



The OSCE as a
security community

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Editor: Ursula Froese

Designer: Nona Reuter

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Please send comments and contributions to:
oscemagazine@osce.org

Press and Public Information Section

OSCE Secretariat

Wallnerstrasse 6

A-1010 Vienna, Austria

Tel.: (+43-1) 514 36-6267

Fax: (+43-1) 514 36-6105

OSCE Chairmanship 2011: Lithuania

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Chairperson-in-Office Audronius Ažubalis launches Lithuanian Chairmanship

“The start of the OSCE Chairmanship is indeed very symbolic for my country and for me personally. Twenty years ago, in Vilnius, thousands of unarmed people were defending the most precious sanctuaries of the independent Lithuanian State: the building of our democratically elected parliament and the symbol of free media, the TV tower. Fourteen courageous people paid the highest price, their life, for our country’s freedom. Now, two decades later, my country assumes the Chairmanship of the OSCE, the largest regional organization, which works for stability, prosperity and democracy through shared values of respect for human rights and rule of law, and helps countries pursue the path to democracy and free society. My country’s experience shows that this path is lengthy and often difficult.”

With these words, The OSCE Chairperson-in-Office for 2011, Lithuanian Foreign Minister Audronius Ažubalis, welcomed guests at a concert by the Lithuanian Chamber Orchestra in the Vienna Hofburg on the eve of the year’s first Permanent Council meeting on 13 January. “But let me say this,” he continued. “Lithuania, as a freedom-loving nation, will do its best to contribute to the important work of the OSCE and stands ready to spare no efforts to defend free media, free choices by people and the values of democracy.”

In February, Minister Ažubalis conducted his first tour of an OSCE region in his capacity as Chairperson-in-Office, travelling to Ukraine and Moldova, where he discussed the OSCE’s work in these countries and efforts to resolve the protracted conflict over Transdniestria. Also in February, he visited the Russian Federation, where he met with high-level politicians and officials in Moscow, and the United States of America, where he addressed the United Nations Security Council and met with senior United States officials. At the end of the month, he embarked on his second regional tour, travelling to Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan to discuss OSCE work with both countries.

Responding to crises in the OSCE area, the Chairperson-in-Office has expressed his strong concern regarding the trials and the sentencing of people in Belarus who participated in demonstrations following the presidential election last December. He called on Albanians to refrain from using violence after clashes in January between government and opposition supporters resulted in fatal injuries. Addressing the Parliamentary Assembly’s Winter Meeting in Vienna on 24 February 2011, Ažubalis recognized the democratic aspirations of the people of Egypt and Tunisia, both OSCE Partners for Co-operation, and offered the Organization’s advice and assistance.

Pragmatic, practical steps

by Ambassador Renatas Norkus



Ambassador Renatas Norkus, Permanent Representative of Lithuania to the OSCE, elaborates on the Chairmanship's priorities, Vienna, 19 January 2010. (OSCE/Susanna Lööf)

Lithuania has taken over the OSCE Chairmanship after a year of intense work under the energetic leadership of Kazakhstan, culminating in the Summit in Astana in December. The *Astana Commemorative Declaration* agreed at the Summit contains the reconfirmation by all the participating States of their OSCE commitments and tasks the Governments and Foreign Ministers — and consequently us here in Vienna — to make sure that these commitments are implemented. It also calls on us to develop new ideas and plans for the future of the OSCE, so that it can stay vital and give new impetus to fostering security and co-operation in the Euro-atlantic and Eurasian area.

To maintain the positive momentum generated in Astana, the Lithuanian Chairmanship will work very closely with all participating States. We will use existing structures like the Permanent Council and the Preparatory Committee. We intend to fully exploit the potential of the three specialized committees: the Security, the Economic and Environmental and the Human Dimension Committees. We will conduct political dialogues with the participating States and groups of States, an established practice that we deem to be very important.

The informal ambassadorial discussions under the Corfu Process during the past two years were a very useful exercise and we consider it natural to continue them — perhaps at a slightly less frequent rate. Furthermore, we plan to supplement them with meetings that would be even more informal, that would gather a number of stakeholders from participating States and involve the academic community. Such “track two” discussions are an established practice in many international organizations. I think they could benefit us all, enable us to think outside the box and generate some new ideas that could later be accepted by our participating States.

LESS PLAN AND MORE ACTION

In the build-up to the Astana Summit, we worked on a “Framework for Action”, an action plan for the Organization. In the end it proved impossible to reach consensus on the entire document. Nevertheless, many useful ideas have been put before us, and we would like to convert some of them into deliverables for the Vilnius Ministerial to be held in December.

Lithuania's Chairmanship will try to focus less on “plan” and more on “action”. This is the spirit of the *Astana Commemorative Declaration*, and it is the basis on which the OSCE will be judged. Our Heads of State or Government want us to take pragmatic steps towards building peace in the OSCE area. They want us to make additional efforts to develop conditions

that will allow us to resolve existing conflicts. We are realists; we don't anticipate that this will happen overnight. But we must take initiatives that will bring us closer to the settlement of protracted conflicts that persist in the OSCE area today. We will therefore try to bring a new impetus to existing negotiating formats to see what we can do together.

This not only requires a top-down political process. It also requires a bottom-up series of confidence-building measures. It involves strengthening contacts among the parties, increasing transparency, carrying out joint projects and identifying common needs and interests. The economic dimension is an area where the OSCE can stimulate post-conflict rehabilitation. We have a number of precedents in the OSCE. The Economic Rehabilitation Programme conducted a few years ago by the OSCE Mission to Georgia, which unfortunately had to close down, was carried out with great success. We should take a new look at such measures to consider the possibilities, not only in relation to existing conflicts but also for early warning and conflict prevention.

The *Astana Commemorative Declaration* states that energy security dialogue must be enhanced. There are many other organizations that tackle this issue in one way or another. But since energy issues increasingly have an impact on security and co-operation, I think that it is important to find a niche for the OSCE, to perhaps work out a code of conduct, determine how participating States could increase confidence and co-operation on energy security. Also in the field of transport security, we would like to continue the good work of the Kazakh Chairmanship.

Transnational threats pose a threat to all participating States and, by their nature, have to be confronted multilaterally. We would like to make real progress in strengthening the capacity of the OSCE and participating States to prevent terrorism, fight organized crime and enhance border management, especially in Central Asia and in relation to Afghanistan. These are matters that we deem actionable and probably even deliverable by the end of the year. Cyber security is another area where we think we should work hard to try to develop a strategy.

The Lithuanian Chairmanship will invest substantial efforts in the human dimension, and we have identified a couple of areas to which we would like to pay increased attention. The first is media pluralism and the safety of journalists. We plan to gather experts of different kinds, not only media experts but also law enforcement experts, politicians, NGOs and think tanks, to discuss what we can do to better ensure the safety of journalists. There are cases, many very unfortunate cases, of violence against journalists in the OSCE area. We have to be constructive and more practical and pragmatic, to make sure that we develop some good proposals and come to some good decisions by the end of the year.

We suggest looking at how we can use education to prevent hate crimes, counter prejudices and promote tolerance and non-discrimination. We wish to

see awareness-raising understood in a broader sense, to include formal and non-formal educational programmes and initiatives from or for the media and civil society.

CONSOLIDATING EXPERTISE

The Secretariat has been doing a great job for many years. We believe the participating States could make greater use of this valuable resource. Transnational threats are probably the number one area where we could consolidate the mandates of different Secretariat units. There have been excellent proposals tabled under the Corfu Process on how we could establish a practice in the Secretariat whereby early warning information could be collected and used by the Organization to good purpose. We are planning to continue these discussions and will ask the Secretariat to develop a set of good ideas that could be raised for discussion. We hope that by the end of the year we will be able to put together a package on conflict prevention that could be approved by the Ministers in Vilnius.

One of the major tasks of the Lithuanian Chairmanship will be to appoint a number of key executives, most notably a new Secretary General. Lithuania will consult extensively with participating States to ensure that the process is entirely transparent. The overriding selection criteria will be experience, leadership and integrity.

