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SECURITY COMMUNITY

THE OSCE MAGAZINE



Message from Lamberto Zannier, Secretary General of the OSCE

It gives me great pleasure to introduce to you the first issue of Security Community, the OSCE's new magazine.

The OSCE region spans the globe – from Vancouver on the Pacific coast of Canada to Vladivostok at the eastern edge of the Russian Federation. The 57 participating States of the world's largest regional security organization have embraced a vision: to make of their region a security community.

“A free, democratic, Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian security community stretching from Vancouver to Vladivostok, based on shared values and common goals”: that is how the Heads of State and Government defined their vision when they met at the OSCE Summit in Astana in 2010.

Just how ambitious that goal is becomes clear if one considers that the term security community was first coined by the American scholar Karl Deutsch in the 1950s to describe the extraordinary case of a group of peacefully associated countries so closely knit in common understanding that war had become impossible for them. It is encouraging that the OSCE participating States, who subscribed to the principle of non-use of force already in the Helsinki Final Act of 1975, have the ambition to obtain this goal, in spite of some difficulties they still need to overcome.

But they are determined to try, and to try harder. Last month, when the Foreign Ministers conferred at the Ministerial Council in Dublin, they decided that as the OSCE approaches the 40th anniversary of the Helsinki Final Act they would provide strong and continuous political impetus to improve their co-operation and make significant progress towards a security community, in a process they have dubbed “Helsinki +40”.

Building a security community requires weaving dense co-operative networks in the fields of political, military, economic, environmental and human security. That means it is first and foremost about people: people communicating and working together to build trust and reconcile differences.

Since the beginning of my mandate as Secretary General, I have made raising the profile of the OSCE a priority. As I stated in my inaugural address, if we are to succeed in achieving our ambitious vision, then we need to do a much better job of explaining this organization to our leaders and to our societies. On the same occasion, I proposed the involvement of Track II actors to stimulate debate on OSCE issues. In response, the IDEAS initiative involving academic workshops in four participating States was born. I fully subscribe to the view presented in the recently released report of the IDEAS initiative that the OSCE's opportunity lies in encouraging new thinking and testing innovative ideas in a broad communicative process with civil society, academics, other international organizations and partner states.

I believe that Security Community can become an efficient vehicle to this end. It offers expert analyses, inside reports, personal points of view, cultural perspectives and artists' contributions on the many issues affecting the security of our lives. I hope you will find it authoritative, entertaining, thought-provoking and inclusive. Let us use our new magazine as a vehicle for an open exchange of views and constructive dialogue to encourage convergence among participating States and their societies and thus clear the way for building a true security community.

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3 The Hague There is no doubt that it was in 1992 a fairly bold innovation to confer upon one individual, albeit of particular experience and highest integrity, a mandate to engage directly with and within States and take up situations of inter-ethnic conflict which, in his or her judgement, constitute a threat to international peace and stability _ p31

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In Dublin's fair city OSCE Ministerial Council

The 19th meeting of the OSCE Ministerial Council was held in Dublin on 6 and 7 December 2012. More than 50 ministers and 1400 delegates attended.

Decisions

- No. 1/12 OSCE consecutive Chairmanships in 2014 [Switzerland] and 2015 [Serbia]
- No. 2/12 Accession of Mongolia to the OSCE
- No. 3/12 Decision on the OSCE Helsinki+40 process
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- No. 5/12 Time and place of the next meeting of the OSCE Ministerial Council [Kyiv, 5 and 6 December 2013]
- Declaration on strengthening good governance and combating corruption, money-laundering and the financing of terrorism
- Statement on the negotiations on the Transnistrian settlement process in the "5+2" format.
- Ministerial Council decisions, documents and statements can be found here: http://www.osce.org/event/mc_2012



Photo OSCE/Jonathan Perfect

Transnistria: marking the upbeat

For the first time in ten years, the participating States have been able to speak in one voice on the negotiations to settle the conflict between Moldova and the breakaway region of Transnistria, in a statement welcoming the holding of five official meetings in 2012 and expressing satisfaction about the reactivation of the work of expert working groups and of direct contacts between the sides.

The last time was at the Ministerial Council meeting in

Porto in 2002, and in that statement the tone was much darker: "We are deeply concerned that in spite of the efforts undertaken by the Republic of Moldova and mediators from the OSCE, the Russian Federation and Ukraine no progress was achieved in 2002 towards negotiation of a comprehensive political settlement of the Transnistrian problem."

The prospects for settling this conflict that has simmered unresolved since the breakup of the Soviet Union two decades ago worsened before they got

better. There was a hiatus of about six years before negotiations resumed at the end of 2011, in the current "5+2" format, with the two sides joined by the OSCE, the Russian Federation and Ukraine as mediators and the European Union and the United States as observers.

Still, many difficult issues remain to be tackled. The progress reported does not go beyond the adoption of principles of procedure and an agenda.

Ukraine, as 2013 OSCE Chair and mediator, has made settlement of the Transnistria

conflict a top priority. "We must re-energize negotiations within the existing formats and prevent any escalation in tensions. The resolution of protracted conflicts must remain the highest priority for the OSCE and all participating States," said Foreign Minister Leonid Kozhara upon taking office on 1 January. His first country visit will be to Moldova, on 21 and 22 January. His message will be for leaders to redouble their efforts to make progress in the settlement negotiations. The next "5 + 2" is scheduled for February, in Lviv, Ukraine.



Photo: OSCE/Dan Dennison

Threats without borders

Cyber crime, terrorism, trafficking: the greatest threats to our security in the present day are transnational.

The Foreign Ministers in Dublin endorsed a package of four Permanent Council decisions on:

Cyber security

To reduce the risk of conflict stemming from the use of ICT,

a working group has been established that will continue in 2013 to elaborate pertinent confidence-building measures.

Confronting the world drug problem

A political framework was adopted for combating the trade in illicit drugs and the diversion of chemical precursors. The OSCE will co-operate with partners

by sharing information and facilitating cross-border interaction between national agencies.

Supporting law enforcement

The OSCE has adopted a strategic framework for its police-related activities, including police reform and fighting organized crime. All activities undertaken shall

promote the principles of democratic policing. (See OSCE Magazine 4/2012)

Combating terrorism

A new consolidated framework for the fight against terrorism articulates how the OSCE's comparative advantages, especially its comprehensive and co-operative approach to security, should be leveraged.



Illustration Paul Jackson

Good governance on the public agenda

By Nina Lindroos-Kopolo and Ursula Froese

Until recently, citizens of democracies had little insight into the day-to-day workings of their governments. Typically, they would vote once in three to four years and then leave their elected representatives to manage their affairs. Now and again a scandal would erupt, over the awarding of a public contract, the financing of a political party, or the inordinate influence of a lobby group, but these were not matters of regular public scrutiny.

In the age of electronic information

flow, this is changing fast. When United States President Barack Obama's Administration launched the website Data.gov three years ago, making thousands of government datasets publicly available, that was a revolutionary move. Now scores of governments, national, provincial and municipal, have established similar sites. Increasingly informed citizens are more attentive to how well their tax money is being managed. Also, public tolerance of corruption

is dwindling. Politicians know that public discontent can spread like wildfire through social media. A new understanding is growing of the importance of ethical integrity in public office, of accountable institutions and efficient use of public resources. Good governance has firmly arrived on the public agenda.

Promoting security and stability through good governance was a priority of the 2012 Irish Chairmanship of the OSCE. Expert and political meetings on money laundering, corruption and stolen asset recovery revealed that while international policy documents, commitments and standards exist – such as the UN Convention Against Corruption (UNCAC) and the Financial Action Task Force (FATF)

Recommendations on combating money laundering and the financing of terrorism – efforts to implement them are often mired in complexity and take a long time to realize.

A call for showing stronger political will for effective implementation was therefore a common refrain.

The OSCE's Foreign Ministers heeded that call at the Ministerial Council meeting in Dublin when they issued the Declaration on Strengthening Good Governance and Combating Corruption, Money-laundering and the Financing of Terrorism. Agreed at a meeting where States otherwise were unable to reach consensus on questions of human rights, the Declaration affirms that good governance concerns political, economic and human security equally. It affirms that good public and corporate governance are essential foundations for a sound economy, which can enable states to reduce poverty and inequality and increase social integration and opportunities for all.

New avenues of support

The detailed, six-page document, the first comprehensive political statement of its kind agreed by the OSCE, provides the Office of the Co-ordinator of OSCE Economic and Environmental Activities (OCEEA) with many new avenues for supporting States in strengthening good governance in both the public and private sectors.

It promotes integrity, the rule of law, high ethical standards and codes of conduct and openness and transparency in the management of public institutions and governments. It recognizes the importance of adopting and enforcing measures against bribery, for instance through the criminalization of bribery of domestic as well as foreign public officials. It also acknowledges the importance of open and non-discriminatory procurement processes, taking into consideration resources such as the model law on public procurement developed by UNCITRAL. Notably, it mentions

multi-stakeholder partnerships such as the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative and the Construction Sector Transparency Initiative.

The Declaration supports the introduction of anti-corruption safeguards and watchdog measures. For example, the pledge to take measures for the effective protection of whistleblowers and their family members is an important achievement in view of the fact that currently most OSCE participating States, with the exception of a few, do not have adequate legal provisions for protecting persons who dare to come forward and expose corrupt practices in the public or private sectors.

The need for full and equal participation of women in contributing to good governance and anti-corruption policies and activities is given special recognition.

For the first time in an OSCE document, there is explicit mention of furthering effective recovery and return of stolen assets and denial of safe haven in OSCE countries to the proceeds of corruption, an area that has become urgent in the wake of the Arab Spring. The Declaration encourages the OCEEA to support States in their international asset recovery initiatives, in co-operation with the Stolen Asset Recovery (StAR) Initiative and the International Centre on Asset Recovery (ICAR).

The OCEEA is also given a clear mandate to continue supporting governments in their efforts to combat money laundering and the financing of terrorism.

Furthermore, the declaration acknowledges the importance of the independence of the judiciary, an area in which the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) and many OSCE field operations have been working, thus opening the door for future co-operation among different parts of the OSCE.

Including civil society and the business community

A crucial aspect of the Declaration

is that it encourages the OSCE to strengthen its dialogue with civil society in support of good governance and recognizes the need for States to involve their civil societies in implementing their international and national anti-corruption commitments. This is important because the inclusion of civil society in the review of the implementation of good governance measures has been an area of contention in the past. It tasks the OCEEA to explore opportunities for co-operation with the Open Government Partnership, a global coalition of governments and civil society committed to good governance launched in 2011. It also recognizes that access to information enables civil society – and the media – to contribute to preventing and combating corruption.

Arguably even more crucial is the declaration's recognition of the importance of engaging with the private sector in favour of a fair and transparent business environment. While members of civil society are often victims of corruption, members of the private sector can be perpetrators. Fostering a sense of ownership of transparency policies within the business community can go a long way towards making them effective.

The Declaration on Strengthening Good Governance was not easy to achieve. Some of the provisions are the result of weeks and months of negotiation and persuasion. Like all OSCE documents, its adoption required consensus among all 57 participating States. That gives it all the more weight as an expression of political will at the highest level. It strengthens the hand of citizens as they hold their governments to account, and it strengthens the mandate of the OSCE to encourage its participating States to govern in a manner that is open and fair and in the interest of the citizens they serve.

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Nina Lindroos-Kopolo is Senior Economic Officer in the Office of the Co-ordinator of OSCE Economic and Environmental Activities in the OSCE Secretariat in Vienna. Ursula Froese is editor of Security Community.

Planning ahead: Helsinki +40

For an organization that concerns itself with security, the OSCE has been remarkably deficient in securing its own future. Although it is more institutionalized now than in the decades following the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe in Helsinki, when it was no more than a series of follow-up meetings, its existence remains perennially precarious. Field operations can be dissolved yearly or monthly; the annual budget has, time and again, not been approved until the spring. Recurrent doubts regarding its mission and *raison d'être*, the flipside of its much-touted flexibility, are almost a trademark, leading veterans like Ambassador Willhelm Höynck, who served as the first Secretary General, to view them with equanimity. Höynck was recently presented with the OSCE medal for distinguished service to the Organization by the current Secretary General, Lamberto Zannier. “Feelings of crisis are not extraordinary incidents in the OSCE. They can be called a genetic defect, which must be treated but is not life-threatening,” he said addressing the Permanent Council on 20 December upon receiving the award.

It is against this background that the Ministerial Council decision on Helsinki +40 takes on its significance. For the first time, participating States have agreed to plan ahead, for three years, encouraged by the fact that three successive Chairmanships have been fixed, the Ukrainian, the Swiss and the Serbian.

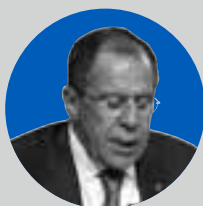
“Helsinki +40 is a wake-up call for the OSCE. Each of the following Chairmanships is called upon to make a special contribution based on its specific geopolitical situation. This will need some courage and a joint effort to mobilize the support of key actors inside and outside the OSCE,” Höynck told delegates.

Helsinki +40 is a statement of intent. The participating States have agreed to a concerted effort to make real progress towards building a security community by the year 2015, the 40th anniversary of the seminal CSCE conference in Helsinki. The decision provides for the formation of a working group and for the setting of an agenda. How that agenda might be filled remains to be determined. The following comments by Foreign Ministers at the Dublin Ministerial provide some indication.



