

ISSUE 3, 2014

# SECURITY COMMUNITY

THE OSCE MAGAZINE



Special Section:  
**Stepping Up Against Corruption**

# Overview >>



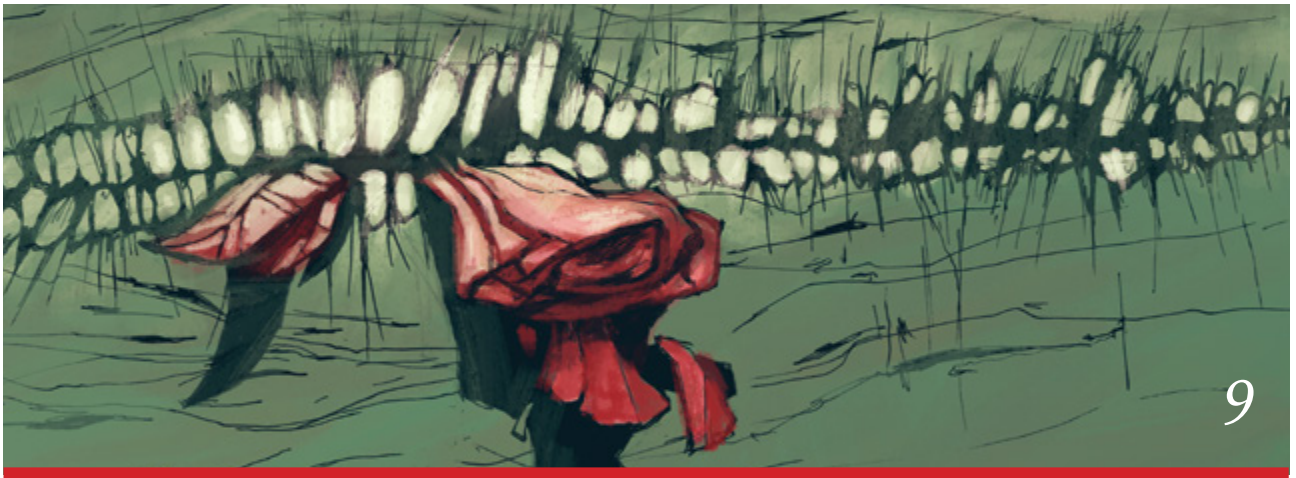
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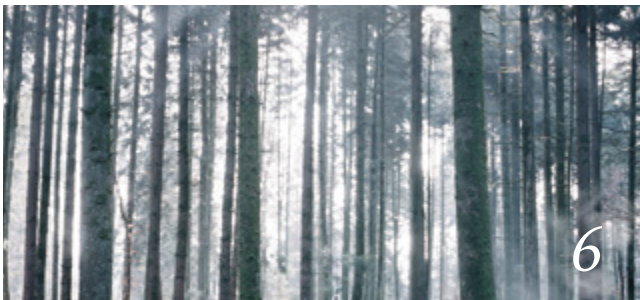
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# OSCE

## Resisting the pull of extremism

Women can be powerful agents against the pull of radicalization and violent extremism. OSCE participating States have been exploring how their policies can reflect this, most recently at a high-level workshop in Vienna on 21 and 22 October. “In Afghanistan, I saw how mothers...convinced their sons fighting with insurgents to come back from the battlefield, lay down their weapons, and re-integrate into a community programme,” said Eileen O’Connor, United States Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for South and Central Asian Affairs and former war correspondent, in her keynote speech. See more at:

[www.osce.org/secretariat/120964](http://www.osce.org/secretariat/120964)

## Terrorists kidnapping for ransom

How can states hope to ensure the safe return of kidnapped citizens abroad while at the same time refusing to fill terrorists’ coffers by paying ransoms? Only through the closest co-operation, OSCE participating States are recognizing. They discussed ways to grasp the dilemma by its horns at the **Chairmanship OSCE-wide Counterterrorism Conference** in Interlaken, Switzerland in April and an **OSCE/UNODC workshop** in Valetta, Malta, on 16 and 17 September. Read the Chairmanship Interlaken Recommendations here:

[www.osce.org/cio/118156](http://www.osce.org/cio/118156)



## Security Day on water diplomacy

“Even as we come up with new ways to stumble into messy wars, we seem to have forgotten the path of peace. Because it is so important, it can also be an instrument of peace to speak of water. The OSCE has a unique opportunity to play a significant role in establishing a platform for ownership of the water sector,” said HRH Prince El Hassan bin Talal of Jordan at the OSCE Security Day on the topic of the OSCE’s role in water diplomacy, in Vienna on 8 July 2014.

## Environmental rights across borders

Fifty-six OSCE-supported Aarhus Centres assist ordinary people with asserting their rights to information, participation and justice regarding environmental decision-making under the UNECE Aarhus Convention. The network is expanding its co-operation across borders. On 30 June 2014, during the Fifth Session of the Meeting of the Parties to the Aarhus Convention in Maastricht, Aarhus Centre practitioners from 14 countries shared experiences. On 12 September the Aarhus Centres in Osh, Kyrgyzstan and Khujand, Tajikistan initiated co-operation on confronting common environmental challenges.

## Max van der Stoel Award

For its courage in defending the position of minorities in the tense environment of the June 2010 inter-ethnic clashes in southern Kyrgyzstan and their aftermath, the Jalal-Abad NGO Spravedlivost received the High Commissioner on National Minorities’ Max van der Stoel Award on 2 October in The Hague. Spravedlivost (Russian for “justice”) monitors conditions in places of detention and provides legal and medical assistance to victims of torture and abuse.

[www.osce.org/hcnm/124326](http://www.osce.org/hcnm/124326)

## Civil society against torture

Under the slogan “Creating a security community for the benefit of everyone”, the Swiss Chairmanship organized four regional civil society conferences this year, in Belgrade, Vienna, Dushanbe and Tbilisi. Their outcome will translate into recommendations for the OSCE Parallel Civil Society Conference on 2 and 3 December in Basel. A red thread running through the discussions was the urgency of eradicating torture and ill treatment in places of detention. The Special Human Dimension Meeting organized by the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) in April was held on the same topic. “Despite its absolute prohibition in OSCE commitments and international instruments, torture continues to be perpetrated in the OSCE area,” said Snježana Bokulić, who heads ODIHR’s Human Rights Department.

## Milestones

The **OSCE Code of Conduct on Politico-Military Aspects of Security**, which regulates the role of armed forces in democratic societies, is 20 years old. Adopted on 3 December 1994 in Budapest and long called a hidden jewel among OSCE documents, its revolutionary significance is increasingly recognized, also beyond the OSCE area. Last year, it was translated into Arabic. View the Code of Conduct here: [www.osce.org/fsc/41355](http://www.osce.org/fsc/41355)

The OSCE handed full control of the **Agreement on Sub-Regional Arms Control**, which played a key role in establishing peace and stability in south-eastern Europe, to its parties, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Montenegro and Serbia. The successful fulfilment of Article IV of Annex 1-B of the Dayton Peace Accords and conclusion of the mandate of the Personal Representative for Article IV of the OSCE Chairperson-in-Office, a post currently held by Major General Michele Torres of Italy, will be celebrated in a ceremony at the Ministerial Council in Basel. ■



# The OSCE in Ukraine

June to November

## Mediation and Negotiation

The OSCE Chairperson-in-Office, Swiss President and Foreign Minister Didier Burkhalter, continues to intervene on the presidential and ministerial levels for a diplomatic solution to the conflict in Ukraine. Secretary General Lamberto Zannier continues efforts to defuse tensions through political contacts, including in high-level discussions with the United Nations, the European Union, the Council of Europe, NATO and CSTO. These contacts run parallel to the constant interaction among the 57 participating States in Vienna.

The Tripartite Contact Group that includes Ukraine, Russia and the OSCE, represented by Swiss diplomat Heidi Tagliavini, signed the Minsk Protocol on 5 September, which sets out terms for a cease-fire and a political process to resolve the crisis. The Minsk Memorandum, agreed on 19 September between the Trilateral Contact Group and representatives of certain districts of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions, outlines steps to make the cease-fire sustainable.

The OSCE Parliamentary Assembly has mandated the creation of an Inter-parliamentary Liaison Group on Ukraine aimed at bringing together Russian, Ukrainian and other parliamentarians to help de-escalate the crisis.



## Special Monitoring Mission

The mandate of the Special Monitoring Mission to Ukraine (SMM), originally agreed by consensus on 21 March 2014, was extended in July 2014 and is currently running until March 2015. Monitors are deployed to Kyiv, Kherson, Odessa, Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk, Kharkiv, Donetsk, Dnipropetrovsk, Chernivtsi and Luhansk.

As of mid-November, the mission consisted of about 300 international monitors from more than 40 participating States and about 130 local staff. Almost half of the monitors are in the east of the country. Four monitors from the Donetsk team and four from the Luhansk team who were captured by separatists at the end of May while carrying out their mandate were released at the end of June.

After the tragic downing of the Malaysian Airlines MH17 aircraft on July 17, members of the OSCE Special Monitoring Mission were the first to be able to access the crash site. They facilitated access for Ukrainian, Malaysian, Dutch and Australian experts to investigate and recover bodies.