We recognize the field operations, their unique and specialized programmes, as the OSCE's strong right arm. We regret the fact that our neighbour Belarus decided not to extend the mandate of the Office in Minsk. Like many other participating States, we believe that there is much to be done by the OSCE in Belarus, and that the Office has been instrumental in advancing this work.

The Chairperson-in-Office has made it clear that he will visit all the field operations during his term in office. There is a lot of good work going on: we need to consolidate that work and make sure all field operations can do their job in a practical and co-operative way. The role of the host countries should probably be emphasized even more strongly, so that we can reach the objectives and goals in a way that will have an impact long after the OSCE no longer has a presence on the ground. We will continue to work closely with all participating States, taking a very pragmatic, results-oriented approach.

In conclusion, Lithuania's Chairmanship of the OSCE will try to take pragmatic, practical steps. Even if these steps are small: if they are meaningful, if they make sense, they will make a difference.

Ambassador Renatas Norkus is the Permanent Representative of Lithuania to the OSCE. During Lithuania's 2011 Chairmanship, he chairs the Permanent Council, the Organization's decision-making body that meets weekly in Vienna.



OSCE Summit Astana 2010

“A triumph of common sense.” These were the words Kazakhstan’s President Nursultan Nazarbayev used to characterize the OSCE’s first top-level gathering in eleven years, as he opened the OSCE Summit in the Palace of Independence in Astana on 1 December 2010. Almost 40 Heads of State or Government, more than a dozen government ministers and other top officials from OSCE participating States, Partners for Co-operation and international and regional organizations attended the two-day meeting. After intense negotiations that lasted until late into the night of the second day, the participating States reached consensus on the adoption of the *Astana Commemorative Declaration: Towards a Security Community*, in which they recommitted themselves “to the vision of a free, democratic, common and indivisible Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian security community rooted in agreed principles, shared commitments and common goals.”

In the *Astana Commemorative Declaration*, the participating States acknowledged that they need to do more to ensure the full implementation of their core commitments in the politico-military, economic and environmental and human dimensions, notably in the areas of human rights and fundamental freedoms. They reaffirmed the right of each participating State to choose its own security arrangements and pledged not to strengthen their security at the expense of the security of other States. They agreed on the necessity to further develop co-operation on economic and environmental matters, notably energy security.

The landmark affirmation first made at the Human Dimension Conference in Moscow in 1991, that “commitments

undertaken in the field of the human dimension are matters of direct and legitimate concern to all participating States and do not belong exclusively to the internal affairs of the State concerned,” was undertaken in Astana for the very first time at the level of Heads of State or Government. The Astana document goes further in that it states that commitments in all three security dimensions are a matter of direct and legitimate concern to all.

The *Astana Commemorative Declaration* calls for increased efforts to resolve existing conflicts and states that new crises must be prevented. It expresses support for work to update the confidence- and security-building measures contained in the *Vienna Document 1999* and opens the door to renewed negotiations on conventional arms control.

The full text of the *Astana Commemorative Declaration* is available on the OSCE’s public website at www.osce.org.

The Summit was preceded in Astana from 26 to 28 November by the third and last part of the preparatory Review Conference — the first and second parts had taken place in Warsaw and Vienna, respectively — in which participating States took stock of progress and remaining challenges in the Organization’s commitments in the three dimensions of security. The review in Astana focused on the human dimension commitments, in particular commitments to fight trafficking in human beings and promote freedom of the media. Also, on 26 November, the Chairmanship hosted a Civil Society Forum. An independent parallel NGO conference was organized with the support of Kazakhstan on 29 November.

◀ Heads of State or Government during the family photo session before the opening of the OSCE Summit, Astana, 1 December 2010. Front left to right: 2010 Chairperson-in-Office Kazakhstan's Foreign Minister Kanat Saudabayev, Secretary General Marc Perrin de Brichambaut, President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev, President of the Russian Federation Dmitri Medvedev, Chancellor of Germany Angela Merkel. (OSCE/Vladimir Trofimchuk)



Herbert Salber (centre) confers with Conflict Prevention Centre colleagues Pascal Heyman (left) and Kathleen Samuel (bottom left) at the OSCE Summit, 1 December 2010. (OSCE/Vladimir Trofimchuk)

INTERVIEW WITH HERBERT SALBER, DIRECTOR OF THE CONFLICT PREVENTION CENTRE

Results and challenges

On 1 February 2011, Herbert Salber, who heads the Conflict Prevention Centre in Vienna, spoke with *OSCE Magazine* editor Ursula Froese about the results of the OSCE Summit and the way ahead.

Ursula Froese: Two months after the Astana summit, how would you weigh up its achievements and disappointments?

Herbert Salber: After such an event, the question is always: is the glass half full or is it half empty? I would say, without any hesitation, the glass is more than half full. The summit produced a political declaration, a very good text, a solid text, which is short, readable and gives a broader public the opportunity to see that the OSCE acquis remains valid.

We have in this declaration a very strong recommitment to OSCE standards, norms and values, particularly in the human dimension — which, I must say, was unexpected for me.

Let's be frank: OSCE commitments and standards have been eroding over time, which is natural as the political environment changes and other ideas come up. So, to see a declaration emerge that makes a very strong reference to the *Helsinki Final Act*, to the *Paris Charter*,

to the *Istanbul Charter*, is a good thing in itself. I do not believe that many people had expected that to happen before Astana.

Trying to reach consensus in the OSCE on a political declaration, even at the Ministerial level, is always difficult. There hasn't been an OSCE political declaration since the Ministerial meeting in Porto in 2002. This time it worked, at the level of Heads of State or Government. We should not underestimate this.

The *Astana Commemorative Declaration* enumerates not only commitments but also some tasks, for example in an area that is very important for European security: disarmament and arms control. The declaration makes a clear reference to the *Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) Treaty*, which, although not directly within the OSCE remit, is a cornerstone of European security and therefore a matter of very legitimate interest for the participating States. By the way, the *CFE Treaty*

was incorporated into the so-called Framework for Disarmament in the declaration of the Lisbon Summit back in 1996.

The declaration adopted in Astana contains a strong commitment to seriously negotiate an updated version of the *Vienna Document 1999*. Things have changed over the past decade, and that has to be reflected in the document, it has to be brought up to current standards of technology. This is on track now.

These are all reasons to believe that the outcome of the Astana Summit, the *Astana Commemorative Declaration*, represents a very solid result.

Of course, there was also disappointment. The disappointment arose because before Astana, there was an expectation that more would be achieved, that there would be agreement on an action plan. To be honest, I never understood why this expectation gained hold and why people were so adamant about fulfilling it. We had a draft document — it was not actually an action plan, it was called a framework for action — but this framework just listed areas in which further work should be done. It did not say anything about the quality or depth of this work, or about the political will behind it. The *Astana Commemorative Declaration* leaves the exact enumeration of the tasks open. But there is nothing in the document that stands in the way of working on any one of those tasks.

Indeed, the divergences of views were not related to 98 percent of what was in the framework for action. The divergences were related to the protracted conflicts. But even here, we have in the declaration the commitment by participating States to redouble their efforts to make progress on protracted conflicts. So this area is not forgotten. For the time being, however, it is very difficult to describe the protracted conflicts and where we stand on them in consensus language.

Has the work of the Conflict Prevention Centre changed as a result of the Summit?

I would not say it has changed. The Summit was also an invitation to continue with the work that we have been doing, it was a confirmation that the OSCE is on the right track. We offer advice to the Special Representative of the Chairperson-in-Office on Protracted Conflicts; we work with our field operations. These have a crucial function, particularly in the case of Moldova, and will continue to offer all kinds of proposals to all conflicting sides and to help them envisage potential solutions. That work requires patience and will not be over tomorrow.

