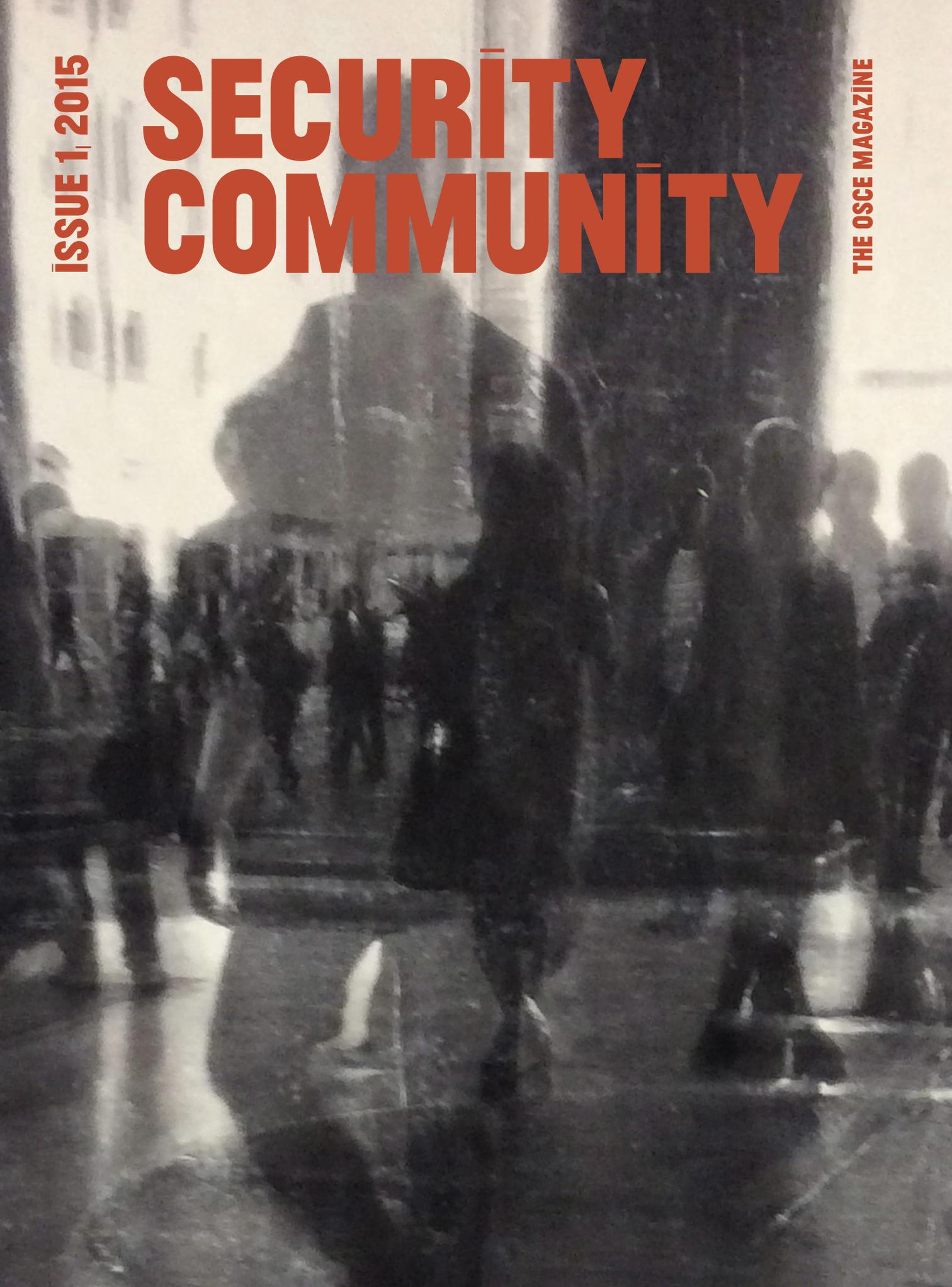


ISSUE 1, 2015

# SECURITY COMMUNITY

THE OSCE MAGAZINE



# Overview >>



- 1 Helsinki** Forty years ago, on 1 August 1975, the signing of the Helsinki Final Act concluded the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE). The principles governing relations between states that were agreed then are more valid than ever today. \_16
- 2 Ukraine** More than a million people have moved to western parts of Ukraine to escape the violent conflict in Donbas. The Ukrainian office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees has changed gears to assist those who are strangers in their own country. \_9
- 3 Korea** Seoul hosted the OSCE Asian Conference for the fourth time this year, on 1 and 2 June. Can the OSCE be an inspiration for Asia? Korean Deputy Minister Shin Dong-ik reflects on the question. \_ 22
- 4 Uzbekistan** Marta, Latvia's leading women's advocacy organization, has branched out to Uzbekistan and other Central Asian countries. Women in Riga and Tashkent have more in common than one might think, says Iluta Lāce, Marta's founder and director. \_32

# Contents » Issue 1, 2015

## #OSCE\_4

### FOCUS: UKRAINE

The OSCE in Ukraine \_7



When a Million  
People Have to Flee \_9

Darkness and Light: Snapshots from  
the OSCE Special Monitoring  
Mission to Ukraine \_12



### HELSINKI+40

Reviving the Helsinki Spirit: 40 years of the  
Helsinki Final Act \_16

The Helsinki Decalogue:  
Where it all Began \_18

Time for a new OSCE Strategy? \_21



### INTERVIEW

OSCE: an Inspiration for Asia

Interview with the Deputy Minister  
for Multilateral and Global Affairs of  
the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the  
Republic of Korea, Shin Dong-ik \_22

### FIRST PERSON

A Japanese in Bosnia \_26

### INSIDE THE OSCE

The OSCE Troika \_28

### ACADEMIA

Rethinking the OSCE  
and Security in Europe \_29

### CIVIL SOCIETY

Marta in Uzbekistan \_32



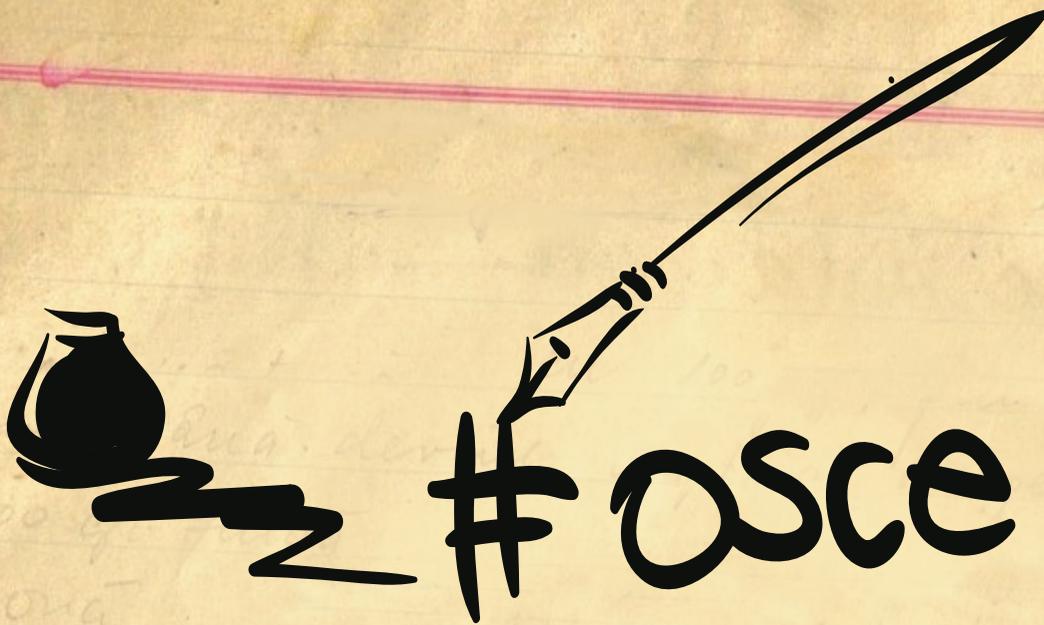
Percolations \_34

### Cover image © Cristiano De Matteis

Italian artist Cristiano De Matteis's reprocessed photographic images evoke the duality of the seen and the unseen, the obvious and the implied. They are metaphors of internal displacement – and more generally of the human condition.

[www.lostudioarte.com](http://www.lostudioarte.com)





## Helsinki +40

On 1 August 2015 the Helsinki Final Act will turn 40. The document that concluded the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and drove the first nail into the coffin of the Cold War continues to inspire the work of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE). The Organization's leading role in responding to the tragic conflict in and around Ukraine has made superfluous any soul searching about the necessity for its continued existence. But if the OSCE is to be effective in the future, it needs answers to serious questions. How could this happen in 21st century Europe? How can we make sure it does not happen again?

In September 2014, these questions prompted Swiss OSCE Chairperson-in-Office Didier Burkhalter to convene a special meeting of OSCE Ministers attending the high-level segment of the UN General Assembly in New York. These same questions also determined the discussions at the Ministerial Council in Basel on 5 and 6 December and prompted the 2015 OSCE Troika (Switzerland, Serbia, Germany) to commission a Panel of Eminent Persons to rethink European security as a common project. Further discussion on European security will most certainly be the dominating topic at the dedicated event which will mark the anniversary this summer.

At the invitation of the OSCE's Chairperson-in-Office, Serbia's Foreign Minister Ivica Dačić, OSCE participating States are meeting on 10 July 2015 for an **informal high-level meeting in Helsinki's Finlandia Hall**, where the Helsinki Final Act was signed. The OSCE Parliamentary Assembly will also mark the anniversary, when it meets in Helsinki for its Annual Session from 5 to 9 July.

## OSCE Security Days

"I am Arab, I am Muslim, I am woman, I am free – I am probably not what you think I am. I think we are all, at some level, a little bit guilty of stereotyping. From the east to the west, from the north to the southern Mediterranean, we don't really know each other. For me, the key is education, education through media," said Moroccan TV host and producer Leila Ghandi. She was speaking at the Night Owl Session that kicked off the OSCE Security Days hosted by OSCE Secretary General Lamberto Zannier on 21 and 22 May in Vienna on the topic of "**Building bridges: promoting dialogue to prevent radicalization and violent extremism**".

Follow the discussion here: [www.osce.org/secretariat/159801](http://www.osce.org/secretariat/159801)

Among many other challenges, preventing radicalization was also raised at the Wilson Centre in Washington D.C. on 17 March, at the first Security Day to be held outside of Vienna since the event series was launched in 2012. Ukraine, Afghanistan and strategies for the future were the main topics of this event on Current Challenges to Euro-Atlantic Security: Strategies for Co-operation and Joint Solutions.

Read the report: [www.osce.org/secretariat/160461](http://www.osce.org/secretariat/160461)

## Water and security

Last year's devastating floods in the Western Balkans prompted the Serbian OSCE Chairmanship to choose water governance as the theme of the **23rd OSCE Economic and Environmental Forum**.

"With joint efforts and the development of forecasting systems, we can overcome this threat and give our citizens the security they need," said Dražen Kurečić, President of the International Commission for Protection of the Danube River and the Croatian Assistant Minister for Agriculture, at the Second Preparatory Meeting of the Forum in Belgrade on 11 and 12 May. The First Preparatory Meeting took place in Vienna on 26 and 27 January and the Concluding Meeting is planned for 14 to 16 September in Prague.