The monitors operate under the principles of impartiality and transparency to report on the security situation and engage in dialogue. Their daily reports are posted on the OSCE public website. They were mandated by the Minsk Protocol to monitor the cease-fire, which includes observing the activities of the Joint Centre for Control and Co-ordination, established by the Ukraine Defence Ministry in co-operation with Russia.

On 23 October the SMM began using unmanned aerial vehicles to support the fulfilment of its mandate.

## Observer Mission

On 24 July, the 57 participating States decided by consensus to deploy an Observer Mission at the Russian checkpoints Gukovo and Donetsk on the border with Ukraine. The decision was taken in response to an invitation from the Russian Federation following the Berlin Declaration of 2 July by the Foreign Ministers of Germany, France, Russia and Ukraine. The Observer Mission operates impartially and transparently, monitoring and reporting on movements across the border at the two checkpoints. The Observer Mission's weekly reports are posted on the OSCE website.

## Election Observation

The Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) issued the final report on the findings of its monitoring of the 25 May Ukrainian presidential election on 30 June.

More than 700 long-term and short-term observers were deployed by the OSCE election observation mission to monitor the 26 October early parliamentary elections. A joint statement of findings and conclusions was released the day after the elections. A final report from the mission will be released in December.



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## Military verification

Participating States have been conducting visits and inspections and requesting consultations on unusual military activities since the beginning of the crisis, as provided for by the Vienna Document 2011 on military confidence and security building measures. Since 1 May 2014, 18 participating States have conducted 12 verification activities in Ukraine: one inspection under Chapter IX, on compliance and verification, and 8 inspections and 3 evaluation visits under Chapter X, on regional measures.

## Rights and freedoms

The OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights continues to strengthen institutions and safeguard human rights in Ukraine. Its efforts have included providing follow-up consultations with civil society on its Human Rights Assessment Mission to Ukraine, training on human rights monitoring, expert assistance on legal reforms and legislative drafting and monitoring of the situation of Roma affected by the crisis.

The High Commissioner on National Minorities, Astrid Thors, continues to monitor inter-ethnic tensions and advise the Ukrainian government, especially in the area of language policy. Her team participated in election observation and co-operates with the SMM. Her key concerns at present regard human rights abuses in Crimea and the need for shared institutions that have the trust of all citizens.

The Representative on Freedom of the Media, Dunja Mijatović, continues to closely monitor media freedom and in particular threats to journalists' safety in Ukraine. She has issued more than 15 public statements since June. Her office has hosted two roundtable discussions on journalists' safety with representatives from Ukrainian and Russian journalists' unions.

## Permanent presence

The OSCE Project Co-ordinator, on request from Ukrainian partners, continued implementing projects to enhance stability of the country, also in follow-up to the national dialogue project conducted earlier in the year.

The Project Co-ordinator's office assisted the Central Election Commission in informing the public, especially internally displaced persons, on how to register to vote in the early parliamentary elections, producing two TV and three radio announcements. It trained election administrators online and provided more than 260,000 printed manuals and flow charts.

To protect children and other civilians against the dangers of unexploded military ordnance, the office produced public service announcements on safety precautions, provided training on humanitarian demining standards and delivered protective equipment to personnel working in the conflict-affected areas.

The Project Co-ordinator provided training of judges and other legal professionals on reviewing election-related disputes and handling human rights violation cases and facilitated

important discussions in the legal community on how to reform the criminal justice system and improve human rights monitoring in response to the crisis' impact. His office introduced international practices for ensuring human rights protection in combating terrorism to State Security Service personnel.

In response to the heightened danger of trafficking in human beings in eastern Ukraine, the office distributed information in co-operation with NGOs. It provided training and moderated discussions on rules for the safety of journalists and media ethics in crisis situations, in Kyiv, Odessa and Kharkiv.

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This update follows up on "The OSCE in Ukraine" in Security Community 2/2014.

For latest developments see the OSCE public website [www.osce.org](http://www.osce.org).





Special Section:  
**Stepping  
Up  
Against  
Corruption**

**O** Rose thou art sick.  
The invisible worm,  
That flies in the night  
In the howling storm:  
Has found out thy bed  
Of crimson joy:  
And his dark secret love  
Does thy life destroy.

- William Blake

The Sick Rose, one of the most enigmatic of William Blake's poems, has been taken to symbolize his contempt for the corruption of 19<sup>th</sup> century English society.

# Stepping Up Against Corruption

## The OSCE and its Partners

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**W**HEN HUGUETTE LABELLE, former Chair of the Board of Transparency International and currently Chair of the United Nations Global Compact's Business for Good Governance, addressed participating States at the OSCE Economic and Environmental Dimension meeting on 23 October, she cited some arresting figures: "In countries where corruption is prevalent, less than 50 per cent of children finish primary school. – In countries, where more than 60 per cent of the population tell us that they had to pay a bribe to gain access to essential services, 482 women out of 100,000 die giving birth. If less than 30 per cent of the people say they had to bribe, it drops down to 45 women out of 100,000."

She was speaking to a receptive audience. OSCE participating States have been committed to making the elimination of all forms of corruption a priority since the turn of the century. In the 2012 Dublin Declaration, they identified a compendium of issues on which to work individually and with partners: money laundering, asset declaration, politically exposed persons, asset recovery. This year, they are deliberating giving the OSCE, in particular the Office of the Co-ordinator of OSCE Economic and Environmental Activities as well as the field operations, an even stronger mandate to work on prevention.

The link between corruption and security is plain. As stated by Labelle in her speech, when one looks at the conflicts of recent years, there may be many contributing factors, but one common cause is always corruption. Corruption kills. And good governance, which is at the core of the OSCE's approach to security, is the cure. Labelle cited the 2011 World Bank Development Report: "In countries where governance is done well, where people can participate in society and business, where there is transparency, integrity and accountability by the government, there is 30 to 45 per cent less chance of conflict," she said.

In the pages that follow, representatives of organizations with which the OSCE works in partnership or synergy to combat corruption – the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, the Council of Europe's 'Group of States against Corruption', the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, Transparency International and the International Anti-Corruption Academy – each present one area where they are making a difference.

Andrei Muntean, who heads the Economic Governance Unit in the OSCE Secretariat, explains why the move to preventive work is complicated but essential (p. 19).

The last word goes to social scientist Ivan Krastev, who reminds us that anti-corruption policies are strong medicine to be used with due attention to potential abuse and side effects (p. 22).

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“ We can get results if we change the way people think. ”

## Dmitri Vlassis

United Nations Organization on Drugs and Crime (UNODC)

**C**AN CORRUPTION BE ERADICATED? I am certain that this will not happen in my lifetime. It will take a generational shift. But I think we can get results if we change the way people think. We need to pay much more attention to prevention and invest heavily in education.

At UNODC, we started a programme a couple of years ago targeting academic institutions. The idea was born when a survey we did together with the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and the International Bar Association showed that less than 35 per cent of in-house counsels (lawyers who are advising companies), were aware of the United Nations Convention against Corruption (UNCAC). So we developed an academic programme with two components.

The first is what we call a “menu of topics”, from which institutions – not just law faculties but also business schools or schools of public administration - can develop their own courses.

We have put together a list of resources (academic articles, books, documents) which now number over 1,700 – and these are available online for free.

The other component is a separate, full course based on the UNCAC. We now have about two dozen universities all over the world which are actually teaching the course. Also this is available at no cost.

### Co-operation

We have a very fruitful co-operation with the OSCE. In the early stages of the UNCAC, the OSCE used its convening power to promote it and very soon afterwards we started registering very high levels of ratification and accession by OSCE participating States. The other strong point of the OSCE is its field presence, and we have had very good experiences conducting training with the OSCE, particularly in Central Asia.

### ABOUT THE UNITED NATIONS CONVENTION AGAINST CORRUPTION

A flurry of negotiation activity around the turn of the century produced the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime and its two Protocols against trafficking in persons and against the smuggling of migrants in 2000, the Protocol on Firearms in 2001 and the United Nations Convention against Corruption (UNCAC) in 2003. All of these negotiations were supported by Dimitri Vlassis. He explains why UNCAC is so important: →



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"First of all, it is the only global convention against corruption. It builds on regional efforts from around the world, first in Latin America, with the Inter-American Convention, then the Council of Europe, then the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and then, more or less simultaneously with the UNCAC, the African Union's Convention followed. It also builds on the negotiations of the Convention against Trans-national Organized Crime.

The second reason is its broad approach. We refrained from including a definition of corruption and consciously took a descriptive approach. The definition of public officials essentially includes everyone who performs a public function, including parliamentarians, other elected and appointed officials and also members of semi-private and semi-public corporations.

Third, it includes extensive provisions for international co-operation, some of which in fact advance overall international co-operation in criminal matters such as extradition and mutual legal assistance. It is the only international agreement that includes an entire separate chapter on asset recovery, which was very difficult to negotiate. It establishes key principles to help countries trace resources and assets that have been spirited away by corrupt leaders and ultimately recover those assets.

