

**Democracy Promotion in Central Asia
- European and US-American Experiences**

A Transatlantic Workshop at the Centre for OSCE Research

Since the mid 1990s governmental and nongovernmental actors both from the US and from European states have been striving for democracy promotion in the five Central Asian states Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. With respect to democracy promotion, Central Asia can be seen as an extraordinarily difficult region. After the dissolution of the Soviet Union there were no starting points for a civic democratic society. Moreover, traditionally formed structures led to semi-authoritarian and, in the worst cases, to dictatorial regimes. In states like Kazakhstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan client networks rooted in family relationships occupied key positions of state and economic power. In Turkmenistan the last president, Saparmurad Niyasov, ruled in a dictatorial manner. Reforms by his successor have not yet become apparent. After the “Tulip Revolution” in Kyrgyzstan in March 2005, the ruling network from the north of the country was replaced by one from the south. This changed little in the client structures characterizing politics but rather destabilised the country. In all states the opposition is weak and has to contend with more or less authoritarian measures from the ruling regimes.

Democracy promotion by external actors is guided by different interests and goals and can take on various forms. After the end of the Cold War many representatives of Western states and institutions believed in a wave of democratisation and in the idea of contributing from the outside to domestic peace and stability in transition countries. Projects and measures were developed to support the respective civil societies and political parties, but also human rights activists. OSCE election support and observation, in particular, can be seen as the main instrument of democracy promotion. However, it is the effects of election monitoring that are especially controversial. Since 2003, the “coloured revolutions” in Georgia, Ukraine and in Kyrgyzstan have led to vigorous disputes among proponents and opponents of regime change in the post Soviet states. While those in favour saw success for their democracy promotion efforts, the critics have seen it as illegitimate interference in the internal affairs of the government.

In a workshop, organized by Anna Kreikemeyer and Wolfgang Zellner on 9-11 February 2007, more than 30 participants from science and policy took part, among them experts on democracy promotion as well as regional experts. Nearly half of the guests came from the US. The other participants were from Germany, Great Britain and Russia. In his introduction, Michael Brzoska, the scientific director of IFSH, pointed to the tradition of research in the Institute’s work on the post Soviet space. In the keynote speech which followed, Martha Brill Olcott (Carnegie Endowment, Washington) set the tone by underlining the necessity of thinking anew on perceptions, strategies and instruments of Western Central Asian policy. She asked for a more proactive Western engagement and a self-critical reflection of one’s own appearance in the Central Asian states.

Panels dealt with different aspects of democracy promotion: elections and their observation by the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, human rights protection, democratic governance and finally development perspectives of Central Asia between liberalisation and autocracy. An issue that was discussed in all panels was the Kazakh chairmanship bid for 2009. This question forces concrete statements on both expectations and fears, related to a real equal integration of this semi-authoritarian Central Asian state in the OSCE. Fortunately Prof Marat Sarsembaev, a high ranking member of the Central Election

Commission of the Republic of Kazakhstan, had shown interest in participating in this transatlantic workshop as a guest and was ready to discuss and answer questions.

In his concluding summary Wolfgang Zellner emphasized the high level of the discussions. In his view the core of the debate on democracy promotion leads to a dilemma which cannot be solved by a master plan. A more encouraging note is the readiness of the participants to continue this dialogue in a broader framework with Central Asian partners.

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ZEUS-Activities in and on East Asia

The Head of ZEUS, Hans J. Giessmann, attended the 23rd EU-Taiwan Workshop in Taipei on 19/20 December 2006. He delivered a speech on: "Emerging Power: A Global Role for the EU?" Together with representatives from the participating Taiwanese research institutions he also talked about options for future cooperation. As a first step, a Taiwanese scholar will contribute to a publication on security cooperation in Northeast Asia. In December 2006 two researchers from the South Korean Northeast Policy Institute visited ZEUS. The First Secretary of the ROK Embassy's Political Department, An Chong-hoon, accompanied the researchers, Mrs. Yang and Mrs. Yu.