See meeting documents at [www.osce.org/event/23rd\\_eef\\_prep2](http://www.osce.org/event/23rd_eef_prep2).

## Fighting smugglers and human traffickers through criminal justice

"I am confident that this meeting will contribute to enhancing law enforcement capabilities in investigating, prosecuting and dismantling organized criminal groups engaged in the smuggling of migrants and trafficking of persons," said Alexey Lyzhenkov, OSCE Co-ordinator of Activities to Address Transnational Threats, at the **OSCE Annual Police Experts Meeting** in Belgrade on 28 and 29 May, co-organized by the Transnational Threats Department's Strategic Police Matters Unit and the Serbian Chairmanship.

Criminal justice experts and representatives from international organizations discussed new trends – one of them being the worryingly low number of prosecutions and convictions of traffickers. Their recommendation: reinforce efforts to identify criminal groups and bring them to justice. For this, it is not enough to implement the international legal framework; differences in domestic legislation and practices need to be identified and, where necessary, harmonized, for instance through live cross-border exercises and professional training. National strategies need to involve multiple agencies and civil society. These and other key findings – 21 in all – will help to guide the OSCE's future work in this field.

## OSCE Asian Conference in Seoul

The logo for the 2015 OSCE Asian Conference in Seoul on 1 and 2 June used a traditional Korean motif to symbolize that Europe and Asia are “under the same roof”. If Europe is currently suffering geopolitical threats to its security order, the challenges are positively daunting if one adds to them the multiple problems with which Northeast Asia is fraught. North Korea’s development of nuclear weapons, recent developments in the South China Sea, tension in the skies, the seas, land and cyberspace were some of the issues listed by Korean Minister of Foreign Affairs Yun Byung-se in his opening address. “However, for us, this gloomy outlook actually means there is a wide scope for co-operation,” he said. One of the most promising areas explored was joint work on cyber confidence-building measures. The Foreign Minister of Thailand announced his country’s offer to host the OSCE Asian Conference next year.■

---

Read statements and the consolidated summary (coming soon) on the conference webpage:

[www.osce.org/networks/147716](http://www.osce.org/networks/147716)



**2015 OSCE-ASIAN**  
**CONFERENCE** hosted by **KOREA**

# The OSCE in Ukraine\*

December 2014 to June 2015



## Mediation and Negotiation

The OSCE Chairperson-in-Office (CiO), Serbia's First Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Ivica Dačić, is using every opportunity to urge all sides to fulfil their obligations under the Package of Measures on the Implementation of the Minsk Agreements, which the leaders of France, Germany, Russia and Ukraine agreed during their meeting in the Normandy format on 12 February.

In support of the OSCE Chairmanship, OSCE Secretary General Lamberto Zannier repeatedly visited Ukraine. He discussed the situation and the OSCE's role in maintaining open and inclusive dialogue during numerous high-level meetings with relevant actors.

The CiO re-appointed Swiss diplomat Heidi Tagliavini as his Special Representative in Ukraine and in the Trilateral Contact Group. Ambassador Tagliavini completed her term of service in June and was succeeded by Ambassador Martin Sajdik of Austria.

In response to provisions of the 12 February Package of Measures, and following consultations within the OSCE Troika (Switzerland, Serbia, Germany), the CiO appointed OSCE representatives to head working groups under the auspices of the Trilateral Contact Group, on security, political affairs, IDPs and refugees, humanitarian assistance, economic affairs and rehabilitation.

The OSCE Parliamentary Assembly, under the leadership of President Ilkka Kanerva, facilitates dialogue to promote resolution of the crisis, including by organizing some of the only contacts between Russian and Ukrainian parliamentarians.

## Monitoring

On 12 March, the Permanent Council decided to extend the mandate of the OSCE Special Monitoring Mission to Ukraine (SMM) for 12 months until 31 March 2016, and allow for the number of monitors to rise up to 1,000 if necessary. As of 17 June there were 771 mission members in total, among them 483 international monitors (including 10 team leaders) from more than 40 OSCE participating States.

The 12 February Package of Measures on the Implementation of the Minsk Agreements makes a special reference to the OSCE by assigning it the role of monitoring and verifying the ceasefire, and the withdrawal of heavy weapons to create a security zone and the withdrawal of all foreign army formations, military equipment and mercenaries from the territory of Ukraine.

The Observer Mission at the Russian Checkpoints Gukovo and Donetsk has monitored the movement of more than 2,300,000 people across the Russian Ukrainian border at the two aforementioned checkpoints since it was initially deployed subsequent to the OSCE Permanent Council Decision 1130 of 24 July 2014. Since the adoption on 12 February in Minsk of the "Package of Measures for the Implementation of the Minsk Agreements" the Mission has seen an increase of people returning into Ukraine. On 18 June 2015 the Mission's mandate was extended for a further three months until 30 September 2015.

---

## Rights and freedoms

In January, the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) initiated a project on identifying and responding to hate crimes and ensuring freedom of religion and belief. Beneficiaries are Ukrainian civil society, religious or belief communities and relevant state institutions. In April, ODIHR launched a major project to strengthen dialogue among civil society and with key governmental stakeholders on human dimension issues. Under the project, it has trained human rights monitors in Kyiv and Kharkiv – to be continued in Odessa and Lviv.

The High Commissioner on National Minorities, Astrid Thors, has continued to monitor the situation, including through frequent visits to the country, and advise the government on issues related to inter-ethnic relations. She has been actively exploring all possible avenues to visit Crimea to assess the situation on the ground. Her key concerns regard human rights abuses in Crimea and the need for shared institutions that have the trust of all citizens.

The OSCE Representative on Freedom of the Media, Dunja Mijatovic, has addressed about 200 attacks on journalists in and around Ukraine. She travels to the country to assess media freedom first hand. Her office is hosting a series of roundtable discussions on journalists' safety with representatives of Ukrainian and Russian journalists' unions, and on June 15 and 16 her Office organized an international conference on journalists' safety and conflict reporting with over 400 participants.

## Project Co-ordinator, Secretariat

The OSCE Project Co-ordinator in Ukraine (PCU) inaugurated a multi-year initiative, National Dialogue for Reforms, Justice and Development, in Kramatorsk on 13 and 14 May. Under the project, the PCU will facilitate a nationwide debate on the substance of reforms, seek to ensure the accessibility and transparency of constitutional justice and increase the participation of civil society in mechanisms to prevent human rights abuses. It will enhance the development of a Ukrainian expert community of mediators and dialogue facilitators, following up on a conference it organized in Odessa from 10 to 12 December for national and international experts.

The PCU continues its work to protect children and other civilians against the dangers of unexploded military ordnance. In December and January, it provided 48,000 schoolchildren in Donbas and in IDP communities with workbooks containing safety instructions. It trained demining personnel of the State Emergency Service and provided protective equipment in December and February.

The OSCE Secretariat continued to support the three field presences. In addition, specific responses were developed to address a number of challenges, including in the areas of community policing, removing explosive remnants of war, preventing trafficking in human beings, combating violence against women and promoting women's role in building peace and security.

*\* This update follows up on “**The OSCE in Ukraine**” in Security Community issues 3/2014 and 2/2014. For latest developments see the OSCE public website [www.osce.org](http://www.osce.org)*



Photo: Hussam Al Yamani

# When a Million People Have to Flee

By Sophie Hofbauer and Ursula Froese

*As of 27 May 2015, there were 1,315,600 internally displaced persons in Ukraine.<sup>1</sup> The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) is working to protect people who have been trapped by the conflict in the east of Ukraine or forced to move to other parts of the country. The OSCE alerts UNHCR to the most vulnerable.*

**W**hen you step inside Hussam Al-Yamani's Mediterranean restaurant in Kyiv's historical Podil district, the first thing that meets your eye is a framed certificate from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). A Syrian architect who used to work in Dubai and Damascus, Al-Yamani came to Ukraine in October 2012 to seek asylum after losing everything in the war. A small grant from the UNHCR allowed him to apply his architectural ingenuity to turning a space that consisted of little more than four concrete walls into this trendy eatery. Two and a half years later, Al-Yamani is providing employment to internally displaced persons (IDPs) from Donbas. "I escaped the violence in Syria for the peace and stability of Kyiv, only to see war come to Ukraine. I contacted UNHCR to ask if I could help. They sent me two people, one from Luhansk and one from Donetsk. Now they are working here as waiters," he says.

Until the end of 2013, the role of the UNHCR in Ukraine was primarily to provide basic services to refugees, stateless persons or asylum seekers like Hussam. Coming from countries such as Syria, Afghanistan, Iran and the post-Soviet space, they visited the agency's small office located next to Kyiv's historic Lavra orthodox monastery for interviews and consultations. "Many told us it made them feel safe to be within the walls of the church," says Nina Sorokopud, the office's Public Information Officer.

But when the conflict in eastern Ukraine began forcing people to flee in February of last year, the UNCHR swiftly changed gears. It is now running a full-fledged emergency operation for persons seeking refuge from within the country. The headquarters in Kyiv have expanded and there is a large sub-office in Dnepropetrovsk, one of the major reception areas. The agency also works in Donetsk, Kharkiv, Kherson, Mariupol and Severodonetsk and covers more regions with its implementing partners.

---

<sup>1</sup> According to figures of the Ministry of Social Policy as quoted by UNHCR.

---

## Volunteers

What has been remarkable about the settlement process for IDPs is the speed and efficiency with which citizens have organized themselves to assist the displaced. Much of UNHCR's effort goes towards supporting volunteer and community-based initiatives. "Before the crisis, the prevailing attitude among Ukrainians could be summed up by the saying: 'My house is at the end of the street, what goes on in the village doesn't concern me.' Against that background, I have been amazed by the response of my people," Nina says.

She points to the large and well-functioning collection and distribution centre for IDPs on Frolivska Street in the Podil district – just a few blocks away from Hussam's restaurant – which UNHCR supported with non-food items. Two hundred visitors a day visit the building and surrounding tents to pick up food, kitchenware, bedding and children's toys – an impressive operation run entirely by volunteers.

A similar centre in Dnepropetrovsk, run by the NGO Dopomoga Dnipro, is not only a distribution point but also provides temporary living quarters, a registration service, counseling and accommodation referral. Over 50,000 IDPs have found help here. UNHCR is currently renovating the fifth and sixth floors with new windows, doors, wallpaper and furniture. It has also provided financial assistance, as has the OSCE, which donated €20,000 for infant supplies. But the daily functioning of the house relies entirely on a team of dedicated volunteers, and almost all of the goods are donated by citizens. Farmers bring in fresh produce daily. Those managing the centres in Kyiv, Dnepropetrovsk and elsewhere all tell the same story: citizen support has been overwhelming, but the economic downturn in the country could make it difficult to sustain.

## IDP registration

The registration of IDPs has been one of the most important civil society initiatives. The government took months to set up its own registration system, but it recognized registrations done by NGOs, which meant that displaced persons could start receiving social benefits.

UNHCR advised the government on several successive drafts of the new law on the rights and freedoms of IDPs, which came into effect 20 October 2014, and on establishing a functioning registration system. The latter has been in place since October of last year.

When the government announced its decision to pay a rent allowance to registered IDPs but delayed the beginning of payments, UNHCR helped to fill the gap, providing cash assistance to 12,000 of the most needy – disabled persons or families with small children.

## In the conflict zone

One of the main activities of the UNHCR is to provide immediate humanitarian aid to persons caught in the crossfire of the conflict. "We work with NGOs and other international organizations to deliver warm jackets, blankets and kitchen sets. We help with emergency shelter repairs," Nina says.