Finally, it has been supplemented by a functioning implementation review mechanism. Negotiations for the monitoring mechanism were often more difficult than those for the Convention itself. The Mechanism builds on the experience the countries had with other similar mechanisms, such as GRECO and the OECD's Anti-Bribery Working Group, from which it borrows some elements such as the peer-review approach. It is the first mechanism covering this many countries, at all levels of development and with different legal systems. It has been functioning for four years now and working very well, producing a lot of information and analysis, but also a lot of action on the ground, such as legal reforms, legislation and also action plans." ■

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Dimitri Vlassis is Chief of the UNODC Corruption and Economic Crime Branch. He supported the negotiations for the United Nations Convention against Corruption (UNCAC).

“ It is time politicians and political parties demonstrate they can govern themselves as democratically as we want them to govern their electorate. ”

## Wolfgang Rau

The Council of Europe’s Group of States against Corruption (GRECO)

**P**OLITICAL PARTIES perform a vital democratic function. It is through them that the political will of the people is most typically expressed. But their legitimacy depends on the trust and confidence of citizens and this is called into question when politicians and party officials across Europe flout the standards of conduct expected of them – whether to gain the upper hand against their political opponents or to further their personal interests or those of their affiliates. The values and principles underpinning our democracies need to be reaffirmed if we want to counteract low voter turnouts and the rise of populist political movements and parties whose democratic credentials are highly questionable.

Promoting integrity among members of parliament (MPs) is one avenue that must be followed. As advocated by GRECO, MPs across Europe must develop a deeper understanding of what constitutes conflicts of interest and handle these openly and properly. They must adopt clear rules of conduct and of financial disclosure. And they must establish sensible enforcement mechanisms which ensure they are accountable to the citizens for their conduct.

Promoting transparency of political funding is another course of action to which we attach great importance. The results of GRECO’s work reveal a mixed picture regarding the implementation of the Council of Europe Committee of

Ministers’ ground-breaking 2003 ‘Recommendation on common rules against corruption in the funding of political parties and electoral campaigns’. While some countries have responded positively and quickly to the Group’s criticisms of existing funding regimes, a number of others have not; some are even subject to special compliance-enhancing procedures.

The failure of politicians and political parties to deal with these problems is corroding their legitimacy in the eyes of voters, old and young. It is time they put aside partisan thinking and demonstrate that they can govern themselves as democratically as we want them to govern their electorate.

### Co-operation

The Council of Europe/GRECO, the OSCE and other international organizations need to co-operate even better to mobilize political resolve for real reform. Spreading the message by raising the awareness of governments, national parliaments, civil society and the media to the issues at stake will help to build momentum for closing the gap between principles and reality.

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## ABOUT GRECO

GRECO is the anti-corruption monitoring body of the Council of Europe, which has its headquarters in Strasbourg. Wolfgang Rau explains:

" 'GRECO' is the French acronym for 'Group of States against Corruption.' Membership is open on an equal footing to all 47 member states of the Council of Europe and to non-member states, particularly those who participated in GRECO's establishment. This explains why the United States and Belarus are members and why Canada and the Holy See are welcome to join if they wish. GRECO started with ten members in 1999, and now has 49.

GRECO was set up to complement the Council of Europe's anti-corruption standards with a suitable and sustainable monitoring mechanism. There have been four evaluation rounds so far. Each country evaluation is conducted by a team of expert evaluators nominated by member states. There is an initial examination of information supplied by the state under review, which is then tested and completed during an in-country visit. The resulting report and recommendations is then fully examined by all GRECO members prior to adoption; it is standing practice for members to authorise the publication of the report. This last point is important and adds to the value of GRECO's work; it is a mixture of scrupulous review, carefully constructed recommendations and peer pressure. The evaluation report and the subsequent compliance reviews which examine the steps taken to

fulfil the recommendations provide very useful reference documents for outside stakeholders and observers including the business community.

The current fourth evaluation round, launched on 1 January 2012, is devoted to the prevention of corruption among parliamentarians, judges and prosecutors. In its previous three rounds, GRECO dealt with a wide range of issues, such as anti-corruption bodies, immunities of public officials as possible obstacles in the fight against corruption, the protection of individuals who report their suspicions of corruption internally to responsible persons or externally to authorities ('whistleblowers'), the confiscation of corruption proceeds, the incrimination of corruption and, most importantly, the transparency of financing of political parties and election campaigns." ■

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Wolfgang Rau is Executive Secretary of GRECO. All views expressed are personal.



# “ Having NGOs at the monitoring meetings really changes the mood of the discussion. ”

## Olga Savran

Anti-Corruption Network for Eastern Europe and Central Asia of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)

Although governments are the main participants and source of information for the OECD's Anti-Corruption Network (OCN), it is extremely important for us to involve civil society. When we go to a country, we have a special session for NGOs. NGOs are also sitting at the monitoring meeting where monitoring reports are discussed and adopted by the whole ACN group. That really changes the mood of the discussion.

Last year we started complementing our monitoring process with shadow reports from NGOs. We have plenary meetings in Paris twice a year at which usually two monitoring reports are adopted and all other countries give progress updates. Until last year, countries simply read quickly what they had done in between meetings. We decided to change that and add a peer review element. We asked experts to review these progress updates, and we invited NGOs to also take part if they wished.

The Transparency International chapters for Ukraine and Georgia prepared their own shadow reports for those countries' respective progress reports. This was very valuable. If you just receive ten pages of text it is difficult to assess if the progress described was really made, but a report from an NGO gives you a feeling for actual changes on the ground.

Based on this good experience, we have prepared a practical guide on civil society monitoring that can be used by other NGOs. We also

provide training to the NGOs in Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan on shadow monitoring. The purpose is for the NGOs to provide their views on the progress achieved by the governments in implementing our recommendations, which helps the peer reviewers to have a more objective assessment of the situation.

### Co-operation

The OSCE has been a reliable partner for us since 2003; we complement each other very well. The OSCE has field operations in the countries we monitor, which we do not, and better high-level political contacts. We offer anti-corruption expertise and experience. When we organize a seminar, we can bring speakers, prepare background materials and reports; the OSCE also brings good people and, importantly, can observe subsequent developments on the ground.

We work together on thematic studies. For instance, we co-organized meetings on asset declaration in Serbia and Kyrgyzstan and prepared a joint publication. We have jointly co-operated with UNDP to organize high-level expert seminars on corruption prevention, last year in Jurmala and again this year in Tirana. OSCE field offices have hosted meetings with civil society and even financed their participation at our plenary meetings in Paris.

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## ABOUT THE ACN

The Anti-Corruption Network for Eastern Europe and Central Asia (ACN) is the outreach programme of the OECD's Working Group on Bribery, formed in 1998 during a seminar in Istanbul. It is an open initiative for governmental and non-governmental organizations in transition countries and also all international partners that are active in anti-corruption work; we have an open door policy for participation. The ACN engages in three main activities: monitoring, thematic reviews and a law-enforcement network. Olga Savran explains what makes the ACN's monitoring programme outstanding:

"Called the Istanbul Action Plan, our monitoring programme is a voluntary, sub-regional peer review mechanism that we launched in 2003. It currently includes Ukraine, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Mongolia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. When we started, these countries were not covered by any international monitoring tool.

We monitor only nine countries, in only two languages. These countries have similar traditions and problems. By contrast with UNODC, which does global monitoring, we can go much more into depth.

Unlike UNODC or GRECO, which do thematic reviews, we look into all anti-corruption issues every time. Every two or three years we go to a country, look at its anti-corruption policy, criminal law enforcement and preventive measures and make recommendations. And every few years we review their implementation. That allows us to exert regular, focused

pressure on countries. It is very important not to leave them alone. You have to be there all the time.

Our monitoring strictly follows the OECD methodology of peer review. When we go to monitor a country, Tajikistan, for instance, we bring a group of government officials from other countries – it could be a prosecutor from Latvia, a prevention expert from Armenia – and it is these peers who conduct the assessment and come up with recommendations.

The final characteristic feature of our monitoring is that we publish all the reports immediately. The UNODC countries publish only extracts of their reports. GRECO countries have to give their permission for publishing. We follow the OECD rule: we publish all reports as soon as there are adopted.

## Case Study: Ukraine

Ukraine has been an ACN member since its establishment; it also takes part in the Istanbul Action Plan monitoring. The third round of monitoring has started with a country visit from 17 to 21 November; the monitoring report will be presented for adoption by the ACN monitoring meeting in March 2015. The Ministry of Justice of Ukraine acts as the National Co-ordinator. Transparency International Ukraine co-ordinates NGO inputs to the monitoring, the American Chamber of Commerce in Ukraine co-ordinates the inputs from the business sector, and the EU delegation helps to bring in the views of the international partners. This monitoring provides an important opportunity to assess the progress

made since 2011, and to develop new recommendations for Ukraine in the current challenging situation.

In addition to the regional work, the ACN has a country programme for Ukraine. About seven years ago, the ACN helped to develop a draft law for creating a specialized anti-corruption law enforcement bureau in Ukraine to focus on the investigation and prosecution of high-level corruption cases. The ACN also prepared a manual for law enforcement practitioners on financial investigations of complex corruption cases. However, in the past there was not sufficient political will to adopt the law or to strengthen enforcement of anti-corruption laws. In October 2014 the Parliament of Ukraine adopted the Law Establishing the Anti-Corruption Bureau. The ACN will now focus its programme on helping Ukraine to establish this new body and make it operational. The ACN will also provide practical training to the law enforcement practitioners on investigation and prosecution of complex corruption crimes, such as foreign bribery and corruption by legal persons." ■

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Olga Savran is Manager of the OECD's Anti-Corruption Network for Eastern Europe and Central Asia.

