Institute of Europe at the Russian Academy of Sciences, Grigory Annuel, Chairman of the open forum “International Dialogue”, and representatives of the Russian Foreign Ministry and the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the Council of Federation – the upper chamber of the Parliament of the Russian Federation. Presentations by Andrei Zagorski and Wolfgang Zellner on the OSCE’s reform perspective were followed by lively debate.

On 23 November 2005, CORE co-hosted, together with the Friedrich Naumann Foundation, a public lecture event in Hamburg titled “Colour Revolutions in the CIS: a Way to More Democracy?”.

## *b) Conferences Attended by CORE Staff Members*

During 2005, CORE staff members attended some 40 conferences and workshops where they gave lectures or acted as rapporteurs. Host institutions included the Central Eurasian Studies Society, the Europäisches Zentrum für Antiziganismusforschung [European Centre for Anti-Ziganism Research], the Federal Academy for Security Policy, the Friedrich Naumann Foundation, the Geneva Centre for Security Policy, the German Academic Foundation, the German Ministry of Economic Co-operation and Development, the German Working Association for Peace and Conflict Studies, the Graduate Institute of International Studies (Geneva), Haus Rissen, Hamburg, the International Council for Central and East European Studies (ICCEES), the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights, the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies, NATO, the Netherlands Helsinki Committee, the Open Society Institute, New York City, the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, the OSCE Academy in Bishkek (Kyrgyzstan), and Swisspeace.

### *Andrea Berg*

- gave a presentation on „Transformation in Usbekistan“ at a seminar on security policy at the Bundesakademie für Sicherheitspolitik [Federal Academy for Security Policy], Berlin, 8 Februar 2005;
- presented on „Civil Society in Uzbekistan“ at a roundtable of the Civil Society Watch Project of the Open Society Institute, New York City, 27 September 2005;
- lectured on „Global Concepts versus Local Reality – The Rhetoric of Civil Society in Central Asia“ at the 2005 Central Eurasian Studies Society Annual Conference, Boston, 30 September 2005;
- delivered a presentation on “The Tensions between Authoritarian Rulers and International Actors in Central Asia” at the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies, Washington DC., 3 October 2005.

### *Frank Evers*

- gave, within the framework of the visitors’ programme of the Federal Republic of Germany, a presentation on the OSCE and its role within European security to a delegation of the Andes Parliament headed by its President, Senator Victor Enrique Urquidi Hodgkinson (Bolivia), Berlin, 12 May 2005;
- read a series of lectures on “Comparative Advantages and Shortcomings of the OSCE Economic and Environmental Dimension” at the OSCE Academy in Bishkek (Kyrgyzstan) in November 2005.

### *Friederike Gräper*

- presented a paper on “Media Support as Part of External Democratization Efforts in Bosnia and Herzegovina” at the VII World Congress “Europe – Our Common Home?” of the International Council for Central and East European Studies (ICCEES), Berlin, 25-30 November 2005.

### *Marietta König*

- participated in the workshop “Krieg, Gewalt und der prekäre Frieden” [War, Violence and Precarious Peace] organized by the junior group of the

Arbeitsgemeinschaft Friedens- und Konfliktforschung [Working Association for Peace and Conflict Research], Bocholt/Germany, 14-16 January 2005;

- participated in the National Model United Nations (NMUN) simulation exercise, New York, 22-26 March 2005;
- organized and moderated, together with Elena Kropatcheva, a public lecture event "Colour Revolutions in the CIS: a Way to More Democracy?" organized by the Friedrich Naumann Foundation in co-operation with CORE, Hamburg, 23 November 2005.