Much of the aid is procured locally, but one extremely important item which comes from the global stocks is special plastic sheeting used for fast repairs in conflict-affected areas. "For example, we were able to distribute it in Mariupol the day after the shelling. If your window is shattered, it's easy to cut it and cover the opening. It can also be put on the roof," Nina explains.

## Co-operation with the OSCE

From the beginning of the crisis, UNHCR and the OSCE have co-operated very closely. The OSCE Special Monitoring Mission to Ukraine (SMM) was deployed to the field almost immediately after the outbreak of the conflict and its officers could report on the profile and routes of IDPs who were fleeing to safer parts of Ukraine or crossing the borders to neighboring countries as refugees. Based on the first-hand information shared by the OSCE monitors, UNHCR field officers were able to deliver targeted assistance and protection to persons in need.

In July 2014, Ambassador Ertugrul Apakan, the Chief Monitor of the SMM, and Oldrich Andrysek, then the UNHCR Regional Representative for Ukraine, cemented the co-operation by signing an operational agreement on co-ordination and information sharing. The agreement built on a 1998 Memorandum of Understanding on enhancing co-operation between both Organizations.

The co-operation has been aided by a resource that UNHCR and the OSCE's Conflict Prevention Centre developed jointly in 2013, the Protection Checklist. This practical guidebook was designed to help OSCE field staff recognize vulnerabilities of displaced populations and take action in co-operation with specialized agencies like UNHCR. It did not remain on the bookshelves, but instead has proven to be a valuable tool in Ukraine – and also in other parts of the OSCE region, for instance in Central Asia. All OSCE monitors received a hard copy upon their arrival in Ukraine, and 50 human rights focal points in Kyiv, Kharkiv, Odessa and Lviv were given special briefings on how to use it. Meanwhile the book has been translated into Russian and is available in a pocket-sized version, with a list of useful contacts.

Using the Protection Checklist as a reference, OSCE monitors have paid particular attention to displacement issues in their daily monitoring work and incorporated them into their regular reports. During the evacuation of Debaltseve in February, for example, they created a visible

international presence advocating for the safety and security of the affected population, as recommended by the guide. When visiting a camp north of Donetsk housing IDPs from Debaltseve, they followed the recommendation to pay attention to separation of family members, noting reports of elderly, sick and immobile relatives left behind.

They have drawn attention to the special needs of women and children. In Volodarske, southwest of Donetsk, they noted an increase in alcohol abuse among displaced women struggling with pressures of childcare, divorce and unemployment and severe understaffing of the local social service centre. They raised the alarm on a group of unaccompanied children evacuated from areas along the contact line in the Luhansk region who had arrived in Severodonetsk and were bound for Odessa.

Not only in the conflict area but also in western Ukraine, OSCE monitors provide valuable observations about vulnerabilities of the displaced. The team in Lviv is carefully watching how the return of soldiers from the front and the plight of families struggling with the loss of loved ones increases the potential for animosities to arise. In spite of the impressive generosity shown by civil society, the SMM has in its recent thematic report on the impact of the crisis in western Ukraine observed a certain fatigue among communities having to shoulder the financial burden resulting from hosting displaced persons from the east. Especially for young men, it is difficult to find jobs. Employers like Hussam Al-Yamani who make a point of seeking out IDPs are more the exception than the rule. Both the UNHCR and the OSCE are watching the integration process closely and working to ease the burden, both for those who have fled the conflict and for those that receive them.■

*Sophie Hofbauer is Associate Liaison Officer at the UNHCR Liaison Office in Vienna. Ursula Froese is Editor of Security Community.*



# Darkness and Light: Snapshots from the OSCE Special Monitoring Mission to Ukraine

The OSCE Special Monitoring Mission to Ukraine (SMM) has been working since March 2014 to gather information on the security situation and engage with the population to reduce tension. The following stories, told by OSCE staff members working in different locations in eastern Ukraine, recount experiences that in one way or another encapsulate the work of the Mission.

## THE PIANO

"Last October I visited the Special Monitoring Mission (SMM) in Donetsk oblast. The OSCE team accompanied Dutch investigators to the site of the MH 17 crash. [When Malaysian Airlines flight MH17 came down in the area of Snezhnoe, Donetsk, on 17 July 2014, the SMM was the only international body able to gain access to the site. In the following weeks, the team paved the way for an emergency response corridor that allowed air disaster experts from the Netherlands, Malaysia and Australia to recover the human bodies and salvage aircraft wreckage for examination to determine the causes of the tragedy.]

The Dutch air disaster experts could not deal directly with the armed separatist groups so it fell to the OSCE to organize their visit. I found myself in the somewhat surreal situation of travelling in a large convoy through separatist-held territory, escorted by members of a police force we do not recognize, who are from a ministry of security we do not recognize, across a border we do not recognize, to meet a minister for emergencies from a government we do not recognize and to team up with a group of firemen/rescue workers from an agency we do not recognize. The strange thing was, everybody knew each other and in

fact recognized each other.

Then came the sobering sight of what was left of flight MH 17. Nothing can prepare you for the sheer devastation and spread of the various sections of the aircraft. This was complemented by a display of Grad missile fire between the parties about 1.5km away. If it had got closer I would not have had a lot of faith in our OSCE issue flak jackets and helmets. Thankfully, phone calls were made and they postponed the war for a few hours.

The day was spent watching rescue workers sift through the wreckage, looking for any obvious remains and collecting personal items. The amazing thing was that so much was intact. Seats, luggage, passports, books, mail, all the detritus of life was strewn around the area. Some of the monitors in the team had been present when the SMM first accessed the crash site, when it was not belongings that were the issue but the sight of charred and broken bodies, many still strapped into their seats.

We moved to a second site where the cockpit had fallen, close to a village. On the day of the crash, bodies had fallen onto the village as well as bits of aircraft. Now, months later, we took a break here from our work. The mayor came and the villagers provided coffee and cake. So here we were, this strange group, OSCE, armed separatists, ministers, police, firemen and villagers, drinking coffee against the backdrop of a smashed airliner.

What we were doing was trying to find clues that would help the authorities identify those who perished, people who had no interest in the Crimea, the Donbas or any other corner of Ukraine. They were innocent people caught up in the lunacy of the situation. In a way, they represent all the innocent people who are still caught up in this lunacy. Like the airplane passengers, they have no real say.

Working as a monitor can mean many things: facilitating dialogue, negotiating the tricky political waters of engagement with separatist groups, and above all building relationships

with the people of Ukraine. It can also mean witnessing events that will scar them forever, even if they do not yet realize it.

But why “The Piano”? The photo depicts what was for me the most poignant of all my memories of that day. The toy survived...the child did not. Why was this allowed to happen in Europe in 2014?”

### A Promise

“On 1 October 2014, the SMM was notified by local sources about the shelling of a school in one of the northern districts of the city of Donetsk. Monitors were dispatched to the scene. We saw multiple hot rocket cases protruding from the ground in front of an elementary school. Debris littered the area. There were two dead bodies of elderly people at the school’s main entrance. One was a teacher, the other the grandfather of one of the schoolchildren, we learned. We went to the basement, where we saw dozens of shell-shocked schoolchildren and their parents. One woman showed us a small, green plastic bag with a scarf in it, saying it was all she had and that she had not eaten for days because of the constant shelling. Many others questioned the SMM’s relevance. Some accused it of being unable to stop the conflict.

In the middle of this heart-rending scene – the pain reinforced by the terrified looks in the surrounding children’s eyes – we said to them that we were there to tell the world about

their suffering, to bear witness to the world that there was no louder plea for peace than the silence of a child in a school basement seeking cover from falling bombs. We then went outside and saw that six more dead bodies were lying on the adjacent street: a man lying with a loaf of bread under his arm, a woman near a bus stop, two charred bodies in a minivan hit by one of the rockets and two elderly men outside the destroyed minivan. The shelling started again and we had to look for cover.

Later that day we wrote a Spot Report on the incident, which was soon published by the OSCE’s Vienna headquarters. Numerous delegations and world leaders reacted to the information we had provided. We felt that we had attracted the world’s attention and achingly hoped that we had thereby kept a small promise, made to the suffering kids and parents in that basement.”

### A Frontline Village Not Forgotten

“At the beginning of March, an OSCE monitoring team visited the village of Donetsk in Luhansk oblast. Right on the line of contact, close to the town of Kirovsk, Donetsk had been heavily shelled during the conflict and almost all of the buildings, including the school, clinic, fire station and village council, had been damaged. The monitors found a scene of desolation. Windows were smashed, roofs collapsed.

Villagers told them that most of the destruction had been caused by fighting in late January. Of a pre-conflict population of 3,500, only 500 or so remained. Gas and electricity supplies had been cut off and water had to be trucked in. People were living in basements, lacking the most basic amenities. In the absence of heating, villagers had built fireplaces in front of the apartment blocks, at which they cooked their meals. Meals could also be taken at a soup kitchen, with food supplied by the armed forces of the so-called “Luhansk People’s Republic” (“LPR”).

Adding to the troubles of the local population, a bridge on the road to Kirovsk had been destroyed, so that the only way in and out of the village was by muddy tracks. Adding to the people’s fears was sniper fire in the outskirts of the settlement and the danger of mines. Despite everything, as a symbol of their defiance of all the troubles they had endured, some residents had written on the doors of their broken apartment buildings, “we are alive!”

Visiting frontline areas such as Donetsk had been very difficult before the implementation of the ceasefire following the 12 February signing in Minsk of the “Package of Measures for the Implementation of the Minsk Agreements”. The villagers told the OSCE monitors that they were the first international representatives to have come. They appealed to them for urgently needed help.

The SMM reported on the situation and also informed representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) about what they had found in Donetsk. An ICRC team visited the village shortly afterwards to assess the situation and bring some immediate humanitarian aid, including medical treatment and plastic sheeting to cover broken windows.

On 15 March, OSCE monitors visited the village again. While the situation was still very difficult, the local people expressed gratitude for the fact that their situation had been noticed and relief at having received support from the ICRC. Villagers were beginning to return in small numbers. The SMM has patrolled the village several times since.”

#### **Attempt to Facilitate a Local Ceasefire**

“On 16 March 2015, at the Donetsk border crossing in the Russian Federation, the OSCE Observer Mission at the Russian Checkpoints Gukovo and Donetsk was approached by a commander of the so-called “LPR” defence forces. He asked them to pass on to the SMM that he wished to discuss with them breaches of the ceasefire in his area of the “contact line”. His message was transmitted to the SMM team in Luhansk, which rang him.

The commander explained on the phone that there were regular ceasefire violations across the “contact line” in the vicinity of the villages of Frunze, Donetsk and Zholobok (about 40 kilometres north-west of Luhansk). In his view, this was because it was unclear where exactly the line was on the ground, as the “contact line” on the map agreed by the sides on 21 February was too thick, and consequently the Ukrainian units opposite were always trying to push forward. The monitoring team agreed to meet him face-to-face to discuss the matter further.

At the meeting the next day in Stakhanov, the “LPR” commander said that he wished to meet the Ukrainian commander opposite to reach a local agreement on the precise positioning of the line on the ground. The OSCE monitors agreed to pass his proposal on to the Ukrainian military forces, with which the Mission was in daily contact and, if the Ukrainians were agreeable, to facilitate a meeting between the local “LPR” and Ukrainian commanders on the contact line, aimed at reaching a local agreement.

