

OSCE MAGA ZINE

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Celebrating the 20th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall

Kazakhstan seeks to “breathe new life” into interaction among participating States

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The Minsk Pact: Where an initiative built on confidence proved a threat and herald of the future

When an initiative built on confidence proved a threat and herald of the future

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Handling crisis in the Caucasus



The *OSCE Magazine*, which is also available online, is published in English and Russian by the Press and Public Information Section of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe. 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.

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Printed by Manz Crossmedia

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The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe works for stability, prosperity and democracy in 56 States through political dialogue about shared values and through practical work that makes a lasting difference.

OSCE Chairmanship 2009: Greece

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- Forum for Security Co-operation (Vienna)
- Secretariat (Vienna)
- OSCE Representative on Freedom of the Media (Vienna)
- Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (Warsaw)
- High Commissioner on National Minorities (The Hague)
- OSCE Parliamentary Assembly (Copenhagen)

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- The Personal Representative of the Chairman-in-Office on the Conflict Dealt with by the OSCE Minsk Conference

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- OSCE Centre in Astana
- OSCE Centre in Bishkek
- OSCE Office in Tajikistan
- OSCE Project Co-ordinator in Uzbekistan

Eastern Europe

- OSCE Office in Minsk
- OSCE Mission to Moldova
- OSCE Project Co-ordinator in Ukraine

South-eastern Europe

- OSCE Presence in Albania
- OSCE Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina
- OSCE Mission in Kosovo
- OSCE Mission to Montenegro
- OSCE Mission to Serbia
- OSCE Spillover Monitor Mission to Skopje
- OSCE Office in Zagreb

Message from the Spokesperson of the OSCE

One glance at the cover of this issue of the *OSCE Magazine* is enough to confirm what we already know: The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, with its uniquely rich mix of dialogue and action, is constantly evolving.

The Greek Chairmanship has steered the Organization with the customary flair, charting a course first to Corfu, where the OSCE foreign ministers launched a renewed security dialogue, then on to Athens in early December, where the Ministerial Council will consider how to take the "Corfu Process" forward. Read in the lead article what Greek Prime Minister and Foreign Minister George Papandreou, who took over as Chairman-in-Office on 6 October, has to say about his vision for Athens and beyond.

As Kazakhstan's turn at the helm approaches, Foreign Minister Kanat Saudabayev describes in a wide-ranging interview what the Chairmanship means for his country and expresses confidence that its forthcoming initiatives will breathe new life into the Organization.

This being the first time that a State from the former Soviet Union and a Central Asian country assumes the OSCE Chairmanship, the *Magazine* has taken the opportunity to review the role of this prestigious function. The Chairpersons-in-Office through the years, including updated information about them, are featured in a first-ever photo gallery, starting with former German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

This issue would not be complete without coverage of the 20th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall and the Iron Curtain, which is closely linked with the early beginnings of the OSCE. Minister Genscher's moving speech earned him a standing ovation from the more than 600 guests gathered at the Hofburg on 6 November. Representing the voices of succeeding generations were Austrian Foreign Minister Michael Spindelegger and Greek Alternate Foreign Minister Dimitris Droutsas.

From diplomacy to military matters — it was all action in the Republic of Cyprus in June, when more than 300 MANPADS — shoulder-fired missiles — were blown up as part of the OSCE's security work in the politico-military sphere. That marked a significant chapter in the long history of co-operation between the Organization and this beautiful island.

Finally, reflect again for a moment on the 25 covers of the *Magazine* and pay tribute to Patricia Sutter, who launched this flagship publication in March 2004. Pat, who is moving on after seven years, has worked on each and every issue with dynamism and boundless enthusiasm for this Organization. Typically, she sees her departure as a new opportunity for the *Magazine* to evolve further, along with the OSCE itself.

Martin Nesirky
 23 November 2009

Editor's note: As the OSCE Magazine went to press, Martin Nesirky was named by United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon as his new Spokesperson. Mr. Nesirky will assume his new post on 7 December.