#### *Anna Kreikemeyer*

- contributed to an experts meeting of the ODIHR and the OSCE Secretariat's Action against Terrorism Unit on 'Extremism' and the preparation of the Supplementary Human Dimension Meeting „Human Rights and the Fight against Terrorism“, Warsaw, 9 May 2005;
- held lectures on „Transformation and Security. The Threat Potential of Democratization Processes for the Ruling Power Elites“ and on “Destabilization in the Ferghana Valley. The Revolution in Kyrgyzstan and the Massacre in Andijan” at the seminar “Central Asia – Meeting Point of the Great Powers” in Haus Rissen, Hamburg, 12 October 2005;
- contributed with a presentation on “Human Security in Central Asia – Possibilities and Barriers” to the experts meeting “Crisis Preventive Effects of Development Co-operation with Central Asia” held by the German Ministry of Economic Co-operation and Development, Bonn, 1-2 December 2005.

#### *Elena Kropatcheva*

- gave a presentation on “Shards of an Empire? Russia's Interests in Belarus, Moldova and Ukraine” at a seminar organized by the Friedrich Naumann Foundation, Gummersbach/Germany, 14-16 January 2005;
- delivered a keynote speech on “Russian Relations with Ukraine: a New Beginning?” at a public lecture event organized by the Friedrich Naumann Foundation, Hamburg, 27 February 2005;
- participated in the 7<sup>th</sup> Potsdamer SEF-Frühjahresgespräche 2005 titled „Near Abroad vs. New Neighbors“, Potsdam, 14-16 April 2005;
- delivered a presentation on “Prospects of Russia's Integration Models” at the conference of Young East European Experts, Berlin, 18-20 November 2005;
- organized and moderated, together with Marietta König, a public lecture event “Colour Revolutions in the CIS: a Way to More Democracy?” organized by the Friedrich Naumann Foundation in co-operation with CORE, Hamburg, 23 November 2005.

#### *Annette Legutke*

- presented a paper on „The Reform of Field Activities: Technical or Political Necessity?“ at the conference “The Reform of the OSCE. 15 Years after the Charter of Paris for a New Europe: Problems, Challenges and Risks”, jointly organized by the Graduate Institute of International Studies (Geneva) and the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana, Brdo, 7-8 September 2005.

*Jens Narten*

- lectured and led a workshop on “Angewandte Konfliktanalyse und Konfliktlösungstechniken der Mediation und Fazilitation” [Applied Conflict Analysis and Techniques of Conflict Resolution: Mediation and Facilitation] at the Carlo Schmid summer seminar on “Krieg und Konflikt” [War and Conflict], Chorin/Germany, 21 July 2005;
- presented a paper on “Human Rights and the Sustainable “Civilisation” of Conflict – Peace Efforts of the UN, OSCE, EU and NATO in Post-War Kosovo” at the VII World Congress “Europe – Our Common Home?” of the International Council for Central and East European Studies (ICCEES), Berlin, 30 July 2005.

*Solveig Richter*

- presented a paper on her theoretical approach and analytical scheme called “Precarious Democracy in South-Eastern Europe? – The Analysis of Democracy Promotion Efforts of International Organizations and the Crux of Effectiveness Studies” at the conference “Peace, Violence and the Precarious Peace” of the German Working Association for Peace and Conflict Studies, Bocholt, 14-16 January 2005;
- gave a lecture on “State-Building by International Organizations – Chances and Problems: the Definition of the Demos” at the conference "Democracy and Human Rights in Multiethnic Societies", Konjic, Bosnia and Herzegovina, 11-15 July 2005;
- organized and chaired a role play on the future of the international engagement in Bosnia and Herzegovina for the summer seminar of the Carlo Schmid Programme, organized by the German Academic Foundation, Chorin/Germany, 20-24 July 2005;
- organized and chaired the panel “Does the Vision Europe Work? – International Organizations and the Effectiveness of their Democratization Efforts in South-Eastern Europe”, at the VII World Congress “Europe – Our Common Home?” of the International Council for Central and East European Studies (ICCEES), Berlin, 25-30 July 2005.