Following various discussions between the OSCE monitoring team and the Ukrainian military forces at local battalion, brigade and sector head-quarter levels, the Ukrainian side agreed to a meeting on 20 April.



On the agreed day, having sought and received security guarantees from both sides, the OSCE SMM team sent patrols in their armoured vehicles simultaneously from the north and south of the “contact line”. While waiting with the “LPR” commander at a safe distance south of the line, the OSCE patrol received a call from the mirror OSCE patrol, which was waiting just north of the “contact line” for the Ukrainian commander to turn up. It relayed that it had just been informed by the headquarters of the “Anti-Terrorism Operation” that the Ukrainian side would not participate in the meeting, due to alleged ceasefire violations the previous night by the “LPR” using small arms and artillery fire in the government-controlled areas of Stanytsia Luhanska, 16 km north-east of Luhansk, and Krymske, 5 km north-west of the meeting point.

While that meeting never took place, the OSCE monitoring team nevertheless continues to engage in bilateral

discussions with the sides, encouraging them to meet, and also regularly patrols the area on both sides of the “contact line”, all aimed at reducing local tensions and ceasefire violations.”

### **Protecting the rights of a minority group**

“In addition to monitoring, the OSCE SMM is dedicated to ensuring that human rights are protected, particularly those of internally displaced persons (IDPs), minorities and persons belonging to both groups.

In a city in our area of responsibility near Kramatorsk, we received a complaint from Roma IDPs. They said that they were being asked to pay a fee of a few hundred Ukrainian hryvnias to certain police officers. We spoke with the Roma, their representatives and the police. Shortly thereafter, the police chief reimbursed the money and personally apologized to the Roma. Furthermore, the police

officers concerned were reprimanded and transferred to another area of responsibility.

Perhaps in the end our success will be measured by the way we could make a difference, in cases like these, one small step at a time.” ■

---

# Reviving the Helsinki Spirit

## 40 years of the Helsinki Final Act

---

by Lamberto Zannier



Photo: Czech News Agency

On 1 August 1975, a 40-year quest for establishing a comprehensive and inclusive framework for security and co-operation in Europe was launched in the Finnish capital Helsinki. In a historic demonstration of multilateral consensus, the 1975 Helsinki Final Act saw the heads of 35 States (the NATO countries, the Warsaw Pact countries, neutral and non-aligned States) commit themselves to mutually beneficial dialogue. The drive: to bridge the East-West divide, to move from mere “détente” to actual “rapprochement.” That commitment, in the 1990s, led to the establishment of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), which is now the world’s largest regional security arrangement under Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter.

Signing the Helsinki Final Act did not end the Cold War, but it was a revolutionary turn towards ending it, through openness and co-operation. The participating States subsequently agreed to share military information and inform each other of the movement of troops, military activities and exercises. The signatories also recognized that true security means more than freedom from war, that it requires economic well-being, a healthy environment and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. Helsinki was the beginning of a process of dialogue for peace, pursued with patience and unerring persistency, that has become signature for the OSCE.

The OSCE has since been a vital player in fostering stability in Europe. It helped end the wars in the former Yugoslavia and is still aiding the countries of the region with activities aimed at fostering reconciliation and regional co-operation, democratic institutions and the rule of law. In places like Transnistria, Nagorno-Karabakh and South Ossetia, where simmering conflicts continue to hamper peaceful development, the OSCE has served as a facilitator in the search for lasting solutions. And because security in people’s lives goes beyond resolving military conflict, the organization is geared towards promoting access to a whole range of fundamental needs, like clean water, education and free elections; access to justice, gender equality and life free from discrimination and harassment. Through its network of field operations, the OSCE has a unique tool to implement projects that foster security and co-operation and improve people’s lives.

As security threats evolve, so has the OSCE’s focus shifted. In addition to more traditional challenges, the OSCE is increasingly involved in addressing challenges that transcend national borders: cybercrime, terrorism, trafficking, corruption, migration. In a globalized world, it is indispensable to build strong partnerships with the UN and other international organizations. We also continue to strengthen the close links with our Mediterranean and Asian Partners for Co-operation.

Several OSCE institutions and structures work together to support OSCE participating States with the implementation of their commitments. These include the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, the Representative on Freedom of the Media, the High Commissioner on National Minorities, and the Parliamentary Assembly. All of them have been working in concert to help resolve the conflict in and around Ukraine. The Trilateral Contact Group, with the participation of the OSCE, is negotiating practical steps to stop the fighting and seeking solutions towards a lasting political settlement. The Special Monitoring Mission to Ukraine, deployed in March 2014, continues to monitor and report on the situation in the whole country and, in the East, is watching over a fragile ceasefire under often dangerous conditions. The OSCE Project Co-ordinator in Ukraine, a field presence that has worked out of Kyiv for 15 years, is assisting the government with reforms and national dialogue.

European security and co-operation was envisioned by the signatories of the Helsinki Final Act to be guided by ten fundamental principles, dubbed the Helsinki Decalogue: sovereign equality, refraining from the use of force, inviolability of frontiers, territorial integrity, peaceful settlement of disputes, non-intervention in internal affairs, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, equal rights and self-determination of peoples, co-operation among States and fulfillment in good faith of obligations under international law.

For 40 years, these principles have served as the foundation of the European security order. The stipulation in the Helsinki Final Act that each of them is of primary importance and will be interpreted taking into account all others is the defining compass for dialogue among the OSCE's now 57 participating States.

The crisis in and around Ukraine, which already has cost more than 6,000 lives, has reminded us, tragically, that respect for these principles cannot be taken for granted. We need to redouble our efforts to reaffirm their legitimacy and make them more difficult to defy. We must join forces to revive the spirit of Helsinki and draw inspiration from

the leaders of 40 years ago who found the courage to come to the table and, with no evident prospect of success, engaged in dialogue to prevent a new war.

Perhaps we are seeing, not yet the beginning, but the hint of a new era in European security. Difficult questions are crystalizing, questions our forerunners in Helsinki may not have been able to pose. But today, as the OSCE's response in Ukraine has shown, we are equipped with experience and tools which those founding leaders did not have. Now, as then, we need courageous men and women who will join a discussion fraught with uncertainties, to ensure that the curtain that was raised on security in Europe in Helsinki back in 1975 remains open. ■

---

Lamberto Zannier is the Secretary General of the OSCE.

---

# The Helsinki Decalogue: Where it all Began

*The ten “Principles guiding relations between the participating States” listed in the Helsinki Final Act had an obvious precursor in a set of principles approved by the United Nations General Assembly several years before, the “Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations” (24 October 1970). But the “Helsinki Decalogue” also had another, less well-known origin, in talks held between the Soviet Union and France since the 1960s. In this excerpt from an interview first published by the OSCE in CSCE Testimonies: Causes and Consequences of the Helsinki Final Act 1972-1989, Soviet diplomat Yuri Dubinin (1930 - 2013) recounts how he was involved in working out a document entitled Principles of Co-operation between the Soviet Union and France. The occasion was a trip by Brezhnev to France planned for 1971, which, it was hoped, “would achieve something very significant in order to ensure a dramatic turnaround regarding détente and peace in Europe”.*

“Don’t forget, this was in Cold War era Europe! Neither the question of Berlin nor that of a divided Germany had been resolved and two huge military groupings were facing each other along a disputed border. So what we proposed to the French was to work out principles of co-operation. We told them, ‘You’re a member of NATO and we are part of the Warsaw Pact, so let’s formulate guidelines for building relations between two States under such conditions.’ We contemplated this as a long-term project intended not only to provide for a sound basis in our relations with France, but also, and first and foremost, to create a prototype for future decisions that might be taken by a pan-European conference. Another aspect of this proposal was that we would run through our thoughts with one of the key players in and major States of Western Europe. At that time, France had withdrawn from NATO’s integrated military command, but remained a member of the alliance.

The French readily agreed to this proposal. The preparatory work was to be carried out in Moscow and to be completed before Brezhnev’s departure for Paris. Gromyko brought this proposal for co-operation to Brezhnev’s attention, and Brezhnev approved of it. So Gromyko played a leading role in the negotiations by promoting the idea from the very outset. The draft of this document was submitted to and then approved by the leadership, just before Brezhnev left for France.

Once the discussions began, they proved to be difficult, very difficult. Later on, after Gromyko got involved, an unusual system of negotiations was instituted. The French entrusted their Ambassador to Moscow, Roger Seydoux, a very fine diplomat, with continuing the negotiations in our capital. He had direct contact with senior officials at our Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and agreement was reached immediately on almost everything we required. These matters could not be settled by telegram, and so face-to-face negotiations turned out to be much more effective.



**Photo: Yuri Vladimirovich Dubinin's personal archives**

The main problem lay in defining the set of principles that could govern the relations among European States. Our intention was not to formulate principles of co-operation that would be applicable only between the Soviet Union and France, but to set an example for all European States. Therefore, we included a special section listing those principles on which relations between all European States must be based. This was the main thrust of our plan. As I said before, we were thinking about something that held great promise, about the conference itself, about a possible prototype formulation for the final document and about things that were difficult to consider in concrete terms in those times.

The main task for us was to devise and refine the formulation of principles governing relations between European countries and to provide for their meticulous observance. Such principles had to be made fundamental, if European security was to be strengthened and maintained. Moscow had a firm position on that matter, which was that the principle of the inviolability of frontiers was to be made a chief subject. So we began to discuss this question in particular and noted that our mutual political understanding of the matter was sound and profound.

During the discussions, we concurred on a set of five principles and we also came to an agreement regarding their wording. We proposed that the inviolability of frontiers be set forth as a leading principle, followed by the principles of non-intervention in internal affairs; equality; independence; and refraining from the threat or use of force.

The French were not opposed to the formulation of the principle of inviolability, but under no circumstances was it to be in first place. They agreed to numbering, but only if the principle of the inviolability of frontiers was not number one! The order in which these principles were to appear was of prime importance in our diplomatic talks and was often central in our discussions on various issues of substance. But Paris was extremely firm on its position and sometimes the negotiations were quite heated.

I remember when we finally resolved the issue after a long day's negotiation between Gromyko and Seydoux. It was well after midnight, and morning drew closer while the impasse became more constraining and unpleasant. Again and again Gromyko put forward his arguments in favour of what we thought to be the leading principle.

He then listened to what the French had to say, and right after that, he would repeat his arguments again. The French Ambassador, Roger Seydoux, had worked at the United Nations as Permanent Representative. Therefore, he was aware that different organizational options were available, which could help to resolve difficult problems that were being dragged out in a never-ending session, and so he said: 'Let's entrust Dubinin and the next-ranking diplomat at my Embassy with this. They can go to a separate office and work on the matter; we have a long list of other issues to tend to. Let them think of a way to resolve this question and come back to us with an option acceptable to us both', to which Gromyko agreed.

We were sent to a neighbouring office. It was quiet, at around 3 a.m., and we were served some hot tea. I was rehearsing all the different arguments we had spent our day and night discussing, but once the tea had been brought, I started to relax, and I felt my colleague had also regained his composure. I suggested: 'We have five principles. Let's cross out all the numbers and replace them with dashes. A dash followed by a principle, and the dispute is resolved! Would France not agree on this basis to have 'inviolability of frontiers' set after the first dash? It's a principle, just like all the others. We could place the second dash next to 'non-intervention in internal affairs', for example.'