OSCE/SUSANNA LOOF

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AFP PHOTO/GEORGES GOBIET



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Papandreou to participating States: “Let’s break the deadlock of mistrust”



WWW.PAPANDREOU.GR

A few weeks after being sworn in as Greek prime minister and assuming the position of foreign minister, the new OSCE Chairperson-in-Office, George Papandreou, addressed the Permanent Council on 29 October through a video message from Athens. He identified confronting mistrust as one of the main challenges faced by the Organization, and called on participating States to invigorate co-operation and solidarity because “there cannot be lasting peace in the OSCE region as long as we continue to view our relations through a zero-sum lens”. Here are excerpts from his remarks.

After years of strategic impasse during the Cold War, the resilience of security structures in the OSCE area has been put to the test by regional conflicts, ethnic tensions and border disputes that have threatened to deteriorate into

open crises. The OSCE’s efforts to promote peace and stability, such as through the CFE Treaty, remain in a state of deadlock. Energy security, organized crime, cybercrime, illegal migration, human trafficking, terrorism, absolutism and fundamentalism give us cause for acute concern.

We should not allow our determination to confront these challenges to falter. After all, the OSCE itself managed not only to survive post-Cold War reverberations, but also actively alleviated tensions and mistrust that were threatening peace, prosperity and regional stability.

However divergent our views concerning the underlying causes of tensions may be, we need to break the deadlock of mistrust by reinvigorating our co-operation and strengthening our solidarity. We must do so because unstable relations between our neighbouring States affect security in Europe as a whole, which in turn is closely interlinked with security in our neighbouring regions.

Since Greece assumed the OSCE Chairmanship, it has been playing the role of honest broker. Our efforts have focused on building consensus and safeguarding the Organization’s norms and principles. Our efforts are directed towards solving — not exploiting — problems. In this same spirit, we have been trying to achieve the broadest consensus possible on the adoption of decisions in Athens on 1 and 2 December.

The Corfu Process embodies my country’s commitment to OSCE norms and values. It has been our most important collective achievement so far and reflects consensus on a number of fundamental realities:

- Firstly, the changes that have taken root in Europe since the end of the Cold War are irreversible.
- Secondly, there cannot be lasting peace in the OSCE region as long as we continue to view our relations through a zero-sum lens. Our wins should be victories for all; our losses should also be defeats for everyone. This is the solidarity we should all aim to achieve.
- Thirdly, despite the tremendous progress that we have achieved towards “a Europe whole, free and at peace with itself”, its full implementation, as enshrined in the 1990 Charter of Paris, remains elusive. We must renew our resolve to work together towards the convergence of our

9 November 2009,
Brandburger Tor, Berlin.
Greek Prime Minister and
Foreign Minister George
Papandreou was among several
world leaders who attended the
celebrations marking 20 years
since the collapse of the
Berlin Wall.

different strategic perspectives in order to restore confidence and trust among ourselves.

- Fourthly, a climate of mistrust and tension has set in among OSCE participating States due to partial or selective implementation of the principles of the Helsinki Final Act. This has clouded relations among partners and is inhibiting them from coming together in solidarity to confront a major common responsibility: addressing the new security threats of the twenty-first century.

- Finally, each one of us recognizes that, thanks to its broad membership, the Organization's legacy and its concept of comprehensive security offer unique advantages to our wide-ranging and inclusive dialogue on current and future challenges of European security.

Despite the many constraints that have to be overcome, it is encouraging that all the participating States have embraced the renewed dialogue and have been demonstrating political will through the sheer number and high quality of the ambassadorial meetings that have been held so far in Vienna in the context of the Corfu Process. Political will is, after all, the quintessence of our efforts to preserve co-operative and indivisible security in a wider Europe.

In this respect, I would like to pay tribute to the Presidents of Russia and France for their security initiatives, and acknowledge the boost that the "reset button" policy of the new Obama administration has given to this fundamentally multilateral process.

We all know that the protracted conflicts that have stubbornly plagued the OSCE area for decades continue to be potential sources of discord, and we cannot afford to leave them on the back burner. The war in Georgia in August 2008 has proved this point.