# “ Businesses are very powerful and can make an important difference in the fight against corruption. ”

## Huguette Labelle

Huguette Labelle, former Chair of the Board of Directors of Transparency International

**A**ROUND THE WORLD, BUSINESSES ARE VERY POWERFUL and can make an important difference in the fight against corruption. Take public procurement, for example. If companies of a particular sector collude and take turns getting contracts from the government, the cost is huge. And if some of that money is paid under the table, who knows where it may go?

Increasingly, we see industrial leaders coming together because they have decided that it is in their best interest to have clean operations and a clean government. At Transparency International we have developed a set of standards called Business Principles for Countering Bribery, which have become widely used along with their small- and medium-sized enterprise (SME) special edition.

In the United Nations Global Compact (UNGC), I co-chair an initiative called Business for the Rule of Law, which works with businesses so that they can not only operate with integrity towards all their stakeholders and clients, but also convey their expectation of a high level of integrity to governments in their management of the public good. If you can get the leaders of a sector working together, be it construction, information technology or shipping, then those leaders can try to bring their peers on board, forming Pacts of Integrity.

### ABOUT TRANSPARENCY INTERNATIONAL

In 1993, Peter Eigen, a former World Bank Officer, in co-operation with a few individuals decided to take a stance against corruption and created Transparency International. A global, politically non-partisan movement with its international secretariat in Berlin, it is dedicated to the vision of a world in which government, businesses, civil society and the daily lives of people are free from corruption. Through more than 100 national chapters worldwide, it works with partners in government, business and civil society to put effective anti-corruption measures in place. ■

We have 7,000 member companies in the UNGC, with local networks in many parts of the world. By becoming members, they subscribe to ten principles in the areas of human rights, labour, the environment and corruption. The tenth principle commits them to “work against corruption in all its forms, including extortion and bribery”. If they do not comply, they are delisted. And hopefully, investors will notice.

Investors are looking increasingly closely at where they are putting their money. They want to mitigate their risk, get a good return and at the same time make a positive contribution to society, a win-win situation.

### Co-operation

If, coming from Transparency International, you were to read the OSCE’s Dublin Declaration without seeing the title and author, you might wonder if it didn’t stem from us. We care in a very similar way about security and good governance and we recommend a similar approach. So there’s a natural synergy. Transparency International has chapters in most of the 57 countries of the OSCE, and we are on the ground side by side with its field operations. We are collaborating with the same multilateral institutions. In French, we say: “*il y a des atomes crochus*” – the connections are there.

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Huguette Labelle chaired the Board of Directors of Transparency International from 2005 to 2014. She is a member of the board of the United Nations Global Compact, where she co-chairs the Business for the Rule of Law initiative.



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# The International Anti-Corruption Academy

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The International Anti-Corruption Academy (IACA), based in Laxenburg, Austria, is both an academic institution and an intergovernmental organization, with 60 parties including three international organizations. Shortly after its founding, on 28 March 2011, a Memorandum of Understanding between IACA and the OSCE was signed on undertaking joint efforts to promote good governance and the fight against corruption.

IACA provides a holistic approach to anti-corruption education. In 2012, it launched the first international, interdisciplinary Master in Anti-Corruption Studies, designed for working professionals. It also offers summer schools and training, promotes research and provides a platform for dialogue and networking.

## Notes on a summer course

By Ruth Pojman

It had long been clear to me that human trafficking is often facilitated by corrupt practices, and when I learned about IACA's summer school, open to "practitioners, academics and civil society", I took the opportunity to attend a 10-day course in the summer of 2012 to learn more about anti-corruption approaches and how to apply them to combating trafficking in human beings.

We were 50 people from all over the world, from governments, anti-corruption commissions and NGOs. There were lectures, roundtables and interactive and inspiring exercises, on corruption as it relates to international norms, ethics, organized crime, media, and trafficking, and as it plays out in different regions of the world - Europe, Africa, Asia and Latin America.

My main takeaway, coming from the OSCE, was that there are many synergies between our organizations and between combating human trafficking and corruption. Both fields are about the decisions people make to do the right thing or not, and both are about abuse of power. Though it is difficult to change human behaviour, we must join forces to end impunity, ensure accountability and prosecute offenders.

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Ruth Pojman is Deputy Co-ordinator for Combating Trafficking In Human Beings in the OSCE Secretariat in Vienna.



The complex ethical dilemmas often entailed by efforts to prevent and combat trafficking in human beings were the topic of the 14th High-level Alliance against Trafficking in Persons conference hosted by the OSCE on 4 and 5 November 2014 in Vienna. Learn more at: [www.osce.org/secretariat/126350](http://www.osce.org/secretariat/126350)

“ The hard way is to redesign the entire matrix of social behaviour, so that corruption becomes not only illegal but immoral and unethical. ”

## Andrei Muntean

Office of the Co-ordinator of OSCE Economic and Environmental Activities (OCEEA)

**G**OOD GOVERNANCE IS THE GOAL towards which many countries continue to strive. It requires governments to be transparent and accountable. This, in turn, requires enabling members of society to participate and review budgetary processes and to benefit from their results, in the form of social welfare, salaries, pensions and other products. Usually, if there is a gap between promise and delivery, people begin to suspect their governments of being corrupt.

As a government, what do you do to address this? One way is to apprehend and punish those who are guilty of corruption. By doing this, governments send a message back to society, including new members of government institutions, that to misuse public funds is an offence against the law. But that is the easy way.

The hard way is to do what countries such as Singapore and Hong Kong attempted starting in the 1960s: to redesign the entire matrix of social behaviour, so that corruption becomes not only illegal but unethical and immoral. But this is extremely complicated for many countries to implement in practice.

That is why the OSCE to date has been assisting participating States more on the apprehension side of combating corruption. We have done a lot

of good work, helping countries to improve legislation and build their anti-corruption capacity. To name one example: together with the World Bank we have assisted several countries conducting their own national risk assessments, helping government officials to open their eyes to possible loopholes in their public economies, which can be targeted by those interested in laundering funds. We host workshops, provide training, publish guidelines and arrange for the exchange of best practices among participating States. Some initiatives are more successful than others, depending on the need or desire for a country to come to the OSCE for help. One successful example is the establishment of the Good Governance Resource Centre in Ashgabat this year.

But there is a limit to the value of education and exchange. It is important, but more is needed. The impact of publications or events, even series of events, is often sporadic. If government officials are exposed to good practice, they may not necessarily be willing or permitted to apply it in their own country or agency. We need to find other modes of partnering with participating States when addressing corruption.

The OSCE's field offices are an important asset. Our stakeholders in other organizations recognize that one of the most important factors is we have our “eyes and ears on the ground”.

Both Secretariat and field presences could intensify their engagement with countries and delegations, in a regular dialogue on what specifically the OSCE could offer. Ukraine provides a good example: in 2014, dialogue between the Secretariat, the Project Co-ordinator in Ukraine and the host country has enhanced substantively, also because of the growing interest of Ukrainian authorities in anti-corruption and anti-money laundering.

We could engage with the private sector, bringing anti-money laundering and anti-bribery expertise together with anti-corruption expertise and the banking sector. Also, we could work with the general public, conduct information campaigns, roundtable discussions and focus groups. People need to understand that there are economic, social and psychological reasons why stopping corruption is ultimately, in the long term, to be preferred over corruption.

We have done a lot to help states to better investigate and prosecute corruption crimes, to follow the money gained from illegal activities that could lead to more effective confiscation of illegally gained assets. But this is all post-corruption. We need to work on pre-corruption. Providing post-corruption assistance to countries' financial intelligence units is relatively straightforward: what they need are techniques, programmes and codes. Prevention is broader, more complex, more complicated to comprehend. But we are hopeful that we are going to be able to do it. ■

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Andrei Muntean is Senior Economic Officer and heads the Economic Governance Unit in the OCEEA the OSCE Secretariat.

### THE OSCE FIGHTS CORRUPTION

The OSCE participating States have identified corruption as a threat not only to their stability and security, but also to their shared values. For the Office of the Co-ordinator of OSCE Economic and Environmental Activities (OCEEA),

the fight against corruption in the participating States is a priority. In accordance with the provisions of the Dublin Declaration it:

- promotes the ratification and implementation of international agreements such as the United Nations Convention against Corruption (UNCAC);
- encourages regional dialogue and exchanges of experience and good practices;
- builds anti-corruption capacity and provides training for governments, the private sector and civil society;
- Develops educational materials and organizes training on international anti-corruption commitments and good practices, including prevention of corruption, asset declaration and asset recovery, codes of conduct for civil servants and anti-corruption institutional structures. It pays attention to both central and local levels of government. In carrying out these activities the OCEEA works closely with other OSCE institutions, units and field operations and with partner organizations.