Photo OSCE/Curtis Budden

H.E. Wilhelm Höynck receives the OSCE Medal, Vienna, 20 December 2012. Other medal recipients were H.E. Paraschiva Badescu, H.E. Rt.Hon. Bruce Thomas George and Mrs. Anne-Marie Ghebali, who accepted on behalf of her late husband Jean-Yves Ghebali.



Sergey Lavrov
*Minister of Foreign Affairs
of the Russian Federation*

Correct imbalances

Russia considers the Helsinki +40 initiative to be an important step, the goal of which should be a process of renewing the OSCE, elaborating a strategic vision of its activities by its 40th anniversary in 2015.

We see this process, above all, through the Organization's reform, aimed at correcting the imbalances and double standards, which, unfortunately, have become its characteristic features. It is unacceptable that almost three quarters of OSCE activities are concentrated in its human dimension, and that all field operations and projects are being carried out in the Balkans and the territory of the former Soviet Union.

At the same time, the OSCE should restore its role as a forum for a dialogue among States based on equal rights and mutual respect for the purpose of discussing and decision-making on the most important issues of security and co-operation.

In other words, the Helsinki +40 process would be a success if the OSCE focuses on achieving the following priority goals by 2015. It should become a full-fledged international **Organization** with a legally binding Charter. It should guarantee **Security** – through the observance of the principle of the indivisibility of security by all participating States. It should facilitate **Co-operation** – by dropping restrictions and barriers. And finally, it should focus on the situation in **Europe**. If it is achieved, the OSCE would be able to take its rightful place in the international coordinate system and contribute to mutual understanding among States.



Ivan Mrkić
*Minister of Foreign Affairs
of Serbia*

Capitalize on added values

As a future Chairperson-in-Office, for me the decision on Helsinki + 40 is the most

important achievement in Dublin. It establishes a process to guide our activities until 2015, the 40th anniversary of the Helsinki Final Act. Together with Ukraine and Switzerland, Serbia is ready to invest all its efforts in making this process successful.

The OSCE has particular added values, which have to be utilized in the best possible manner. Let me mention some of the most important: its ability to engage all participating States in a dialogue, its comprehensiveness, inclusiveness and flexibility. At this moment, it is most important that the OSCE remains flexible enough to adjust to the new emerging threats and challenges, in order to build a more peaceful and prosperous Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian region for the 21st century. However, a prerequisite for moving ahead is also improving confidence among participating States, to dispel the misperceptions sometimes based on lack of trust and generate the necessary political will, which will additionally strengthen our efforts to tackle problems across the entire OSCE spectrum.



Catherine Ashton
*High Representative
of the European Union
for Foreign Affairs
and Security Policy/Vice
President of the Commission*

No backsliding

The Ministerial Council's decision setting out work on the future of the Organization, including its goals and tasks in the lead-up to the 40th anniversary of the signature of the Helsinki Final Act in 2015 is worth highlighting. I want to see progress in all dimensions of the OSCE work. The organization should build on existing commitments and work already completed, strengthening this further. Backwards movement on existing commitments is not acceptable. The efforts of all participating States in seeking to overcome divisions – in the long-term interests of our citizens – are a constant of our work together.

The OSCE should continue to play an important role in Europe's security architecture based on its comprehensive security concept and the principles and commitments enshrined in the Helsinki Final Act and the Charter of Paris. It should continue making

best use of its field operations and autonomous institutions, which provide support to the participating States in putting their commitments into practice. These are valuable assets which no other security Organization possesses.

Like any other international Organization, the OSCE needs to be able to adjust to the changing security environment and new challenges. The OSCE could take an active role in developing confidence building measures in the area of cyber security and could also adjust its commitments in the area of freedom of expression to cover digital media. After almost 40 years as an Organization, it would be worth looking at how to further enhance the efficiency of the OSCE, including its budgetary processes.



Igor Lukšić

*Vice Prime Minister and
Minister of Foreign Affairs
of Montenegro*

Emerging from a turbulent past

The Cold War and the divisions it brought are behind us and in the years to come our Organization has a chance to reassess and reconfirm its commitments in all three dimensions, validate its concept of comprehensive security and find a way to improve co-operation, rebuild trust and confidence in order to better adapt to the modern-day challenges and environment. For instance, there are new security threats to face, such as terrorism, organized crime, illicit trafficking. Provisions of the Vienna Document need to be brought up to speed with the present day situation. Challenges brought on by technological advancement, such as the Internet, also need to be addressed properly. Our Organization has the necessary tools and mechanisms; we just need to make full use of them.

Montenegro fully subscribes to the vision outlined in Astana Declaration aimed at creation of a free, democratic and indivisible Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian security community in the OSCE area. We all face the same threats and challenges, but we also share common values and goals, to promote trust, security, stability, economic prosperity and human rights and freedoms. We support

and appreciate the Irish Chairmanship's efforts within the Helsinki plus 40 initiative to this end, as well as previous efforts of the Greek and Lithuanian chairmanships in Corfu Process and V to V dialogue. As a small country which comes from a region with recent turbulent past, Montenegro particularly welcomes the idea of an area from Vancouver to Vladivostok free of dividing lines and conflicts, where the use of force is unthinkable. We believe that in years to come before we celebrate 40 years since the signing of the Helsinki Final Act, future Ukrainian, Swiss and Serbian chairmanship can work together on bringing this vision closer to reality. Montenegro, within its capacities, stands ready to contribute to this task to the best of its abilities.



Erlan Idrissov

*Minister of Foreign
Affairs of the Republic
of Kazakhstan*

Growing the kernel of trust

We had an informal discussion at lunch on Helsinki +40. I took everyone back to almost 40 years ago, to Helsinki of 1975. That was a world completely different from the one we know today. It was the first beginning of détente culture, with Brezhnev arriving and wanting to make some peace with the West. That is when the culture and the spirit of Helsinki was born. It was a deal, between two opposing cultures, the West and the East. The dividing line was very deep, very visible and it was recognized by everyone. There was no trust at all. Those leaders had the courage to start talking with each other, to agree to try to build some trust. The concept of military confidence-building measures appeared. Everything revolved around the borders in Europe, the post-war borders and the principle of the recognition of those borders; that was the core around which this dividing line was fixed.

Then I took everyone to 20 years later, to the mid-1990s. The world of 1975 was gone, but in perceptions it had not disappeared. People continued to think in the old way. The Organization tried to continue along the lines it had established in 1975, but nothing

major happened in terms of true trust building.

Now, 20 years more have passed, we are almost 40 years from 1975. So let's measure up: what has changed? in geopolitics? in the minds of people? We have the complete relegation of the Soviet Union and its culture to the past, there is no return. Importantly, there is also a shift in perceptions, in how we perceive our world, our threats. Everyone has changed on both sides. We became much more mature. The West has changed. The economic global situation has changed. There is a serious effort to talk to each other. The culture of dialogue is much stronger today than it was 40 or 20 years ago. But still there is an issue of trust.

The message we tried to deliver at the Astana Summit in 2010 and that is reflected in the Astana Commemorative Declaration is: let's try to take account of the new geopolitical reality and bring Eurasia into play as a new security space. Previously, the whole structure of OSCE security was pinned around Euro-Atlantic relations, which were a kind of replica of the East-West division. Our message in Astana was: everyone – the United States, Russia and other members of the OSCE – has a stake in Eurasia. Let's take the Eurasia factor as a new reality and try to build trust in this part of the world. In essence this is what we mean by the Astana process. It is a very difficult process, as difficult as building democracy, because it is about changing the culture of people, changing perceptions.

We supported Helsinki +40 because there is a very important kernel there and a real opportunity to grow that seed. The time until 2015 is not that long, but also not that short. Three years to go, and we have this framework document. It could of course be much more substantial, but this is a compromise document. All compromise multilateral documents are ugly in their essence! But still, this is an agreed framework. We hope that Helsinki +40 will prevail. Our interest of course is to see that the spirit of Astana is retained there.

The OSCE rests on important principles. Respect for the three dimensions of security. No one questions those principles. The debate is about how to apply them. Are they balanced properly? That is important. We definitely are not interested in having this building of a culture of trust die out. It is a very important

exercise. We want to see the OSCE re-emerge, with a completely new, beautiful face, creating trust with everyone – to the north, to the south, to the east and to the west.

Now we are 57

At the Dublin Ministerial Council, the Foreign Ministers welcomed Luvsanvandan Bold, the Foreign Minister of Mongolia, as their 57th member. He spoke with Ursula Froese, editor of Security Community.

Ursula Froese: Why did Mongolia join the OSCE?

Minister Luvsanvandan Bold: Mongolia has undergone a significant transition during the last 22 years, from a communist dictatorship to a vibrant democracy. With two large countries as neighbours, one of the features of our “third neighbour” foreign policy is more active participation in international affairs. For Mongolia, a Eurasian country, joining the OSCE, first as an engaged partner and now as a full participating State, is therefore very important for promoting our foreign policy objectives and for contributing to the collective efforts to fulfil the OSCE’s noble objectives and principles.

Mongolia’s geo-political location prevents it from becoming part of any existing regional security mechanism. Furthermore, East Asia, and Asia in general, have no multilateral mechanism that specifically deals with security issues. As inter-dependence among states increases, the notion of security is changing, going beyond the traditional military and defence issues and covering more complex and interconnected topics such as economic development, environmental issues, issues of human security, information technology. Mongolia sees OSCE as an important forum for mutually beneficial co-operation in these areas.

OSCE is a regional organization with membership stretching from Vancouver to Vladivostok. Therefore, our membership will provide us with a platform to consolidate the multi-pillar foreign policy of Mongolia, and create opportunities for co-operating with the OSCE participating States on security-related issues, share information and experiences and maintain regular dialogue with them.

What will Mongolia bring to the OSCE?

This organization is based on common interests and values, on the will of nations for democratic and free development. Mongolia can be an important example of transition, of establishing a democratic order, developing a market economy, promoting free press and strengthening the rule of law. These could be the contributions that Mongolia can bring to the OSCE. I do not exclude more specific contributions in any of the three dimensions as we expand our relations with the OSCE, its participating States and Partners for Co-operation.

Today the trans-Atlantic co-operation of the OSCE has expanded to include the broader Eurasian region. Maintaining security in this region is very important for ensuring that the world continues to be a peaceful and secure place for all. Here we can share our ideas and experience.

Also, Mongolia could become a bridge physically connecting Europe and East Asia, since the closest land route from Europe to East Asia runs through Mongolia. Hence we believe that improving the efficiency of the transportation route could be a potential area of mutually useful co-operation.

Mongolia, will participate actively in the work of the Organization. During the June visit of the OSCE delegation to Mongolia, Secretary

Photo OSCE/Dan Dennison

General Lamberto Zannier pointed out that Mongolia had its own dimension of security, and stressed the country's possible contribution in implementing the decisions of the OSCE, including those in support of Afghanistan. Another area of potential co-operation that the Secretary General mentioned was the environment.

Though Mongolia has a lot to learn from the OSCE and its participating States, in turn we would be prepared to share our own experience with the others, including in promoting democratic reforms and democratic education.

What is your vision of a security community?

Today we are living in a world where common values, co-operation, and development define the fate of regions and nations. This is the way of the future. Every nation, every region and every international organization opens itself, brings fresh ideas and sets new objectives to effectively address the common challenges. The main objective of today's world is a better life for ordinary people. It's not so much about weapons, nor about political power, or about coalitions; it's about providing a decent life for everyone. This is where our security community should make its impact.

What has been the highlight of the Dublin Ministerial Council for you?

First and foremost, I would name Mongolia's membership in the OSCE, which underlines the relevance of the Organization in the twenty-first century. Having heard 56 speakers take the floor before me, congratulate us and express their best wishes and hopes for Mongolia – this of course has been a highlight.

A highlight of the Dublin Ministerial Council was also the decision to launch the "Helsinki +40" process. This will serve the Organization as a road map for the next three years, to revitalize the OSCE, make it more effective and efficient as well as promote further the vision of a free, democratic and indivisible Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian security community. Also important have been the adoption of a declaration on strengthening good governance, a decision on transnational threats and a statement on the Transdniestrian settlement process.

What has impressed me here is the spirit of working for a common future. This shows that there is change, there is a development, and we are really glad that we have entered the Organization at this stage and that we can contribute our vision of the future of our world. We will do our best!

Otgontenger mountain in Zavkhan province of Mongolia



Helsinki +2

By Ambassador Neven Madey

As I leave Vienna as Permanent Representative to the OSCE, I can say with pride that I have served in virtually all multilateral organizations, starting with the UN in New York, then the UN in Geneva, the Council of Europe and now the OSCE. As a committed multilateralist I cherish the values and the importance of these organizations, but I am also a realist regarding what they can achieve, which of course is relative to how much the member countries or the participating States are investing.

I was in Yugoslavia serving as Chef de Cabinet of the Undersecretary for Political Affairs when the first Follow-up Meeting of the CSCE took place in Belgrade in 1977. As the host country, Yugoslavia serviced the meeting: it provided a Secretary General, and we diplomats served on the committees. I myself was assigned to the plenary. Those meetings took place in a beautiful setting, the Sava Centre which had excellent facilities for the participating States and had been specially built for the occasion, but that could not compensate for the disappointment and frustration I experienced there.

Tensions and political divisions that had persisted after the conference in Helsinki were very much present – there was the East, the West and the neutral and non-aligned countries – and therefore it wasn't easy to move forward on any of the issues, not in the political sphere but least of all on human rights. Therefore it was the role of the non-aligned and neutral countries to bridge differences and provide ideas as to how to promote security and stability. Yugoslavia was perhaps the most prominent member of that group, it worked together with Cyprus and Malta and neutral countries like Austria and Switzerland.