Although perceptions shape strategic doctrines, it is realities on the ground that shape people's lives. For the populations affected, regardless of national origin, the mere concept of co-operative and indivisible security has no immediate practical value. Peace and stability are what people want, not a fragile status quo.

This is why the Greek Chairmanship has spared no effort in searching for ways to ensure that the OSCE remains engaged in Georgia, especially in the areas affected by the conflict. And we will continue to keep trying, because we are convinced that the situation requires more, not less, OSCE co-operation and presence on the ground.

Allow me to pay tribute to the three Co-Chairs of the Minsk Group, as well as to my Personal Representative on the Conflict Dealt with by the OSCE Minsk Conference, Ambassador Andrzej Kasprzyk, for their tireless efforts to find a mutually acceptable solution concerning Nagorno-

Karabakh. We are encouraged by the positive momentum that the recent frequent meetings of the presidents of Armenia and Azerbaijan have created. I will lend my personal support to the Co-Chairs of the parties in their quest to achieve a long-lasting peace in the South Caucasus region.

My special appreciation also goes to the moderators and observers of the "three-plus-two" negotiation scheme for Transdniestria. My special representative, Ambassador Charalampos Christopoulos, and the Head of the OSCE Mission to Moldova, Ambassador Philip Remler, are doing a fabulous job, and I commend them for their efforts to build confidence between the parties.

After a long dry spell, the OSCE family of nations needs now, more than ever, to be able to celebrate the resolution of the protracted conflicts — and to do so together. This will send a message to other conflict regions in the world that effective diplomacy *can* resolve disputes peacefully.

In a globalized world, the line between hard and soft security has increasingly blurred. Diplomacy is not just about people; it is also about how we — nations as well as individuals — wield power responsibly, humanely and fairly.

It is up to us to prove that the search for lasting peace and prosperity in the OSCE area is not an academic exercise but rather a tangible goal that we can attain through co-operation and joint efforts for the mutual benefit of our States and our peoples.

I firmly believe that co-operation will redeem humankind, as Bertrand Russell said. With these thoughts and in this spirit, I invite you all to join our efforts to transform this historic opportunity into a common success. I look forward to welcoming you all to Athens in December, where we can make a fresh start and revitalize the spirit of Helsinki.

Meet new Chairman-in-Office George Papandreou

- Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Greece since 6 October 2009
- Foreign Minister from February 1999 to February 2004
- Minister for Education and Religious Affairs from 1994 to 1996 and from 1988 to 1989
- Member of Parliament from 1981 to September 2009

Born in St. Paul, Minnesota, George Papandreou is the son and grandson of former Greek prime ministers. His early education was in Toronto, Stockholm and Illinois. He holds a master's degree in sociology and development from the London School of Economics and was a Fellow at Harvard University's Center for International Affairs. He also holds an undergraduate degree in sociology from Amherst College in Massachusetts, and attended Stockholm University.



“1989: The happiest year in European history”

Genscher says co-operation is humanity’s only promising option

“You have uplifted our spirits and warmed our hearts,” German Ambassador to the OSCE Heiner Horsten told Hans-Dietrich Genscher after his 25-minute extemporaneous and eloquent address to more than 600 guests, who gave him a standing ovation at a special event to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall. Held in the Grosser Redoutensaal of the Hofburg on 6 November, the event was jointly organized by the German Delegation to the OSCE, the Greek Chairmanship and Austria as the host country of the OSCE. Now 82, Mr. Genscher served as the Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany for 18 years, a period that encompassed the signing of the Helsinki Final Act in 1975 and the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. He was the first Chairman-in-Office of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) before it was transformed into the OSCE. Here are excerpts from Minister Genscher’s speech.

It has been rightly pointed out that the fall of the Berlin Wall was an event of extraordinary significance that extended far beyond Germany. What was actually the point of building this Wall? Two systems were competing on German soil: the free, democratic Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) with its market economy, on one side, and, on the other side, the socialist system of the German Democratic Republic (GDR).

The construction of the Wall by the GDR leadership was an admission of defeat in the battle between the two systems. People wanted to escape from what they considered the wrong system in order to be able to move to what they regarded as the right system and to live there

OSCE/SUSANNA LOOF

in freedom. Thus, the impact of the decision to construct the Berlin Wall went far beyond the city.