### OSCE DOCUMENTS AGAINST CORRUPTION

- |      |   |
|------|---|
| 1999 | Charter for European Security   |
| 2003 | OSCE Strategy Document for the Economic and Environmental Dimension (Maastricht Strategy)   |
| 2004 | Ministerial Council Decision on Corruption  |
| 2012 | Declaration on Strengthening Good Governance and Combating Corruption, Money-Laundering and the Financing of Terrorism (Dublin Declaration) |

## Notes from OSCE Field Operations

### Central Asia

#### Centre in Ashgabat: a new resource centre established

"In May of this year, the Centre in Ashgabat supported the establishment of the Good Governance Resource Centre, located in the premises of the Ministry of Finance. Its aim is to enable the government to more effectively fight corruption, money-laundering and financing of terrorism, and to adhere to good governance principles. It is a place for gathering information, for workshops and training and for communication among stakeholders, government officials and experts in the good governance field."

- Nana Baramidze,  
Economic and Environmental Officer

#### Centre in Bishkek: the private sector included in the action plan

"The private sector is the engine of the economy, but laws and regulations governing its activities in Kyrgyzstan are often outdated and inconsistent. Working with the Presidential Administration to develop an anti-corruption action plan for 2014-2017, the Centre in Bishkek ensured that the plan included provisions not only for the public but also for the private sector. "

- Yulia Minaeva,  
Senior Economic and Environmental Officer

#### Office in Tajikistan: civil society joins workshops

"There are many civil society organizations in Tajikistan, but most have only a vague understanding of what could be done to tackle corruption. The OSCE Office in Tajikistan has therefore invited them, together with Tajik authorities, to the workshops and seminars it organizes, to introduce the United Nations Convention against Corruption, the OECD's Istanbul Action Plan and national anti-corruption legislation. Participants have shown genuine interest, expressed their concerns and come up with suggestions for preventing corruption."

- Martina Schmidt,  
Senior Anti-Corruption Officer

#### Project Co-ordinator in Uzbekistan: assisting with peer review

"Corruption is a security threat, and the Project Co-ordinator in Uzbekistan has been assisting the Uzbek authorities on measures to increase integrity in the public service. We strive to help Uzbekistan to comply with the standards of the UNCAC and the OECD's peer review mechanism under the Istanbul Action Plan. Although Uzbekistan is not an OECD member state, it is part of the Anti-Corruption Network for Eastern Europe and Central Asia and can therefore be tested for compliance

with OECD standards through the mechanism."

- Murod Khusanov,  
National Economic and Environmental Officer

### Mission to Serbia

#### Corruption Map

"Winning a contract with the government can be very lucrative and public procurement is notorious for breeding corruption. The Corruption Map of Public Procurement Procedures developed by the OSCE Mission to Serbia provides a useful guide to the many loopholes that make public administrations so vulnerable to abuse.

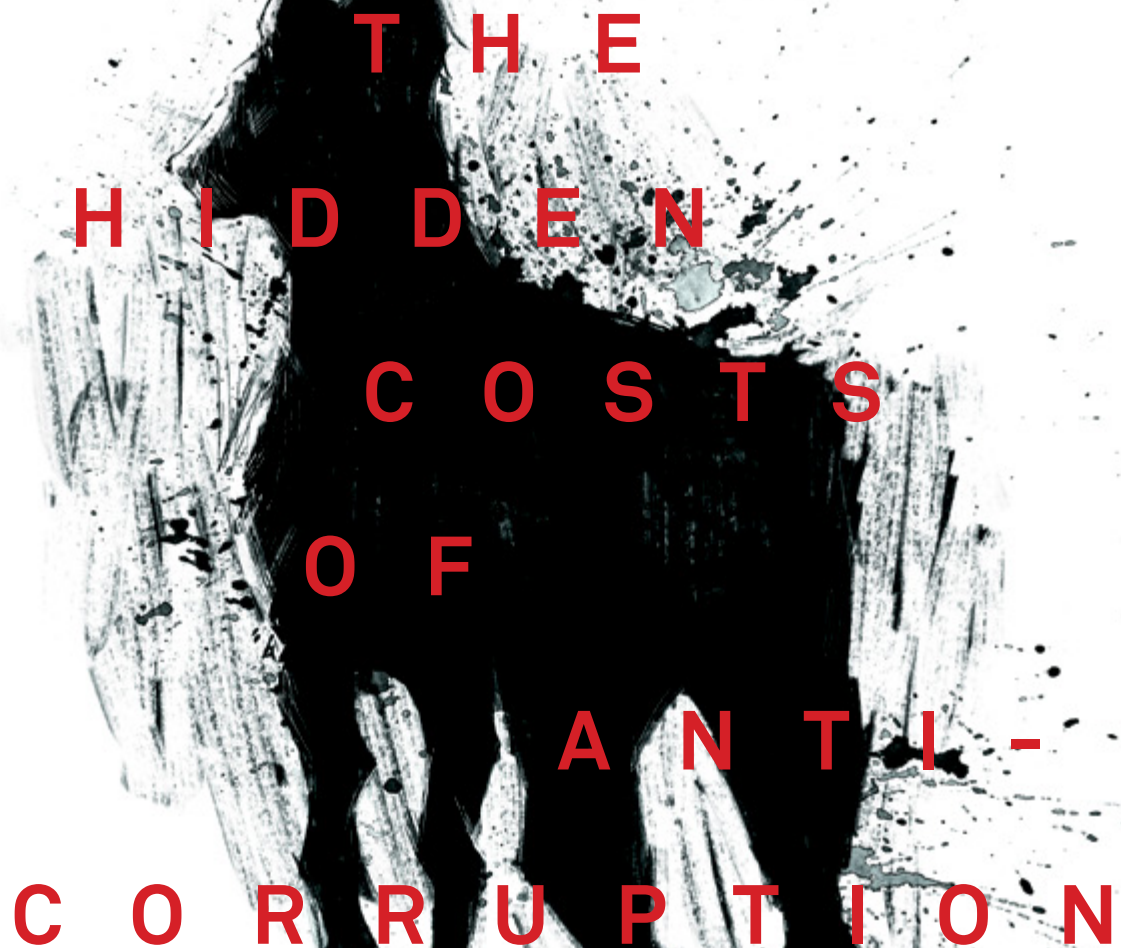
The Serbian government used the Corruption Map to develop its Law on Public Procurement, passed in 2013, which has vastly improved the transparency, efficiency and oversight of the Serbian public procurement process and the functioning of the appeal process for bidders.

The Corruption Map is also being used for training police and prosecutors. The 22 vulnerabilities it pinpoints are not just theoretical weaknesses: each one is illustrated by a real-life case. It is available in Serbian and, as of 20 November 2014, also in English at:

[www.osce.org/serbia/126843](http://www.osce.org/serbia/126843) ■

- Mato Meyer  
Economic Transparency Adviser





THE  
HIDDEN  
COSTS  
OF  
ANTI-  
CORRUPTION

BY

Ivan Krastev

**C**ORRUPTION PUTS THE HEALTH OF A COUNTRY AND ITS SOCIETY IN DANGER. It poses a threat to the economy. In a corrupt country, the government tends to invest in the projects with the highest corruption, and not the highest development potential. It will not invest in education, for instance, but rather in construction. Corruption is also a means to exert influence. It always involves a secret. When state officials or politicians take money from a private company, that company can put pressure on them and advance its own interests.

Anti-corruption rhetoric, however, can also be dangerous. It destroys the trust of people in governments and damages their legitimacy. It can be used to weaken an already weak state. People start to believe that every problem is due to corruption and become fatalistic about the development of their country.

Sometimes anti-corruption policies can be more costly than the corrup-

sities can be always given as a good example. The black market was one of few places where an ordinary person could get goods which otherwise were unavailable. Strangely enough, corruption can also be a positive factor in extremely divided ethnic societies, because it creates a certain type of interethnic network. Therefore, taking corruption out of context can be a very dangerous exercise.

legitimacy. However, it is extremely challenging to be efficient in fighting corruption when everybody else is politicizing it.

Corruption is a common problem but there is no universal mechanism to fight it. It varies from country to country. In some places the biggest problem is administrative low-cost corruption, which people see every day. Some countries have a high level

**“Sometimes anti-corruption policies can be more costly than the corruption they are supposed to tackle.”**

tion they are supposed to tackle. Governments can be so obsessed with the idea that something may be perceived as corruption that they make decisions which do not improve society but rather make them look good.

Governments often believe that if they put anti-corruption at the top of their agenda, it will help them be re-elected. But paradoxically, governments that talk a lot about fighting corruption are perceived as more corrupt than they actually are. The perception of corruption is much more influenced by media coverage than personal experience. Under such circumstances, genuine anti-corruption reforms can be undermined.

There are a number of studies showing that corruption is a way of redistributing wealth in societies where the state does not. Communist

However, I don't think that corruption is necessary in one society and not in another. It is not a cultural thing. The Georgian state administration was notoriously corrupt during Soviet times; now, however, Georgia is quite clean in comparison to other post-Soviet states.

The idea of international efforts to fight corruption is to act as a control mechanism for national governments. And it has worked in many cases. In the late 1990s, anti-corruption was the major instrument for the weak to fight the powerful. However, the powerful can also misuse anti-corruption policies for political ends, to destroy their opponents by framing them in cases of embezzlement and other fraud. In contrast, international anti-corruption communities try to remain apolitical, because that is the basis of their

of political corruption. There is also corruption induced by foreign companies and powers. For a successful anti-corruption campaign you have to get the following things right: first, the specific structure of corruption of the country; but equally important: the nature of the anti-corruption sentiment in the society.