I recall that countries were represented by extremely skillful and intellectually able ambassadors, most capable of defending their countries but equally of looking for various possibilities to reduce the tensions and difficulties. But these ran very high, and of course there was a risk of military

confrontation as well. They were very eloquent, very convincing, but not enough to convince the other side to move forward.

Given the difficulties, most of the work was done in various informal groupings. The plenary was the body that had to confirm the decisions or discussions that had taken place in the committees. But actually there was nothing to take up. So in those two months we had one or two meetings which lasted for about five minutes. Personally I was so disappointed that after two or three months I was no longer willing to sit idle in the Sava Centre and returned to my normal job in the Ministry.

Only after five months of painstaking daily work were the delegates able to agree on something that was a very modest text. They agreed to continue the process, to meet again in Madrid in a few years' time. The second Follow-up Meeting in Madrid failed altogether to reach an agreement.

The setting is completely different today, but when one looks at the actual work we are doing, the frustrations and difficulties we felt as we prepared for the Dublin Ministerial, there is perhaps some value in drawing the comparison to that Belgrade meeting, where we debated for about five months without agreeing on anything more than a face-saving text, but which in retrospect was a step on the path this organization has travelled.

My conclusion is that we have to be proud of what we have achieved in less than four decades, and that one has to look at the value of this organization from the perspective of where it started and what benefits it has provided to countries in the area from Vancouver to Vladivostok. There is no organization void of challenges, and it is a constant task to look for ways to accommodate one another, particularly when the rule is consensus.

I would hope that when we assess our achievements and our failures at the Dublin Ministerial, we see them in the perspective of what they will mean for our future work, of whether we can bridge the gaps and bring substance to this vision of a security community, which is still rather blurred and not defined but something that is worth exploring further, and make the tensions and divisions ever less present in years to come.

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Ambassador Neven Madey was Permanent Representative of Croatia to the OSCE from 2008 to 2012.

Read more on the Belgrade Follow-up Meeting: Vladimir Bilandžić, Dittmar Dahlmann, Milan Kosanović (eds.), *From Helsinki to Belgrade: The First CSCE Follow-up Meeting and the Crisis of Détente*, Bonn University Press, 2012.

Was the Belgrade Follow-up meeting really a failure, or a weak point, in OSCE history? In this volume, presenting the results of a two-day academic conference at the Sava Centre in Belgrade held in March 2008 to mark the meeting's 30th anniversary, researchers argue that an examination of the substance and quality of the discussions that took place provides reason for a more positive assessment.

Above Postage stamps to commemorate the CSCE Follow-up meeting in Belgrade (OSCE)



Below CSCE Follow-up meeting, Sava Centre, Belgrade, 1977 (Credit: Arhiv Jugoslavije)



Ukraine sets the tracks for 2013

The OSCE Chairperson-in-Office, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ukraine Leonid Kozhara, answers questions posed by Frane Maroevic, Acting Spokesperson of the OSCE.

Frane Maroevic: Ukraine presented its candidacy to chair the OSCE in 2010. What were your ambitions then and do they differ from the priorities you are setting today?

Leonid Kozhara: Our ambitions are rooted in our perceptions of what the OSCE is and our vision of what it should be. We have always believed in the uniqueness of this Organization due to its comprehensive and co-operative approach to security.

The Ukrainian Chairmanship's priorities are aimed at promoting dialogue and building consensus around many issues that could strengthen the OSCE profile as a contributor to comprehensive security and enhance its effectiveness. We wish to contribute to the establishment of the Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian security community free of dividing lines, conflicts, spheres of influence and zones with different levels of security.

I see a direct connection between strengthening the profile of the OSCE and the launching of the Helsinki +40 process. This initiative has the potential to provide an important framework for clarifying the role and goals of the OSCE, adjusting its ambitions to existing realities and strengthening trust and confidence within the Organization. It is important that all participating States feel joint ownership and common responsibility for this initiative, which could be translated into practical deliverables as we approach the 40th anniversary of the Helsinki Final Act. Ukraine is ready to provide its input.

Making progress on resolving the protracted conflicts is notoriously difficult. What will the Ukrainian Chairmanship bring to the table?

Indeed, every OSCE Chairmanship seeks to achieve progress in finding peaceful political solutions to the protracted conflicts in the



Photo OSCE

OSCE area. They remain a significant threat to regional security and stability and are a serious obstacle to achieving the common goal of establishing a security community.

It is Ukraine's firm position that a peaceful and lasting solution to the protracted conflicts must be based on full respect for the principles of international law. While each conflict is unique and should be approached on an individual basis, building trust and confidence between the sides is instrumental for finding durable solutions.

The Ukrainian Chairmanship has an ambitious agenda and making progress on protracted conflicts is one of its key priorities. At the same time it is clear that in order to achieve success, genuine commitment and efforts by the respective conflict sides are necessary. We therefore believe that the OSCE should work to strengthen political will and mutual confidence between the parties.

While holding the Chairmanship, we will support the existing ongoing negotiations, promote confidence-building measures and address the humanitarian needs of the population in the conflict areas. We will also further promote the role of the OSCE in the resolution of the conflicts, building on the unique and comprehensive mandate of our Organization.

Your first visit as the OSCE Chairperson-in-Office will be to Moldova. What messages will you deliver?

My visit will aim at encouraging Chisinau and Tiraspol to keep momentum in the “5+2” negotiations and further seek comprehensive conflict resolution. We should build upon the progress achieved in 2012 in resolving pressing issues of co-operation in the economic and humanitarian spheres.

It is of particular importance for parties to the conflict to resume and keep conducting regular bilateral meetings at a high level, which would also be conducive to bringing political issues higher on the agenda of the negotiations.

The Ukrainian Chairmanship supports all efforts aimed at reaching a settlement on the basis of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Moldova, with the provision of a special status to the Transnistrian region and respect for human rights and the rights of national minorities, in accordance with the European standards.

You set progress in re-establishing the conventional armed forces regime in Europe as one of your priorities. Why is this important, as we have been without this regime now for five years?

Arms control, disarmament and CSBMs are integral elements of the OSCE concept of comprehensive, co-operative, equal and indivisible security. By achieving substantial progress in arms control and CSBMs, we will overcome the legacy of the bloc-to-bloc confrontation of the Cold War era and prevent the emergence of new dividing lines on our continent, with its negative implications for the European security environment – especially for countries which, like Ukraine, are not parties to any politico-military alliances.

We fully subscribe to the conclusion reached by all OSCE participating States in Astana that “conventional arms control remains a major instrument for ensuring military stability, predictability and transparency, and should be revitalized, updated and modernized”.

Ukraine sees merit in initiating discussion within the OSCE Forum for Security Co-operation on the role conventional arms control can play in the contemporary and future European security architecture. Without prejudging the outcome of such a discussion, we hope that the dialogue on this very important topic will give us the opportunity to contribute to laying the

foundation for a common vision of the future of conventional arms control in Europe.

Another of your priorities is energy saving and promoting renewable sources of energy. What would you hope to achieve in this area?

While discussing energy security issues within the OSCE we devoted considerable effort to issues on which there are widely diverging views. We should try to focus our dialogue on what unites us. The environmental impact of energy-related activities, energy efficiency and renewable resources seem to us to be such issues.

By prioritizing them we intend to further develop the energy dialogue within the OSCE and generate political will for enhancing co-operation in the field of energy security without politicizing this issue.

We are encouraged by the broad support participating States have shown for Ukraine’s proposal to give this subject prominence in 2013. We believe this reflects a general understanding that adverse and inefficient use of energy resources harms economic sustainability, thus contributing to the tensions in the energy field.

If this understanding translates into relevant decisions and actions, we will undoubtedly come closer to the implementation of the Astana commitments on enhancing the energy security dialogue and linking economic and environmental co-operation with peaceful inter-State relations.

Some participating States have expressed the need for the improvement of the election monitoring work of the OSCE. What is the position of the Ukrainian Chairmanship in this regard?

The OSCE’s reputation as a standard bearer in election monitoring reflects its well-established expertise and professionalism in this area.

Since the ODIHR was set up in 1992, it has become the principal international election observation institution in the region. We support the election observation work of the ODIHR and its autonomous status, and we believe that follow-up to recommendations made by OSCE observation missions is extremely important.

At the same time, there is always room for improvement. In our view there is a need for continuous dialogue to strengthen confidence in the OSCE space, also on election-related



Interesting facts about Ukraine



Ukraine is the largest country in Europe among those whose entire boundaries are within the European continent. The total area of Ukraine is about 603,700 sq km.



One of the world's first constitutional documents was written by Pylyp Orlyk, Ukrainian Hetman (head of state) in exile, in 1710. Entitled Pacts and Constitutions of Rights and Freedoms of the Zaporizhian Host, it established a democratic standard for the separation of powers between the legislative, executive, and judiciary branches, and provided for a democratically elected Cossack parliament, well before the publication of Montesquieu's "Spirit of the Laws".



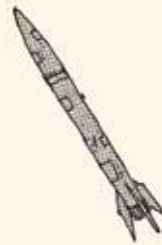
The name "**Ukraine**" is first mentioned in the **Kyiv Chronicle** in 1187.



The largest airplane in the world was made in Ukraine. It is the Antonov An-225 Mriya ("Mriya" is Ukrainian for "Dream"). It weighs 640 tonnes, is 84 m long and has a wingspan of 88.4 m. Among its many records, it holds the absolute world record for airlifted payload at 253.8 tonnes.



The Optymistychna (Ukrainian for "Optimistic") Cave in Western Ukraine is the **world's longest gypsum cave** and is the second longest cave in the world in terms of the length of its labyrinth. The total length of all subterranean passages of the cave registered in 2001 was 212 km.



Ukraine voluntarily gave up the third largest nuclear weapons arsenal in the world when it became a non-nuclear nation in 1996.



Ukraine has extremely fertile black-earth soil in the central and southern parts, totaling more than a half of the territory.



The Arsenalna metro station in Kyiv is the deepest in the world, at 105 m.



More than 1200 monuments in 48 countries throughout the world have been erected to honour famous Ukrainian poet **Taras Shevchenko**.

issues. The OSCE could, for example, look into how to further enhance safeguards for impartial and professional election observation, give more prominence to the code of conduct of electoral observers and intensify the exchange of best practices. All OSCE participating States could benefit from looking more deeply into a number of election-related issues, such as the accuracy of voter lists, campaign finance transparency and ensuring balance in media coverage. This may be a worthwhile exercise for all participating States, from the viewpoint of enhancing the implementation of their OSCE commitments.

A number of OSCE participating States have made statements criticizing the handling of some human rights issues in Ukraine. What is your response and do you see this criticism as complicating your Chairmanship?

Promoting and protecting human rights are a cornerstone of Ukraine's domestic and foreign policy.

Ukraine has notable achievements in establishing new standards for exercising certain rights. Some legislative changes carried out recently have been supported by public and international organizations, including the OSCE. One can name the new Criminal Procedure Code, legal regulation of the activities of civic organizations or access to public information. It is worth mentioning that the procedures for access to public information introduced by Ukraine can serve as an example worth following in the OSCE space.

At the same time, no democracy is perfect, and not only those OSCE participating States undergoing the transition process, but also those generally viewed as mature democracies face challenges in this area.

Adherence by all participating States to their commitments on human rights, democracy and the rule of law is of prime importance for the OSCE and thus will be a matter of focus for us. While holding the Chairmanship, we will do our utmost to ensure that these commitments and obligations are honored by all participating States.

The challenge of chairing the OSCE is that the 57 participating States have different

priorities and strategic objectives, which makes it difficult to reach consensus on many issues. In what areas do you think you will need to work most?

Let me refer once again to the Astana commitment to the vision of a free, democratic, common and indivisible Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian security community. I see this commitment as a strong mandate for continuing efforts to enhance the OSCE's capabilities for addressing the numerous challenges and threats affecting the region, thus increasing the Organization's relevance to every participating State.

The OSCE has a well-developed acquis of commitments in all three dimensions and we need to maintain a sustained focus on their implementation in a balanced manner. However, we also need to be mindful of negative trends in the Organization, one of which is the obvious lack of mutual confidence and political will. That is one of the main reasons why we have seen some discouraging tendencies, in particular the failure to take decisions in the human dimension for the second consecutive year.

I think it is not by accident that the subject of unfinished historical reconciliation between East and West is now mentioned with growing frequency within academic circles and civil society. There is a pressing need to, first of all, change our mindsets – from confrontational thinking to a co-operative approach.

Thus Ukraine sees its Chairmanship mission as one of further promoting conditions that would lead to this kind of change. I am confident that Ukraine, with its rich history, huge cultural heritage and clear European aspirations is well placed for carrying out this mission. I believe that all OSCE countries, each of which might naturally have different perspectives and priorities regarding OSCE activities, must invest more effort into developing common goals and translating them into common actions.

I strongly believe that by uniting the efforts of all OSCE participating States, we will be able to enhance the Organization's role in strengthening security and stability in the OSCE area.



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1 The Dormition Cathedral and the Refectory Church in the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra, also known as Monastery of the Caves, a historic Orthodox Christian Monastery and UNESCO world heritage site.
2 Foggy sunset in the Transcarpathian

3 Crimean peninsula
4 Ukraine has more than 110 ethnic groups
5 A summer field of sunflowers, much loved in Ukraine
6 Square in Lviv
7 The oldest and biggest hydroelectric power plant on the Dnieper River

8 The Euro 2012 was held in Ukraine and Poland
9 The Antonov An-225 Mriya aircraft, the largest in the world

Photos: Укрінформ

Visit the OSCE Chairmanship webpage:
www.osce.org/chairmanship



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A pipe dream?