Richard von Weizsäcker once said when he was Federal President: "German history has never belonged to us alone." Thomas Mann expressed this in 1953 in his famous address to young Germans when he said: "What we want is a European Germany and not a German Europe". This was Germany turning to Europe, and it is perhaps symbolic that Chancellor Helmut Kohl and I experienced the fall of the Wall not in Bonn, not in Berlin, but in Warsaw, where we were visiting the new Polish leadership formed by Solidarność, and while we were having dinner the news came: "The Berlin Wall has been opened."

I will never forget how I met Lech Wałęsa and his foreign policy adviser Bronisław Geremek the following morning. And Geremek said: "The fall of the Wall represents a great day for Germany because it means unity, Mr. Genscher, for your country. But it is also a great day for Poland. If Germany is unified, Poland will have the European Community as a neighbour." Today Poland is a member of that community.

The Wall divided not only Germans from Germans, not only Berliners from Berliners, but also Europeans from Europeans. We know today that the fall of the Wall was a historic event that overcame the division of the world. But it was not the end of history. History allows no respite and no time to pause. The world took a short break all the same, although it must be said that there were two statesmen who in 1988 and 1989 read the signs of the times correctly.

There was Mikhail Gorbachev who spoke before the United Nations in December 1988 of the great challenges facing humanity, namely safeguarding natural resources, overcoming hunger and poverty in the developing world and putting an end to the arms race. And there was President George Bush of the United States of America who declared in 1989 that a new world order was emerging.

HAPPIEST YEAR

However, long before this, thought had been given as to how what divided us could be overcome in the Cold War era. The fact is that co-operation within the CSCE and the OSCE had an indispensable role to play in our being able to experience 1989 as perhaps the happiest year in European history.

Was it not the case that, in that autumn of 1989, the people of Europe were more united in their hopes and their fears, in their concerns and their desires, closer to one another than ever before in their history? That is the message from those times that we must honour as it falls on us today to tackle the issue of a new, future

structure, not only for Europe but for the great trans-Atlantic area from Vancouver to Vladivostok as a common task.

There was also the historic departure of 1975, which had begun with the Helsinki Final Act. Countries that stood on opposing sides under the rules of the Cold War and at a time of ideological and military confrontation on a scale undreamed of, came together in Helsinki and now endeavoured to achieve a minimum of consensus.

If we read the Helsinki Final Act, we can see that it is a masterpiece in balancing interests — an agreement on the principles of the co-existence of human beings and nations, an understanding that we can only find common ground if we are prepared to talk to one another and work together, and that there are human emotions, desires and needs, and human dignity that command respect. All of these were included in the CSCE's third basket of humanitarian issues.

Let us look back once again to what had taken place before this: On 17 June 1953 in the GDR, a people's uprising crushed by Soviet tanks, in 1956 in Hungary, in 1968 in Czechoslovakia, and also the measures against Solidarność, this time without Soviet intervention, and then the groundbreaking development that was 1989.

None of this would have been possible without the provision of the Helsinki Final Act enabling civil rights campaigners to point out to their own Governments that they had signed up to certain commitments, that they had agreed that the Final Act was not to be hidden away in the archives of foreign ministries but should be made available to every citizen and published in the press, that none of this would become a reality overnight, but that they had committed themselves to introducing a process that would make this possible.

NEW DOOR

I remember those critical days of the CSCE follow-up conference in Madrid (1980-1983) after a Korean plane had been shot down, and the meeting was on the verge of breaking down. And then we remembered: If one has achieved something of value, if one is sitting at the table to talk about issues, this should never be interrupted. This was the historic importance of the Final Act, which rightly led to the OSCE, whose guest I am today and that I am able to address today.

Was the then-American President Bush not right when he spoke of a new world order emerging? This was not the end of history. A new door had in fact been opened. Today, we realize that the period that followed has not been used for the creation and the shaping of this world order. It would have been up to the Europeans and all the signatories of the Helsinki Final Act to do this. After all, Europeans do have

a message to give to the world — a message that can and must say: It is possible to learn from history. And it is also possible to identify common interests despite the many differences and then to try to take these common interests forward and translate them into co-operation, drawing closer to one another.