He gave it some thought, took a sip of tea and answered: 'That might work. But I suggest that you don't chase after your Minister. Instead, let's drink our tea and chat a little about this and that; otherwise, it will look like we have reached an agreement too easily.'

---

So after a while, we went in and read our solution to Gromyko and Seydoux. Gromyko nodded in approval and said: 'Fine, I can accept that.' The draft was sent off to Paris and the answer came back the next morning: 'Text approved'. And so the problem was resolved.

Now let me tell you what all this led to a few years later at the actual Conference, during the drafting of the Final Act. In the Final Act, the principles of co-operation did become a declaration of ten principles that were to guide the participating States in their mutual relations.

This means that our ideas had been accepted by all the participating States. But just as in the 1960s, we were faced with the same question that had arisen in our negotiations with the French: Which principle was to be the main one? And how should these principles be presented? We decided to start with a preamble sentence along these lines: 'All the principles presented hereby are of primary significance – meaning, they are all 'number one'. Consequently, they should be applied uniformly and meticulously without any kind of hierarchy, and each principle should be understood as an inseparable part of all the others. No single principle can take precedence over the others.'

If you check the supporting documents, you will see that this same idea was expressed in possibly broader terms, but I remember that a very similar sentence was enshrined in the text of the CSCE Final Act.”

*The Soviet diplomat Yuri Vladimirovich Dubinin (1930 – 2013) accompanied all three stages of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (in Dipoli, Geneva and Helsinki) as an advisor to and member of the Soviet delegation. As chairperson of the closing plenary meeting of the second stage in Geneva, it was he who by the bang of his gavel made known that consensus had been reached on the draft of the Helsinki Final Act.*



CSCE Testimonies: Causes and Consequences of the Helsinki Final Act 1972-1989 (published by the OSCE Prague Office of the OSCE Secretariat, 2013), pp. 185 ff.

# Time for a new OSCE Strategy?

**By Spencer Oliver and Maria Chepurina**

In December 2012, the OSCE Ministerial Council adopted a decision in Dublin initiating the Helsinki +40 process as an effort to provide political impetus to “strengthening our co-operation in the OSCE on the way towards 2015, a year that marks four decades since the signing of the Helsinki Final Act”.

Following this recommendation, the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly (OSCE PA) launched its Helsinki +40 project in September 2013. Leaders of the OSCE PA, prominent think tanks with expertise in the OSCE, diplomats – including former diplomats who had participated in the Helsinki process from the beginning – and representatives of civil society took stock of where the OSCE currently stands and explored possible new tools and methods of moving forward.

## **The OSCE’s Role in Reconsolidating European Security**

Throughout the project, the crisis in Ukraine was the elephant in the room. Although the Organization has faced other serious difficulties and challenges to its purpose and political relevance over the last 20 years, the current crisis has been a litmus test of both its strengths and weaknesses.

It has, on the one hand, brought the OSCE to the fore as the sole international organization accepted by all parties to the conflict that aims to find a political solution to the crisis. The OSCE is more necessary than ever and it has proven, during this crisis, that over the years it has developed a wide array of instruments to address crisis situations, although the use of these instruments has been significantly weakened by the consensus requirement in the Permanent Council.

However, while temporarily increasing the visibility of the OSCE, the crisis has also highlighted its weaknesses, such as insufficiency of effective tools, limited mandate and lengthy decision-making procedures. The existing OSCE conflict prevention mechanisms failed to prevent and counter the crisis from the outset.

## **Stronger Institutions**

Strengthening OSCE institutions by expanding their independence and allowing greater room for action that would not require a preliminary consensus decision of the

Permanent Council can be part of the solution. Such action could include intensified mediation and multilateral verification or fact-finding, including within the scope of the Vienna Document (the OSCE’s primary set of military confidence and security building measures). These activities could be joint efforts of OSCE institutions.

The OSCE PA could be associated more closely with such activities through mandates to conduct fact finding and mediation missions. The Conflict Prevention Center could be further strengthened, including through the creation of a civilian rapid reaction capacity – a roster of military experts available to be deployed on short notice as part of a civilian mission during crisis.

The first and foremost task for the OSCE is to work towards a political settlement of the Ukraine crisis, based on respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country, as enshrined in the Helsinki Decalogue principles. Without this, mutual trust in the OSCE area cannot be restored. It is in the interest of all OSCE participating States to prevent the emergence of another protracted conflict in the area. Everything should also be done to ensure that Ukraine does not become a new Berlin wall separating Russia and the West.

As United States President Gerald Ford said on the occasion of the signing of the Helsinki Final Act in 1975, “History will judge this Conference not by what we say here today, but by what we do tomorrow – not by the promises we make, but by the promises we keep.”

*Spencer Oliver is Secretary General of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly. Maria Chepurina is an OSCE Parliamentary Assembly Programme Officer.*

*The OSCE PA’s Helsinki +40 project was conducted in co-operation with the Russian International Affairs Council in Moscow, the German Marshall Fund in Washington, D.C., the Swedish Institute of International Affairs in Stockholm, the Danish Institute for International Studies in Copenhagen, the Belgrade Fund for Political Excellence in Belgrade and the Finnish Institute of International Affairs in Helsinki.*

*The results were presented at the OSCE PA Annual Session in Helsinki on 6 July 2015.*

Read more at [www.oscepa.org](http://www.oscepa.org)

---

# The OSCE: an Inspiration for Asia



## **Interview with Shin Dong-ik, Deputy Minister for Multilateral and Global Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea**

### **How do you see the Republic of Korea's role as an OSCE Partner for Co-operation?**

The Republic of Korea has greatly benefited from its active participation as an Asian Partner for Co-operation for the past two decades. The OSCE has been a major source of inspiration for our endeavour to create a vision of security co-operation for Northeast Asia.

Korea is a middle power situated between four major powers: China, Japan, Russia and the United States. Our neighbours are beset with challenging issues and tensions. The Korean Peninsula remains divided and the nuclear ambition of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) continues to pose a serious threat to the region. The security situation, at first sight, may not look promising. However, much can be achieved in this region if we succeed in establishing a multilateral security mechanism. A stable Northeast Asia would greatly enhance global security and prosperity.

The OSCE has given us some insight as to how we could establish such a security mechanism, using the three C's concept of security: common, comprehensive and co-operative. It has also demonstrated that, even given a long history of confrontation and hostility, conflicts are never inevitable, and that establishing a sustainable security mechanism among former adversaries is possible through confidence building efforts. What the OSCE has achieved so far in Europe is what the Republic of Korea intends to duplicate in Northeast Asia. I certainly believe that the Republic of Korea, as a middle power, can play the role of a facilitator in this effort, just as Finland played that role in the Helsinki Process.

As an OSCE Partner, Korea contributes to the Organization's work, to its missions and programmes. Last year, we provided €100,000 to the Special Monitoring Mission to Ukraine, and we will continue to contribute to the Republic of Korea-OSCE Co-operation Fund, as we have for the past four years.

The changing security environment also opens up new areas of co-operation. Modern terrorism, as showcased by foreign terrorist fighters, lone wolf fighters and violent extremism, is now posing a threat in every corner of the world. Cyber security has emerged as a major concern for many countries as well. On this issue, the OSCE is already implementing a set of confidence building measures. This experience will provide a good point of reference to other regions, including Northeast Asia, and represents an opportunity for both regions to work together.

The Republic of Korea has hosted the OSCE Asian Conference four times in Seoul, most recently in early June. It was particularly meaningful to host the Conference this year, since the OSCE is commemorating the 40th

anniversary of the Helsinki Final Act. It was also meaningful for me personally, as I was in charge of preparing and hosting the first OSCE Asian Conference back in 2001.

### **Can you tell us about Korea's Northeast Asia Peace and Co-operation Initiative?**

The Northeast Asia Peace and Co-operation Initiative (NAPCI) is one of the pillars of President Park Geun-hye's "trust politics". Another is the Korean Peninsula Trust-Building Process, which focuses on the Korean peninsula. NAPCI is a proposal for a sub-regional co-operative mechanism in a multilateral setting. No similar institution has existed in Northeast Asia up to now.

As I said, the security environment in the region is not very favourable. The six-party talks have made no progress on the denuclearization of the DPRK: North Korea still hasn't given up its nuclear ambitions and sees its nuclear and missile programmes as vital to the preservation of its regime. These are core issues of disarmament and non-proliferation. Countries in the region have made several proposals for establishing a formal security co-operation mechanism. But they never materialized, because it's not easy to tackle these very hard security issues directly.

In contemplating more viable options, President Park decided that it would be more realistic and practical to start by discussing soft issues first. For example, nuclear safety, cyber security, natural disaster relief and rescue, energy security and the environment are less sensitive and controversial. Most of the countries share an interest in addressing those problems together.

Fundamentally, there is a trust deficit among countries in the region. This makes it difficult to tackle long-standing and now growing tensions regarding history, territory and maritime security. We had better start by discussing practical matters, soft security issues. By co-operating on these issues,

we can build the habit of co-operation and dialogue; I mean a regular dialogue.

On the governmental, civilian and academic levels, we need to get together regularly and talk about our common issues, one by one, in a step-by-step approach. We categorize NAPCI as a process-oriented initiative. Process itself can be the goal. Once we start to discuss a common agenda, the process itself can build trust and confidence among the countries.

Unfortunately, although other countries, including the United States, China and Japan, support our idea, North Korea has not responded in kind. Instead, it argues that our initiative is politically motivated to destabilize the regime. For North Korea, the stability of its regime is a major concern. We try to explain that it is our genuine intention to promote security and peaceful co-existence, for the time being, until both sides agree on the way to reunify into one. But that is a long-term goal. Until then, we have to build one brick at a time, slowly and gradually. We know that it will take us a long time, but I think it's a right decision to take actions that are very practical and realistic, given the current situation. Building trust is the first thing we need to achieve.

### **Many of the words you are using are familiar in the OSCE context – "building trust", "co-operation and dialogue". Can you say something about how the OSCE can be an inspirational model for Northeast Asia and are there perhaps also some differences?**

The OSCE's basic concept of security, as I have mentioned, is very significant. It means working together, in a co-operative manner, on security issues which are all interconnected. That concept should be the norm for all regional security groups. And in principle, nobody objects to transplanting or importing it to our region. But in technical and realistic terms, some countries are not comfortable with applying the concept in certain areas. For example, human rights are a very controversial issue for some. However, all three dimensions

---

of the OSCE's comprehensive security concept are important and relevant to improving the overall security environment in our region.

Economic interdependence is already well established in our region. China is our number one trading partner. China, Japan, United States, Russia and the Republic of Korea are all interlinked in economic and trade relations. Nevertheless, co-operation on security issues is still rather minimal, not to mention on human rights. For us and for Japan and the United States, dealing with sensitive human rights issues is not a problem. But in North Korea, the human rights situation is dire. Let me give an example. A few weeks ago, the North Korean regime allegedly executed in a grotesque manner its defence chief and senior officials. This shows the regime's cruelty and confirms the sobering report of the United Nations Commission of Inquiry on North Korean Human Rights in 2014.

The indivisibility and interconnectivity of security are basic concepts, which we would like to learn from Europe. But until we have favourable conditions for optimizing our co-operative consultative mechanism, trust building and prevention of conflict are our most practical and viable options.