The executive summary of the final report of the the Initiative for the Development of a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian Security Community (IDEAS) begins with stating the reasons why the present times are less than propitious for the project of creating a security community. “The global shift in the balance of economic power, the refocusing of international politics towards the Pacific, the crisis of the Euro zone and the uncertainty regarding the future of the European Union and of Russia make the appeal of this vision less plausible than it was twenty-two years ago when the Charter of Paris for a New Europe was adopted.”

It goes on to submit that it may be precisely because of the prevailing uncertainties that OSCE participating States have recognized the urgency of working towards that goal.

IDEAS is a Track II initiative jointly carried out by the Centre for OSCE Research (CORE) at the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg (IFSH), the Fondation pour la Recherche Stratégique (FRS), the Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM) and the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (University) of the Russian Foreign Ministry (MGIMO). It was launched at the beginning of 2012 upon the encouragement of the Foreign Ministers of Germany, France, Poland and the Russian Federation, who took up a proposal by OSCE Secretary General Lamberto Zannier for the creation of a network of academic institutes to deliberate on issues concerning the OSCE.

In four workshops held in the course of 2012, one in each of the four participating institutes, academic experts in the field of security engaged in debate on what a security community should consist in and how it might best be realized. The final report of the IDEAS initiative, presented in November 2012, is an effort to synthesize the rich diversity of views that were generated into a coherent set of recommendations to participating States. In the pages that follow, three IDEAS participants provide their own particular views on the project of building a security community.

IDEAS recommendations for participating States:

1. Preserve the existing arms control acquis.
2. Make a concerted effort to solve protracted conflicts.
3. Assess the effect that the situation in Afghanistan may have on the OSCE area.
4. Promote long-term reconciliation.
5. Develop the trans-national threats agenda.
6. Develop initiatives in the economic and environmental dimension.
7. Improve the effectiveness of human dimension work.
8. Provide a platform for enhancing understanding between states and Muslim communities.
9. Develop an OSCE network of academic institutions.
10. Make better use of the institutional richness in the OSCE area.

The recommendations in full and the entire IDEAS report can be viewed at <http://ideas-network.com/home.html>



Illustration Paul Jackson

The Euro-Atlantic Security Initiative (EASI)

To move toward the goal of an inclusive Euro-Atlantic Security Community, the Euro-Atlantic Security Initiative (EASI) was created in 2009 by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Former policymakers, diplomats, generals and business leaders from Russia, the United States, Canada, Central Europe, and European Union nations came together

to chart a roadmap of practical action that would allow the region to leave its past behind and to start to build a more secure future based on mutual trust and co-operation.

The EASI Commission's Final Report, issued at the Munich Security Conference in February 2012, argued that a serious "deficit of trust" in security relations, bred from old twentieth-century divisions, has left the region dangerously

ill prepared to handle the challenges of the twenty-first century. The Commission suggested a series of concrete steps in six areas to improve relations among Russia, Europe, and the United States, to facilitate the emergence of a genuine Euro-Atlantic Security Community:

- Missile defense co-operation in Europe
- Lengthened early warning and decision-making time

in the military sphere

- Resolution of protracted conflicts
- Reconciliation of historical grievances between states
- Stabilization of the European Union-Russian gas relationship
- Collaboration in the Arctic

More information on the EASI Commission, including text of the Final Report and working group reports is available here: <http://carnegieendowment.org/easi/>

It's a process

By Wolfgang Zellner



With its “vision of a free, democratic, common and indivisible Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian security community” (Astana Commemorative Declaration), the OSCE has the most far-reaching programmatic goal among all international organizations in its area. At the same time, its participating States are unable to agree on conventional arms control, sub-regional conflicts and human dimension issues, to name only a few areas of frequent contention. This huge discrepancy between what is actually doable and what our aims are was the starting point for IDEAS – the Initiative for the Development of a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian Security Community. Another reason we started IDEAS was the fact that most capitals and members of the political elite have not yet taken notice of the OSCE’s bold vision. Even in the OSCE’s own political bodies there has not, so far, been much of a substantial discussion on the issue. The line of discussion that comes closest – the Helsinki +40 debate initiated by the 2012 Irish Chairmanship – has, up until now, only led to a rather thin decision of the recent Dublin Ministerial Council meeting that is predominantly limited to procedural issues. And insofar as ideas on the meaning of a security community are actually voiced, they are quite different and even contradictory.

When we began preparing the IDEAS report, we started by thinking about what it should not be: neither a comprehensive programme nor a detailed roadmap towards a security community – both impossible to

achieve – nor a report strictly limited to the OSCE. Rather, we preferred to draft a set of comparatively loosely connected, general principles that might be helpful for clearing the way towards a security community and concrete proposals on issues where the OSCE can make a difference.

The starting point for the whole exercise was an analysis of trends towards convergence among the OSCE participating States, on the one hand, and towards divergence on the other. There has been a remarkable increase in normative convergence, despite all the difficulties in terms of implementation, and also in institutional interconnectedness. On the other hand, a number of new dividing lines have emerged, particularly over the last decade, on sub-regional conflicts, arms control, norms and normative behaviour, and many other issues. Mutual mistrust is still a salient obstacle. Proper communication to overcome it is in short supply.

It is important to think in terms of a process towards a security community. This is quite different from concepts such as ‘security architecture’, ‘treaties’ or ‘founding acts’. Processes, particularly in their early stages, are open and flexible, and can therefore include different and even contradictory positions. The political process should address, in parallel, as many different issues as possible, and should not be limited to so-called game changers that could boomerang as spoilers. There should be a balance between items from the old agenda, inherited from the Cold War, and from a new agenda, pointing to the future. And, most importantly: we should attempt to de-securitize and even de-politicize issues.

The IDEAS project should not remain a one-time exercise. Rather, we are considering continuing in a broader framework, involving more institutes from other countries. In terms of substance, clarifying the scientific foundations of security communities remains an important task, as there are many concrete issues

in all three dimensions of security – politico-military, economic and environmental and human – still to be addressed.

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Illustration Paul Jackson

Euro-Atlantic security matters

By Robert Legvold

Add to the many roadblocks obstructing the Euro-Atlantic security community promised by the OSCE Heads of State since the 1990 Charter of Paris for a New Europe a growing sense that the action has shifted to the Asia-Pacific. The Euro-Atlantic region with its many headaches – from tensions over NATO’s future and the role of missile defence to the seemingly intractable “protracted conflicts” and stubbornly held historical grievances – appears to many as last winter’s snow. Its problems, if unamenable to solution, no longer seem all that important, not when the challenge of dealing with a surging China in a fast-changing Asia looms suddenly large.

For two reasons, however, the loose talk of a “pivot” to the Asia-Pacific heard in both Moscow and Washington is short-sighted. First, as undeniably important as the rise of China, India, and their Asia neighbours is, the great swath of states from “Vancouver to Vladivostok” still

constitutes the epicentre of the global system by almost any measure. These states counted for 53 per cent of world GDP in 2011. The European Union's GDP was considerably more than twice that of China and its trade with the United States more than three times that of China with the United States. In 2011 the countries of the Euro-Atlantic region produced 33.1 per cent of the world's oil and consumed 45.1 per cent of it; they generated 56.5 per cent of its gas, and consumed 58.8 per cent. They accounted for more than 60 per cent of the world's military spending, and controlled more than 95 per cent of the world's nuclear weapons.

Thus, it should not take more than a moment's reflection to recognize that, if the international community is to have any hope of finding a core around which to build a more stable economic order, an energy regime with greater predictability for supplier and consumer, rational limits to the size and nature of military forces, and safeguards for a multipolar nuclear world, that core must be the Euro-Atlantic region.

Second, critical as the region is as a core around which to build global security and stability, the leadership that a unified Euro-Atlantic security community could provide in meeting the new challenges in the twenty-first century matters even more. No region, if acting in a unified manner, can do more to blunt the threat of bio- and nuclear terrorism, the spread of weapons of mass destruction, health pandemics, cyber warfare and instability flowing from climate change, as well as to ensure the peaceful ascent of new great powers. But only if all act together, and that can only happen if OSCE governments become manifestly more serious about the goal than they have been until now.

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Dr. Robert Legvold is Marshall D. Shulman Professor Emeritus in the Department of Political Science at Columbia University, where he specialized in the international relations of the post-Soviet states. He is Director of the Euro-Atlantic Security Initiative (EASI).



Reconciling expectations?

By Andrei Zagorski

Building a security community in the OSCE region provides a vision which can bring the participating States together instead of allowing them to further drift apart. The 40th anniversary of the Helsinki Final Act forthcoming in 2015 provides a perfect target for pursuing this vision. Showing political will to overcome existing and even widening gaps in the region would send a strong message that the OSCE still has an important mission.

However, despite having advanced the vision of a security community in the 2010 Astana Commemorative Declaration, the participating States maintain different, if not diverging understandings of what sort of a security community they want to develop.

While some look forward to addressing primarily traditional, hard security issues and define a security community more in terms of collective security, others emphasize that it is primarily an evolving community of values enabling states to diminish the relevance of hard security issues in their relations and to make war between them not only impossible, but no longer thinkable.

Several findings from the 2012 IDEAS project are relevant for this debate.

The participating States will not be able to move ahead unless they reconcile their different expectations with regard to developing a security community.

A genuine security community is not established by a single act but,

rather, is born as the result of a long-term process which neither necessarily begins with the establishment of a viable community of values, nor is conclusive until such a community gets deeply rooted in the societies.

Addressing the pending issues of hard security and relocating the focus to the new transnational security issues is no less part of that process than addressing the value gaps.

Security community building is hardly possible without engaging each other or working together in as many areas as possible. Continuously expanding co-operation and facilitating reconciliation is the appropriate way to achieve progressive convergence of the participating States.

The OSCE is not the sole institution which can engage in security community building, but it has a unique and important role to play in this process.

In this context, the outcome of the OSCE Ministerial meeting in Dublin is both encouraging and astonishing.

The fact that the participating States have agreed on a Helsinki +40 roadmap is encouraging. It sends the message that they are keeping the door open and may approach the 40th anniversary of the Helsinki Final Act as a more consolidated group.

At the same time, in Dublin we saw the same divisions as could be observed over the past decade. This sends a confusing message, telling the public that either the governments don't have enough political will to overcome existing gaps, or the OSCE is not the appropriate place to address the relevant issues, or both.

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Dr. Andrei Zagorski is Director of Disarmament and Conflict Resolution Studies at the Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the Russian Academy of Sciences, and Professor at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations. He was a member of the drafting group of the IDEAS final report.



Illustration Paul Jackson

Women in peacekeeping: how to survive and succeed

By Heidi Tagliavini

Have you ever thought of what life is like in a conflict region? I had not. As a regular Swiss diplomat I was lucky enough to never really experience the challenges of conflict, until I was literally thrown into the midst of open hostilities with my assignment to Chechnya with the first OSCE Assistance Group in April 1995. My experience throughout that year in the war in Chechnya was such a strong eye-opener that since then, my interest for conflicts and their consequences, for ways out of them, but also for ways to alleviate the suffering of war victims has become

an important part of my life, of my system of values and my very personality.

We arrived in Grozny in a Russian military helicopter from a military base in Southern Russia, six mission members from six different countries, five men and I, the only woman. Our luggage, 600 kg, included camping beds and sleeping bags, some dried food (they told us it was food for astronauts), which luckily we never had to use, two computers and a small generator. We were assigned to a residence with no windows and no doors – we did have a roof! No chairs, no table, no furniture at all, and no water, no electricity, no gas! No matches and no pocket lamp – they were at the bottom of our luggage –, so we were quickly caught up in the deep darkness of a Caucasus night, illuminated only by occasional flairs which announced artillery firing all over the city. Also, and most importantly, in those first days we had no car or any other means to move around. So how were we to meet with our counterparts, Russian representatives and Chechens, located in very different places all over the region? We were forced to hire a “highly recommended” local driver and a car. And during our very first visit to the Chechens on the other side of the unofficial cease-fire line, this driver was immediately arrested by the Chechens, allegedly as a Russian spy.

In our mission, we were all roughly the same age and had similar professional qualifications – we were diplomats at the Counselor level or military people – yet as the only woman in the group, I got my share of gender-related behaviour. We had a big fight about who would do what in our OSCE mandate, which included political talks, humanitarian support, human rights and the rule of law. I was kept away from all of it, but instead advised to go to the kitchen to train the few locals who helped us to get organized.

When soon after our arrival my colleagues went to see some interlocutors in a far-away village and

stayed overnight without informing me (imagine, there were no cellular phones at that that time, just over 15 years ago!), I was left alone in the house with no doors, no windows, heavy fighting at night and the first thunderstorm of the spring. Needless to say, this was not the best moment of my life!

Since I was kept away from political work, I simply tried to make myself useful, looking into the aspects of the mandate which my colleagues did not really care about, such as human rights, humanitarian support, the rule of law. When the negotiations started on our OSCE premises, I was always around to receive the participants in the peace process, Russian representatives and Chechens, at the gate of our Grozny house. In this very tense situation I tried to make them feel at ease, helping them with any request they might have, be it even just tea or coffee.

Eventually I involved myself in the typing and drafting of peace or ceasefire proposals every time there was a deadlock in the negotiations – all in Russian, which was the language of negotiations. I did whatever I was asked to do. And little by little, I managed to gain the respect at least of the local interlocutors. When after several months I left Chechnya through a Moscow airport, a man who had been in the same plane approached me with flowers in his hand in the middle of winter. “Thank you, Heidi,” he said, “you were the human face of this mission. In the name of the Chechen people I thank you for what you have done for us!”