Today we are confronted with a fundamental decision: In a world that is becoming ever smaller and interdependent, where remote regions no longer exist, what kind of order can there be in such a world? Of course, one can simply let everything take its course. Things will work out



22 December 1989.

Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany, and Jiří Dienstbier, Foreign Minister of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, cut the barbed wire fence at the German-Czechoslovak border. It was a reunion under changed circumstances: The first time they met, it was in the back room of an inn during the Prague Spring of 1968. They later served as the first two Chairpersons-in-Office of the CSCE/OSCE.

one way or another. That is the chaos option, which ultimately ends in the law of the jungle.

And then the basic ideas that were realized here with the CSCE come to mind, the idea of working together for the common good on the basis of equal rights regardless of whether one is large or small. That is the co-operation option, which, in my view, is the only possible, the only attractive and the only promising option for humanity. This is our task as Europeans. It is also the task of the signatory States from Vancouver to Vladivostok, including the great democracies of America, and the great expanse of Russia and the States that were once part of the Soviet Union.

FAMILIAR TOPICS

For that reason, the task of the CSCE and the OSCE did not come to an end with the fall of the Berlin Wall. Rather, we owe it to other parts of the world to continue our work towards unifying Europe and shaping its future. This is the significance of the new developments that are finding new expression in the Corfu Process. Here, we see many topics that are familiar to us from those times. Of course we must create a mechanism that is capable of resolving conflicts by peaceful means. Of course we must

continue arms control, of course we must create confidence-building measures. This is necessary. We must recognize the new challenges that go far beyond the arms race and military threats: combating global terrorism, securing natural resources, the fight against organized crime.

A great author of our time in Germany once asked: You can tell when a war starts, but when does the pre-war period begin? One might add a second question to this question by Christa Wolf: Where does the pre-war period begin? It begins where prejudices poison how people think and act. Pre-war begins in the hearts of human beings, in their minds, where false feelings of superiority and false requirements for segregation lodge and could result in a dangerous development in the way we think and act. This is our task in educating young people, not waiting until they are in school, but beginning where the first imprints on their characters are made, namely in the family.

The substantive message of the CSCE and OSCE process is that much can be achieved collectively if we respect one another. Therefore, I sincerely hope that we use the opportunities that a new administration in the United States has opened up for us, as well as those presented by a new way of thinking in Russia, as reflected in the initiative announced by the Russian President in Berlin last year.

Several new challenges have been added since the fall of the Wall. And co-operation in this great Organization, in our OSCE, is a wonderful platform for discussing our common future in good grace and with respect for one another.

I hope, therefore, that the OSCE is aware of its responsibility to continue the processes that have been introduced and that extend far beyond the OSCE participating States. It is my wish, it is my hope, but it is also my plea to those who bear responsibility today: Just as we set out, back then, at a most difficult time to overcome the walls and borders in Europe, let us now work together so that the signatory States of the Helsinki Final Act — the participating States of the OSCE — can make their contribution, so that we can move closer together as a community sharing a common fate and giving the world a new face by way of our example.

This is my wish today. It is part of my country's gratitude towards all those who supported us during the time of our division. We — and the CSCE area certainly had something to do with this — have understood: Division is the worst thing, unification is not always easy, but desirable. We must strive to work towards that goal.

(translated from German by the OSCE Secretariat's Language Services)



Hans-Dietrich Genscher: An appreciation

Hans-Dietrich Genscher was Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany when the Helsinki Final Act was signed in 1975. He was still in the same position — responsible for unified Germany — when he became the first Chairman-in-Office of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) in 1991. Not only has Minister Genscher been a witness to groundbreaking developments in European history, he was also one of the architects of co-operative and comprehensive security in Europe, the OSCE's signature security concept.