We should never forget that anti-corruption policies are an instrument, and not an ultimate goal. The goal is an efficient government. ■

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Ivan Krastev is a Bulgarian political scientist. He chairs the Centre for Liberal Strategies in Sofia and is a permanent fellow at the Institute for Human Sciences in Vienna. Article based on a conversation with Yulia Samus, OSCE Communication and Media Relations Section.



**Read more!**  
Ivan Krastev, *Shifting Obsessions: Three Essays on the Politics of Anticorruption* (Central European Press, 2004)



# For a New Mediterranean

Photo: Nicolás Villarreal Kwasek

**T**HE OSCE PARTICIPATING STATES have been committed to engagement with the Mediterranean region since the Helsinki Final Act was signed almost 40 years ago. Recent events – the Arab Spring, violent conflict in Libya and in Syria, the Syrian refugee crisis and the threat posed by the “Islamic State” movement – have dispelled any doubts about how closely the security of the OSCE region is linked to that of the Mediterranean.

Dedicated to bringing new momentum to the OSCE-Mediterranean dialogue, the recently launched New-Med research network held its first major international seminar, “Towards Helsinki+40: the OSCE, the Global Mediterranean and the Future of Co-operative Security”, in Rome on 18 September 2014. Five New-Med members provide a sample of the debate.

“ The participating States declare their intention of maintaining and amplifying the contacts and dialogue with the non-participating Mediterranean States to include all the States of the Mediterranean, with the purpose of contributing to peace, reducing armed forces in the region, strengthening security, lessening tensions in the region, and widening the scope of co-operation.

”

Helsinki Final Act, 1975





## Dialogue with the Whole Mediterranean

By **Monika Wohlfeld**

The 1975 Helsinki Final Act asserts that security in Europe is closely linked with that of the whole Mediterranean area. It provides a vision of dialogue with all Mediterranean states. Over time, a structure for dialogue was set up for a number of states of the region, the so-called Partners for Co-operation: Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Morocco and Tunisia. They have access as observers to deliberations of the participating States and take part in some operational activities. But despite these achievements, the process has met with frustration on all sides; it seems ritualized rather than responsive to events on the ground. Region-wide dialogue has not materialized.

The 40th anniversary of the OSCE next year provides the opportunity for a fresh look at OSCE-Mediterranean relations, in view of the historical developments in the region. I would offer the following recommendations:

**Deepen the dialogue.** Reach out more to civil societies, youth, journalists and teachers; make the OSCE better known and its potential contribution more appreciated. The New-Med initiative, which aims to create a network of academic researchers from both sides of the Mediterranean for an active

exchange on security and co-operation in the region, promises to provide the right kind of impulses. The OSCE Parliamentary Assembly is already reaching out to parliamentarians in the Mediterranean.

**Widen it.** Allow for the inclusion, formally or informally, of other southern Mediterranean states, and also closer association with regional organizations such as the League of Arab States and African Union and possibly also, at some stage, the Gulf States and Iran.

**Make it operationally more relevant.** Simplify the rules for activities within partner states; provide seed money for projects and activities in the OSCE Unified Budget; reform the structures of dialogue with the Partners for Co-operation (the Contact Group and the OSCE Mediterranean conferences). There has to be a better link between these structures and the Permanent Council, and better follow-up, organization-wide, to events and activities with partner states. There also has to be better operational co-operation and co-ordination with other European organizations active in the Mediterranean.

**Make it less Euro-centric.** Provide for more ownership by Mediterranean Partners for Co-operation: give them chairing or co-chairing roles in certain aspects of the dialogue, consider providing a role in decision-making where they are directly concerned.

For the OSCE's engagement with the Mediterranean to become more result-driven and effective, participating States and Partners for Co-operation need to return to the vision of region-wide co-operation in the spirit of Helsinki.

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**Dr. Monika Wohlfeld** is the holder of the German Chair for Peace Studies and Conflict Prevention, Mediterranean Academy of Diplomatic Studies, Malta.



### READ MORE!

**Monika Wohlfeld, "OSCE's Mediterranean Engagement on the Eve of the 40th Anniversary of the Helsinki Final Act", New-Med Research Network Paper Series (International Affairs Institute, 2014).**





## The Security-Governance Link

By Richard Youngs

The difficulties in getting the relationship between security and governance right explain, at least in part, the current problems with European Union policies across the Middle East. Addressing this link could be the niche role for the OSCE in the Mediterranean.

In the early days of the Arab spring in 2011, European governments made frequent promises to move towards a more reform-oriented policy in the region. But as they fight the threat of the “Islamic State” movement, they are moving back towards a security-first strategy in the Middle East. Their focus is on military containment and counter-terrorism co-operation with Jordan, the United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, Egypt and others. Issues of political and economic reform are in danger of being overlooked once again.

Formally, European governments stress that returning to the EU’s pre-2011 rapprochement with dictators such as Bashar al-Assad of Syria is not a sustainable approach to security. But they struggle to bring about a better synthesis between the security and reform agendas.

Policy before the Arab Spring was too containment based and too heavily driven by counter-terrorist concerns and initiatives. When the Arab Spring started, the EU committed itself to supporting re-

forms. But it did so with little consideration of how this would relate to geo-strategic questions - how reform and geopolitics would condition each other in mutual symbiosis.

This is now the challenge. In today’s dire circumstances, security co-operation is necessary. But pursued as the central plank to European foreign policy, it reinforces the very power dynamics that drive radicalization. It risks worsening the disease it purports to cure.

A focus on reform without security co-operation today looks naïve. A focus on security without reform is likely to be self-defeating. The pressing need is to understand how these two dimensions of change are causally linked to each other.

As an organization with both security and political reform mandates, the OSCE could usefully focus its efforts on this question.

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Dr. Richard Youngs is a senior associate in the Democracy and Rule of Law Programme of Carnegie Europe.



Richard Youngs, *The Uncertain Legacy of Crisis* (Carnegie, 2014)  
Richard Youngs, *Europe in the New Middle East* (Oxford University Press, 2014)



## Can the Helsinki Process Inspire?

By Sharon Pardo

Almost 40 years have passed since the Helsinki Process was launched. Today, more than ever, it offers an inspiring precedent for Euro-Mediterranean relations. This is especially true of its evolution from a conference – the Conference for Security and Co-operation (CSCE) in Helsinki – to a system of political consultations and, eventually, to a set of permanent institutions with operational capabilities.

Although the CSCE/OSCE model is not perfect, it has played an important role in maintaining the European order in the post-Cold War era. It has effective instruments, frameworks, mechanisms and institutions for co-operative conflict resolution, from which the Euro-Mediterranean community can learn. Some of these, such as the High Commissioner on National Minorities and the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, offer useful examples for building confidence among Mediterranean neighbours, reinforcing common interests, opening lines of communication, breaking deadlocks and promoting regional security.

Despite the long experience of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (Barcelona Process), launched in 1995 by the Foreign Ministers of 12 Mediterranean states and the then 15 European Union members,

its continuation in today's Union for the Mediterranean still lacks an institutional framework with a normative ambition and a strong mechanism of political dialogue. Although the Union for the Mediterranean's flexibility is useful for managing regional interdependence, its weak institutional framework allows its partners to continue with their pursuit of short-term interests potentially ad infinitum. Hence, the weak institutional model of the Union for the Mediterranean should be reshaped and strengthened. The OSCE's model of light institutional order could serve as a precedent for a new form of political and economic regionalism.

Make no mistake: the OSCE structures cannot simply be reassigned to the Euro-Mediterranean region. The aim of the Helsinki Process was the mitigation of East-West tensions and the maintenance of the détente order, whereas the challenge of Euro-Mediterranean institutionalization is to set in motion regional change. Although the Helsinki Process may be a useful model for security regime creation and institutionalization, at the end of the day it can only serve as an inspiring precedent.

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Dr. Sharon Pardo is a Jean Monnet Chair ad personam in European Studies in the Department of Politics and Government and the Chair of the Centre for the Study of European Politics and Society (CSEPS) at Ben-Gurion University of the Negev.



## Tunisia: Keeping Democracy on Track

By Ahmed Driss

On 26 January 2014, Tunisia got a democratic constitution, voted in by 200 out of the 217 members of the national assembly. The almost unanimous vote shows that this fundamental document reflects a broad consensus.

But it took two and a half years of equivocation to achieve it, during which two political assassinations were committed, followed by two major political crises that led to the fall of two governments. Only then did politicians realize the importance and need for dialogue. With the help of civil society, headed by the Tunisian General Labour Union, they sat down at the table of “national dialogue” and were able to find a way out of the crisis, completing an important phase of the transition to democracy. The new constitution puts a strong emphasis on the rule of law, recognizes the universality of human rights and the inviolability of fundamental freedoms and establishes the separation and balance of powers.

Today, the country has entered the second phase: putting in place the institutions established by the constitution and electing its

leaders for the next five years. The parliamentary elections took place on 26 October and the first round of presidential elections on 23 November.

Will Tunisians be able to consolidate their fledgling democracy? Yes, without a doubt. All of the political actors seem deeply convinced that elections are imperative and that the only future for Tunisia is a pluralistic one.