This very touching encounter made me understand that what matters, especially in such delicate environments as in a conflict is in fact something very different than just your professional capacities. It is all about values and personal skills. This is all the more true when you are a woman and when you have been put in a leadership position in a peace mission.

In the two decades that followed, I worked in other peacekeeping

operations and peace negotiations, for the UN and the OSCE. After my experience in Chechnya, I was Deputy Head of the UN Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG) and some years later the UN Special Representative of the Secretary General (SRSG) and Head of that same mission. I was also Personal Representative of the Austrian OSCE Chairperson-in-Office for missions in the Caucasus. In all of these missions, I learned how patient and persistent, how competent and flexible one had to be, not only to survive, but also to make the small difference that keeps a conflict from sliding back into war!

Another very challenging experience was my appointment in 2008 as Head of the EU-mandated Independent International Fact-Finding Mission on the Conflict in Georgia. In just nine months I had to produce a comprehensive report, not only on the August 2008 war but also on all the underlying root causes, all the legal, humanitarian and human rights implications of that most unfortunate war in the South Caucasus. I also led a number of election observation missions on behalf of the OSCE’s Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights in Ukraine and in the Russian Federation, and consider them to be among the most arduous tasks a regular diplomat, let alone a woman, may face in his or her career.

In all my assignments in conflicts, the fact that I was a woman was always somewhat unusual, and of course not always really welcome, but eventually my persistence and patience paid off, both for me personally as well as for those who gave me the mandate. In the pages that follow I would therefore like to focus on my very personal and practical experience gathered over the years, and present a kind of check-list of the values and inter-personal competences that really matter when working as a woman in a conflict environment:

INTEGRITY

Integrity, first and foremost. In peace missions a woman in a top position is closely scrutinized and observed at all times. In general, women in peace missions face more skepticism and suspicion than men in the same jobs. In the volatile environment of a conflict where nobody trusts anybody, the integrity of the Head of Mission is a key requirement; it will determine whether you are acceptable as a negotiator/mediator or not. You may be a good negotiator, but if at the same time you are a person who is politically or morally compromised, it inevitably fires back.

COMMON SENSE

Common sense is what you need most in the fragile environment of a conflict. Who, if not you, will be reasonable when everybody around you is excited and emotional about the smallest incidents? In all your thinking, in all your assessments, in all your decisions, at all times, you need to demonstrate common sense. It helps to de-escalate the situation and to come up with reasonable proposals.

IMPARTIALITY

Impartiality is the watchword “par excellence” in any peace process, even if at times it is very difficult to remain impartial – we all have our sympathies and dislikes, but be aware that your credibility is at stake if you don’t stick to the rule of impartiality.

CREDIBILITY

Credibility is the other keyword closely linked to integrity; your interlocutors need to be sure that what you tell them during your meetings is also what you believe and what you will do. And if they trust you and tell you something in confidence, outside the official meetings, you must honour their confidence and not betray them. Sometimes they do it on purpose just to test you! Stick to the simple truth: your counterparts in any peace process are much better connected than you, they know much more than you, about the history of the conflict and about their counterparts on the other side. And they also – and very quickly – know everything about you. Don’t ever cheat them. It would be the beginning of your end in any peace process.



PERSISTENCE & CONSISTENCY

If you want to achieve something in a peace process, you need to be persistent and consistent, but not in a fanatic way. Fanaticism, anyway, is absolutely forbidden! Just don’t let anybody push you aside. You need to be perseverant and focused in doing your job, but at the same time you need to be modest and reasonable. Don’t ever triumph when you have managed to win a battle – in a peace process, everything is always fragile!

INTUITION

Intuition is a precious tool in any peace process. This is where women may have an advantage over men; if you can sense whether your interlocutor is honest or not in what he proposes, it helps. A woman may sense whether it is dangerous for her peacekeepers to take a certain road rather than another, just because she may by nature be more cautious or take fewer risks. Of course, intuition alone is not enough; you also need to be able to listen to good advice. You need to have a keen sense of when it is time to do certain things, and when it is not. This may save your life or the lives of your mission members! Intuition may also mean that you have an understanding for the concerns of your counterparts in the peace process; this suggests respect, which is always helpful.

STAMINA & ENDURANCE

Peace operations are hardly ever conducted in a normal environment; your ability to cope easily with a difficult environment, with difficult people and difficult tasks will eventually determine if you are really able to cope with your job. What you also need is a solid physical condition, a sound mind and good mental and emotional health. Peace missions are a tough school; they really take all your strength.



COMPETENCE

To be taken seriously as a woman in a leadership position you need to be really competent and show that you know as much or – better – even more than your male colleagues.



3

ACCOUNTABILITY

Accountability is another keyword on my list; be aware that you will need to account for each and every step; don't cheat, in the long run this doesn't work.

RESOLVE

As a chief of mission, you also need to have sufficient resolve to make decisions, taking into consideration all the risks and dangers involved. This may also mean that you make mistakes – and consequently need to bear the responsibility for your decision. In peace processes there are no easy solutions! One of my colleagues in a UN mission sent a helicopter to a particularly dangerous area as requested by the mandate. One party to the conflict had warned him of the imminent danger, but he thought he had to comply with the mandate; the helicopter was shot down with peacekeepers on board, no one survived. It is difficult to continue to live and work after such a disaster!

PATIENCE

In peace negotiations you also need endless patience, and you need to be able to relax and take distance from a situation. A peace process is a long and arduous endeavor. In the conflict over Abkhazia (in Georgia), keeping a fragile stability or status quo in the four years I was the UN SRSG and Head of Mission was a constant challenge and a tremendous effort, yet, to the outside world it looked like almost nothing! “What did you achieve?” was the usual question journalists asked back home. “Well, we managed to keep stability and to prevent the recurrence of a war,” I would say, only to hear in response: “Not very much, is it?” Had these journalists known what this meant in terms of alertness, or the endless patience and the constant readiness to speak to everybody at any time of the day or night, to go to places of ambushes and attacks at night and to see sometimes horrible things, they might have changed their attitude. But status quo or fragile stability is “no news”; this superficial attitude changed only when to the surprise of many the war in Georgia broke out in August 2008!

FLEXIBILITY

In peace missions one needs to be unbelievably flexible. This applies as much for living conditions, which are often rather precarious, as for the frequently changing political and security environments. You need to adapt to any new situation quickly and be on top of events in no time.

ABILITY TO LISTEN

An ability to listen is indispensable in a peace mission. Talk to everybody, listen to everybody and treat everybody equally, even if at times you would prefer not to do so. And don't accept criticism from anyone who accuses you of meeting with x, y or z who are the “bad guys”. In a conflict environment it is your privilege but also your duty, for the sake of objectivity and impartiality, to see and talk to all the stakeholders. Don't forget, the loser of today may be the winner of tomorrow.



4

MOTIVATE YOUR TEAM

As head of a peace mission, you need to make your team work. There is no ideal team; mission members are human beings, and jealousy, incompetence, ill will – you name it – are everywhere. As a leader, you have to motivate your people to give and do their best. This requires strength and Salomonic resolve. And it takes a lot of energy. A Russian proverb says it well: “The dogs are barking, but the caravan moves on.”

DON'T BE OVER-ZEALOUS

So, don't be over-zealous: "above all, not too much zeal!" as the French philosopher Talleyrand would have said. You may take unnecessary risks if you are over-ambitious.



5

An absolute requirement for a peacemaking engagement is empathy and humanity. It may sound pathetic, but it is not, on the contrary. You had better not engage in conflicts where people have suffered a lot, if you are not able to have true respect and deep feelings of sympathy for those who have gone through hell and very often continue to suffer.

Anyone undertaking such a mission must clarify for him- or herself: can I live with and in a conflict environment? Many difficulties in the missions result from not having really clarified this point prior to engaging. Whoever says peace operation says responsibility; you must decide whether you can live with such a responsibility. What do I mean specifically? Casualties, attacks, hostage takings and ambushes on yourself or the members of your mission are a constant reality – they do take place. To live with this is not easy.

When in a leading position in a peace mission you always need to take into account and be prepared for the worst case scenario: Srebrenica, Ruanda, Somalia, Darfur, Liberia, Congo, South Ossetia and many others have happened and continue to happen!!! Maybe the worst case scenario never happens while you are on mission, but if you rely on good luck,

SET THE TONE

Be aware that any person in a leading position, but especially as a woman leader in a peace mission, will be closely watched all the time: how you look (smiling? tired? nervous? relaxed? worried?), how you dress (the dress check is usually merciless, especially from other women) and how you react in critical or dangerous situations. You have to demonstrate self-assurance and self-control at all times; if you set the tone, the others will accept and follow you!

you are badly advised. It may go well many times, but you have to be prepared.

What has helped me personally is discipline. Discipline as a way of life. Of course, you need to take your task seriously. But take time for yourself: get enough sleep, even if it is not always easy, eat well, exercise regularly and, most essential, don't lose contact with culture and nature – they are an endless source of recreation and balance. Very useful to me in my sometimes arduous missions has been holding fast to a personal motto or a firm belief. One of mine is: "never give up"!

Let me conclude with Friedrich Dürrenmatt, one of my favorite Swiss writers, who has given us the following words of wisdom: "One must never lose sight of one's image of the world at its most reasonable".

—
Ambassador Heidi Tagliavini, a Swiss diplomat for 30 years, has had numerous bilateral and multilateral assignments, mainly in the former Soviet Union and the Balkans. She has led peace missions on behalf of the OSCE and the UN. In 2008 the EU Council appointed her to lead the Independent International Fact-Finding Mission on the Conflict in Georgia. She was recently elected a member of the International Committee of the Red Cross. She holds honorary doctorates from the Universities of Basel and Bern. She is currently heading the OSCE/ODIHR election observation mission in Armenia.

KNOW YOURSELF

And very important: if you engage in peace missions, you need to know your weak and your strong points; in other words, you need to be able to look into the mirror without being afraid of what you see; if not, your counterparts in the conflict will be only too happy to show you the mirror – usually not to your advantage.



6

By Heidi Tagliavini

The Report of the Independent International Fact-Finding Mission on the Conflict in Georgia, issued in September 2009 can be found at www.ceiig.ch.

The Caucasus - Defense of the Future, Twenty-Four Writers in Search of Peace, ed. by the OSCE Representative on Freedom of the Media, Freimut Duve and Heidi Tagliavini, Folio Verlag Vienna - Bolzano, 2001 (English, German, Russian)

Zeichen der Zerstörung: Der andere Blick: Reminiszenzen aus Tschetschenien (Benteli, 1998) (in German – an album of photos of Chechnya)

As Head of the UN Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG), 2002-2006:

- 1 At the weekly quadripartite meeting with the Russian peacekeeping forces
- 2 On patrol in the field on the Abkhaz side of the conflict zone
- 3 At a commemorative ceremony after a multiple murder of militia men in a Georgian village

- 4 A press conference at the UNOMIG headquarters in Tbilisi after negotiations
- 5 Expecting the delegations for negotiations in UNOMIG sector headquarters in Zugdidi
- 6 Leading negotiations between the Georgian and Abkhaz sides

(Photos: UNOMIG)

20 Years High Commissioner on National Minorities

The continuing value of an innovative institution

By John Packer

The story of the creation and early development of the OSCE institution of the High Commissioner on National Minorities (HCNM) has been told many times. There is no doubt that it was in 1992 a fairly bold innovation to confer upon one individual, albeit of particular experience and highest integrity, a mandate to engage directly with and within States and take up situations of inter-ethnic conflict which, in his or her judgement, constitute a threat to international peace and stability. Arguably it was the immediate context of post-Cold War Europe that made this institutional innovation possible. In any event, the early nature of the HCNM's engagement, and the prescribed terms of it, shaped an instrument which has accumulated a distinct record of achievement. Indeed, it has inspired others to

emulate its approach (if not exact mandate) – demonstrating the old adage that imitation is the finest form of flattery.

Achievements

It may be said that the principal achievement of the HCNM is its existence. No institution of international relations enjoys a comparable mandate with in effect pre-authorized entitlement to engage directly with State and non-State actors across and within all OSCE participating States. That highly intrusive entitlement is coupled with obligations of care and conduct, notably discretion and confidentiality. But that formula could have remained on paper. Its application may have gone no further than the originally imagined early warning function. Instead, the experience and the creativity

of the first HCNM, Max van de Stoel of The Netherlands, combined to forge an approach to the mandate and to the situations he addressed that became an established practice: a specific kind of preventive and quiet diplomacy. The HCNM aims not merely to avoid or stem violent incidents and possible conflagrations that could lead to war, but to facilitate the peaceful resolution or management of the underlying problems and to persuade parties to move away from conflict towards sustainable peace and prosperity.

It is apparent that in his work the HCNM is not armed with tools of force or material reward, and so relies upon analysis, argument and persuasion. Refined knowledge and use of multilateral diplomacy, comparative and international law, structures and arrangements for governance, individual and social

psychology and a variety of human relations are the resources which the HCNM brings to bear in a concrete situation. Accuracy, sensitivity and nimbleness are key characteristics of effective work.

The HCNM has been characterized as a “normative intermediary” (by the scholar Steven Ratner, see further reading below). He assists governments and public authorities with understanding their obligations and responsibilities, and affected persons and communities with knowing their rights and duties (and the limits to both). He helps them to negotiate appropriate arrangements – a *modus vivendi*.