In the end, it is the parties to the conflicts who have to solve them. We can suggest solutions from outside, we can suggest all kinds of confidence-building measures, but the steps have to be taken by the sides. Of course, it is also a question of timing. We have seen this in the case of the conflict over Transnistria. Here, we have traversed a rather difficult time in the domestic political life of Moldova, which, hopefully, is soon behind us. There was a constitutional crisis. It was not easy after the elections to find a formula for

a government, and in particular it proved to be very difficult to elect a new president. Not all difficulties have been overcome. In such a situation, it is very difficult to make decisive steps. But what we and the field operations, together with the Chairmanship, are doing is to offer assistance with all kinds of small steps to advance progress.

The coverage of the Summit in the media was largely negative. Was this justified?

You are right, the perception of the Summit in the press almost OSCE-wide was not positive. This has to do with the general difficulty of perceiving results. What is a result, in international diplomacy? — in multilateral diplomacy, where many processes are underway in the world, of which it is difficult to say where they are going and how they could be brought together into what an organization like the OSCE is striving for: a common, co-operative process that would heighten security in the space from Vancouver to Vladivostok? That's ultimately the objective. And in this perspective, I understand everybody who has difficulties assessing correctly where we stand. Maybe nobody really has the right to say that he or she is assessing our situation correctly, because here, indeed, perceptions count and nothing else.

In the specific case of the Astana Summit, deliberations lasted late into the night, almost twelve hours after the planned conclusion of the event. And when journalists were watching the last session, they heard the rather negative interpretative statements by some participating States, expressing their disappointment at the failure to adopt a framework for action. Of course there was a strong temptation to pick out certain phrases that were indeed very radical, going so far as to call into question the relevance of the Organization.

I myself have spoken with one correspondent who expressed such a negative initial assessment of the summit and who later, from a certain distance, was ready to rethink and to reconsider the results, in light of this declaration, in light of the fact that, all in all, the atmosphere during the summit was very good. We need to recognize that there was a lot of political will for co-operation among all sides, in particular among the big players, the United States, the Russian Federation and the European Union, who tried until the last moment to work together to achieve consensus on the framework for action. This is something that is not unimportant.

Just weeks after the participating States reconfirmed their adherence to OSCE principles, we have seen suppression of political protest in participating States, particularly the imprisonment of demonstrators following the presidential election in Belarus. Is it any wonder people question the OSCE's ability to enforce its commitments?

Does the OSCE have instruments at its disposal to enforce its commitments? That is a good question. I would say yes and no. It has no weapons or sticks literally speaking, that is for sure. But the participating States do have the ability to exchange views, to try to convince each other of their sometimes very divergent

positions. The OSCE provides the opportunity to keep this great dialogue among the 56 participating States going, to consider every week anew, time and again, what the essence of security, of a security community that may one day reach from Vancouver to Vladivostok, implies. And in this respect, the OSCE is a forum that can hardly be replaced. I think if we would not have this forum any more, we would feel that something is lacking.

The Astana Declaration also mentions the importance of engagement with the OSCE Partners for Co-operation. In light of the upheaval our Mediterranean Partners Tunisia, Egypt and also Jordan have been experiencing over the past few weeks, what support can the OSCE offer?

What is happening on the southern shore of the Mediterranean, in such close proximity, is of course extremely important to OSCE participating States. That, after all, is also the reason why countries in this part of the world are our Partners. The Partners for Co-operation are aware of what the OSCE has been doing, how it has dealt with similar conflicts, so they know what our approach would be. And I can imagine that the OSCE participating States and the Chairmanship are open for dialogue. Of course, we have to respect that they are Partners for Co-operation, they are not participating States, so it would be wise to see what they expect from

us in this regard, if anything. If our views, our advice, the way we do things, is of some value for them, we would certainly be willing to share it. The Chairperson-in-Office has indicated the Organization stands ready to offer its expertise to the partner countries where requested.

By the way we are doing this very intensively with one of our Asian Partners for Co-operation, namely with Afghanistan. We do training for Afghan officials — not in Afghanistan itself but in our participating States in Central Asia. So engagement with Partners can be more or less intensive. Also, a lot depends here on the position of the respective Partner.

Where do we go from here?

There are enough tasks on the table, so let's now work on that, taking as a guide the action plan, or the framework for action, which after all reflects the work of the Corfu Process to a large extent. Now it is a matter of being selective in the right way, to choose those issues that are promising for further deliberation and finally, at a certain stage, for negotiation among participating States. That will require diplomatic skill and engagement.

Assessing the results of Astana: the Vienna Experts' Roundtable

The significance of the participating States' commitment to the vision of the OSCE as a security community was just one of the topics discussed at the first Vienna Experts' Roundtable organized by the Secretariat's Press and Public Information Section in the Vienna Hofburg on 13 December 2010. The Roundtable was an opportunity for senior OSCE officials and diplomats, including Secretary General Marc Perrin de Brichambaut, Kazakhstan Ambassador Kairat Abdrakhmanov and Lithuanian Ambassador Renatas Norkus, to listen to 16 leading academic experts from across the OSCE region and exchange assessments of the outcomes of the OSCE Summit. The experts engaged in a frank discussion of the OSCE's role in the context of the evolving security landscape, including changing United States-Russian relations and the emerging importance of the Eurasian perspective. They considered the challenges faced by countries falling outside of major interest groups, new threats to security such as corruption, trafficking and terrorism and the connection between security and human rights. The event was supported by the Permanent Mission of Germany to the OSCE and by Kazakhstan.

A report on the discussion can be found on the OSCE's public website at <http://www.osce.org/home/75836>.



Panellists at the Vienna Experts' Roundtable, 13 December 2010. Left to right: OSCE Spokesperson Virginie Coulloudon, Permanent Representative of Kazakhstan to the OSCE Ambassador Kairat Abdrakhmanov, Secretary General Marc Perrin de Brichambaut, Conflict Prevention Centre Director Herbert Salber. (OSCE/Ursula Froese)



OSCE/LADIMIR TROPIMCHUK

Summit perspectives

In plenary sessions, committee meetings, bilateral consultations and countless conversations, the OSCE Summit was an occasion for participating States and Partners for Co-operation to share their myriad views and concerns. On the following pages, heads of delegations to the Summit say why this meeting was important for them.

"In Astana, the OSCE crossed the threshold into the twenty-first century. This bold step was a unifying success for the entire Organization and the beginning of its renewal. Not without pride, I would venture that Kazakhstan's Chairmanship of the OSCE has played an important role in this success.

I would like to note that numerous proposals were heard from the tribune of the OSCE Summit stressing the shared motivation of all participating States to take the Organization to a new and higher level. This is the essence of the "Astana spirit", brought into life in a difficult and open discussion."

Nursultan Nazarbaev, President of Kazakhstan , which held the OSCE Chairmanship in 2010.

"The *Astana Commemorative Declaration* agreed at the Summit not only underlines the commitment of the 56 participating States to the principles on which the Organization is based, but also confirms that they all have a legitimate interest in ensuring that human rights are protected throughout the OSCE region. This is an important recognition of the universality and inalienability of human rights and its inclusion in the declaration is a very positive outcome from the Summit.

Ireland, as Chair-in-Office of the OSCE in 2012 will build on the success of Astana and continue to work to ensure the full implementation of commitments across all the dimensions of security."

Eoin O'Leary, Permanent Representative of Ireland to the OSCE. Ireland will chair the Organization in 2012.

"Without a doubt, the most important thing is that an OSCE Summit was held after 11 years. The Summit reaffirmed that all OSCE participating States belong equally to the same community of values, thereby laying the basis for creating a strategic vision and genuine security community to ensure peace and stability from Vancouver to Vladivostok."

- Claudi Benet Mas, Minister of Tourism and Industry of Andorra

"The goal of our Organization is very clear: to build a true democratic security community, without dividing lines, where commitments are implemented, the use of force is unthinkable and human rights and fundamental freedoms are fully respected. Are we up to that?"