Nuclear safety issues could be a common agenda. In China the number of nuclear power plants is surging, and in North Korea the power plants are in a very weak and dangerous condition. If any accident were to occur at a North Korean nuclear site, it could affect the whole peninsula and the entire region. We have already witnessed the Fukushima incident in 2011. Four years have passed since the incident, but concern about radioactive contamination has not yet dissipated. Japan, at least, is well prepared for such incidents, but in North Korea, a minor accident could spell catastrophe. So, to answer your question, there are many commonalities. But if we compare the Helsinki Process with our NAPCI, we also

notice some important differences. In the 1970's you had two blocks, East and West, and some neutral countries in the middle, interlocutors between the two sides. In our region, the landscape is different in the sense that it's not symmetrical. We have no buffer states in between; we are facing each other directly. Political will, as well, is very important. But North Korea is very reluctant to engage in the NAPCI process because its main concern is the regime's stability. There are many academics who say that the North Korean authorities suffer from a fear or a phobia, that once they open their society to the outside they will become another 'Libya.' We understand their concern to some extent, but without opening their society, they cannot succeed building a viable economy. One must remember that the world is interdependent. For the moment, China is the only country which has normal relations with North Korea, yet even this tie has been weakened, as China is strongly opposed to North Korea's nuclear ambition.

**You have mentioned the Korean Peninsula Trust-Building Process. Could you elaborate?**

Distrust lies at the core of the unstable inter-Korean relations. This distrust is mainly the result of a vicious cycle: provocation on the part of North Korea followed by crisis, negotiation and reward. Based upon this analysis, our government adopted the Korean Peninsula Trust-Building Process as its main policy towards North Korea. The key elements of this process are: trust, consistency and robust deterrence.

In March 2014, President Park presented our peace initiative in Dresden, Germany, once a city in the former East Germany. Since German reunification, Dresden has become a modern and vibrant city, and the surrounding region is fully industrialized. Our President's message was that North Korea can be transformed, just like Dresden.

On the basis of trust politics and our initiative, she made three proposals. First, we would like to expand our humanitarian assistance to young children and mothers. Most of the children in North Korea suffer from malnutrition. The average height of children and young people is much shorter than in South Korea, even though we are ethnically the same people. This is very troubling. After unification, the two sides will be reintegrated, and this may turn into a major problem. My President therefore proposed humanitarian assistance as an investment for future generations. The humanitarian assistance we provide will help to ease tensions and remove obstacles between the two sides.

The second proposal is to work for co-prosperity. We would like to offer our assistance in rebuilding infrastructure, roads, buildings and communities. This is a non-political and non-sensitive area. And third, we need to focus on an agenda for reintegration.

As I said, our two sides have been separated since 1953. And even before that, there was the division of the two sides in 1945, after World War II. The division is almost seventy years old. The North Korean people have been trained in the Communist system, without any contact with the outside world, for a long time. So it is an important task to nurture common culture and education. That is why we are suggesting to North Korea to start exchanges between our people, in the academic and cultural fields. Humanitarian problems, co-prosperity and reintegration are the three basic issues we have to resolve together.

I would like to mention another pillar of Korean diplomacy: the “Eurasia Initiative”, through which we would like to contribute to linking Europe and Asia. This initiative, also proposed by my President, would connect the two continents through a logistics network. A long time ago, there was a Silk Road from China to Europe. We would like to reconnect the two regions and produce a synergy, on the

levels of energy, of trade – on all levels. We have not encountered any opposition to this idea. Even Russia and China have welcomed it, because it will contribute to rebuilding the huge areas between Europe and Asia. If we have more exchange between the two sides, surely both will win.

### **What are some of the recent developments in the trilateral relationship among China, Japan and Korea?**

As you well know, Korea and Japan as well as China and Japan have been at odds over some issues, including territorial disputes and revisionism of history. Although Korea stands firm on these issues, we do believe co-operation in other areas is important and should be continued. Thanks to our efforts, the Korea-Japan-China trilateral Foreign Minister’s Meeting, which we chair, was held in Seoul last March after three years’ suspension. More importantly, the three countries agreed to hold a Trilateral Summit at the earliest convenient time. This is a major development for Northeast Asia, and our Government hopes to further enhance trilateral relations, based on these recent successes. ■

*The Republic of Korea has been an OSCE Asian Partner for Co-operation since 1994. The Asian Partners for Co-operation are Afghanistan, Australia, Japan, Republic of Korea and Thailand.*

---

# A Japanese in Bosnia

Masanobu Yonemitsu from Japan worked at the OSCE Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina from 2012 to 2014 – an experience he says he will never regret.

## **Were you the first Japanese national to work at the Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina?**

No, I was not the first – there was a Japanese there before me, in one of the field offices. But at one point, I was the only Japanese national in the entire Organization.

## **Why did you want to work for the OSCE?**

I had some expertise in Bosnian politics and I had been working for the Japanese embassy in Sarajevo for four years as a political adviser. I studied International Relations in Japan and after that I got a Master's degree in the United States in Conflict Analysis and Resolution. So when the OSCE advertised the post of political adviser at the Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina, I found that it matched my portfolio as it focuses on both politics and conflict prevention in Bosnia.

The other reason is that I always wanted to work in an international environment. I thought it would be more dynamic than at the embassy, where one works with one's own nationals in a single-culture environment.

## **And you were not disappointed?**

Not at all, it was a very dynamic experience in a challenging environment. I started working for the mission in 2012 as a political adviser to the Senior Representative of the Head of Mission in the Sarajevo Field Office – who, by the way, is now Deputy Head of Mission. In my second year with the Mission, I, together with the Senior Representative, moved to the Office of the Head of Mission. Here I had the chance to

contribute to the Mission's policy-making and coordinate with relevant departments and field offices. It was very challenging, as the Mission was very large – it had 360 people when I left – but I learned a lot about co-ordination and management.

I also travelled a lot because my boss, the Senior Representative, was the highest political representative in the Mission, being in charge of monitoring and assessing the political situation on the ground. We visited all the field offices – we had 14 at the time. We travelled throughout the country and met a lot of people. We set up meetings with local mayors and local civil society activists. It was a learning experience not only for my boss but also for myself. I felt I learned more about the local situations than I had during my four years with the Embassy.

## **What is the main thing you got out of the experience?**

What I really appreciated is that I worked for a Russian boss and also had Spanish, Italian, British, Irish, American, Swedish and of course Bosnian colleagues. I learned about each country's culture through our daily interactions and our different ways of working. That kind of cultural knowledge can give you a great advantage in understanding others. Any decision-making process relies on personal communication. Of course, in diplomatic missions, each capital issues its instructions, but they have to be implemented by people on the ground. If you want to get someone's support, change their mind or influence them, you have to know that person's culture.

## **Why in your opinion is it important for Japan to send people to the OSCE?**

Japan is very interested in contributing to the international community. We provide financial assistance to many projects. In Bosnia, for instance, we have contributed around US\$500 million in the past 20 years. Through our assistance, bridges, roads and buildings have been built or reconstructed. We have also been assisting with demining. But perhaps the most well-known project was our donation of new buses to public transport companies in the three major cities in Bosnia, Sarajevo, Banja Luka and Mostar, in the interest of ethnic reconciliation. And those buses are still running today.

In my opinion, in addition to financial assistance, it is equally important for Japan to show how our citizens can contribute through their expertise. I believe that one of the best ways to provide hands on assistance, especially in Europe or Eastern Europe, is to work at the OSCE. This is because, unlike other international organizations, it has large field missions there. If you are a European citizen, you may be able to get that kind of experience working for the European Union. But unfortunately, as Japanese nationals we cannot normally apply for European Union posts. As an Asian Partner of the OSCE, however, Japan has the opportunity to second experts to OSCE posts. That is why I always encourage Japanese citizens to apply. It is a way for them to get unique experience and for Japan to show its direct contribution to the community.

Working for the OSCE gives you the kind of multicultural experience you can never get in a domestic organization. This can be extremely useful later in life, when you find yourself having to address sensitive matters with colleagues or counterparts coming from different cultural backgrounds. Once you are sitting at a discussion table with them, it will likely be too late to start learning how they think or work. These are things you already need to know if you wish to get urgent things done in time. The OSCE has indeed given me a great opportunity to learn these things. Now that I have officially joined the Foreign Japanese Service, my experience with the OSCE is very much appreciated.

**Do you think the OSCE approach to security, based on dialogue and co-operation, is useful as an inspiration or a model for the Asian situation?**

Unfortunately, when you mention the OSCE in Asia, people often don't know what it is. Back in the time of the Cold War, the OSCE was created to prevent the worst case scenario by countries agreeing to mutually disclose military information. Ideally, that kind of mechanism – some kind of regional organization for transparency and exchange of military information – could be a useful model for Asia. Although it's a very good idea, it may not be easy to introduce such a model in Asia any time soon. But of course, everything is possible if there is political will. ■

*Seconding nationals to OSCE posts is one of the ways OSCE Partners for Co-operation contribute to the Organization's work. Japan has been providing experts to OSCE field operations since 1999.*



Photo: OSCE

# The OSCE Troika

Each year, a different OSCE participating State chairs the Organization and brings its own perspective to bear on the year's work. The OSCE Troika was invented at the Helsinki Summit in 1992 to bring an element of continuity to the OSCE's leadership. It is a format of co-operation between the present, previous and succeeding Chairmanships.

How this co-operation takes shape is a matter for each Chairmanship to decide. The Troika can be used for extensive dialogues, occasional consultations or hardly at all. This year, Switzerland, Serbia and Germany are not only holding regular weekly meetings and ad hoc informal meetings but also maintaining daily contact on current issues. How is it going? The three Troika members provide three points of view.

## Serbia (current OSCE Chair)

"The Troika is the main consultative body of the OSCE Chairmanship and we are working very closely with our colleagues of the outgoing Chair, Switzerland, and the incoming Chair, Germany. We believe that this body is very important in helping Serbia steer the OSCE. We conduct Troika meetings regularly, even more often than once a week. We exchange views about the most important issues on the OSCE agenda. It makes the work slightly easier in a very difficult year, when we are facing one of the biggest crises in the Organization's history. And we hope that this mode of co-operation in the Troika will continue next year, when Germany takes over the Chair.

This year, the Foreign Ministers of the Troika countries decided to also hold Troika meetings on the ministerial level. We already had ministerial meetings in Germany and in Serbia. This is an opportunity for our ministers to have their own discussion on the most pressing issues. In their last meeting in Belgrade in April, they agreed on the nomination of the OSCE representatives to the working groups of the Trilateral Contact Group, which is seeking a diplomatic solution to the conflict in and around Ukraine."

**- Vuk Zugić, Permanent Representative of Serbia to the OSCE and Chairperson of the Permanent Council**

## Switzerland (OSCE Chair 2014)

"Last year, it was quite a challenge to use the Troika. For me, the institution was another opportunity to interact with the Ukrainian delegation [Ukraine chaired the OSCE in 2013], but we did not use it as systematically as the Serbian Chairmanship does. We would have liked to use it more, but it was simply not very practical.

This year, Serbia has decided to use the Troika extensively. We ended up having only 23 Troika meetings last year, which is about as many as the Serbian Chairmanship had conducted by May 2015.

Obviously, as the leading member of the Troika, you are the one making decisions. This year, our role has changed and we are now there to advise and to try to mobilize the support of other OSCE participating States for the Chair.