As a member of a generation forced to take part in World War II even before coming of age, Minister Genscher has always been deeply committed to the concept of foreign policy as a means of preserving and fostering peace and stability. He grew into young adulthood in what was by then East Germany, but soon left to escape post-war

communist rule and participate in West Germany's democratic political development.

He joined the liberal Free Democratic Party as early as 1952, when he was 25, went on to serve as his party's chairman in the 1970s and 1980s, and is still today a source of inspiration for the shapers and analysts of foreign policy in Germany and beyond.

Hans-Dietrich Genscher, now 82, has of course been sought out in particular this year, the 20th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall and the opening of the Iron Curtain. He famously helped win the free passage to the West of East German refugees in Budapest, Prague and elsewhere. He was also deeply involved in the negotiations leading to German unification, an undertaking that fulfilled a long-term political strategy emphasizing democratic rights and the political role of individual citizens.

Over the past 20 years, the CSCE — and now the OSCE — area has made steady progress. Some regions have developed at a different pace from others, and the OSCE's work is far from done. However, the OSCE's unique concept of comprehensive and co-operative security undeniably remains indispensable for securing a lasting peace and stable development across the region, and providing inspiration far beyond.

Political dialogue, mutual trust and confidence, and respect for human and democratic rights are as important today as they were in 1975 and 1989. At the dawning of a new decade in the twenty-first century, Hans-Dietrich Genscher's political experience remains valid — not least as the OSCE participating States open a new chapter in their co-operation through the Corfu Process. — *Permanent Mission of Germany to the OSCE*

19-20 June 1991, Berlin. The Reichstag was the setting for the first meeting of the CSCE foreign ministers, just 18 months after the Wall fell.

“A triumph of the unexpected”

At the special commemoration on 6 November, Austrian Foreign Minister Michael Spindelegger (centre) and Greek Alternate Foreign Minister Dimitris Droutsas (right) paid tribute to the courage and perseverance of individuals who made the events of 1989 possible, including Hans-Dietrich Genscher (left). Both shared their reflections on the role of the CSCE/OSCE in strengthening security in Europe and pinned their hopes on the Corfu Process. The following are excerpts from their remarks, translated from German.



The events of 1989 were the starting point for the dawn of a new Europe. Based on an understanding of common values and the concept of building trust between East and West, the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) made a fundamental contribution to this peaceful transition into a new era.

George Steiner said that “1989 was a triumph of the unexpected”. I believe it was, above all, a triumph of the citizens and the civil rights movements that helped to bring about the radical changes of that time. To quote Heinrich Böll: “Freedom is not a gift; it is something that is earned.”

The transition was a process that consisted of several small steps and was inspired by moral courage and the desire for freedom. Today, the civil rights activists in Eastern Germany at that time, whose courage built the foundation for Germany’s reunification, have our admiration and respect.

In 2009, I organized a tour to listen to people’s views about Europe, which enabled me to gain an impression of the scepticism felt by Austrians regarding the Europe of today. So I can tell you first-hand that many citizens are nowadays asking: “What is the sense of this present-day Europe? How can we make a difference?” Not everyone is aware of the 20th anniversary of the fall of the Iron Curtain and the Berlin Wall. For those who did not experience them, they do not mean very much.

This is why our commemoration of the anniversary affords an opportunity to bring the significance of the year 1989 alive, especially for young people, and to emphasize the concrete advantages and opportunities that this united

Europe offers its people today. We need to make an effort, again and again, to give wings to the enthusiasm of that era, to strengthen the will to shape peaceful development, and to affirm the striving for freedom and solidarity for the future of Europe.

We also have to remember that the division of Europe has not yet been completely bridged. There are still people on this continent for whom freedom and security are not a matter of course. We must not forget this “disadvantaged” Europe. Indeed, it is these very regions — ranging from the Balkans to the Black Sea — that may become sources of strength for a future Europe. We must make proactive use of their human, economic and cultural potential. The events of 1989 therefore represent not only an opportunity, but also a mandate for a new Europe.

Vienna has traditionally been a meeting point between East and West — before, during and after the fall of the Iron Curtain. It was at a CSCE conference in Vienna in 1989 that the then-Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, Eduard Shevardnadze, said: “The Iron Curtain is rusting.”