*Arne Seifert*

- presented on „Transformation und das Verhältnis säkularer und islamischer Kräfte in Tadschikistan“ [Transformation and the Relationship between Secular and Islamic Forces in Tajikistan] at a symposium of the Bundesakademie für Sicherheitspolitik [Federal Academy for Security Policy], Berlin, 8 February 2005;
- lectured on „Dialogprojekte im säkular-religiösen Umfeld am Beispiel Tadschikistans“ [Secular-Religious Dialogue Projects: The Example of Tajikistan] at a workshop „Kultur und Krisenprävention – Zum Stand der wissenschaftlichen Diskussion“ [Culture and Crisis Prevention – State of the Art] co-organized by the „Wissenschaftlicher Initiativkreis Kultur und Außenpolitik“ and the German Institute for Adult Education (DIE), Bonn, 5-6 April 2005.

*Fausta Šimaitytė*

- participated in the NATO International School „The concept of 3 seas: Caspian, Mediterranean and Black Seas“, Baku, Azerbaijan, 6-12 June 2005;

- gave a presentation on the “Chechen War in the Russian Media”, at the Academy „The New Democracy and its Limits in Russia“, organized by the Friedrich Naumann Foundation, St. Petersburg, Russia, 7 September 2005;
- presented a paper on the Chechen diaspora at the Swisspeace Annual Conference “Searching for Peace in Chechnya - Swiss Initiatives and Experiences”, Bern, 8 November 2005.

*Katrin Simhandl*

- gave a presentation on EU politics with respect to Roma issues at the VII World Congress “Europe – Our Common Home?” of the International Council for Central and East European Studies (ICCEES), Berlin, 25-30 July 2005;
- presented a paper on “Images and Imagination: Visual Representations of Roma in EU Publications” at the “II International Conference on Antiziganism” organized by the Europäisches Zentrum für Antiziganismusforschung [European Centre for Anti-Ziganism Research], Hamburg, 8-9 October 2005.

*Thorsten Stodiek*

- gave a presentation on „Friedenskonsolidierung mit polizeilichen Mitteln im Kosovo“ [Peace Consolidation by the Police in Kosovo] at a workshop of the Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft Frieden und internationale Politik des Fachbereichs Außenpolitik von Bündnis 90/Die Grünen [Green Party, Section Foreign Policy, Federal Working Group Peace and International Politics], Hannover, 19-20 February 2005.

*Kurt P. Tudyka*

- lectured on “Globokratie und Hegemonie – Der Richtungsstreit um die Weltordnungspolitik zwischen den USA und Europa” [Globocracy and Hegemony – The Debate on World Policy between the USA and Europe] at the Forum Internationale Politik of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Munich, 15 June 2005.

*Wolfgang Zellner*

- gave a presentation on “Adapting the OSCE to Structural Change” at an expert hearing of the OSCE Panel of Eminent Persons, Vienna, 10 March 2005;
- presented and discussed, together with Senior Researcher Kari Möttölä from the Finnish Foreign Ministry and Matti Jutila from the University of Tampere Peace Research Institute, the CORE report "Managing Change in Europe. Evaluating the OSCE and Its Future Role: Competencies, Capabilities, and Missions" at the Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Helsinki, 11 July 2005;
- presented a booklet titled "The Culture of Dialogue: The OSCE Acquis 30 Years after Helsinki" to the OSCE Permanent Council, Vienna, 21 July 2005;
- lectured on “The Reform of the OSCE: Problems, Challenges and Risks” at the conference “The Reform of the OSCE. 15 Years after the Charter of Paris for a New Europe: Problems, Challenges and Risks”, jointly organized by the Graduate Institute of International Studies (Geneva) and the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana, Brdo, 7-8 September 2005;
- gave input on “Structures, Procedures and Instruments of the OSCE” to a panel discussion on “The Special Challenges Facing OSCE” at a conference titled