When the consecutive Swiss and Serbian Chairmanships were decided in Vilnius in December 2011, it was agreed that there would be close co-operation between Serbia and Switzerland over the two years. The Troika is only one expression of that close co-operation."

**- Thomas Greminger, Permanent Representative of Switzerland to the OSCE**

## Germany (OSCE Chair 2016)

"The Troika format ensures continuity and that is why it is so important. We cannot set up the agenda for only one year, so we need to ensure follow-up and continuity. Within the Troika format we learn what issues will need to be addressed during our Chairmanship period. It is useful because sometimes these issues are not discussed in the Permanent Council meetings and the only way we can get acquainted with them is to be part of Troika.

The Troika is a very intense format. But I think the Serbian Chairmanship is making optimal use of it, and we are doing our best to support the Chair in the exercise of its function. We will reap the real benefits of having been part of the Troika once we take over the helm of the OSCE in 2016.

We have a specific situation this year. From that perspective, it is quite useful that Germany is part of both the Troika and the Normandy group [a negotiation format comprising France, Germany, Ukraine and Russia, seeking a resolution of the crisis in and around Ukraine]. This is helping the Chairmanship to keep up with the efforts of the Normandy group and providing both sides with the information and input needed for effectively carrying out their work."

**- Rüdiger Lüdeking, Permanent Representative of Germany to the OSCE**

*Article prepared by Mia Ilić, Intern in the Communication and Media Relations Section, OSCE Secretariat.*

# Rethinking the OSCE and Security in Europe

By Fred Tanner

Over the almost forty years of its existence, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), known until 1994 as the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE), has had to adapt to a constantly changing security environment. Reform efforts were often driven by paradigmatic changes in global and European security. The first attempt to comprehensively modernize the OSCE was made at the end of 2004. The OSCE Ministerial Council mandated a Panel of Eminent Persons to review the effectiveness of the Organization in a transforming Europe. “The old dividing lines of the Cold War no longer exist. As a consequence, the role of the OSCE, like other security organizations, is being adapted to this new security paradigm. (...) A rapidly evolving European and Eurasian landscape requires an organization like the OSCE to play a constructive role in preventing the emergence of new dividing lines,” the panellists wrote in their report. They provided recommendations for improving the collective action of the Organization in addressing protracted conflicts and 21st century threats.

After the Russian-Georgian armed conflict in 2008, the OSCE, under the Greek Chairmanship, launched the Corfu Process, a series of informal discussions on ways to rebuild trust and confidence among the participating States. The Corfu Process culminated in the Astana Summit of 2010, at which the participating States recommitted themselves to “the vision of a security community stretching from Vancouver to Vladivostok, rooted in agreed principles, shared commitments and common goals”. However, a proposed “Framework for Action” that contained a catalogue of reform measures did not achieve consensus.

Following Astana, the reform agenda was pursued in the so-called V-to-V Dialogues under the 2011 Lithuanian Chairmanship, and, at the end of 2012, picked up by the Helsinki +40 process. This process aimed at reaffirming the Helsinki principles in all three OSCE dimensions of security – politico-military, economic and environmental, and human – and strengthening the Organization’s ability to address current and future security challenges. It gained much visibility and raised high expectations under a joint work plan agreed by Switzerland and Serbia for their successive Chairmanships (2014 and 2015, respectively). Unfortunately, the crisis in and around Ukraine brought Helsinki +40 to a grinding halt.

That crisis plunged the OSCE also into an existential crisis, threatening its role as legitimate guardian of European security. It was under these circumstances that the then Chairperson-in-Office, Swiss Foreign Minister and President of the Confederation, Didier Burkhalter, launched the “Panel of Eminent Persons on European Security as a Common Project” at the Ministerial Council in Basel in December, 2014. The idea was to prepare the basis for an inclusive and constructive security dialogue across the Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian regions, taking into consideration the Ukraine crisis in its broader perspective as well as other developments in the OSCE area where participating States consider their security to be threatened. The Panel was tasked with reflecting on how to re-build trust and (re-)consolidate European security as a common project on the basis of the Helsinki Final Act and the Charter of Paris and on how to ensure effective adherence to OSCE principles. It is also examining perceived threats in the

---

OSCE area and exploring common responses as well as possibilities to reconfirm, refine, reinvigorate and complement elements of co-operative security. Finally, it has been asked to analyse the particular role of the OSCE in Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian security and its role in preventing and resolving crises, including in Ukraine. The hope is that the Panel will be able to reenergize some components of the Helsinki +40 process, which will be a subject of the high-level meeting in Helsinki planned for July and could be beneficial also beyond the Belgrade Ministerial Council at the end of the year.

Chaired by Ambassador Wolfgang Ischinger, who heads the Munich Security Conference, the Panel is composed of 15 members from all OSCE regions. Its members serve in their individual capacities. The Panel will produce two reports. The first, an interim report, was presented in Vienna on 17 June. It focuses on lessons learned from the OSCE's engagement in Ukraine. The second, a final report, will address the broader issues of security in the OSCE area. Both reports will contain practical recommendations and action points for policy makers, including the OSCE Ministerial Council and the OSCE participating States.

General guidance for the Panel's work is provided by the OSCE Troika, composed of the outgoing Swiss, current Serbian and incoming German Chairmanships. The Panel is seeking input from the OSCE participating States, the OSCE Secretariat, Institutions and Parliamentary Assembly, multilateral organizations concerned with European security issues, civil society and think tanks. It does this by, for instance, holding hearings, commissioning papers and conducting visits. The Panel and individual members also make use of opportunities to engage with high-level representatives of participating States (for example in side events at multilateral conferences and other international events). The Panel is assisted by a support unit that provides operational and logistical assistance in convening meetings as well as substantive support in drafting the reports. The OSCE Network of Think Tanks and Academic Institutions is contributing research and position papers. The Panel is financed through voluntary contributions. ■

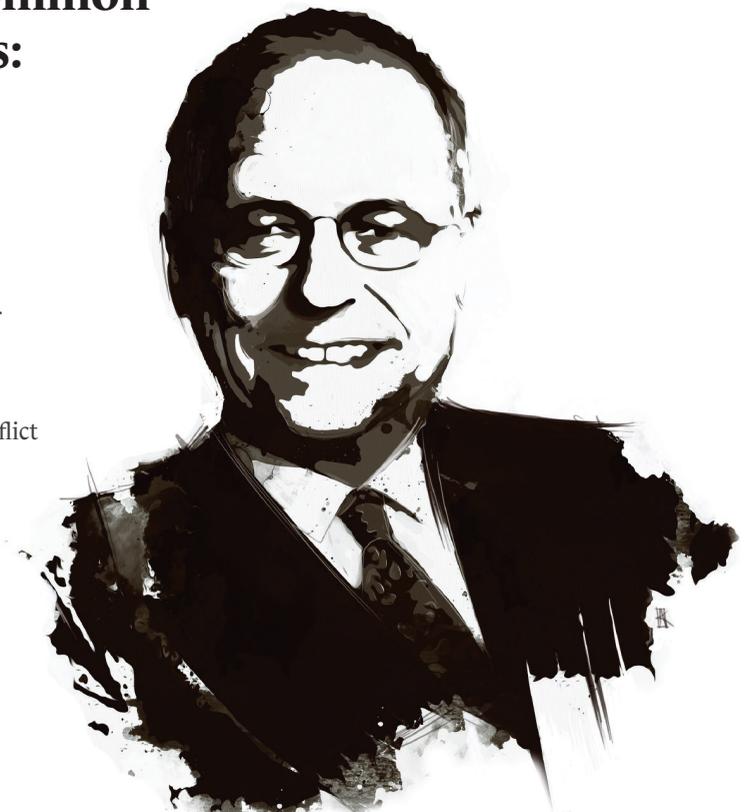
*Ambassador Fred Tanner is a Senior Adviser in the Office of the OSCE Secretary General. He is the OSCE Secretariat Project Manager of the Panel of Eminent Persons on European Security as a Common Project.*

*"Lessons learned for the OSCE from its engagement in Ukraine", the interim report of the Panel of Eminent Persons, is available here: [www.osce.org/networks/164561?download=true](http://www.osce.org/networks/164561?download=true)*

## **Wolfgang Ischinger, Chairperson of the Panel of Eminent Persons on European Security as a Common Project, answers questions:**

### **Why is this panel necessary?**

None of the existing international fora – neither the Security Council of the United Nations, nor the NATO-Russia Council, nor the relationship that has existed for many years now between the European Union and the Russian Federation – none of these organizational or institutional arrangements has been able to provide a framework for finding a peaceful settlement to the conflict over eastern Ukraine, including the Crimea situation.



The idea of creating a reflection process which would allow all the parties to the conflict – the Russian Federation, Ukraine, the United States, frontlines states such as Poland, the Baltic States and others – to be represented in an informal effort to look for a way forward, to define ways to strengthen the European security architecture, emerged at the end of last year and I found it to be an extremely good one.

The Panel of Eminent Persons will seek to offer a serious contribution to the reflection about what needs to be done to make sure that crises like the one we have had over the last 12 months in and around Ukraine will not happen again.

### **How has your experience of chairing national dialogue discussions in Ukraine on behalf of the OSCE last year prepared you for the role of chairing this panel?**

My work on behalf of the OSCE Chairperson-in-Office in the spring of last year gave me a firsthand insight into the situation both in Kyiv and the Donbas region. I was able to visit Donetsk and other communities before fighting made such visits impossible. This experience, coupled with my strong background as a crisis negotiator, is extremely useful in shaping the priorities of our panel.

### **What results do you expect the Panel to achieve?**

The Panel has a double mandate. The first report provides recommendations for the OSCE specifically – and the second will address European security matters more generally, going beyond those directly related to the OSCE.

In the first report, we came up with recommendations that we hope will feed into the decisions of the Permanent Council of the OSCE: recommendations on how the OSCE can be better equipped to deal with such emergencies, and how to equip the OSCE with more political influence and power.

We learned a lesson in the Georgian conflict in 2008 and we learned a much bigger lesson this year in Ukraine. This panel therefore has to look at security in a new, serious manner: what happened to conventional arms control? What happened to trust in political relations? We need to create a European architecture characterized by transparency in military and political terms, by verifiability, by mutual transparency of information, by reduction of armaments.

2014 was a wake-up call for European security. The Panel is an opportunity to respond, to provide suggestions for how we can build a more resilient and inclusive Euro-Atlantic security community.

### **Panel Members**

Wolfgang Ischinger, Germany, Chairperson of the Munich Security Conference

Dora Bakoyannis, Greece, Member of Greek Parliament, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs and the OSCE Chairperson-in-Office in 2009

Tahsin Burcuoğlu, Turkey, former Ambassador

Ivo H. Daalder, United States, former Ambassador, President of the Chicago Council on Global Affairs

Oleksandr Chalyi, Ukraine, President of Grant Thornton

Vaira Vike-Freiberga, Latvia, Former President of Latvia, President of the Club de Madrid

Jean-Marie Guéhenno, France, former United Nations Under Secretary-General, President of the International Crisis Group

Barbara Haering, Switzerland, former Member of Parliament, Director of the think tank econcept Inc.