It is an achievement for such an institution to have effectively saved lives and livelihoods in even one situation. All three HCNMs – with Rolf Ekéus of Sweden and currently Knut Vollebaek of Norway building on the pioneering work of van der Stoep – have managed, with a relatively small team, to be effective in numerous situations at the same time. To my knowledge, there has been no accounting of all the policies, laws (including constitutions), programmes and practices which the three HCNMs have over 20 years inspired, caused to be reformed or abrogated, supported, funded or otherwise affected. But there have been many, in very many participating States. The measure of the work accomplished is in the stability which prevails to the tremendous benefit of the affected communities and wider populations. Over 20 years and dozens of situations, perhaps only two or three have fallen back and erupted into some organized violence – and in each case it was held in check.

Each of the HCNMs has also contributed important general recommendations that distil and synthesize the essential elements of international obligations, political commitments and good practices of governance in areas of principal

public regulation and activity including education, use of languages, political participation, policing, trans-frontier support of ethnic communities and social cohesion. They have created a body of reference materials, available in numerous languages, that constitutes the most developed and progressive framework for the peaceful management of diversity and inter-ethnic relations.

The insights and counsel brought by the HCNMs have influenced a generation of governmental authorities, parliamentarians, and jurists as well as community leaders and advocates. They have contributed to the development of a kind of politics which is normative, deliberative, and peaceful. Yet it must be continually cultivated and adjusted to changing circumstances as well as evolving needs, interests and aspirations.

The Future

The inter-ethnic conflicts that marked the historical transitions of the 1990s are behind us. Yet despite European integration, tense inter-ethnic and inter-State relations persist – not only issues of competition over resources, power or prestige, but also clashes of national identities and visions. With the euphoria of the post-Cold War era now consigned to history books, the HCNM is operating in a tough socio-economic context. Resurgent nationalism in its extreme, exclusionary forms is a stubborn threat. Deep prejudices and remarkable hatreds exist, offering raw material to be fomented by unscrupulous and irresponsible leaders and ethnic entrepreneurs. In tough economic times, the appeal of these dark ideas and attitudes can grow. Modern technology, notably social media, while making our societies freer and more transparent, can also let incitement to discrimination, hatred and hostility spread fast and far. Moreover, it penetrates the open and loose spaces which free societies prize,

offering opportunities for poisonous politics to take hold and undermine social cohesion and stability.

Many governments are struggling to address these threats, and some are contributing to them. Both new and established democracies have been facing issues of apathy and disillusionment amongst the citizenry, and mistrust in the State has given rise to popular movements – some positive and some not. The world seems ever more complex and uncertain. Migration, immigration, and social transformations are ubiquitous and likely to intensify. Indeed, this is not a description of an historical transition in only one part of the OSCE region, but seems a general condition. All OSCE participating States need help in meeting these challenges through better governance and co-operation. This no doubt inspired Knut Vollebaek’s recent publication of the Ljubljana Guidelines on Integration of Diverse Societies – very much relevant to all participating States. And his announced intention to tackle challenges of contemporary citizenship is even more courageous and important for the generations ahead.

The approach of the HCNM as an instrument of conflict prevention at the earliest stage is as relevant as ever. The attributes of that approach – being proactive rather than reactive and working through direct contacts, building relationships discreetly and in confidence – will remain vital. The HCNM will continue to have to “be there” – physically at the scene of tensions and intellectually on top of the game. This will require on-going analysis and sensitivity. It will require engagement at many levels. And, of course, it will require the human and material resources needed for the job coupled with the courageous and sensitive leadership to try and to succeed.

A recent major comparative study of similar work by UN, Organization

of American States and Commonwealth institutions, by Eileen Babbitt in a special issue of *International Negotiation*, shows the HCNM not only to have been an innovation, but to remain the gold standard in preventive and quiet diplomacy. This is unlikely to change any time soon. The OSCE should be delighted it is able to benefit from its own prior forethought and the ongoing work of the HCNM.

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John Packer is the Constitutions Expert on the Standby Team of Mediation Experts attached to the UN Department of Political Affairs. From 1995 to 2000, he was Senior Legal Adviser to the first HCNM, and became the first Director in the Office of the HCNM serving until spring 2004. He served under the first two HCNMs and has advised also the third and current HCNM.

The three High Commissioners on National Minorities.
Left to right Max van der Stoep† (1 January 1993 to 30 June 2001); Knut Vollebaek (1 July 2007 to present); Rolf Ekéus (1 July 2001 to 30 June 2007)

Read more!

International Negotiation: Preventive Diplomacy: Mediation by Intergovernmental Organizations (Volume 17, Number 3, 2012).

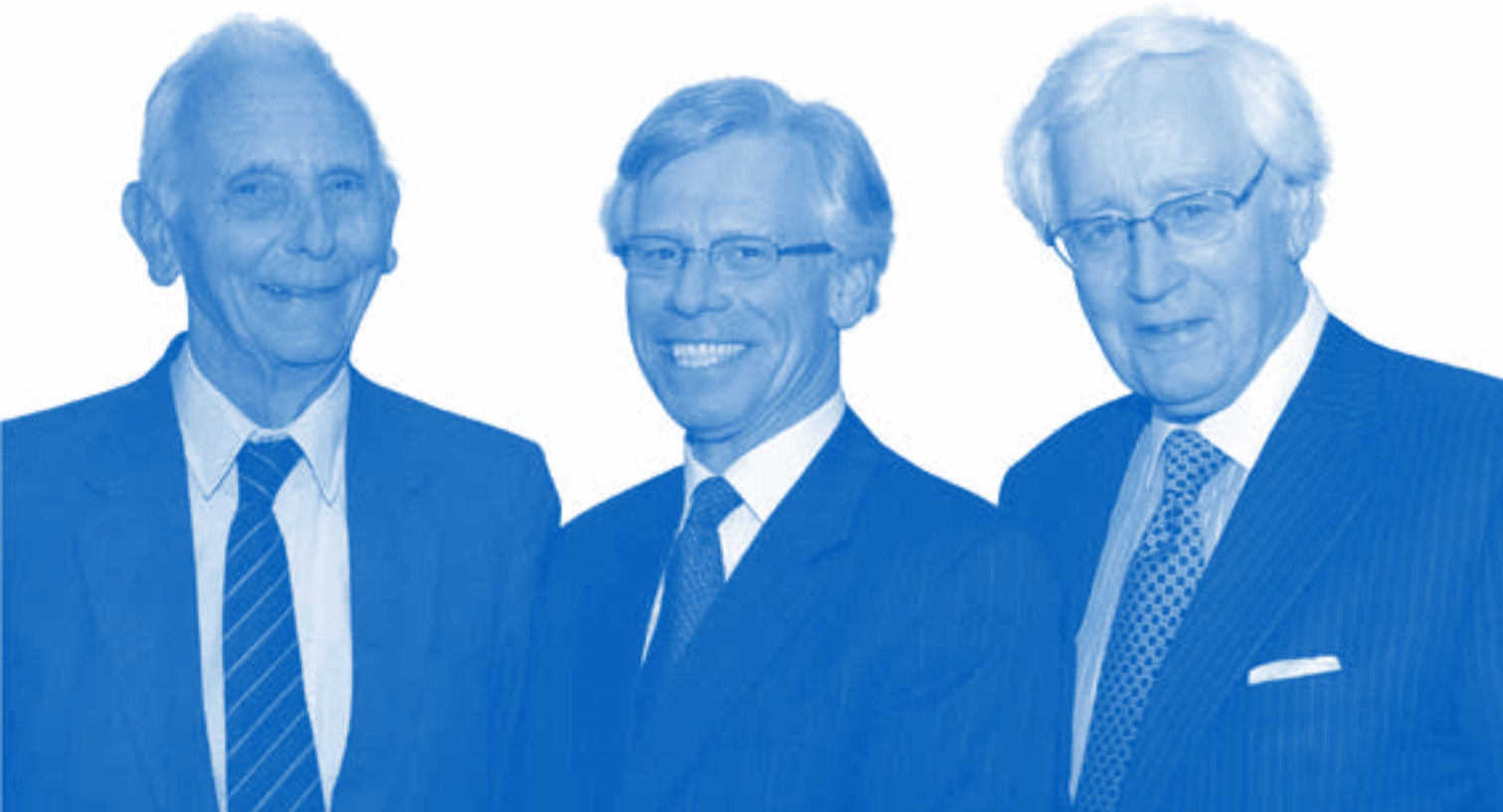
This special edition of *International Negotiation* contains the comparative study “Preventive Diplomacy by Intergovernmental Organizations: Learning from Practice” by Eileen Babbitt, followed by individual case studies.

“The most sustainable prevention occurs when the relationship between groups is not only improved, but also enshrined in domestic laws and/or institutions that guarantee its continuation. The value of the HCNM approach, unlike those of any of the other IGOs, is its commitment to catalyzing these changes in laws and institutions, helping countries translate abstract values into realities, and staying engaged over an extended period to support these changes,” Babbitt concludes.

Olivier Brenninkmeijer, *The OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities: Negotiating the 1992 Conflict Prevention Mandate* (HEI, 2005). This study tells the story of the creation and early development of the HCNM.

Centre for OSCE Research (CORE) in the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg (IFSH), *On the Effectiveness of the OSCE Minority Regime*. A series of in-depth studies on the HCNM’s work in specific situations. Available here: <http://www.core-hamburg.de>

Steven R. Ratner, “Does International Law Matter in Preventing Ethnic Conflict?” in: *NYU Journal of International Law and Politics*, Volume 32, Number 3, 2000, pp. 591-698 at 668-684.





*Interview with Knut Vollebaek, High
Commissioner on National Minorities
(Dublin, 7 December 2012)*

By Ursula Froese

Quiet, not silent

“If it weren’t for quiet
diplomacy, many potential
conflicts would have
remained unaddressed.”

Photos OSCE



Ursula Froese:
Last month
you issued
the Ljubljana
Guidelines
on Integration
of Diverse

Societies. What do you expect participating States to do in response?

Knut Vollebaek: I hope, of course, that they will read them and try to use them. What we have tried to do with the Guidelines is make them practical. We asked ourselves, “what can we, based on our institution’s experience, contribute on how to implement integration in practice?” The recommendations are relevant for all of our societies, north, south, east and west of Vienna.

Of course, they cannot be “one size fits all” – how they should be applied will be different from one context to the other. What we are aiming to do right now is to present them nationally to the states, and also regionally, because they can also have a regional effect, and on the local level, because many of the recommendations will have to be implemented by the local authorities.

You mainly work behind the scenes, using so-called silent diplomacy- how does this work in practice?

It neither means that I whisper nor that I am mute. It means that I am not a name and shame institution.

As you know, this comes from my mandate. This is quite a unique institution, created in a very difficult time in European history, during the wars in the Balkans, and its mandate is a very strong one. I can intervene at my discretion. However, I am to work in confidence.

I think this is very useful, since most of the issues I deal with are very sensitive, not only internationally but also in local politics. Knowing that they will not immediately be exposed to public criticism often gives the authorities the confidence to move a little bit further than they would otherwise have done. When I make a suggestion, they are more likely to say “OK, let’s try this.” If it’s a failure, then it’s a failure, but if it’s a success, then at some stage they can come out and say “Yes, we have worked with the High Commissioner and we are happy with the results and have reached this or that goal.”

Quiet diplomacy is also useful in view

of the fact that my mandate says that I should intervene early, before a conflict erupts. I work with the authorities to prevent brewing tensions from becoming a problem. If it weren’t for quiet diplomacy, many potential conflicts would have remained unaddressed. I think many would have said “No, we won’t act on this incident or trend because people might get suspicious and believe the situation is much more serious than it is.” As we know from bitter experience in international politics, we are very often too late to act with regard to inter-ethnic conflict. Politicians and international organizations are much more reactive than proactive. The HCNM was created as a proactive institution, and in order to be proactive, it is important to be able to work in confidence through silent or quiet diplomacy. I think quiet is a better term, because we are not really silent. Working in confidence means that I do not make a lot of noise, and this is helpful.

How is the economic downturn affecting the situation of national minorities?

We are witnessing an unfortunate trend in the present day, a revitalization of nationalism. There might be many reasons for that. People are looking for their roots, and are feeling defensive about their identity, their culture, their basic values.

However, I believe this started before the financial crisis. If you look at countries that are not severely affected by the financial crisis, you also find these tendencies. At the same time, I think they are indeed aggravated by the financial crisis. In the present situation we are even more likely to look for somebody to blame for what is wrong. Then a minority group is an easy target.

This tendency towards xenophobia, nationalism and discrimination is something that an organization like the OSCE needs to be very much aware of. It affects most of our societies and we have to counter it if we want to prevent it from becoming a real threat to us.

Here I would like to come back to the Ljubljana Guidelines. One of the important aspects of preventing conflicts between ethnic groups is to make all stakeholders feel ownership of their society, realize that they are included and not excluded. If I have no stake in society, I will resent it, and I can then become dangerous, a threat to the society in which I am not included.

In some countries, we are seeing a movement towards defining the state in ethnic terms. It may be understandable in view of history. However, I think this is very dangerous. There is no mono-ethnic or homogenous country any more in the world. Governments should take a very open approach and say, “whatever ethnic background you have, you are my citizen, I shall take care of you, I have this obligation as a state”. This is the best prevention against inter-ethnic tension. They could then add: “But you also have an obligation as a citizen to participate in the society.”

How do you try to persuade people that they should embrace minorities and that diversity is a strength?