- “OSCE’s Future after 30 Years” organized by the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights, the Helsinki Monitor, and the Netherlands Helsinki Committee, Vienna, 9 September 2005;
- presented on “Key Issues of OSCE Reform” at a workshop on “The Reform of the OSCE” jointly arranged by the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO) and CORE, Moscow, 15 September 2005;
  - lectured on “The OSCE – Past, Present and Future” at the Geneva Centre for Security Policy, 1 November 2005;
  - contributed to a panel discussion on “Aufgaben und Perspektiven der OSZE und die Stellung Deutschlands” [Tasks and Perspectives of the OSCE and the Position of Germany] at the “9. Potsdamer Kolloquium zur Außen- und Deutschlandpolitik“ [9th Potsdam Colloquium on Foreign and German Policy], arranged by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, Potsdam, 11 November 2005;
  - lectured at “The OSCE after 30 Years: Achievements and Problems” at a seminar on “OSCE: Quo Vadis?” organized by the Institute for Security Studies, Paris, 14 November 2005;
  - gave a lecture on “The Role of the OSCE in Eurasian Security” and led a seminar on “The OSCE’s Crisis and Reform Debate” in the framework of the European Master’s Degree in Human Rights and Democratization (E.MA), Venice, 17 November 2005;
  - gave a presentation on the OSCE’s role in conflict prevention and resolution to a high-ranking delegation from Burkina Faso, Cote d’Ivoire, Guinea, Mali, Niger, Togo and Chad that visited the IFSH within the framework of the Federal Republic of Germany’s visitors’ programme, 29 November 2005.

## **7. Personnel and Financing**

During 2005, the Head of CORE managed a staff, which includes seven researchers (cf. Annex 1: CORE staff as of 1 December 2005). In addition, two staff members (one senior researcher/editor, one translator/editor) were responsible for publishing the OSCE Yearbook and another two staff members (one half-time) for documentation and information. There were also nine researchers working on CORE projects in the countries being analysed. Eight PhD students worked on their dissertation projects. The permanent staff is supported by four student research assistants and translators. In the course of the year, eight students completed their internships, which lasted for around six weeks on average (<http://www.core-hamburg.de/english/staff/internship>).

Less than half of the CORE budget is financed through the IFSH budget. Project financing covers the larger part of expenditure. In the year 2005, CORE projects – including PhD projects – were funded by the German Foreign Office, the Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, a group of twelve OSCE participating States, the Volkswagen Foundation, the German Foundation for Peace Research, and the Friedrich Naumann Foundation.

Until now, a major problem for CORE and the IFSH has been their lack of office space. In agreement with the Senate of the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg the decision was taken to move the IFSH to new premises in the city centre, close to the campus of the University of Hamburg, in 2006.