Sergi Kapanadze, Georgia, former Deputy Foreign Minister, Director of the think tank Georgia's Reforms Associates

Sergey A. Karaganov, Russian Federation, Honorary Chairman of the Presidium of the Council on Foreign and Defense Policy

Malcolm Rifkind, United Kingdom, former Foreign Secretary, Member of Parliament

Adam Daniel Rotfeld, Poland, former Foreign Minister, Professor at Warsaw University

Teija Tiilikainen, Finland, former State Secretary, Director of the Finnish Institute of International Affairs

Kassym-Jomart Tokayev, Kazakhstan, former Prime Minister, Chairman of the Senate

Ivo Visković, Serbia, former Ambassador, Professor of Political Sciences at the University of Belgrade

**For more information, see [www.osce.org/cio/133976](http://www.osce.org/cio/133976)**

---

## INTERVIEW WITH ILUTA LĀCE

# Marta in Uzbekistan

*Many things are unusual about Marta, Latvia's leading women's advocacy centre. One of the most surprising is that it works to improve women's lives not only in Latvia but in far-away Uzbekistan. Iluta Lāce founded the Marta Resource Centre for Women in Riga in 2000.*

### What is special about Marta?

We look at legislation and existing practices, and when we see that something is discriminatory we try to come up with creative – sometimes subversive – solutions. For example, when during the economic crisis some groups wanted to legalize prostitution, we conducted a campaign with the tongue-in-cheek slogan, “Save the country, become a prostitute.” Our aim was to show the hell that girls and women experience through sexual exploitation and to block proposals to exploit them more. We organized a campaign, “Leave me alone”, to hasten the introduction of legal protection from stalking and facilitate understanding of its negative impact. We use the constitutional court mechanism to change laws that discriminate against women. We look for ways of tackling new issues no one knows how to deal with, for example, cyber bullying.

### Why did you decide to work in Uzbekistan?

We cannot create a better world if we only look at our own garden. We have to step out of our comfort zone. All of us are connected. We started our work in Uzbekistan in 2009, when our partner, the Italian Chamber of Commerce, Industry, Craft and Agriculture, was looking for experts to deal with issues of violence against women. Latvia and the Central Asian countries actually have quite a lot in common – the common history we

share as former members of the Soviet Union helps us to understand each other and develop a dialogue. It's inspirational and encouraging to work with women in Uzbekistan, to learn about how they deal with the difficulties they face in their daily lives. We also conduct projects in Kyrgyzstan (since 2012) and Tajikistan (since 2014).

### What specific issues do you encounter?

There are different problems. For example, girls are often forced to get married by their families at a very young age, especially in rural areas. Another problem is that if a family splits, women usually remain alone with a child without any support. We try to provide psychological and legal support and ensure that women receive adequate allowances from their ex-husbands.



### **What is the focus of your work?**

We educate psychologists, legal advisers, Mahalla [local self-government] leaders, self-support communities and other NGOs. We try to share our knowledge and working methods. People in the local communities in Uzbekistan then find their own ways of integrating our tools into their work.

### **What kinds of projects are you involved in?**

For example, together with our Italian partner, we have trained women who want to start their own small business, including activities that can be carried out at home, e.g. embroidery, pie baking, carpet weaving and making musical instruments. These business activities help women gain respect within their families.

We have helped several support centres – in Tashkent, Andijan, Navoi and Ferghana – to implement campaigns targeting vulnerable women. Over the years, several thousands of women that have vulnerable situations have received legal or psychological support at these centres.

The problem is that the local centres have difficulties with the continuous development of support programmes. Now we are trying to register Marta in Uzbekistan so that we can co-operate with local organizations more effectively. We see that it is necessary to provide continuous support, especially for sustaining professionalism and preventing “burn out” among the specialists that support vulnerable women.

I don't see any use in having experts come and go. It's more effective to build partnerships, educate local professionals and spread our methods so they can be adapted for local needs and used in the long term. Recently when I was in Uzbekistan, I was very happy to observe that some of our tools were being applied not only within the organizations with which we had worked but also in different communities.

### **What is the attitude towards your work among the local population? Do you encounter gender stereotyping?**

Surprisingly, the situation is very similar to Latvia. Every day, we face gender stereotypes, but we also

encounter support. When we talk about sensitive issues such as reproductive rights or violence against women, we have to be careful in our use of language because people in Uzbekistan have their own ways of expressing things. We talk about mutual respect and strong families. Similarly, in Latvia, when we first started working in the field of trafficking, we didn't use the word “trafficking”. Instead, we organized seminars about what women had to know before going to work abroad. It's about how you deliver your message. We try to use words that people understand.

It's not easy to discuss violence against women in any society. Civil society tries to bring it onto the agenda, but there is a denial that violence against women exists. Officially, there is no violence. It's not recognized as a problem. This is one of the reasons why it's difficult to open shelters for victims of violence in Central Asia. It was the same in Latvia some years ago – people used to speak about family conflicts, but not about violence.

### **What are your future plans?**

We would like to focus on new topics. For example, while human trafficking is already recognized as a problem in Central Asian countries, domestic violence is still largely taboo. Together with local organizations, we need to find a way to bring it onto the agenda.

During the Latvian Presidency of the European Union this year, we invited our partners from Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan to visit Latvia. We shared our knowledge about working with public institutions and governments and worked together with other gender experts and NGOs from the European Union to develop recommendations, within the scope of the United Nations development goals and post-2015 sustainable development agenda, on three main topics: trafficking, domestic violence and early marriages. ■

---

Valentyna Polunina spoke with Iluta Lāce.  
Find out more about Marta: <http://www.marta.lv>

---

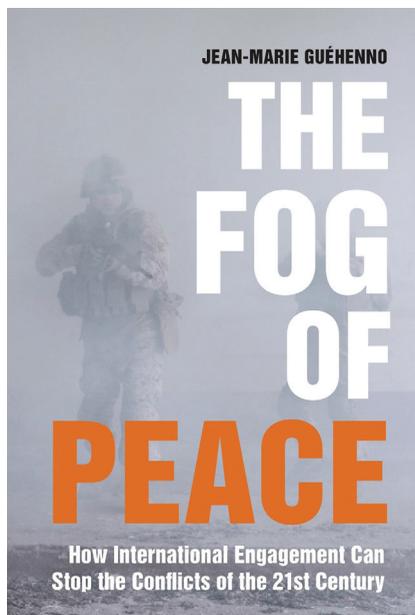
## GOOD READ

### Since World War II, Visibility Waning

Jean-Marie Guéhenno, *The Fog of Peace*

In 1945, when the United Nations (UN) was formed, the world witnessed a rare moment of moral clarity, remarks Jean-Marie Guéhenno, head of UN peacekeeping from 2000 to 2008, in his new book on the dilemmas of international interventions for peace. That clarity has been blurred by the transformation of the concept of security, he argues. The UN was designed as a bulwark against invasions of one state by another; in today's world, however, security is threatened rather by forces acting transnationally or by the internal failure of states.

The focus of Guéhenno's book is entirely on UN peacekeeping – the OSCE is mentioned exactly once, and that only in a passing reference to the “miserable failure” of the 2004 Ministerial Council in Sofia. But its insights are intended to be relevant, in the words of the author, for all “those who want to operate effectively in a world that is being redefined by the conflicting forces of globalization and fragmentation.”



“One needs a reliable compass to navigate through the fogs of peace. And I found that an enterprise becomes moral not because it is a fight against evil, but because it has to consider conflicting goods, and lesser evils, and make choices. It is those dilemmas that make peacekeeping an ethical enterprise. It is those dilemmas that I would like to share with the reader,” Guéhenno writes.

*The Fog of Peace* provides a personal account of peacekeeping in 12 different conflicts, two of them – Georgia and Kosovo – in the OSCE space.

## HEART-FELT ASSISTANCE

Evgenia Shevchenko is a renowned Ukrainian master of felting. Since December 2014 she has been leading a special atelier in the help centre for internally displaced persons (IDPs), Dopomoga Dnipro, on Karl Marx Avenue in Dnepropetrovsk, Ukraine. The centre houses around 40 IDPs and receives many visitors each day. Every evening, children and adults assemble in the atelier for an hour to learn the techniques of felting and give their imagination flight. They make small heart-shaped keepsakes to bring luck to soldiers, decorated slippers, hats, vests and different toys. The objects are for sale and the proceeds go to fulfilling centre residents' special needs – recently, for example, paying medical care for a girl who fell ill.



For more information, write:

Dopomoga Dnipro

119 A Karl Marx Avenue

Dnepropetrovsk, Ukraine 49000

Tel:+380963939805

**Guidebook to Enhancing Gender-Responsive Mediation**

Published by the OSCE Secretariat, OSG/Gender Section  
(English, Russian)

**Handbook of the OSCE Study on National Action  
Plans on the Implementation of the United Nations**

**Security Council Resolution 1325** Published by the OSCE  
Secretariat, OSG/Gender Section (English)

**Guidelines on the Legal Personality of Religious or  
Belief Communities** Published by the OSCE Office for  
Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (English,  
Russian)

**General Characteristics of Substandard Roma  
Settlements in Serbia and a Proposal for Further  
Development Initiatives for the Improvement of the  
Living Conditions of the Roma Community** Published by  
the OSCE Mission to Serbia (English, Serbian)

**Book on the Photojournalism Exhibition “In My Eyes”**  
Published by the OSCE Presence in Albania (Albanian)

**Handbook for the Observation of Campaign Finance**  
Published by the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions  
and Human Rights (English)

**Practical guide on how to organize activities of  
counselling centres for migrants** Published by the OSCE  
Programme Office in Astana (Russian)

**Manual on Quality Education for All** Prepared by the  
Armenian National Students' Association with support  
from the OSCE Office in Yerevan (Armenian)

**The Manual on Legal Instruments for the Protection  
of the Environment through Civil and Criminal Law**  
Published by the OSCE Mission to Serbia (Serbian)

**The Local Community and Challenges of Torrential  
Floods** Published by the OSCE Mission to Serbia (Serbian)

**Guide on Working with Vulnerable Groups and Non-  
Discrimination Principles** Published by the OSCE Mission  
to Serbia (Serbian)

**Handbook on Cyberspace: Information Security and  
Rights** Prepared by the Journalists for the Future NGO  
with the support of the OSCE Office in Yerevan (Armenian)

**Creating Mentor Networks in the OSCE Region: A  
Practical Roadmap** A joint publication by the OSCE and  
KVINFO (English)

**Security Community**

Published by the OSCE Secretariat  
Communication and Media Relations Section  
Wallnerstrasse 6  
1010 Vienna, Austria  
Tel: +43 1 51436 6267  
[oscemagazine@osce.org](mailto:oscemagazine@osce.org)

Available in print in English and Russian and  
online in English, French, German, Italian,  
Russian and Spanish at  
[www.osce.org/magazine](http://www.osce.org/magazine)

The views expressed in the articles are those of  
the authors and do not necessarily reflect the  
official position of the OSCE and its participating  
States.

**Editor:** Ursula Froese

**Editorial Board:** Miroslava Beham, Cathie Burton,  
Ursula Froese, Adam Kobieracki, Alexey  
Lyzhenkov, Marcel Pesko, Desiree Schweitzer.

**Design and Illustrations:** Rakocevic Aleksandar

**Print:** Riedeldruck GmbH

Security Community nurtures the development of  
a community of people committed to furthering  
trust and stability across the OSCE area. Written  
contributions on aspects of politico-military,  
economic and environmental or human security  
are welcome. Texts are subject to editing.

All materials published at the OSCE's discretion.  
No fees are paid for published work. Please write  
[oscemagazine@osce.org](mailto:oscemagazine@osce.org)