We have a slogan in the office: “Integration with respect for diversity”. When it comes to language, culture, religion, whatever: when you have an identity, then that should be respected, and you should be allowed to uphold it. Most of us will have many identities at the same time. From a practical point of view, experience has shown that you cannot force assimilation on somebody on a permanent basis. Under an authoritarian regime you can certainly have assimilation for a while. But if I look at some of the countries that I have visited, not least countries coming out of the former Soviet Union, where people during Stalin’s time were more or less forced to become homo sovieticus, they still kept their identity. I have met people who even after 100 years of efforts to assimilate them, still kept their culture because of their grandmothers and others, who taught the new generations their religion, their language and their culture. So you can suppress identity for a while, but you can’t really force assimilation.

This is also my message to governments: if you wish to create a unified state, you cannot do it by forcing people to become identical. You will not succeed and it will create conflicts and be potentially very dangerous. Instead, you must show different groups respect and give them the opportunity to keep their different traditions and cultures, while at the same time facilitating their access to the majority culture of the society, through language, through education. Education is fundamental here.

Schools are at the centre of many of the disputes and tensions you addressed in your

recent report to the Permanent Council; at the same time you have repeatedly pointed to education as the key to integrating minorities. What is your advice regarding education?

Education is a tool, an opportunity for integration, and it is also a scenario for conflict. This makes education policy very important. First of all, I think it is important to offer children a good quality education. That, of course, is not easy. It requires financial resources, but it also has to do with priorities and understanding what good education is. It requires taking the parents, the teachers and the students seriously, and also working with the local community on education – particularly in countries where you have dense minority populations in certain areas. If you have a central government imposing a policy without consulting the local communities and stakeholders, it very seldom works. The same goes for multilingual education which is an important tool for facilitating integration in multi-ethnic societies. However, without proper involvement of the stakeholders and proper training of teachers, it may elicit strong negative reactions, so that when new ministers come in and try to follow this up, people say, “Oh no, we have tried that, don’t come with this again.”

The fundamental thing, before you start implementing a policy, is to work with the people and listen to them, to train the teachers and talk to the parents and explain why you are doing what you are doing. Otherwise you will have a negative reaction, which is very difficult to overcome.

In Georgia we have worked on multilingual education for over ten years. There have been some setbacks but also successes, with multilingual education in schools and also for civil servants and teachers. For example, we have set up what we call “language houses” in areas with a dense Armenian or Azeri population, where the teachers and the





civil servants could learn the state language. I have met people who claimed that they were able to keep their jobs because of this course. When you hear something like this, you feel very happy. It's not a revolution, but nevertheless a step in the right direction.

You have announced that you intend to focus on the issue of citizenship in the future – why?

The question of the citizenship is a difficult and a complicated one. We all have right to a citizenship. However, there are few international standards for dual citizenship, for example. In our present-day societies, due to ethnic affiliation, due to their history, due to mobility, people might actually seek to have several citizenships because they feel that they belong to several states. And this sometimes creates problems, because there are different laws in different countries, some preventing multiple citizenships. After my discussions with governments I have realized that this is a common problem. We would like to organize an expert workshop, to lay out: what does citizenship mean? What does it imply? What are the rights? What are the obligations? What are the consequences of holding multiple citizenships?

Also, given the mobility we have today, with people moving so easily from one country to another, we can ask: what does it mean to be a citizen? Where do I belong? In many countries today you can participate in local elections even if you are not a citizen. This is also an issue that we can discuss: how can we make sure that people are a part of the society where they live, regardless of their citizenship?

As you look back on your time as the High Commissioner what are you most proud of?

I would not say that I am proud, but what I am happy about is that the institution is considered relevant. I am very happy when

people, countries and governments, come to us and ask, "Can you help us?" We are seeing that more and more. Also, when I look at the local communities where we are working and see that there is a gradual shift from groups being marginalized, alienated, to participation in the community, even if it's just a very local one, not big politics, that also gives me great satisfaction, because it shows that our approach and our methods, the work we are doing, is not in vain.

Is there anything you would have done differently?

There are many things I would have done differently. However, being part of an institution prevents many mistakes. When I come up with some wild idea, my advisers will tell me, "Yes sir, it sounds like an excellent idea, but..." and then wisely suggest that maybe I should rethink it. The overall approach of our work is something I am really satisfied with. There is a continuity and we have wonderful people working here.

Since the work we are undertaking is a process, we try to go through what we are doing on a regular basis and see what we can learn from it. With a mandate of early warning and early action, the challenge is to have good ears to the ground and people who really follow the situation in the different countries. It is also a question of capacity. That means we have to prioritize. So we have to try to identify where there could be a conflict in the future, so that we can target our studies and our analysis and activities to those places.

Is there a piece of advice that you would give your successor?

One should be very careful about giving advice to one's successor! But one thing I have learned that I would like to share is the importance of persistence and consistency. What we often see in international politics today is that people move from one issue to another according to what is highest on the political agenda. That means that we often leave before fulfilling a task. What we have managed to do, my predecessors and I, is to stay put. Where others have come and gone, we have continued, and I think this is of fundamental importance. I think governments trust us because they see that we are there and we continue to be there. We have staying power. To be reckoned with, to be trusted and to be counted on, this is important.



European Union flags in front of the Brdo Congress Centre, at the launch of the Ljubljana Guidelines, Brdo, Slovenia, 7 November 2012 (OSCE/Michelle Pirotta)

Recommendations by the High Commissioner on National Minorities

The Hague Recommendations regarding the Education Rights of National Minorities (1996)

The Oslo Recommendations regarding the Linguistic Rights of National Minorities (1998)

The Lund Recommendations on the Effective Participation of National Minorities in Public Life (1999)

Guidelines on the use of Minority Languages in the Broadcast Media (2003)

Recommendations on Policing in Multi-Ethnic Societies (2006)

Bolzano/Bozen Recommendations on National Minorities in Inter-State Relations (2008)

Ljubljana Guidelines on Integration of Diverse Societies (2012)

See also: Warsaw Guidelines to Assist National Minority Participation in the Electoral Process (2001), elaborated by the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) in taking up relevant provisions of the Lund Recommendations.

Visit the webpage of the High Commissioner on National Minorities: www.osce.org/oscehcnm

Ljubljana Guidelines on Integration of Diverse Societies, November 2012

“If diverse societies do not have good integration policies, there is the danger that different communities, particularly large and territorially concentrated ones, may become increasingly separate, with few or no common interests and no shared sense of belonging. Such separation into parallel and unconnected societies poses a considerable risk to the viability and stability of any multi-ethnic State. This risk can be mitigated through a well-managed integration process, which can play a crucial role in preventing tensions from escalating into conflict and is also a prerequisite for building an equitable society. Integration is fundamentally concerned with meeting the responsibilities that sovereignty entails, including respecting human rights and ensuring good and effective governance, and it is intimately related to the overall stability of any pluralist society.

“The Ljubljana Guidelines on Integration of Diverse Societies aim to set out this thinking and approach. The Guidelines go beyond supporting the recognition of minority culture, identity and political interests to additionally recommend that States ensure that communication and interaction are established across ethnic divides. These Guidelines suggest that national minorities should not only enjoy the legal right to effectively participate in the overall governance of the State, but that they should also be encouraged to do so.”

—from the Introduction High Commissioner on National Minorities Ljubljana Guidelines on Integration of Diverse Societies, November 2012

View the Ljubljana Guidelines at <http://www.osce.org/hcnm/96883>

MOLDOVA

Strength in diversity

By Paula Redondo Alvarez-Palencia

One of the fascinating things about Moldova is its multi-ethnic and multilingual character. Many different ethnic groups live here and many different languages are spoken: Romanian, Russian, Ukrainian, Gagauzian and Bulgarian.

Take the city of Bălți, located in northern Moldova, for example. It is the country's third largest municipality after Chisinau and Tiraspol, the second in terms of economic activity. It is sometimes called "the Northern capital" because of its size and economic importance. Last October, I accompanied Ambassador Jennifer Brush, Head of the OSCE Mission to Moldova, when she visited the city to meet with the authorities and representatives of the Jewish, Polish, Russian and Ukrainian communities. The issue of national minorities, the use of and respect for their native languages, was one of the most important topics she discussed with the authorities.

For Ambassador Brush, "Bălți is an important hub for Moldova, not only for its economic activity, but also because of its particular multicultural and multi-linguistic identity."

The Russian diaspora, with whom the Ambassador met, is quite active in the region, presenting issues important to Russian speakers to the Government of Moldova and serving as a bridge between Moldova and the Russian Federation. As opposed to Chisinau, Bălți remains a predominantly Russian-speaking environment, and there is little likelihood that this will change in the near future.

Ukrainians are the most numerous ethnic minority in Bălți, making up more than 20 per cent of the population. Ambassador Brush met with representatives of this community in their cultural centre, named after Ukrainian poet Taras Shevchenko, to get acquainted with their problems. These mainly concern education in the Ukrainian language and the poor economic prospects that are forcing their youth, as well as many other Moldovans, to emigrate to other countries.

The Polish diaspora also has a significant presence in Bălți. Around 1,000 Poles were already living there at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In fact,

due to its historical ties with Poland the city has a Polish name: Bielce. According to the Polish Embassy in Chisinau, there are currently more than 2,000 ethnic Poles in Moldova. Most of them do not speak Polish, but in Bălți they have their own cultural center, called Polski Dom (The Polish House), where they can take language lessons and participate in cultural activities.

Ambassador Brush also visited the Jewish cemetery, the local synagogue and the Holocaust memorial. The presence of Jews in Bălți is part of the history of the town. Before World War II, we were told, almost half of the population of Bălți was Jewish; in 1930 there were more than 40 synagogues, most of them destroyed during the World War II. Very few remain in Bălți today, the Holocaust claimed the lives of approximately 20,000 and survivors ultimately emigrated to Israel and other countries. But a very active Jewish centre and one small synagogue remain.

"Moldova is a country that lies at the crossroads of civilizations. People here have seen civilizations rise and fall, and each of those civilizations has left its mark. This diversity is the strength of the country, a strength which needs



Europe Day in Bălți, 9 May 2011
 1 Young girls check out one of the stands
 2 A regional dance group performs traditional Moldovan dances

3 Europe Day celebrations (OSCE/ Veaceslav Balan)



to be embraced, in a climate of tolerance and respect between cultures,” says Brush. In fact, this is one of the tasks of the OSCE Mission to Moldova. It is required by its mandate to advise the authorities in Moldova on human rights and democratization issues, including minority and language rights. Currently the Mission is engaged in a dialogue with the Government of Moldova to help ensure that the reform of the educational system

currently underway respects international obligations regarding the educational rights of persons belonging to national minorities.

The OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities also works to promote the integration of national minorities in Moldova. Efforts since 2012 have focused on supporting the Moldovan Government’s development of a comprehensive integration strategy, informed by the Ljubljana Guidelines on the Integration of

Diverse Societies. A key component of this is the education system, and its importance as an instrument for integration rather than division. The High Commissioner also remains active on the issue of Latin script schools in Transdnistria.

—
Paula Redondo Alvarez-Palencia is Spokesperson of the OSCE Mission to Moldova.

[Read more: www.osce.org/oscemoldova](http://www.osce.org/oscemoldova)

MOLDOVA

A Chance to Connect

By Bob Deen

Moldova’s linguistic legacy is highly complex due to its history of being part of alternating Russian and Romanian spheres of influence in the region. Even agreeing on a name for the country’s official language is a challenge that as yet has not been surmounted. The Declaration of Independence refers to a language law that calls it Romanian, the Constitution calls it Moldovan, and many have come to refer to it simply as the State language. In addition, the Russian language has the status of ‘language of inter-ethnic communication’ and is still widely spoken throughout the country.

The language question also affects many members of Moldova’s national minority communities, who often speak Russian in addition to their national language but sometimes lack proficiency in the State language. This poses a major obstacle to their full participation in Moldovan society.

One of the examples of the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minority’s efforts to promote the integration of Moldovan society is a project started in 2005 to teach the

State language to civil servants in minority-populated areas, such as Gagauzia in southern Moldova. During the seven years of the project, over 2,900 employees in the public sector have received language training at levels of proficiency ranging from the beginner A1 level to the highly advanced C2 level.

Sustainability and local ownership have been at the centre of the project since its inception. In May 2008 the participating language teachers registered themselves as a separate organization, the Association of European Trainers from Moldova (ANTEM), which has since become the leading provider of adult language teaching services throughout the country. It trains around 400

professionals from many walks of life every year, bringing in private revenue alongside the High Commissioner’s funding.

The training courses are strongly supported by local authorities, who select the participants, allow them to participate during working hours and cover a part of the costs. The next phase of the project sees the High Commissioner engaged in a dialogue with the Moldovan Government on the development of a comprehensive policy on the integration of society. The promotion of State language skills amongst civil servants, funded by the Government, will be a key component of this.

—
Bob Deen is a Senior Adviser to the High Commissioner on National Minorities in The Hague.



Preparing trainers for a new stage in the training programme for civil servants in minority populated areas of Moldova (ANTEM)

SERBIA

Police opens doors

By Adi Sinani and Nenad Celarević

The history of the South-Eastern European region has been a turbulent one, with borders and boundaries of states and empires shifting repeatedly over the course of time. As a result, the population of Serbia today is extremely diverse. According to the results of the 2011 census that were published in November 2012, out of a total of 7,187,000 Serbian citizens, more than 1,000,000 are members of an ethnic minority.