## Annex 1: CORE Staff as of 1 December 2005

<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>	<i>e-mail / phone</i>
Currie, Graeme, M.A.	Translator/Editor	currie@ifsh.de ++49 40 866 077 33
Dr Evers, Frank (ext.)	Acting Deputy Head of CORE	eversfrank@lycos.com ++ 49 3362 75249
Filippov, Daria	Graduate Research Assistant	dfilippov@web.de ++49 40 866 077 32
Gräper, Friederike, M.A.	PhD Student	fgraeper@gmx.de ++49 40 866 077 65
Guth, Mirko	Graduate Research Assistant	mirkoguth@web.de ++ 49 40 866 077 52
Hormann, Elizabeth, Ed.M (ext.)	Language Editor	Elizhorman@aol.com ++49 221 745067
König, Marietta, M.A.	PhD Student	marietta.koenig@gmx.de ++ 49 40 866 077 55
Dr Kreikemeyer, Anna	Senior Researcher	annakreikemeyer@gmx.de ++49 40 866 077 67
Kropatcheva, Elena, M.A.	PhD Student	ekropatcheva@list.ru ++49 40 866 077 62
Dr Legutke, Annette (ext.)	Senior Researcher	legutke@gmx.net ++49 170 1835 712
Narten, Jens, Dipl.-Sozialwiss.	PhD Student	jens.narten@web.de ++49 40 866 077 65
Dr Neukirch, Claus (on leave)	Senior Researcher	claus.neukirch@web.de
Polley, Uwe, Dipl.-Pol.	Researcher/Archivist	polley@ifsh.de ++49 40 866 077 52
Rahmonova-Schwarz, Delia, M.A.	PhD Student	schwarzdelia@web.de ++49 40 866 077 43
Richter, Solveig, M.A. (ext.)	PhD Student	solveig.richter@csp-network.org ++49 351 47 67 945
Schlichting, Ursel, M.A.	Senior Researcher/Editor	schlichting@ifsh.de ++49 40 866 077 32
Ambassador ret. Dr Seifert, Arne C. (ext.)	Central Asia Adviser	A.u.P.Seifert@t-online.de ++49 30 4456 709
Šimaityte, Fausta	Graduate Research Assistant	simaitytef@gmx.de ++49 40 866 077 60
Simhandl, Katrin, M.A.	PhD Student	katrin.simhandl@gmx.net ++49 40 866 077 65
Dr Stodiek, Thorsten	Senior Researcher	stodiek@ifsh.de ++49 40 866 077 85
Trespalacios, Veronica, B.A.	Editor/Translator	vtres@web.de ++49 40 866 077 52
Prof. Tudyka, Kurt P. (ext.)	Senior Researcher	tudyka.kurt@t-online.de ++ 49 228 335 108
Vetterlein, Merle, Dipl.-Pol.	PhD Student	merlevetterlein@web.de ++49 40 866 077 65
Walter, Carsten	Graduate Research Assistant	walter@ifsh.de ++49 40 866 077 52
Dr Zellner, Wolfgang	Head of CORE Deputy Director of IFSH	zellner@ifsh.de ++49 40 866 077 63

## **Annex 2: Publications by CORE Staff Members in 2005**

### *Berg, Andrea:*

- Usbekistan. Blutbad in Andijan, in: Inamo, Vol. 11 (2005), No. 43, pp 35-39.
- Central Asia quo vadis? Fragile security in Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan, in: IFSH (ed.), OSCE Yearbook 2005, Baden-Baden 2005/2006 (forthcoming).
- Realities of Transformation. Democratization Policies in Central Asia Revisited, Baden-Baden 2006 (co-edited with Anna Kreikemeyer).
- Introduction, in: Andrea Berg/Anna Kreikemeyer (eds), Realities of Transformation. Democratization Policies in Central Asia Revisited, Baden-Baden 2006, pp. 9-19 (co-authored with Anna Kreikemeyer).
- The ODIHR Human Rights Monitoring and Reporting Training. A Cross-National Analysis, in: Andrea Berg/Anna Kreikemeyer (eds), Realities of Transformation. Democratization Policies in Central Asia Revisited, Baden-Baden 2006, pp. 117-125 (co-authored with Anna Kreikemeyer).
- Who's Afraid of George Soros? The Conflict between Authoritarian Rulers and International Actors in Central Asia, in: Andrea Berg/Anna Kreikemeyer (eds), Realities of Transformation. Democratization Policies in Central Asia Revisited, Baden-Baden 2006, pp. 127-140.
- All Eyes on Central Asia. Disintegration in Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan, in: Andrea Berg/Anna Kreikemeyer (eds), Realities of Transformation. Democratization Policies in Central Asia Revisited, Baden-Baden 2006, pp. 211-225.
- Education in Central Asia – Current Developments and Opportunities for Comprehensive Security, in: IFSH (ed.), OSCE Yearbook 2004, Baden-Baden 2005, pp. 329-337.