My main message is, we do have a lot of challenges, a lot of problems, internal, external, global, we need also to understand that no matter how large the Organization is, how capable and committed the Chairmanship is, we need to concentrate on a few wishes and problems where we can deliver. Can we deliver today? Time will tell. I want us to concentrate on where we can really help, for our countries, for our members, for the region in general."

Dalia Grybauskaitė, President of Lithuania, which currently chairs the OSCE, in her plenary address to the Summit

"Our common vision to transform the OSCE security space into a genuine security community has brought all of us together in Astana. We gave this vision a concrete perspective with the Corfu Process, launched under the 2009 Greek Chairmanship, and this is being consolidated today in Kazakhstan. This indeed is a revival of the spirit of co-operation and dialogue so much needed for the preservation of peace and stability in the OSCE area and beyond."

George Papandreou, Prime Minister of Greece. Greece chaired the OSCE in 2009.

"This is a significant meeting for the OSCE – not only the first Summit since 1999, also the first-ever Summit east of Istanbul. And we have the opportunity, if we seize it, to reconnect today's Organization with the history-making spirit of Helsinki and carry it forward into the twenty-first century.

We must address serious shortcomings in implementing our commitments to respect human rights and fundamental freedoms. Empowering civil society is key to the future of this region and the OSCE region as a whole.

I believe our reaffirmation of Helsinki principles ought to be accompanied by a focus on implementation. Let's take an honest look at where implementation is weak and build our framework of action to address those areas where we need to do more."

Hillary Rodham Clinton, Secretary of State of the United States, in her plenary address to the OSCE Summit

“Austria was deeply involved in establishing the OSCE in the 1970s — Bruno Kreisky, the Austrian Chancellor at the time, was a strong advocate of this dialogue across the borders of different social systems. The OSCE has been a success, it has done valuable work. Austria pushed hard for a Summit to be held once again, and for Austria and for myself personally it went without saying that we, like many other States, would be represented at the highest level. The topics being negotiated here are very important. This is an opportunity to hold interesting bilateral discussions, to discuss fundamental questions with the host, President Nazarbayev. So I am glad to have come.”

Heinz Fischer, President of Austria

“This is a unique and long-awaited opportunity to discuss at the highest level a whole range of international problems that have accumulated. This will require an objective analysis of the current situation in the Organization. We need to determine the OSCE’s main priorities for the future. This will not be easy, since the Organization’s participating States have different visions of its role as an international regulatory instrument. Nonetheless, it will be necessary to determine a universally accepted approach to the further development of the OSCE.”

**Alexander Lukashenko,
President of Belarus**

“We have all the OSCE countries present here and we expressed our commitment to further strengthening this Organization. I sincerely hope that from now on we will come back to meeting every two or three years, because co-operation and mutual understanding in the field of security are extremely important.

I think that the so-called third pillar of this co-operation, after the politico-military and the economic, the human factor, is especially important. As far as I can see, this reflects the view of all the countries involved, not only Hungary. Minority rights, nationality rights, basic human rights, these are issues that were raised in all of my bilateral meetings.”

Pal Schmitt, President of Hungary

“We have the chance at this Summit to start a new phase in the OSCE. We buried the Cold War, but we still have conflicts — some call them protracted conflicts, others frozen conflicts, which are a cause of concern and a cause of potential instability. Politics is the art of the possible, and I think that we should each one of us maintain our positions on certain situations but at the same time try and move forward. The world will not wait for us. It will move forward just the same.

Incidentally, my presence here was, I think, useful because I stressed the Mediterranean dimension of the OSCE. We should never lose sight of this Euro-Mediterranean perspective. Opening up to more Mediterranean Partners in the process I think would be a step in the right direction in the action plan, which I hope will be approved at the Summit.”

Anthony Borg, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Malta

“Monaco is proud to be one of the signatories of the *Helsinki Final Act*. My predecessor, Mr. André Saint-Mleux, was Minister of State at that time, and he is still alive. Monaco attaches great importance to the OSCE and tries to contribute in proportion to its size. For example, we managed to unite a number of small states — Andorra, San Marino and Liechtenstein for now — to work together to support OSCE projects in the fight against child trafficking. Another important aspect for us is environmental protection, a key concern of the Prince. The fact that this meeting of Heads of State and Government is taking place in itself signifies progress, even if the results will perhaps not have lived up to expectations.”

Michel Roger, Minister of State of Monaco

“First of all, this is a unique chance to bring the whole Organization onto a new path. It’s not just looking back, it’s also looking forward, and there is a window of opportunity to do that today and tomorrow. And secondly, this is also an opportunity to have in depth one-on-one discussions between our countries.

The Netherlands supports the notion that in the long run, the OSCE should become a security community. For us, the OSCE’s comprehensive concept of security is fundamental. It includes at its core the promotion of and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, democracy and the rule of law.”

Mark Rutte, Prime Minister of the Netherlands

“Practically all OSCE members recognize now that dividing lines must become a thing of the past, all citizens, no matter where they live, have equal rights to security, and all countries taking part in whichever alliances must guarantee that their actions will not be to the detriment of the security of countries not part of these alliances. The Summit’s draft political document on establishing a security community in the OSCE region follows this spirit.

Today, when ideological barriers no longer stand in our way and military confrontation has ended, we can and must join forces to resolve the problems before us.”

Dmitri Medvedev, President of the Russian Federation, in his plenary address to the OSCE Summit

“For me, the positive aspect of this Summit is that the participating States want to reconnect with the OSCE agenda, so that the OSCE can make strides on disarmament issues.

Slovakia, as Chair of the Joint Consultative Group of the Treaty on Conventional Arms in Europe, contributed to this by making sure that a decision was taken that will lead to substantive negotiations in 2011.

I think that the time has come for us to quit blaming one other as to who has the greater share in the fact that so far the OSCE has failed to live up to its mission. I think the time has now come that we allow the OSCE to live up to its mission of co-operation.”

Ivan Gasparovic, President of Slovakia

“The Astana Summit permits us to reconsider the fundamental concept of collective security, to add some important elements. The Summit document clearly states that economic and environmental governance are important elements of collective security. That is very important, and is an achievement.

I believe that the Summit is an opportunity to grasp the moment of a collective and growing consciousness of moving towards a common security future. That in itself is a great achievement. The fact that it is taking place in this region is important; it sends a strong message on the idea of the indivisibility and interdependence of our security. We also consider the association of Mediterranean OSCE Partners for Co-operation, of which Morocco is a member, to be a plus, all the more so because the OSCE is also an instrument of preventive diplomacy. It is important to be aware that the whole OSCE space, but also the surrounding area, face the same challenges and that it is very important that we confront them together.”

**Latifa Akhbarbach, Secretary of State of Morocco,
OSCE Partner for Co-operation**

“This Summit represents an opportunity for new impulses. Globally, we see a real search for improvement between the major powers, which should also improve security in the OSCE area, and we are looking for new ways of doing that. In this context, Central Asia should become more central in OSCE matters and also in international security discussions more generally. All this has to be linked to a concept of security which is not limited only to military or hard security issues but also includes what is called soft security, for instance human rights, democracy and treatment of minorities. The OSCE needs a comprehensive and workable concept of security, which requires careful construction. Perhaps we are at the beginning of this construction.”

Danilo Türk, President of Slovenia

“This is the first time that Thailand has participated in an OSCE Summit since we joined the Organization as an Asian Partner for Co-operation in 2000. Ten years later, we have come to realize that not only can we learn from the OSCE’s best practices, principles and values — particularly in the areas of democratization, human rights, rule of law — but also share our experiences. Since we are the only Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) member country that is a member of the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) and the Conference on Interaction and Confidence-building Measures in Asia (CICA), as well as being a Partner for Co-operation of the OSCE, we could be a link among these regional and sub-regional security bodies. Linking the regional and sub-regional security organs will build confidence and enhance security in the Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian regions.”