Nevertheless, even setting aside the considerable security challenges, this path is not without pitfalls and difficulties. Power politics remain a temptation and the democratic culture has not yet taken deep root among the political class. But civil society, fortified by its experience and its success during the first phase of the transition, will be able to achieve a balance and to impose good choices and good behaviour upon the politicians.

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**Dr. Ahmed Driss is the Executive Director of the Centre of Mediterranean and International Studies in Tunis.**



## Passionate about Providing Support

By Thomas Vennen

In December 2011, the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) organized a large Mediterranean Civil Society Conference in Vilnius ahead of the Ministerial Council. It was the time of the Arab Spring. We brought together close to 70 participants from all the OSCE Mediterranean partner countries, as well as civil society representatives from the OSCE region. The event had an overwhelmingly positive impact on all of us. The hope and enthusiasm of the Mediterranean participants, especially those from Egypt and Tunisia, was infectious. A lively exchange on elections, the rule of law and political participation took place, revealing the participants' eagerness to share knowledge and experience. By the end of the conference, a long list of recommendations had been drawn up, to be presented to the Ministerial Council. Two days later, the participating States resolved to broaden the dialogue and practical co-operation with their Mediterranean Partners for Co-operation.

The conference provided a good opportunity for ODIHR to reflect on how it could best con-

tribute to developments in the Mediterranean. Encouraged by some of our Mediterranean partners, in particular Tunisia, to think creatively, we put together a framework of co-operation for 2012 to 2015, including a catalogue of areas in which ODIHR could offer expertise.

What does ODIHR have to offer? First and foremost, the OSCE's accumulated experience with transition and transformation, based not only on our work in Warsaw but also on that of the many OSCE field operations. We have strong thematic expertise, in many regards universally applicable and not limited to the OSCE region. Our election observation missions are just the tip of the iceberg. We are also engaged in protection of human rights and strengthening of democratic institutions. When Tunisia began to draft new laws and legislation on the judiciary, freedom of assembly and anti-terrorism, and to revamp its Human Rights Council and election management structure, the authorities turned to ODIHR. We provided advice and legal opinions, all of which were warmly welcomed by the Tunisian government and taken into consideration.

What else have we been doing? We have advised on political party funding and provided training to civil society on election observation



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reporting. We have provided overviews, including of the lustration experience in Poland and of the OSCE's experience with domestic violence legislation.

We have created an Arabic website and translated 17 of our key publications into Arabic. The Tunisian School of Politics has invited us to conduct training on political participation. And we have invited Mediterranean representatives to our short-term election observer training. In the past three years, a total of almost 1,000 participants from Tunisia and other Mediterranean partner states have directly benefitted from our activities.

This experience has given us insight into the value of interregional exchange and the cross-fertilization of ideas and experiences. That is why we now invite our Mediterranean partner representatives to all Human Dimension Implementation Meetings and Supplementary Human Dimension Meetings. And we invited Mediterranean young people to our Youth Forum earlier this year.

There are many good practices that can be transferred from the OSCE region to Mediterranean countries and, not surprisingly, vice versa. But most important is that the ownership for co-operation lies with the Mediterranean partner states themselves. We work only on the basis of invitation and contribute to activities that are ongoing in the country.

It is important for us to ensure that the Mediterranean Partners for Co-operation know what we can offer. Our office is passionate about providing support. Human resources and financial constraints notwithstanding, when we receive requests from Mediterranean partner countries, we are ready to go the extra mile.

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**Thomas Vennen heads the Democratization Department in the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights.**



Security Community asked:  
**What role will natural disasters play for our future security?**

#### **Resilience is essential**

As we come under increasing geo-spatial pressures and their associated dynamics, natural disasters will continue to affect our security. Of course, how much of an impact they will have remains an open question, whose answer will depend on our vulnerabilities, the extent of the phenomena in question and how quickly they manifest themselves over time.

Resilience is therefore essential. At our institute, we understand resilience to mean the agility and ability to bounce back and recover from shocks. We would do well to come to an improved understanding of how resilience can be better implemented both individually and collectively. Advancing that work both in and beyond the European region is valuable, not only to be harnessed when natural disasters occur but also on a continuing basis, to be better prepared for what the future might bring.

-Adam D.M. Svendsen  
 Copenhagen Institute for Futures Studies  
 Denmark

**At the OSCE Café in Strasbourg on 3 October 2014, on the occasion of the Council of Europe's World Forum for Democracy, we asked: how can youth speak out for justice and democracy?**

#### **Take action in real time**

Social media are a tool, but by no means an end. They can be a deadly tool, capable of facilitating the overthrow of governments, as proven in the Arab Spring, but also capable of distracting and creating confusion or apathy. Like metal conducting heat or electricity, social media are conductors of ideas, and if not followed by action, the ideas, like metal, will just turn cold, with no hope of changing the future.

Real life doesn't have a Facebook page where a simple "Like" can apply justice; policies don't have Wikipedia pages where you can amend contents; and government officials don't always respond to their e-mails. Hence, it is necessary, when the occasion merits it, to take action in real time and real life. Digital

presence is inevitable, but physical presence should never perish. So yes, bring your computers, bring your smartphones, cameras and tape recorders, but never forget to bring your banners, your brushes, your paint and, more important, yourself.

-Alexander Vélez Burgos  
 Syracuse University Strasbourg  
 France

#### **Whose world is it anyway?**

The world in which I live is not a frightening place. There is no war, no violence, no hunger; I can speak freely and love and believe as I choose. But it comes at a price.

This world sends our wars to places I will never see, starves people who I will never meet. The deafening voices of my world drown out those who are too weak to cry out for help, too lost and too broken to find their way through the shadows my world has cast upon them.

Can the gap between these two worlds be bridged, so that the voices of young people who do not come from my world can be heard? Is there something the OSCE can do?

My response is simple. The OSCE must make an effort to reach out into the void, into the unknown and scary world where words like war and violence, hunger, instability and fear are not empty. It must abandon

the idea that the issues and problems that exist in that world can be solved independently from it, by young, educated minds who know nothing of the horrors that lie beneath the words in their textbooks, the video clips in the news and the media coverage that brings these two worlds so close together that they nearly appear to be one.

-Amanda DeNardo  
Syracuse University Strasbourg  
France

## The OSCE's Central Asian Youth Network (CAYN) marked its tenth anniversary this year with its annual seminar organized by the OSCE Centre in Astana from 26 to 28 August in Almaty. We asked participants: how did CAYN change your life?

CAYN changed my life a lot. Being with brilliant and clever young people from different countries forces you to develop yourself. CAYN introduces you to a great network of fantastic experts, politicians, academics and many other very interesting and influential people.

-Manucher Salohudinov, CAYN 2011  
Tajikistan

For me CAYN is not just a simple opportunity for networking but also the bridge by which to erase stereotypes about each other, to make a friendship and promote the human values that we share in Central Asia, since

we all are so similar, with the same way of thinking and life style.

-Dilfuza Kurolova, CAYN 2010  
Uzbekistan

"Maih," said a friend from Afghanistan as he handed me a postcard. I was speechless. Hearing the word for "here you go" in Mongolian pronounced exactly the same way, in the same context, by a foreigner, and in a foreign country, simply struck me down. With a simple word we could see that we are not so different at all.

-Khishigjargal Enkhbayar, CAYN 2014  
Mongolia

Through interaction, we build mutual understanding; through understanding we increase co-operation, via co-operation we build peace and stability in the region.

-Aigerim Khafisova, CAYN 2009  
Kazakhstan

I believe that CAYN helps emerging young leaders of Central Asia to understand that none of our countries in the region can succeed without their neighbour countries, and this builds a friendship that will evolve into a greater co-operation between our countries in the nearest future.

-Aizada Marat kyzy, CAYN 2010  
Kyrgyzstan

CAYN not only gave me substantive knowledge on key issues in Central Asia, it taught me, most importantly, that even young people, through their enthusiasm and participation, can make a difference.

-Selbi Durdiyeva, CAYN 2010  
Turkmenistan

I learned the greatest lesson at CAYN - there is nothing impossible in this world.

-Alireza Waheedi, CAYN 2013  
Afghanistan

Ultimately, CAYN is not just about gaining new knowledge or useful contacts - but about life.

-Dina Iglukova, CAYN Project Co-ordinator  
Kazakhstan

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# INNOVATE against HATE

By Will Richard



*The OSCE Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina is trying new ways to work with local communities to stem prejudice and hate.*

**T**HE CITY OF ZVORNIK LIES IN NORTH-EASTERN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA on the western bank of the Drina River. Cross the bridge and you are in Serbia. In 1992, Zvornik was the site of one of the Bosnian war's first operations of ethnic cleansing. Most of the Bosnian Muslims (Bosniaks) that made up the majority of Zvornik's population were either killed or forced to flee.



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Today, several thousand Bosniaks have returned to the municipality and are helping to rebuild a multi-ethnic community. The return process to Zvornik has been one of the most successful in the country. Still, hate crimes continue to agitate the region and hinder reconciliation.

Take, for instance, the incident that shook the community in August 2013, when Ramadan, the Islamic holy month of fasting, was drawing to a close with the celebration of Eid al-Fitr (*Festival of Breaking the Fast*). In the early morning, four Bosniaks heading to the mosque for Morning Prayer were assaulted by a group of young Serbs from a neighbouring municipality. One of the four, a 73-year-old returnee, was grievously beaten.