Since its establishment, recognizing the ethnically diverse nature of the population, the OSCE Mission to Serbia has closely co-operated with the Serbian Ministry of the Interior to promote a police service that is reflective of Serbia's

multi-ethnic make-up. Their work closely follows the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities' Recommendations on Policing in Multi-Ethnic Societies, which stress that good policing in multi-ethnic societies depends on establishing a relationship of trust between the police and minorities. "Building a stable democracy in a multi-ethnic society requires a professional police service that reflects the population it serves," says Paula Thiede, the Acting Head of the Mission.

As part of its engagement in this area, the Mission organizes visits for national minority youth from various parts of Serbia to the Serbian Ministry of Interior's Basic Police Training Center (BPTC) located in Sremska Kamenica (60 km north of Belgrade), to encourage them to consider a career in policing. The BPTC was transformed into a modern basic police training centre with the Mission's assistance in 2007, from a four-year police high school established by the Interior Ministry in the 1960s.

Two hundred young potential police recruits have visited the Training Centre over the past three years. They have come from all over Serbia: Albanians from the south, Bosniaks from the south-west, Slovaks and Hungarians from the Vojvodina province in the north and Roma, Egyptians and Ashkali from throughout the country. They learn about the enrolment process and curriculum, attend lectures, take practice exams, and speak with cadets and active duty police officers about their experiences.

One visitor to the BPTC was Edip Aliu, a young ethnic-Albanian from Presevo, in Southern Serbia near the administrative line with Kosovo, who visited from 5 to 7 November 2012. Aliu was part of a group of 50 ethnic Albanians, Serbians and Roma, all heralding from the same region. "As a police officer I could contribute to the security of my community, my hometown and my people," Aliu said. Irmene Maliqi, a young ethnic Albanian woman, also from Presevo, echoed his sentiment:



From the field

“I would say that my family would support me becoming a police officer” – an encouraging indication that among some within the ethnic Albanian community in Serbia, the perception of state authorities is improving.

With funding of €8,000 secured from the German Embassy, the OSCE Mission has provided the BPTC with 20 licences for multi-lingual recruitment software developed by the Creative Softlab Company and the Association of Psychologists of Serbia. The software, which is already being used successfully by the Centre, allows applicants to take the entrance exam in Serbian, Hungarian, Albanian, Slovak, Czech, Romani, Romanian, Bulgarian or Ruthenian.

“Our goal is to encourage more young people from minority communities to apply to our programme”, says Biljana Puskar, the Director of the BPTC. “Enabling them to take the entrance exam in their minority language is an important part of reaching that goal”.

Adi Sinani is a Programme Assistant and Nenad Celarević is National Programme Officer in the OSCE Mission to Serbia's Democratization Department.

Read more: www.osce.org/osceserbia

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Visit to the Serbian Interior Ministry's Basic Police Training Centre (BPTC) in Sremska Kamenica, 2011 (OSCE/Milan Obradovic)

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A group of students and OSCE staff on a study visit at the BPTC, 6 November 2012. (OSCE/Milan Obradovic)

This page, bottom
Presentation of multi-lingual recruitment software by the OSCE to the BPTC. The software allows applicants to take entrance exams in some 8 minority languages besides Serbian. Sremska Kamenica, 6 November 2012. (OSCE/Milan Obradovic)



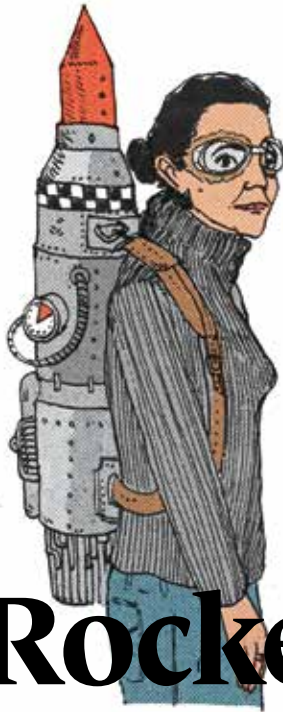


Illustration Paul Jackson

Rocket Scientist meets Danish Viking

By Karolina Hyza

Refugee and immigrant women can be unskilled, difficult to employ and in danger of becoming a burden to the social system of their destination country or of falling through its cracks into poverty. Or they can be highly educated, a potential asset to their chosen country of residence, yet unable to penetrate the labour market because of social or cultural barriers.

This was the case of Desiree, a bright Brazilian scientist who found herself at loose ends in Copenhagen, Denmark. Until she met Catharina, a mentor under an innovative programme run by KVINFO, the Danish Centre for Gender Equality and Diversity. KVINFO has been pairing up refugee and immigrant women with women who are active in the Danish labour market since 2002. To date, more than 6,000 women have participated in the programme, and the network is reckoned to be the largest of its kind in the world. The programme has been awarded several prizes and has inspired similar initiatives both in Denmark and abroad.

The OSCE is starting a project in January 2013, funded by Norway and Austria so far, to replicate the KVINFO model in the OSCE region by producing a guidebook and implementation materials. When it comes to people, every case is different. Mentoring helps build secure lives, one person at a time. But its potential to multiply is boundless.

Catharina, ethnologist and human resources expert

I'm Danish and I live in Copenhagen.

By education I am an ethnologist but I work as a human resources business partner at Danish Rail. A friend of mine was a mentor with KVINFO and mentioned that this was something I might like. I would meet interesting people, it was fun and since I had lived abroad and had an academic background, it would simply suit me. So I thought, "OK, I'll just go to one of the evening introduction meetings, and see if I have anything to offer." I saw that I might be able to give advice about choosing a career or preparing for a job interviews.

The Danish have very special demands on how people should approach a job interview. I had never really thought about that before, so this was a useful reflection on my own work. After I was in the system, nothing really happened until one day I got a call, saying there was someone not from my field, but who might be a good match. When I heard those first words about Desiree, I thought to myself, "What can I possibly contribute to this? She is a rocket scientist! What can we talk about? She must be so much cleverer than I am." I felt quite intimidated and the same time I was very curious, so I said, "OK, let's go for it." And I met up with this wonderful person, Desiree. It was a meeting between this big Danish Viking – myself – and this open Brazilian person. She is everything everybody actually wants to be: calm, yet energetic, and very accomplished. But, as we soon found out, everybody needs someone to talk to, and everyone can benefit from being challenged on a different level than when talking to friends or family.

Prior to meeting Desiree, I prepared by setting some standards for myself as a mentor. I was very clear about giving advice rather than a command. It was up to Desiree to make her own decisions. My role was more to be curious about what she wanted. From there I could come up with suggestions as to how to go about it achieving it, broaden her mind about what decisions she could possibly make or what options she had to choose from. It would be up to her to follow them or not. Desiree was very quick to understand the things I didn't say but probably meant. We talked a lot about building a network. In Brazil she could easily approach people but in Denmark she had the feeling that there was a kind of a filter she had to pass through.

My advice to her was to use her personality to open that door, because she was different and she could use it to her advantage.

Sometimes you find yourself in situations where you may need to approach somebody, and you might feel hesitant about appearing too forward, especially when you are a woman. Sometimes you just need somebody to give you a push, to let you see the possibilities that are already there.

Desiree found her dream job very quickly. But we've agreed to continue. We still talk about career choices and about the future. After a year of mentoring I have also reflected about my career, and what I want. So it has gone from being a mentor/mentee to more of a mentor/mentor relationship. The untold truth is that as a mentor, you gain so much. You get insight about your own culture, about who you are as a person, as a citizen, as a woman.

Desiree, astrophysicist

When I was a second-year physics student at the University of Sao Paolo, I did some work in a laboratory that was collaborating with Danish scientists. It turned out that one of the Danish post-doctoral researchers was a very nice guy and we became a couple. A few months later he had to move back to Denmark. I was busy with my education and had no intention of stopping that, not even for love. But eventually we decided that I could transfer my studies to Denmark and complete my Physics degree there. In 2004, two years after we first met, I was accepted at the University of Copenhagen.

I had already been living in Denmark for a couple of years when I met Catharina. My relationship with my boyfriend hadn't worked out. But I had already become a Master's student in Astronomy at the University of Copenhagen and did not want to leave that and move back to Brazil. I had no financial support from the government like the Danish students did, so I worked on the side, doing unqualified jobs like helping passengers at the airport or babysitting, just to cover my expenses.

Then a Brazilian friend, who had also moved to Denmark for her studies, told me that she had gotten a lot out of the KVINFO mentor programme and recommended that I sign up for it. I was about to finish my Master's at the time and was worried about whether or not I would get a PhD, whether or not I would find employment. So I decided to apply for a mentor, too.

Catharina and Desiree first met through the KVINFO mentorship programme in May 2010 and they are still meeting. In December 2012 they spoke with Karolina Hyza, Intern at Press and Public Information Section. Photo credit: KVINFO



By the time KVINFO contacted me, I was already halfway through my PhD studies in Astrophysics. I filled in the online form on the website, indicating that I was looking for someone with academic education, something related to science, but who was working in the industry, since I wanted to make a transition from academic life to a position in the private sector. People kept telling me that I was highly qualified and didn't need any help. But I had no idea how I would go about looking for a job if I had to. I later learned that the people at KVINFO found it hard to find a match for me. Finally, I was matched with Catharina. I was told that she has a different background from the one I was looking for, but could maybe help me in another way. She was not a scientist at all. She was working in recruitment.

I will never forget the first time I met Catharina. We met in Ricco's Kaffebær by the Frederiksberg metro station. Catharina had an agenda prepared, which was great. She spent two hours asking me questions. She made me feel comfortable and relaxed, but at the same time she was very professional. I remember thinking at the time how precious that was. I had just spent two hours with a specialist who gave me advice. How much would I normally have to pay for a consultancy like this, which people like Catharina were willing to do for free? Even if we had never met

again, I would have been grateful for those two hours for the rest of my life.

We did meet many times again, in that café and later in others. My goal with Catharina was to expand my network, get to know people who could potentially help me or give me advice. It was not that Catharina introduced me to anyone or helped me directly with getting a job. She didn't tell me what to do. She listened to me and gave me an honest and professional opinion. She supported me a lot, and that is very important when you feel insecure. Catharina was an excellent mentor.

In the end, I got the job I really wanted. I'm working as a postdoctoral researcher at the Technical University of Denmark. So I would say the work Catharina and I did together has changed my life. It made it possible for me to stay in Denmark. The main points of mentoring are confidence building and personal development. After every meeting with Catharina, I went out feeling that I could get any job and do whatever I wanted. There were so many possibilities. It was very empowering. It is good to talk to a Dane who knows how the society works and to hear the true opinion of a local person.

I believe so much in the KVINFO programme that I have become a mentor myself. Now when I meet Catharina, she mentors me on being a mentor. I am very happy to be able to give back what I was offered.

Ukrainian Books of the Year

The Tango of Death

(Kharkiv: Folio, 2012)

By Yuri Vynnychuk

Named BBC Ukrainian Book of the Year 2012.



“This is a great novel about the interwar and the modern people of Lviv, which captures the richness of their character, their different ethnicities, their shared love for this city. Yuri Vynnychuk tells about life, everyday life, about love between these different people, and about such tragic things as the Holocaust, describing it apparently for the first time in the history of modern literature as a tragedy of the Ukrainian people, the tragedy of our past. I think that for many years to come this book will be crucial in Ukrainian literature”,

says Svitlana Pyrkalo, currently communications advisor at the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), who initiated the book award eight years ago.

For the first time in the award’s history, a separate prize for the best children’s book was awarded for: **The Secret Society of Cowards and Liars** (Kyiv: GraniT, 2012) by Lesya Voronyina.

The book awards are presented by BBC Ukrainian, since 2012 in partnership with the EBRD Cultural Programme.

National dish: Ukrainian Borsch



Photo: iStock photos

Ingredients

6 pints water	10 whole black peppers
1 pound beef on the bone	3 bay leaves
1 beet, shredded	1 tbsp tomato paste
3 potatoes cut in cubes	1 tomato, peeled and shredded
1 carrot, shredded	2 tbsp vegetable oil
1 onion, chopped	1 tsp sugar
half a medium cabbage, thinly chopped	salt to taste
	2 cloves garlic
	3 tbsp parsley, dill

In a large pot, bring water to boil. Add beef, three black peppers, simmer. Add bay leaves and potatoes.

In skillet, heat oil, add carrot and onion, heat until browned just a little. Add tomato paste and tomato mix well; cook until tomato thickens a little. Add a cup of broth, beets, cook until soft.

Add mixture to pot. Throw in remaining black peppers and cabbage, simmer. Season with salt, sugar, add pressed garlic. Garnish with parsley and dill.

Serve hot with sour cream and dark bread.

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The Ljubljana Guidelines on Integration of Diverse Societies
Published by the High Commissioner on National Minorities, The Hague

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OSCE Human Dimension Commitments, third edition. Published by the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, Warsaw

Trial Monitoring: a Reference Manual for Practitioners Published by the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, Warsaw

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Guidelines on Human Rights Education for Law Enforcement Officials Published by the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, Warsaw

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Published by the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, Warsaw

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CSCE/OSCE Oral History

Nine interviews with ambassadors and high officials who were involved in the early years of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE), forerunner of the OSCE, from the making of the Helsinki Final Act to the early 1990s. Published in March 2013 by the Prague Office, which houses the OSCE's archives and hosts its researchers-in-residence programme. To appear in March 2013. For more information contact: alice.nemcova@osce.org

Security Community: Your View



Illustration: Paul Jackson

Building a security community, based on shared values and common goals. What does it mean, concretely? How can this vision be realized? Where do we need to start? We would like to hear your views. Please write: oscemagazine@osce.org

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