**Kasit Piromya, Minister of Foreign Affairs of
Thailand, OSCE Partner for Co-operation**

“Topical issues on the future OSCE agenda should be seen not only in the context of potential security threats, but also in terms of multilateral and regional co-operation and building a strong basis for confidence-building measures between States. This Summit has demonstrated the desire of participants to improve the activities of the OSCE and to multiply its potential. We hope that our Summit will allow us all to take a sober look

at the past, to properly assess new threats and challenges and develop co-ordinated approaches to further promote peace and stability in the OSCE region. Tajikistan will provide all possible assistance to the OSCE as it discharges its new tasks.”

**Emomali Rahmon,
President of Tajikistan**

“This Summit is important because the OSCE is renewing itself, has decided to undergo a rebirth. The challenges for its mandate in Central Asia, the Caucasus and elsewhere are large, and therefore it has a continuing mission to foster the habits of co-operation, the culture of co-operation and the norm of co-operation.

The second important reason for being here is that confidence- and security-building measures as well as broader human rights norms are equally applicable in our wider region of East Asia, where we have many unresolved territorial disputes, but as yet none of the institutions to foster co-operative and common approaches to security. Therefore, despite the difficulties the OSCE has gone through, the core of its message is also applicable to our own region.”

**Kevin Rudd, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Australia,
OSCE Partner for Co-operation**

The OSCE as a security community*

by Emanuel Adler

In a pioneering 1957 study, Karl W. Deutsch and his associates introduced the concept of security community, that is, a group of people who have become integrated to the point where there is a “real assurance that the members of that community will not fight each other physically, but will settle their disputes in some other way.” According to Deutsch, security communities may be either “amalgamated” or “pluralistic.” In an amalgamated community, two or more (sovereign) states formally merge into an expanded state. On the other hand, a pluralistic security community retains the legal independence of separate states but integrates them to the point that the units entertain “dependable expectations of peaceful change.” A pluralistic security community develops when its members possess a compatibility of core values derived from common institutions and mutual responsiveness — a matter of mutual identity and loyalty, a sense of “we-ness,” or a “we-feeling” among states.

Later, Michael Barnett and I redefined the concept of pluralistic security communities as “transnational regions comprised of sovereign states whose people maintain dependable expectations of peaceful change.” Furthermore, we used the following criteria for establishing the evolution of security communities across three phases — nascent, ascendant and mature — and for distinguishing between loosely and tightly coupled pluralistic security communities: the depth of trust between states, the nature and degree of institutionalization of the governance system of the region, and whether states reside in formal anarchy or are on the verge of transforming it. A “loosely coupled” pluralistic security community maintains the minimal definitional properties just mentioned. “Tightly coupled” pluralistic security communities, on the other hand, possess a system of rule that lies somewhere between a sovereign state and a centralized regional government. This system is something of a post-sovereign system, composed of common supranational, transnational, and national institutions, and some form of collective security system.

Deutsch, Barnett, and I agree that the existence of security communities does not mean that interest-based behavior by states will end, that material factors will cease to shape interstate practices, and that security dilemmas will end. Peaceful conflict is normal among members of security communities. Nor do we argue that security communities

transcend the mutual dependence between regional orderly security arrangements and stable economic transactions. Rather, security communities are the closest one can get when describing the practice of peace based on shared identity and common peaceful practices, such as self-restraint and diplomacy. When people define their state as belonging to a group of states — “the democracies,” for example — they internalize certain norms that go with that self-definition. Certain behaviors — such as concern for human rights — become appropriate, while others — such as torture — become inappropriate or illegitimate. Henceforth, the state follows democratic norms not just because its people believe in democracy, but because the category “democratic state” now defines, in part, their identity. The key point to remember, when we seek to explain peaceful change, is that the identity factor allows peoples from different states to know each other. This reduces the uncertainty spawned by the anarchic nature of the international system and increases mutual responsiveness. The corollary to this argument is that when it comes to democratic norms, not only can states know each other better, they can also know each other as states that tend to solve their internal and external problems by peaceful means.

To date, according to these criteria, there are only a few pluralistic security communities. These include the European Union, which is tightly coupled, and the Atlantic community, which is partly tightly coupled. Scandinavia as well as the United States and Canada, the Southern cone of Latin America, Southeast Asia (revolving around the Association of South East Asian Nations [ASEAN]), and the ascendant security community being built by the OSCE are loosely coupled.

While not all security communities are institutionalized and depend on formal organization for their establishment and growth, in recent years, a new type of institution — a Security community-building institution — made its appearance on the world scene. Security community-building institutions are innovators, in the sense of creating the normative frames of reference of security communities. This type of institution may also play a critical role in the diffusion and institutionalization of values, norms, and shared understandings. Finally, by establishing norms of behavior, monitoring mechanisms, and sanctions to enforce those

norms, all of which encourage, and also depend on, mutual responsiveness and trust, security community-building institutions may help shape the practices of states that make possible the emergence of security communities.

The OSCE provides a clear illustration of a security community-building institution. Being a pan-European security organization that spans three continents, from Vancouver to Vladivostok, the OSCE encourages the elites and peoples of its 56 member states to imagine that they inhabit a shared cognitive region, increasingly being referred to as “the OSCE region.” Thus, regardless of its accomplishments, or lack thereof, we cannot understand what the OSCE is or is trying to do unless we embed this understanding in the concept of pluralistic security communities.

It is therefore not surprising that in the last meeting of OSCE Heads of State in Astana, the participating States decided by their own reckoning to commit themselves to the vision of a free, democratic, common and indivisible Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian security community stretching from Vancouver to Vladivostok, rooted in agreed principles, shared commitments and common goals. The OSCE has taken a different approach than some of its institutional counterparts — for instance NATO and the European Union — in constructing itself as an ascendant security community. Rather than waiting for “the other” to change its identity and interests before it can be admitted to the security community-building institution, the OSCE has

incorporated, from the outset, all states that express a political will to live up to the standards and norms of the security community, hoping to transform their identities and interests. Thus, the OSCE is building security by means of inclusion rather than exclusion or conditional future inclusion.

To sum up, from the perspective of pluralistic security communities, real positive peace does not require the transcendence of the nation-state or the elimination of existing cultural and ethnic loyalties and identities or full integration into a single state. It merely requires sovereign states to adopt a novel form of regional governance that, relying on collective identity and mutual trust for co-ordination and compliance with norms, sustains dependable expectations of peaceful change.

Emanuel Adler holds the Andrea and Charles Bronfman Chair of Israeli Studies at the University of Toronto and is editor of the journal *International Organization*.

* This article is partly based on Karl W. Deutsch, Sidney A. Burrell, Robert A. Kann, Maurice Lee, Jr., Martin Lichterman, Raymond E. Lindgren, Francis L. Loewenheim, and Richard W. Van Wagenen, *Political Community and the North Atlantic Area* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957); Emanuel Adler and Michael Barnett, *Security Communities* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998) and Emanuel Adler “Imagined Security Communities: Cognitive Regions in International Relations,” *Millennium*, 26/2 (1997): 249-277.



Participants listen to a presentation at the public seminar on the future of the OSCE, Prague, 22 February 2011.

Public seminar in Prague

“The OSCE at the threshold of the second decade of the twenty-first century” was the topic of a public seminar which the Prague Office of the OSCE Secretariat, in co-operation with the Centre for Social and Economic Strategies, organized for over 100 participants in the Senate of the Czech Republic on 22 February 2011. Lithuanian Ambassador Aurimas Taurantas, Czech Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs Jiří Schneider, Ambassador Jiří Parkmann, Head of the Prague Office, and Ambassador Ferdinand Trauttmansdorff of Austria spoke at the opening session. In the panel discussion that followed, senior national representatives from Moldova, Sweden, Romania, Poland, Bulgaria, Denmark, Russian Federation, Germany, United States, Estonia, Hungary and France, policy makers, students and the media discussed the results of the December 2010 Summit in Astana, the OSCE’s conflict management and prevention tools and the field operations’ achievements and unfinished tasks. Tribute was paid to recently deceased Jiří Dienstbier, renowned dissident, former Minister for Foreign Affairs of Czechoslovakia and OSCE Chairperson-in-Office in 1992.