Today, 20 years after the fall of the Wall, we can see that it sometimes still persists in our heads. Some of our thinking and language is resistant to change. If I may take the liberty to invoke OSCE jargon, we still speak of “east of Vienna” and “west of Vienna”. But here, too, things have been set in motion.

In response to the proposals of Russian President Dmitry Medvedev, the OSCE, under its Greek Chairmanship, has been making preparations for a new security dialogue in the framework of the OSCE, and has initiated a “Corfu

Process". This has been a true success. We have not detached ourselves from the way in which the OSCE has developed over many years; rather, we have carried these developments forward and attempted to build upon the traditionally solid foundations of the OSCE.

Michael Spindelegger, Foreign Minister of Austria, Vienna, 6 November 2009

Walls divide cities, societies and perceptions — unfortunately, even today, even within Europe. Walls represent obstacles to human prosperity and freedom, threatening the inherent dignity of the individual. However, the fall of the Berlin Wall demonstrated that physical barriers cannot withstand people's intrinsic desire for peace and unity, and their determination to build a future guided by common purpose and based on common values.

The 9th of November 1989 marked the end of an era of mistrust and divisions and opened the way to co-operation with the aim of building a peaceful and stable Europe. We should not forget the significant contribution made by certain individuals in preparing the political ground for bold and decisive steps towards a better future. Hans-Dietrich Genscher made a decisive contribution to the salient events that have marked the history of this continent. We are all inspired by the courage and perseverance that he demonstrated in the midst of uncertainty and challenge.

Since 1989, Europe has undergone a positive transformation. The 1990 Charter of Paris for a New Europe called for a Europe founded on democratic principles, the rule of law and the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms. However, on this anniversary, we need to intensify our efforts in order to fully realize this vision.

The OSCE that I have the honour of representing here today plays a central role towards this end. At the heart of the Organization lies the notion that the security of Europe starts with the inherent dignity of the individual. Created as an instrument of détente, the OSCE built a platform for dialogue, challenging the dogmas of confrontation and eroding the inertia of the status quo to achieve fundamental and positive change.

Benefiting from a strong consensus among its participating States after the end of the Cold War, the OSCE adopted an ambitious framework of commitments and created institutions and field operations to support States and societies undergoing difficult transition processes. Moreover, the OSCE demonstrated that genuine security can only be comprehensive if it encompasses all aspects of security.

We have come a long way towards answering the questions raised in 1989. Today, as before, the OSCE remains the forum where

hard questions can be raised and addressed. The OSCE has always reflected Europe as we imagined it to be, as it could have been ideally. It has always held up a mirror to reflect Europe as it is.

In this spirit, the Greek Chairmanship of the OSCE has launched a new dialogue on the future of European security — the Corfu Process. It is designed to take a frank look at all aspects of today's European security. The aim is to renew our commitments to an indivisible, co-operative and comprehensive security, to build a new political will for common action, and to strengthen the institutions we have created to provide for security across the length and breadth of the continent.

The generous notion that the OSCE embraces, of a wider Europe, is a unique resource, where 56 countries co-operate on security issues within a framework of shared values. I am convinced that we need this tool today more than ever.

Twenty years on, we remain grateful for the courage of the generation of 1989, the men and women who stood up, who bridged divides that seemed beyond the human reach. Where a dark wall once stood, a door suddenly opened. All those who took part passed through this gate, and into the streets and churches, overcoming obstacles. Each of them grasped the chance to build and shape something new, and dared to change.

Twenty years have passed since we received that overwhelming gift of freedom. But even today, there is nothing that excites us more, motivates us more, nothing that fills us with more positive feelings than the power of freedom. Today we are also aware of our responsibility — the responsibility never again to allow any walls to be built that will separate us from one another.

Dimitris Droutsas, Alternate Foreign Minister of Greece and Special Envoy of the OSCE Chairman-in-Office

6 November 2009, Hofburg, Vienna. Members of the Vienna Chamber Orchestra perform at the special event commemorating the fall of the Berlin Wall.