### *Contributions to Newspapers:*

- Kirgisien. Ohne Symbol und geeinte Spitze, in: Sächsische Zeitung am Sonntag, 27 March 2005.
- Flugblätter verteilen verboten. Mehrere tausend Usbeken sitzen wegen ihrer Überzeugung im Gefängnis, in: Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung, 22 May 2005.
- Die Bevölkerung hat nichts mehr zu verlieren. Ein Gespräch mit der Usbekistan-Spezialistin Andrea Berg über die sozialen und politischen Hintergründe der Ereignisse von Andischan, in: Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, 20-26 May 2005.
- Prototyp Patron. Die alten und neuen Präsidenten Georgiens, Kirgistans und Usbekistans, in: Freitag, 3 June 2005.
- Kirgisien. Mit allen Mitteln der Gewalt, in: Sächsische Zeitung am Sonntag, 10 July 2005.
- Kirgistan nach den Präsidentschaftswahlen. Das Volk will Ruhe und Stabilität, in: Das Parlament, 25 July-1 August 2005.

### *Evers, Frank:*

- The Culture of Dialogue. The OSCE Acquis 30 Years after Helsinki, Hamburg 2005 (CORE/IFSH, co-authored with Martin Kahl and Wolfgang Zellner).
- The challenge of structural and political reform, in: european security, Vol. 13 (2005), No. 1 (Finnish Committee for European Security – STETE), pp. 8-9 (co-authored with Wolfgang Zellner).
- Regional Interests in Maintaining and Diversifying OSCE Field Operations: Supporting a Trend, in: IFSH (ed.), OSCE Yearbook 2004, Baden-Baden 2005, pp. 447-465 (co-authored with Wolfgang Zellner).

### *König, Marietta:*

- Strengthening the Co-operation of International Organizations with NATO in Conflict Management: The Case of Abkhazia and South Ossetia in the South Caucasus, Preparation paper for the External Discussion Forum at the Vienna Model United Nations (VIMUN) 2005, at: <http://www.afa.at/vimun/2005EDF-Paper.pdf>.
- The Georgian-South Ossetian Conflict, in: IFSH (ed.), OSCE Yearbook 2004, Baden-Baden 2005, pp. 237-249.

### *Kreikemeyer, Anna:*

- Realities of Transformation. Democratization Policies in Central Asia Revisited, Baden-Baden 2006 (co-edited with Andrea Berg).

- Introduction, in: Andrea Berg/Anna Kreikemeyer (eds), Realities of Transformation. Democratization Policies in Central Asia Revisited, Baden-Baden 2006, pp. 9-19 (co-authored with Andrea Berg).
- The ODIHR Human Rights Monitoring and Reporting Training. A Cross-National Analysis, in: Andrea Berg/Anna Kreikemeyer (eds), Realities of Transformation. Democratization Policies in Central Asia Revisited, Baden-Baden 2006, pp. 117-125 (co-authored with Andrea Berg).
- Instability in the Ferghana Valley: International Reactions, in: Andrea Berg/Anna Kreikemeyer (eds), Realities of Transformation. Democratization Policies in Central Asia Revisited, Baden-Baden 2006, pp. 227-246.
- Balancing between Commitments and Co-operation. The OSCE in Central Asia, in: Andrea Berg/Anna Kreikemeyer (eds), Realities of Transformation. Democratization Policies in Central Asia Revisited, Baden-Baden 2006, pp. 101-115.

*Kropatcheva, Elena:*

- Perspektiven der Integrationsmodelle Russlands, in: Forschungsstelle Osteuropa, Integration und Ausgrenzung im Osten Europas. Beiträge für die 13. Tagung junger Osteuropa-Experten, veranstaltet von der Forschungsstelle Osteuropa an der Universität Bremen, dem Osteuropa-Institut der Freien Universität Berlin und der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Osteuropakunde (Arbeitspapiere und Materialien, No. 70), Berlin 2005, pp. 8-12.

*Legutke, Annette:*

- From lessons lost to lessons learned?, in: Helsinki Monitor, Vol. 16 (2005), No. 3, Special Issue, pp. 263 - 266.
- The Reform of OSCE Field Activities, in: Victor-Yves Ghebali/Daniel Warner (eds), The Reform of the OSCE 15 Years after the Charter of Paris for a New Europe: Problems, Challenges and Risks (PSIO Occasional Paper, forthcoming).