100 years International Women's Day

“As we celebrate the Centenary of International Women's Day, it's crucial to remember that higher achievement of gender equality constitutes a key indicator for the effectiveness of the actions and policies of OSCE Institutions, political bodies and field operations.”

—Jamila Seftaoui, OSCE Senior Gender Advisor

An investment in stability: promoting women's entrepreneurship

Mavzuna Latipova is a young woman living in the Zeravshan valley in northern Tajikistan's mountainous Sughd region, so remote that it remains completely cut off from the rest of the country for several months in the winter. The valley suffers from abject poverty. Mavzuna's husband, like almost all of the men, has migrated to the Russian Federation to look for an opportunity to earn money. He has not been able to find a good job and cannot send enough money to sustain her and their children.

Mavzuna's story has all the makings of a tragedy. But she has managed to turn the situation around. She is an expert sewer, and has started a business sewing curtains. After half a year, she is already receiving large orders for the decoration of registration offices, hotels and halls. She can provide her children with good food and clothing. And she has set up a whole sewing shop in her home that also involves her cousin, her sisters and her mother, thereby improving the wellbeing of the entire extended family.

Rakhimova Salomat, from the same valley, a widow with six children, has also started a sewing business. She produces traditional men's coats and tablecloths, which are selling very well. Gadoeva Muhtaram, who lives in a particularly remote village of the valley, is supplementing the remittances her husband sends by selling butter, yogurt and chacka, a yogurt-based cheese, at the local market.

All of these resourceful women have been able to act because they had access to loans from a micro-financing organization, without the usual collateral and strings attached. They would not have been able to negotiate a loan from a commercial bank.

Tajikistan's Zeravshan valley is typical of many remote areas in the mountainous regions of Central Asia and the South Caucasus. Agriculture is difficult because of the harsh weather conditions, employment is scarce or non-existent. The poverty makes these regions hotbeds of instability. Drug trafficking can be one of the few lucrative undertakings. Young women, with few prospects at home, are vulnerable to being trafficked abroad. The men are mostly absent, working as migrants in the Russian Federation or other parts of the former Soviet Union.

The women are left on the home front to make ends meet for themselves and their families, in situations that can only be described as desperate. Yet often they possess the skills, the entrepreneurial spirit and the tenacity that could rekindle the economies of their regions.

THE GENDER ASPECT OF SECURITY

The OSCE has, from its very beginning, understood that the problem of fighting instability often has an economic dimension. Jamila Seftaoui, the OSCE Senior Gender Advisor recognized that for many impoverished regions in Central Asia and the South Caucasus,

women-driven business is key to securing local livelihoods and protection against many risks of insecurity. With funding from Germany, the United States and Andorra, she has launched a project to promote the economic empowerment of women in these regions.

As a first step, the OSCE's Gender Section, together with the Gender Studies Centre at Vilnius University, organized a conference on trends in women's entrepreneurship, in Vilnius, Lithuania, on 3 and 4 March 2011 — just ahead of the centenary of International Women's Day on 8 March. The regional focus of the conference was on Central Asia and the South Caucasus, but stakeholders from across the OSCE region took part: heads of women's business networks, academic experts, officers of OSCE field operations managing projects for the economic empowerment of women. Jozefina Cutura, a United States expert who had prepared a background study for the conference, presented information on governmental and private resources for the promotion of women's businesses worldwide. Dinah Bennet, founder of the United Kingdom project Women into the Network (WIN), gave a keynote speech on critical success factors in making a business association work. In plenary sessions and group discussions, panellists and participants identified potentially effective strategies to promote women's entrepreneurship.

One of the panellists was Fatima Sharipova, President of the Tajikistan NGO, Women of the Orient, and founder of the organization which offers loans to the women in the Zeravshan valley. She had spent three days traversing avalanche-prone mountain passes to come to the conference. She told the story of setting up the micro-financing organization, which is called Rushdi Zanon ("Women's Development"): "It was difficult to establish, but we eventually got a licence in September 2009. The National Bank of Tajikistan was the first bank to give us a loan. Today, 320 rural women have received loans and our consultants advise them on business plans. The most important thing is that the loans are without collateral, sometimes even interest-free. The objective of the organization is not to make money, but to help women find a way out of a difficult situation. The repayment functions very well. Lots of women take second or third loans from our organization."

IDENTIFYING SOLUTIONS

During the conference, it became clear that women who do business, whether in developed or transition economies, face similar problems: difficulties in getting a loan due to prejudice or the absence of traditional collateral; tax laws that discriminate against women; lack of political clout. But this was a gathering of entrepreneurs. "When you realize what you need to do, you come up with solutions," remarked Tatiana Batuschina, Chairperson of the International Centre for the Advancement of Women in Business in Moldova. The practicalities of finding those solutions were very much the focus of the formal and also the many informal discussions, in which experiences were exchanged and alliances forged,

for instance between the long-established network Winnet Sweden and the Armenian Businesswomen Support-Centre Foundation.

There was a general consensus that women are capable, skilled business actors, and that what was needed in terms of assistance was, first and foremost, the lifting of structural barriers that keep them from joining the mainstream. Among the recommendations for future OSCE engagement, presented at the conference's conclusion, were the development of effective strategies for working with government partners, and further practical information exchanges among women's business associations.

A theme that kept resurfacing during the discussions was that women have their own way of doing business. "Industrious, persistent, attentive to detail": this is how Lilia Gevorgyan, President of the Armenian Businesswomen Support-Centre Foundation, characterized women entrepreneurs in her country. "Women tend to invest in meaningful prosperity instead of mindless consumption," said Ruta Rutkelyte, Member of the Lithuanian Parliament. Women are more cautious in taking up credit, less likely to take inordinate risks and more reliable in repaying loans. All of these are attributes of stability. For the OSCE, promoting women's entrepreneurship is an investment that promises to bring substantial returns.

Rakhimova Salomat, entrepreneur in the Zeravshan valley, Tajikistan, models one of the traditional men's coats she produces.
Photo: Holiqov Hafiz



Addressing gender in the OSCE: who is who?



Wendy Patten (left), Special Representative of the OSCE Chairperson-in-Office on Gender Issues, speaks with Anastasia Crickley of the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination prior to a session of the OSCE's Review Conference, Warsaw, 6 October 2010. (OSCE/Curtis Budden)

Special Representative of the OSCE Chairperson-in-Office on Gender Issues

Wendy Patten is Special Representative of the OSCE Chairperson-in-Office on Gender Issues. She was first appointed to this newly-created OSCE position by the Kazakh Chairperson-in-Office in 2010. "Encourage the participating States to translate the OSCE commitments on gender equality into a tangible reality in the lives of women throughout the region": this is how she characterizes the central challenge of her mandate. Patten is also a Senior Policy Analyst at the Open Society Institute in Washington.

The OSCE Gender Section

The OSCE Gender Section is headed by Senior Gender Advisor Jamila Seftaoui. It provides technical assistance to mainstream a gender perspective into the Organization's policies and programmes. It advises the OSCE executive structures and political bodies on the implementation and monitoring of the OSCE's gender-related commitments. The Gender Section implements thematic programmes and develops good practice reference materials, operational tools, guidelines and capacity building modules to assist staff members, field operations and participating States. It organizes thematic meetings and conferences to debate and integrate a gender perspective in the politico-military, the economic-environmental and the human dimensions of the OSCE's work.



Jamila Seftoui (left), OSCE Senior Gender Advisor, listens to a question from the audience during the conference Women's Entrepreneurship in the OSCE Region, organized by the Gender Section in Vilnius, Lithuania, on 3 March 2011. On her right are Jozefina Cutura, gender expert and Dalia Leinarte, Head of the Gender Studies Centre at Vilnius University. (OSCE/Ursula Froese)

Gender focal points

The OSCE has appointed gender focal points in each field operation and Institution, as well as in all departments of the Organization's Secretariat. Co-ordinated by the OSCE Gender Section, they raise awareness and support OSCE staff in the mainstreaming of gender issues in their daily programme tasks.

Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR)

ODIHR implements programmes on increasing the participation of women in the political and public arena, capacity building of women's networks, combating violence against women and the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 emphasizing the involvement of women in conflict prevention, crisis management and post-conflict rehabilitation. In 2011, ODIHR will begin implementing a project on promoting women's participation in political parties.

OSCE Parliamentary Assembly Special Representative on Gender Issues

The Parliamentary Assembly appointed the Canadian Member of Parliament Hedy Fry as its Special Representative on Gender Issues in October 2010. Her responsibility is to follow the gender situation within the OSCE, develop a more active gender profile of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly and co-operate with the OSCE in the organization of relevant events.

OSCE gender-related commitments

2004 OSCE Action Plan for the Promotion of Gender Equality

OSCE Ministerial Council Decision 14/05 on Women in Conflict Prevention, Crisis Management and Post-Conflict Rehabilitation

OSCE Ministerial Council Decision 15/05 on Prevention and Combating of Domestic Violence

OSCE Ministerial Council Decision 07/09 on Women's Participation in Political and Public Life

Encouraging women to play a full role in economic, social, political and cultural life



Hedy Fry, Canadian Member of Parliament, was appointed Special Representative of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly (PA) on Gender Issues in October 2010. A medical doctor, Fry practiced medicine in Vancouver's city centre for over 20 years before entering politics. She successfully ran for Parliament on the issue of non-discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation in 1993, and was Minister for Multiculturalism and Status of Women from 1996 to 2002. In Vienna on the occasion of the OSCE PA's Winter Meeting, Fry spoke with *OSCE Magazine* editor Ursula Froese on 26 February 2011.

Ursula Froese: How do you see your role as the OSCE PA's Special Representative on Gender Issues?

Hedy Fry: My first task, as I see it, is to find ways of getting all of these very different countries interested in the question of gender, getting them to understand why it's important for women to play a full role in the economic, social, political and cultural life of their nations. I find the economic argument is a good one. In hard times, countries are having problems. Many countries with small populations cannot be competitive unless that whole population is moving together and pulling its weight. And how are you going to do that if you don't allow women, who make up 52 per cent of most populations, to play a role?

Having said that, you ask, why aren't women playing a role? And you realize, the minute women have children, they suddenly stop being able to dedicate all their time to paid work. Whereas a man with a child still can be as productive as he wishes. The only way to help women, therefore, to have an equal place in the workforce is to deal with the issue of childcare. And then you suddenly understand

what gender is all about. You don't need to do that for a man but you need to do that for a woman.

I think the state has a role to play, because if it makes good public policy, that enables a lot of its citizens to reach their full potential. Good government is about giving citizens who face various insurmountable barriers the tools they need to overcome them. Once you have done that, people can choose to overcome those barriers or not. Currently, women, by virtue of their sex and anatomic physiology, often do not have the choice.

When I was a physician, I knew many women among my patients who were in abusive situations and never left. They did not have the ability to earn a living for themselves and their children if they left the man. Once women become empowered, things like violence against women will stop, because women will no longer be completely dependent, and they will have choices.

Do gender issues concern primarily women?

Gender is about the experience that men and women have because of their sex. In other words,

women and men have a different reality. The reality of life, because you're a man or you're a woman, is what gender is about. And if you're going to make public policy, you need to look at how each of the sexes faces very different challenges.

Currently people see gender as being about women, because women still have huge barriers that we have to take care of in terms of public policy. Sooner or later, as girls begin to do well and we provide women with all the things they need to be on an equal footing, maybe men are going to be disadvantaged in certain sectors. In fact, already now, in Canada, because everyone has done a great deal of work to help young girls get into non-traditional professions — finding out that girls learn math differently, for instance, and developing models that take account of that —, we have found that girls are suddenly streaking ahead of boys. Sixty per cent of students enrolled in medical school are girls; 55 per cent of law school students are women. And what we're finding now, as we look back over the last five years, is that boys are dropping out of school. So we now need to do some research on why boys are lagging behind, and come up with good public policy to address that. Those are the kinds of things that gender is about.

And when you start breaking it down, you realize that women have other dynamics to contend with as well. It's not just about being a woman. If you happen, in certain societies, to be an immigrant or refugee woman, you have two sets of barriers to cross. If you happen to be homosexual, you have a third set of barriers to cross. If you happen to be an aboriginal woman in Canada, you've got a fourth barrier to cross: stereotyping, discrimination, institutionalized racism. You're not just fighting the battle as a woman. You're fighting all of those other things, and some women have more barriers than other.

What is gender-based analysis?

The concept of gender based analysis is to take everything you do and ask: how does it disadvantage men or women? Canada developed gender-based analysis. We took it to the World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995 and many countries adopted it.

Gender-based analysis means that if you're going to empower women to pull their weight in society, you've got to find out, first and foremost, how public policy or legislation, inherently, fosters a disadvantage. You have to start with sex-disaggregated data.

In Canada, for instance, women are more disadvantaged in tax law than men. Because what people forget is that a lot of women depend not just on paid work for their income, but they also depend on transfers, government benefit packages — a whole lot of things. And if you don't recognize that they are getting those and you just look at income from paid work, women become disadvantaged.

In your address to the Winter Meeting of the OSCE PA, you set a target of 33 per cent female delegates to be elected to PA Bureau positions by 2012. What are good strategies for increasing women's representation in political decision-making?

Election systems with proportional representation lend themselves very easily to more equal gender representation

in parliaments, because you can set up party lists with candidates equally distributed among men and women. The question is, how do you promote female representation in other electoral systems, where you have a nominal party-based system with one individual representing the riding? In Canada, in the Liberal Party, we adopted a new policy in 1990 mandating the party leader to appoint 25 per cent women to run in ridings that were considered winnable.

I like the idea of equal representation of women in politics, but if that's all we're looking at, we're just looking at the window dressing. Because what it's about is encouraging women to take their place in the economic, social, political and cultural life

of the country. If women are taking themselves to the top of the ladder in politics, it doesn't necessarily mean that we will have gender-equal policies. A lot of women who have made it in political life have decided that they're going to have to play the game the male way in order to get ahead. We have to change the way the game is being played. And that's where the critical mass of 33 per cent representation comes in. The United Nations has come up with this figure. When you get to that magic 33 per cent representation in politics, for some unknown reason, women seem to gather courage from each other and start to develop innovative public policy that reflects their particular point of view as women.

We found that when we had 16 women in the federal cabinet, the women's caucus would act together and push for policies. When I was Minister, a lot of women were going into entrepreneurship. But when they went to the bank, they wouldn't be able to get a loan. So I went to the banks, and they told me they didn't have gender discrimination in their policy. They said anybody could come and get a loan if they fulfilled the criteria. "Tell me what the criteria are," I said. And they said, "Well, you have to have collateral, and collateral is usually a house or whatever." How many women have a house in their name? So as a result of that, we started Women's Enterprise Centres across Canada, one in every region, where women alone could apply. They were shown how to develop a business plan and they were allowed to get money based on the fact that they couldn't get it in the real banks.

Good public policy, when women play a role, isn't necessarily something that will only benefit women. Take conflict resolution, for instance. Women are more likely to opt for negotiation over war, because women and their children are the major victims of war. It doesn't mean women will only bring positive things to the table. Men may have a different, valid perspective on things. When we bring the two halves together, we have a whole.

If equality were just about equal representation in decision-making, then doing a one-size-fits-all policy would work. You can get things right in politics, but if you don't fix the economic, social and cultural pieces, nothing changes.

"If equality were just about equal representation in decision-making, then doing a one-size-fits-all policy would work."