The startling attack in Zvornik was one of 11 reported in Bosnia and Herzegovina that month alone. The OSCE Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina, which monitors bias-motivated incidents in the country, recorded a total of 185 similar attacks against persons or property between August 2013 and August 2014. In most of these cases, it was bias against the victims' national, ethnic, or religious affiliations that motivated the incidents.

"The situation called for innovation," says Pietro Sardaro, Head of the Mission's Rule of Law Section, which has worked for years with the legal and

law enforcement sectors to fight hate crimes. "Communities have the closest knowledge of the underlying problems. We began to encourage NGOs, political party members and media representatives to form local coalitions against hate and to employ what we call "constructive condemnation" – to rescript messages of hate into messages of tolerance and respect."

## Rescripting

The art of constructive condemnation was aptly demonstrated by the OSCE-supported local coalition against hate in Zvornik which had already been established at the time of the August 2013 attack. The group, *Za pozitivan Zvornik*, moved quickly to issue a statement calling on authorities to bring the perpetrators to justice and on citizens to work together to prevent such incidents in the future. In a direct gesture against violence and hatred, members of the coalition – among them both Bosniaks and Serbs – visited the victim in the hospital. The local coalition's decisive action contributed to a rapid reduction of tensions, not only in Zvornik but also in other places where people were celebrating Eid.

Other groups elsewhere in the country followed suit, condemning bias-motivated incidents in their communities: *Tolerantni* in Foca;

*Bunt protiv mrznje* in Bratunac and Srebrenica; *Tolerantno i pozitivno* in Doboj; *Zanemari razlike* in Novo Sarajevo; and *Prva tolerancija* in Prijedor which, notably, consists of former Bosniak camp inmates and Serb war veterans.

In 18 locations so far, around 115 organizations have joined coalitions against hate. They are doing more than speaking out. Together with local authorities they are creating Community Cohesion Plans of Action. And they are organizing events in good-neighbourly spirit, for instance a football and volleyball tournament in the central square of the town of Vitez in the Central Bosnia Canton, where the municipal council's speaker publicly invited the young competitors to uphold the principle of tolerance in everyday life.

## Reconciliation still precarious

Will the coalitions against hate make a difference? It is too early to tell. The emerging voices of tolerance are still often confronted with cynicism. In Doboj, for example, when local coalition members tried to paint over offensive graffiti, they were confronted by a group of radical football fans who shouted insults and threats. When the Sarajevo coalition discovered plans to attack participants at the *Merlinka* film festival, it called on authorities to take proper action. Despite the warnings and appeals, attacks occurred.

Inter-ethnic violence returned to Zvornik this April. After a verbal dispute in a local bar, an 81-year-old Bosniak returnee was axed to death by his Serb neighbour. A day later, in the historical town of Kraljeva Sutjeska, a Bosniak attacked an elderly Croat couple in their home. They remained in critical condition for weeks before passing away. With trials ongoing, bias is yet to be proven as the motive for these murders. However, local communities perceive it to exist.

Almost twenty years since the end of the war, reconciliation remains precarious. "The coalitions against hate were a calculated risk," says Sladjana Milunovic, the OSCE Mission's Community Engagement Focal Point. "We knew we might encounter reluctance or outright refusal to talk about hate-related incidents. But we also know that there is mounting outrage at the silence and political manipulation that often surrounds them."

While the wave of protests that swept Bosnia and Herzegovina in February this year bore witness to public outrage over failed policies and zero-sum politics, the civic solidarity displayed during the catastrophic flooding in May demonstrated again that citizens across the country are capable of pulling together. →

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In the current political and social environment in Bosnia and Herzegovina, more citizens are signing up to coalitions against hate to combat prejudice and hatred and promote a shared sense of community. Though setbacks are likely in these post-conflict areas, one hopes that the coalitions against hate will continue to grow in number and influence in their communities. ■

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Will Richard is a Senior Information and Co-ordination Officer in the OSCE Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina. Learn more about the OSCE Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina's work to combat hate crimes here: [www.oscebih.org](http://www.oscebih.org)

## MORE INNOVATIONS

### Hate Monitor

Every month, the OSCE Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina presents its latest data on hate crimes in a new info-graphic. Get information on incidents, victims and responses. Learn about ongoing and completed court cases. View the Hate Monitor here:

[hatemonitor.oscebih.org/](http://hatemonitor.oscebih.org/)

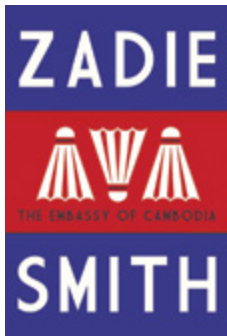


### Super Citizens

For all residents of Bosnia and Herzegovina: if you wish to report bias-motivated violence, hate speech or offensive graffiti or start your own initiative for tolerance, join Super Citizens! Super Citizens (Supergradjanke/Supergradjani) is the OSCE Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina's crowd-sourced online platform that maps hate-motivated incidents as well as positive community responses and activities. Visit Super Citizens at: [www.supergradjani.ba/](http://www.supergradjani.ba/)

### OSCE-wide Hate Crime Reporting

The Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights collects hate crime data from across the OSCE region. In September it launched its Hate Crime Reporting website, on which data can be cross-referenced and searched by country and bias motivation. To view the data for 2013, which was released on 14 November, visit the website at: [hatecrime.osce.org](http://hatecrime.osce.org)



Good read

## The trafficked among us

It is the matter-of-fact voice that gives *The Embassy of Cambodia*, Zadie Smith's tiny novel (69 short pages) about a young African woman held as a domestic servant in London, its power, more than any pathos would. For instance, when the protagonist, whose personal documents are confiscated and wages withheld to pay her living costs, wonders if she qualifies as a slave and confirms to herself that she does not: "After all, it was her father, and not a kidnapper, who had taken her from Ivory Coast to Ghana, and when they reached Accra they had both found employment in the same hotel. Two years later, when she was eighteen, it was her father again who had organized her difficult passage to Libya and then on to Italy – a not insignificant financial sacrifice on his part."

Over the past several years, the OSCE has worked to shed light onto the shadowy domain of domestic servitude and its deviation into slavery, in a series of meetings and, very recently, with the publication of the handbook *How to prevent human trafficking for domestic servitude in diplomatic households and protect private domestic workers* by the OSCE Office of the Special Representative and Co-ordinator for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings. The handbook explains to authorities how to detect abuses and suggests strategies and policies to discourage non-compliance with labour laws, especially regarding the employment of private domestic workers in diplomatic households.

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Zadie Smith, *The Embassy of Cambodia*  
(Hamish Hamilton, 2013)



## Basler Lächerli

On 4 and 5 December 2014, the annual OSCE Ministerial Council will convene in Basel, Switzerland. Centuries ago, in 1431, another Council met in Basel: a general council of the Catholic Church. The Great Schism had recently split East and West and discussions were troubled. One result of the Council of Basel was the election of an anti-pope to challenge the papal authority in Rome. But discussions were also rich, with the participation, for instance, of the great humanist Nicholas of Cusa, and led to the establishment of the University of Basel in 1460. Legend has it that Basel's influential Safran Guild was commissioned to create a spiced delicacy for the city's illustrious guests. The result was the Basler Lächerli. The anti-pope lasted less than two decades; Basler Lächerli can be enjoyed to this day.

500 g honey	100 g candied lemon peel
300 g sugar	200g chopped almonds
2 TBSP cinnamon	Zest of a lemon
2 pinches ground cloves	1 1/2 dl kirsch
½ tsp nutmeg	700 g flour
100 g candied orange peel	

In a pan slowly heat honey, sugar, spices, remove from heat. Mix in candied fruit peel, almonds and lemon zest. Add kirsch, flour, knead to form a soft dough. Roll warm dough out 6 mm thick onto two greased baking sheets. Let rest several hours or overnight. Bake at 220 °C for 15 to 20 minutes. Glaze: Boil 150 g confectioner's sugar and 1 dl water ca. 5 minutes, glaze dough immediately. Cut in squares, let cool.



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**How to prevent human trafficking for domestic servitude in diplomatic households and protect private domestic workers.** Published by the OSCE Office of the Special Representative and Co-ordinator for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings (English)

**OSCE Study on National Action Plans on the Implementation of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325.** Published by OSCE Secretariat, OSG/ Gender Section (English)

**Hate Crime Data Collection and Monitoring: A Practical Guide.** Published by ODIHR (English)

**Prosecuting Hate Crimes: A Practical Guide.** Published by ODIHR/International Association of Prosecutors (English)

**The Death Penalty in the OSCE Area: Background Paper 2014.** Published by ODIHR (English)

**Handbook On Observing and Promoting the Participation of National Minorities in Electoral Processes.** Published by ODIHR/ HCNM (English)



**Handbook on Promoting Women's Participation in Political Parties.** Published by ODIHR (English)

**Safety of Journalists Guidebook (2nd edition).** Published by the Representative on Freedom of the Media (English/ Russian)

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**Integrating Gender into Internal Police Oversight.** Published by DCAF, ODIHR and the OSCE Gender Section (English/French/ Bosnian/Russian)

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**Cover Image**

Candidates for power ©  
by Carlos Echeverría Kossak

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