*Narten, Jens:*

- Human Rights as a Human Dimension: The Approach of the OSCE, in: Malte Brosig (ed.), Human Rights in Europe - A Fragmented Regime?, Frankfurt/M. (forthcoming).
- Promoting Democracy by Means of International Election Observation: The ODIHR Election Observation Mission to Albania, in: IFSH (ed.), OSCE Yearbook 2005, Baden-Baden 2005/2006 (forthcoming).

*Richter, Solveig:*

- Frieden schaffen mit den Waffen der Demokratie? Theorie und Praxis von Demokratisierung als Friedensstrategie, in: Zeitschrift für Internationale Beziehungen (ZIB), Vol. 12 (2005), No. 1, pp. 77-116.
- Kroatien: Zitterpartie nach Europa. Zwischen EU-Konditionalität und politischen Manövern, in: Südosteuropa Mitteilungen, Vol. 45, No. 6 (forthcoming).
- The OSCE Mission to Croatia – Springboard to Europe, in: IFSH (ed.), OSCE Yearbook 2004, Baden-Baden 2005, pp. 93-106.

*Schlichting, Ursel:*

- In der Sackgasse: „Normalisierung“ oder Krieg in Tschetschenien?, in: Ulrich Ratsch/Reinhard Mutz/Bruno Schoch/Corinna Hauswedell/Christoph Weller (eds), Friedensgutachten 2005, Münster 2005, pp. 70-78.
- Foreword, in: IFSH (ed.), OSCE Yearbook 2004, Baden-Baden 2005, pp. 19-21.

*Seifert, Arne:*

- Das Misstrauen überwinden, Die Macht der Moral, Religion und Politik im 21. Jahrhundert, Zeitschrift für Kultur Austausch, No. 2, 2005, pp. 48-52.
- Ukreplenie doveriya mezhdru predstavivelyami svetskoj vlasti i politicheskogo islama vozmozhno! Transformatsiya tsentralno-aziatskikh obshchestv i regionalnaya bezopasnost, Mezhdunarodnaya Obshchestvennaya Organizatsiya Tsentr Strategicheskikh i Politicheskikh Issledovanij, Moskva 2005, pp. 82-89.
- Reconciling Europe and Islam in the OSCE's Euro-Asiatic Regions, in: IFSH (ed.), OSCE Yearbook 2004, Baden-Baden 2005, pp. 301-316.

*Šimaitytė, Fausta:*

- The OSCE in Central Asia. A Chronology, in: Andrea Berg/Anna Kreikemyer (eds), *Realities of Transformation. Democratization Policies in Central Asia Revisited*. Baden-Baden 2006, pp. 249-264 (co-authored with John Maurynet).

*Simhandl, Katrin:*

- Antidiskriminierungspolitik, in: Werner Weidenfeld/Wolfgang Wessels (eds), *Europa von A bis Z. Taschenwörterbuch der Europäischen Integration*, Baden-Baden 2005, pp. 59-62 (co-authored with Isabelle Tannous).
- 'Western Gypsies and Travellers' – 'Eastern Roma': The Creation of Political Objects by the Institutions of the European Union, in: *Nations and Nationalism*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (forthcoming).