On 23/24 January 2007 Giessmann and Bernt Berger (ZEUS) participated in the 5th Shanghai Workshop on Global Governance, entitled: "Current Situation and Future Prospects of Asia-Europe Security Cooperation". This symposium was co-sponsored by the Shanghai Institute for International Studies (SIIS) and the Shanghai Office of the Friedrich-Ebert-Foundation. Berger was a member of the preparatory team for this conference and Giessmann gave a presentation on the role of NATO in regional security design and moderated one plenary session. Berger spoke about various aspects of and limitations on Chinese-European security cooperation. The workshop covered a great many subjects related to inter-regional cooperation. On 25 January, Berger and Zhang Tiejun from SIIS chaired a meeting of the authors of an upcoming publication on inter-regional security cooperation. All final draft chapters were discussed during this meeting. Moreover, this meeting provided a platform for the intensification of scientific contacts among the authors.

On 26 January, Berger met representatives from the SIIS. During this meeting he discussed current topics of Chinese-EU relations and options for further cooperation.

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Armed Liberation Struggle and the Global War against Terror

At the 13th International Congress on Contemporary Research in the Middle East hosted by the German Middle East Studies Association for Contemporary Research and Documentation (DAVO) from November 30 to December 2, 2006, Margret Johannsen (IFSH) gave a talk on "Summer Wars 2006: Asymmetrical Wars and the Allocation of Legitimacy in the International Community". Starting from the observation that, despite a high number of casualties among the civilian population and large scale destruction of the civilian infrastructure, the U.S.A. and the European Union together with a number of Arab states signalled acceptance of the war being continued until the guerrilla groups had been

annihilated, Johannsen discussed the criteria which guided the process of granting or denying legitimacy to the warring parties - Israel, Hamas and Hezbollah.

The asymmetrical allocation of legitimacy was analyzed within the context of a paradigm shift. The legitimation by international law of armed liberation struggle in the context of post-World War II decolonisation, no longer seems to apply under the prevailing rules of the global war on terror. This process of revoking legitimacy is paralleled in the academic discourse by a focus on "failed states" that construes the strong state as a source of stability and security and uses the concept of "state-building" as a means of providing legitimacy to military interventions.

The ensuing discussion emphasized the hegemonic quality of the discourse that construes the strong state as a source of stability and security. It was observed that this construction excludes state or non-state actors with a commitment to the Islamic Umma.

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Security, Disarmament and Arms Control after the Northkorean Nuclear Test A Common Seminar of Pugwash and IFSH in Berlin

On 29th November 2006 the German Pugwash Group, together with IFSH, organized a one day seminar in Berlin under the title of: "Security, Disarmament and Arms Control after the North Korean Nuclear Test". In his welcoming address the scientific director of the IFSH, Michael Brzoska, emphasized the good cooperation between Pugwash and the Institute. Lectures introducing the topics followed: As German chair of Pugwash, Götz Neuneck underlined the special opportunity of Europe to renounce the redesign of new nuclear carrier systems. Pugwash's Secretary-General, Paolo Cotta-Ramusino, explained the current Pugwash agenda, which places special emphasis on the Middle East and John Finney (London) illuminated the activities of the British "Nuclear Awareness Campaign".

Three panels connected with these presentations followed: In the first panel Jonathan Tucker (currently affiliated with SWP), Alexander Nikitin (Moscow) and Oliver Meier (IFSH) analyzed the deficits of the American, Russian and European Non-Proliferation Policies. Ambassador Rüdiger Lüdeking pleaded in his brief comments for stronger unity between the USA and Europe and warned against "introducing double standards". The second panel with M. Kadry Said (Cairo), Secretary-General Cotta-Ramusino (Milan) and Margret Johannsen (IFSH) addressed the current situation in the Middle East, in particular the war in Lebanon and the nuclear dispute with Iran.

The creation of a zone, free from weapons of mass destruction, although extremely desirable, does not look very likely. In the third panel Frank von Hippel (Princeton) and Herbert Wulf, Chief Technical Advisor for Arms Control/UNDP, focused their remarks on the technical and political implications of the situation on the Korean peninsula. Wulf pleaded for stronger EU-activities and saw negotiating security assurances with North Korea as a possible solution. In the evening Robert Zuber, Outreach Director of the UNEPS and Lois Barber, President of the Earth Action Project, presented the UN project "Global Action to Prevent War -United Nations Emergency Peace Service".

The event, sponsored by the BMBF, was held in the building of the "Landesvertretung Hamburg" and profited from the active involvement of the audience - including some high-ranking members - in the discussions.