A winning formula: the Junior Professional Officer programme

by Julia Czekierska

Anna Backlund, from Sweden, had never stepped on Moldovan ground before setting off for Chisinau last July to start her field placement as a Junior Professional Officer (JPO) in the OSCE Mission in Moldova, where she would work in conflict prevention and on anti-trafficking and gender issues: “I packed my bags and left for the country I knew from descriptions as the poorest in Europe, with one third of its working population abroad. As soon as I had settled down in Chisinau, the work kicked off. Together with my colleagues I went on patrols to Transdnistrian villages. I found the simplest way to start a conversation to be over the market stands. Six months later, having purchased huge amounts of parsley and tasted countless warm peaches and salty placinta pies, I find myself annoyed by the stereotypical descriptions of this country so young and eager to develop, a country covered in sunflowers and vineyards in the summer, where people you meet will switch languages at the drop of a hat to make sure you understand.”

Anna’s proactive mindset is typical of the participants in the OSCE’s JPO programme. Take six highly motivated

university graduates on the verge of launching their careers, place them for nine months in an environment where their expertise is called upon daily to deal with real-life challenges, and you have a combination that can’t go wrong. “This is the leanest and most successful human resources initiative we have developed,” says Christo Polendakov, Deputy Director of Human Resources and Chief of Recruitment at the OSCE Secretariat in Vienna.

Launched in 2006 and financed through the unified budget, the programme was designed to broaden the geographic diversity of the Organization by giving young nationals of participating States that are under-represented amongst OSCE’s internationally recruited staff a sporting advantage in the competition for entry-level professional posts. It is currently in its fifth round. In early 2010, an extra-budgetary component was added, allowing other countries to sponsor their nationals in this enriching experience. The first group of JPOs seconded in this way completed their nine-month assignments last December, and another group will begin in April.



OSCE/ANNA BACKLUND



OSCE/ANNA BACKLUND



OSCE/SUSANNA HANSSON

A PRIVILEGED INSIDE VIEW

JPOs spend three months in the Secretariat in Vienna and are deployed for six months to a field operation or Institution. In a flexibly structured Organization like the OSCE, this affords them the rare chance to experience very different working environments at first hand. At the debriefing session for the seconded JPOs on 23 December 2010 in Vienna, it was therefore not only their colleagues from the fifth regular round, about to head out on their six-month assignments, who listened attentively to their reports and feedback, but also the Secretariat management staff who were present.

“After three months of countless meetings and drafting of papers and non-papers based on the discussions in the Permanent Council, it wasn’t completely clear to me how all the big words translated into concrete action.” These were the thoughts of Dario Jovic, also from Sweden, as he travelled to his assignment in the Education Institutions and Legislations Section of the OSCE Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina. “What a journey it has been! I was able to experience brand new dimensions of the problems in Bosnia and Herzegovina and at the same time witness concrete attempts to rectify them. Working alongside a fascinating group of individuals, all engaged, highly skilled and outright funny, I saw, first hand, actual results of the lofty discussions in Vienna.”

Pietro Monorchio, from Italy, was a pioneer JPO at the Office for Democratization and Human Rights (ODIHR) in Warsaw, where, in contrast to the Secretariat, the project-based nature of many of the programmes makes securing funds a priority. “I managed to perform challenging tasks, in particular the planning and preparation of fundraising and meetings with OSCE delegations during the Review Conference. I was also deployed as a short term observer during the elections in Moldova and Belarus,” he reports.

For some, it was unforeseen events that provided the occasion to rise to a challenge. Raphael Ténaud from France found himself stationed in Bishkek just weeks after Kyrgyzstan had been plunged into crisis by the ethnic violence in the country’s south. Andrea Riba-Anglada from Spain was in the Mission in Kosovo when the extraordinary elections to the General Assembly were announced last December. She recounts: “I provided legal expertise related to the electoral legislation of Kosovo and was privileged to contribute to election preparations by advising the “Out of Kosovo” Unit of the Central Election Commission — a crucial programme given Kosovo’s large diaspora community.”

Thomas Hoevelmann from Germany accompanied an audit team on duty travel to the Mission in Skopje in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia during his assignment to the Office of Internal Oversight in Vienna. He was later deployed to the OSCE Office in Tajikistan. His conclusion: “I clearly gained a good understanding of how and why things work in the OSCE — and why sometimes not.”

A WIDE RANGE OF FIELDS OF EXPERTISE WELCOME

Recruitment for the JPO programme is a competitive process. All candidates need to have successfully completed a university degree course. While a few come to the programme directly from their studies, many have had other national and international experience. From the current regular round of JPOs, Inna Fironova from Belarus has volunteered with an international NGO and worked with the National Centre of Intellectual Property in Minsk. Ulla Saar from Estonia has internships with an NGO in Israel, a law firm in London and the Estonian Ministry of Finance under her belt. Georgia Tasiopoulou from Greece interned with the UNHCR Liaison Office to the OSCE in Vienna, Rima Tkatova from Kazakhstan was an intern in the Legal Section of the OSCE and Farangis Shamsova from Tajikistan worked as a project co-ordination assistant with an NGO in Dushanbe.

Although most applicants have studied political science, international relations or law, the Organization encourages candidates from a wide range of fields of study, including administration or even information technology. Dorin Fazli from Moldova, who has an MBA, was placed in the Accounts Unit of the Department of Management and Finance. He assisted with research, communication and training in support of the OSCE’s transition to international public sector accounting standards (IPSAS).

The Secretariat’s Strategic Police Matters Unit and the many police reform programmes in the field operations have a potential need for JPOs from the law enforcement sector. There is a strong call for qualified female candidates in the politico-military dimension of security, which includes not only policing but also projects related to arms control, border management, combating terrorism, conflict prevention and military reform. Similarly, candidates with experience in good governance, transport development, anti-corruption, migration or ecological and environmental sciences are highly sought after.



Family photo after the Junior Professional Officers debriefing session, Vienna, 23 December 2010. Left to right: Deputy Director of Human Resources and Chief of Recruitment Christo Polendakov, Dario Jovic from Sweden, Anna Backlund from Sweden, Pietro Monorchio from Italy, Thomas Hoevelmann from Germany, Andrea Riba-Anglada from Spain, Secretary General Marc Perrin de Brichambaut, Farangis Shamsova from Tajikistan, Georgia Tasiopoulou from Greece, Director for Human Resources Sergei Belyaev, Recruitment Officer Suzanne Blaha, Senior Recruitment Assistant Julia Czekierska, Raphael Ténaud from France, Rima Tkatova from Kazakhstan, Inna Fironova from Belarus, Dorin Fazli from Moldova, Chief of Accounts Unit Melissa Buerbaumer

A LIFE-CHANGING PERSPECTIVE

Just three months after completing her term as a JPO, Anna is back in Chisinau. She was recruited for a seconded position as Mission Spokesperson with the OSCE Mission to Moldova. While participating in the JPO programme does not guarantee employment with the OSCE, successful JPOs form a talent pool of qualified potential candidates for future OSCE postings. Some former JPOs are retained on short-term assignments to complete a particular project; some pursue careers closely associated with the OSCE, such as working for their national governments, NGOs or humanitarian organizations. Raphael decided to stay on in Bishkek and is now working as an Associate Programme Officer with the Red Crescent Society of Kyrgyzstan. Of the first group of JPOs who started in 2006, Xhodi Sakiqi has just joined the Albanian delegation in Vienna as a Counselor and Nuno Pereira Luzio from Portugal has successfully competed for a contracted position with the South-Eastern European desk of the Conflict Prevention Centre, after having served as a seconded political officer in the Mission in Kosovo.

Whether or not the young professionals who have participated in the JPO programme pursue careers directly associated with the OSCE, they carry with them an insider understanding of the Organization's comprehensive security concept. "My assignment to the Office of the Special Representative and Co-ordinator for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings went like the blink of an eye, but it was enough to change my entire vision of security. I gained a different awareness, a new perspective that I now apply in both my professional and personal life," declares Raphael. In the end, that is what makes the programme a winner.

Julia Czekierska is Senior Recruitment Assistant in the Recruitment Section of the OSCE Secretariat's Department of Human Resources. She is responsible for the Junior Professional Officers programme.

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