*Stodiek, Thorsten:*

- The Creation of Multi-Ethnic Police Services in the Balkans, Hamburg 2005 (CORE Working Paper 14).
- Der Aufbau multiethnischer Polizeien auf dem Balkan. Eine Erfolgsbilanz mit Einschränkungen, in: *Die Friedenswarte. Journal of International Peace and Organization*, 2005 (forthcoming, co-authored with Wolfgang Zellner).
- Friedenskonsolidierung mit polizeilichen Mitteln. Die Herausforderungen der Kosovo-Mission, in: *Streitkräfteamt/Informations- und Medienzentrale der Bundeswehr (ed.), Reader Sicherheitspolitik. Instrumente internationaler Sicherheit. 3. Überblick/Diskussion. Thema: Friedenskonsolidierung mit polizeilichen Mitteln*, No. 08/05, pp. 9-16, at: [http://www.reader-sipo.de/artikel/0508\\_AIV3.pdf](http://www.reader-sipo.de/artikel/0508_AIV3.pdf).
- Der Aufbau multiethnischer demokratischer Polizeien auf dem südwestlichen Balkan, in: Martin H.W. Möllers/Robert Chr. Van Ooyen (eds), *Jahrbuch Öffentliche Sicherheit 2004/2005*, Frankfurt am Main 2005, pp. 427-440.
- International Police Forces in Peace Operations, in: Harvey Langholtz/Boris Kondoch/Alan Wells (eds), *International Peacekeeping: The Yearbook of International Peace Operations*, Vol. 9 (2005), pp. 93-107.

*Tudyka, Kurt P.:*

- Kingdom of the Netherlands, in: Wolfgang Gieler/Kemal Inat/Claudio Kullmann (eds), *Foreign Policy of States*, Istanbul 2005, pp. 351-356.
- The Bulgarian Chairmanship in 2004, in: IFSH (ed.), *OSCE Yearbook 2005*, Baden-Baden 2005/2006 (forthcoming).
- The Dutch Chairmanship: From Porto to Maastricht, in: IFSH (ed.), *OSCE Yearbook 2004*, Baden-Baden 2005, pp. 433-445.

*Zellner, Wolfgang:*

- Addressing transnational threats and risks – A key challenge for the OSCE, in: *Helsinki Monitor*, Vol. 16 (2005), No. 3, pp. 214-217.
- The challenge of structural and political reform, in: *European Security*, Vol. 13 (2005), No. 1 (Finnish Committee for European Security/STETE), pp. 8-9 (co-authored with Frank Evers).
- Der Aufbau multiethnischer Polizeien auf dem Balkan. Eine Erfolgsbilanz mit Einschränkungen, in: *Die Friedenswarte. Journal of International Peace and Organization*, 2005 (forthcoming, co-authored with Thorsten Stodiek).
- The Culture of Dialogue. The OSCE Acquis 30 Years after Helsinki, Hamburg 2005 (IFSH/CORE, co-authored with Evers Frank and Martin Kahl).
- Europäische Rüstungskontrolle – eine Geisel subregionaler Konflikte? Zur Ratifizierung des angepassten KSE-Vertrags, in: Götz Neuneck/Christian Mölling (eds), *Die Zukunft der Rüstungskontrolle*, Baden-Baden 2005, pp. 271-281 (co-authored with Hans-Joachim Schmidt).
- The Future Development of OSCE Field Missions, in: Victor-Yves Ghebali/Daniel Warner (eds), *The Politico-Military Dimension of the OSCE: Arms Control and Conflict Management Issues*, Geneva 2005 (PSIO Occasional Paper 2/2005), pp. 31-64.
- Managing Change in Europe. Evaluating the OSCE and Its Future Role: Competencies, Capabilities, and Missions, Hamburg 2005 (CORE Working Paper 13, in consultation with Alyson Bailes, Victor-Yves Ghebali, Terrence Hopmann, and Andrei Zagorski).

- Organisation für Sicherheit und Zusammenarbeit in Europa (OSZE), in: Wolfgang W. Mickel/Jan M. Bergmann (eds), Handlexikon der Europäischen Union, 3rd rev. and enlarged ed., Baden-Baden 2005, pp. 581-584.
- Russia and the OSCE: From High Hopes to Disillusionment, in: Cambridge Review of International Affairs, Vol. 18 (2005), No. 3, pp. 389-402.
- Regional Interests in Maintaining and Diversifying OSCE Field Operations: Supporting a Trend, in: IFSH (ed.), OSCE Yearbook 2004, Baden-Baden 2005, pp. 447-465 (co-authored with Frank Evers).