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Human Rights in Kosovo A Workshop of the Southeastern European Academic Network

In November 2006 Patricia Schneider for IFSH, organized, together with the University of Prishtina, a DAAD financed workshop in Kosovo. This was part of the long-term work on establishing and expanding a Southeastern European academic network. The participants were students and graduates from Hamburg, from Prishtina and from other Southeastern European partner universities. Discussions centered on questions of minorities and human rights. Thus the OSCE Ambassador, Werner Wendt, in his welcome to the group pointed to questions of international law and the absence of basic stability and security. In addition to the many discussions with representatives of the OSCE, UNMIK and the EU there were visits to KFOR and civil-military projects. Right from the start, however, contacts with local actors were in the foreground. Thus, along with lectures from local NGOs the visit to the Human Rights Center at the University of Prishtina was awaited with high expectations. The university, funded by the international community is one of the newest in the region. Instruction in the Serbian language is a particular challenge. In the winter of 2007 the Academic Network of Southeastern Europe will begin working in cooperation with the University of Skopje in Macedonia to organize the next workshop there.

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Publications

Hans-Georg Ehrhart: Getting out? On the End of the EU Military Operation in the Congo, Hamburg Information on Peace Research and Security Policy 41/2006.

This article provides a preliminary analysis of the EU military operation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo from July 30 to November 30, 2006 - a very contentious issue in the German political discourse. The initial situation and problems are outlined and analyzed from a comprehensive political perspective. With respect to the short-term perspective following the withdrawal of EUFOR RD Congo, the author recommends that the UN-Peacekeepers not be decreased hastily and that international pressure on the primary protagonists to continue the transformation process be maintained. In the middle and long term, there are three primary tasks: First, stability must be promoted through a development policy oriented to the needs of the population. Since sustainable development only occurs, when the necessary institutional conditions exist at national and local level, these must be strengthened as a second step. Particularly necessary is a fundamental reform in the security sector. Third, the process of creating security for the "Region of the Great Lakes" should be bolstered through stronger support for the action program in the areas of security and peace, democracy, economic development and humanitarian affairs agreed upon in December.

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S+F. Sicherheit und Frieden. Security and Peace

Volume 4/2006 of the journal, „S+F. Sicherheit und Frieden, Security and Peace”, focuses on the topic of „Asia/China/Korea/Taiwan“. The following articles are included: Hans J. Gießmann, *Nordostasien: Ratlosigkeit im Schatten der Atomkrise [Northeast Asia: Helplessness in the Face of the Atomic Crisis]*; Jörn Dosch, *The Concept and Management of*

Non-traditional Security in Southeast Asia; Axel Berkofsky, *EU-China Relations – Really Towards a 'Strategic Partnership'?*; Susanne Feske/Jan Helmig, *Der politische 'Fallout' von Nordkoreas Waffentests: Japans Sicherheitspolitik im Umbruch [The Political "Fallout" of North Korea's Weapons Test: Japan's Security Policy in Upheaval]*. Apart from the major topic area, Tanja Kasten writes about *Fremde Nachbarn: Friedenskonsolidierung und Vergangenheitsbearbeitung in den Post-Konflikt Staaten Lateinamerikas [Foreign Neighbors; Consolidating Freedom and Dealing with the Past in the Post-Conflict Countries of Latin America]* and Jürgen Rose writes on '*Globale Verteidigung'. Von der Entgrenzung des militärischen Auftrags und der Freiheit des Gewissens*' [Global Defense: Erasing the Boundaries between the Military Mission and Freedom of Conscience.]

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Military Fellow from China at IFSH

Since mid November Colonel Zhongqin Zhao has been a guest of the IFSH as a military fellow. Mr Zhao was educated at the Military University Xian and worked as troop commander, trainer and chief of company in the 127th Division of the Chinese Army. After his studies at the Military Academy Shijiazhuang, he received a diploma in military affairs in 1992 and worked at the academy as a lecturer until 2001. In 2002 he took part in a course at the Military Academy in Hamburg and, in 2003, became assistant professor at the Military Academy Shijiazhuang. At the IFSH he is working on the influence of globalisation on Chinese security. Zhao has published books on *Information Warfare* and on *Military Philosophy and the Highly Engineered War* as well as over 40 articles in journals and newspapers, among them, articles on military leadership theory and the work of the high command.

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