Dateline Berlin

The night the wall fell

By Martin Nesirky



KLAUS LEHARTZ/BUNDESREGIERUNG

10 November 1989, Brandenburger Tor. East and West Berliners celebrate their reunification after 28 years.

BERLIN, 9 October 2009 — Back here for the first time in a decade for a reunion with correspondents and diplomats, I join the inevitable tourist hunt for the Wall, scraps of which remain against a backdrop of glitzy new buildings.

East Germany's asbestos-clogged Palace of the Republic parliament, known to caustic East Berliners as the Ballast of the Republic, has long since gone.

There's also not much left of the press centre where I worked and where East German media chief Günter Schabowski seemed to have surprised himself with the cryptic announcement that blasted the Wall wide open.

Yet, what I think I came in search of is still there — echoes of conversations and observations, 20 years removed, but vivid nonetheless.

At Checkpoint Charlie, I stand in the rain facing what used to be the crossing and recall watching the first East German walking into West Berlin, his arms stretched in the air and his eyes fixed in disbelief.

I had edged through the checkpoint from East to West some time before the guards started to allow East Germans through. It was a crossing I had made dozens, if not hundreds of times — twice with an undiscovered cat in the boot and the radio turned up loud. Needless to say, the crossing on 9 November was even more nerve tingling.

Much of the rest of that night had passed in a frantic, exhilarating blur of conversations and scribbled notes, the search for phones in that pre-mobile phone era and the realization that the city of my forefathers was being reborn.

In the Prenzlauer Berg district where I lived and the Mitte district where I often met dissidents and tried to dodge the Stasi security police, the echoes are just as strong, even though the building facades are now flashy and the cafés chic.

On one cobbled street, I look around, this time in autumnal sunshine, remembering the October 1989 night-time scene of uniformed police and plainclothes Stasi rounding up demonstrators who wanted Gorbachev-style reform.

Back then, under the dim streetlights, it seemed more like 1939 than 1989. I managed to escape by ducking into a courtyard before returning home to report.

It was clear something would have to give, but I could not have guessed how.

One friend in particular comes to mind, although I am unable to find him this October. Early in my assignment, he had been the source of an exclusive, on slightly eased East German travel restrictions; it seems faintly ridiculous now, but that was a major development then. I even filed the story from Bonn under the chief correspondent's name to cover my tracks and my source.

The first time I saw that friend after 9 November, he presented me with a border warning sign he had removed, for me, the very night the Wall fell.

Martin Nesirky was a Reuters correspondent in East Germany and West Berlin from 1987 to 1991. He has been serving as the Spokesperson of the OSCE since April 2006. He wrote this eye-witness account at the invitation of Reuters, which carried it on 4 November on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall.

Reflections on Berlin: A beacon of a 'Europe whole and free'

The first meeting of the CSCE Foreign Ministers took place on 19 and 20 June 1991 at the Reichstag building in Berlin, just 18 months after the Wall fell. The choice of venue was a sign of appreciation for Germany and for Berlin — and for the Chairman of the first meeting of the CSCE Council of Ministers, Foreign Minister Genscher, who had been a driving force of the CSCE process since 1975.

Berlin was a 'natural' choice: Having been a focus of East-West confrontation for decades, it could now serve as a beacon of a 'Europe whole and free'. It was a very emotional moment for Foreign Minister Genscher when he welcomed the CSCE foreign ministers on the steps of the Reichstag building.

In his 1995 memoirs, *Erinnerungen*, he wrote that, at the time of the CSCE Council meeting, the debate over 'Bonn or Berlin?' as the capital of a reunited Germany was raging in the Bundestag, and that he rushed from the meeting to the Bundestag pleading for Berlin. By the way, the CSCE event was the last major event in the old Reichstag before it was completely overhauled and renovated to serve anew as the German parliament building.

— **Ambassador Wilhelm Höynck, first Secretary-General of the CSCE/OSCE (June 1993 to June 1996), recalling his close working association with former German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher in the late 1980s and early 1990s**



19 June 1991, Berlin.
The Reichstag at the opening of the first meeting of the CSCE foreign ministers

The historic Helsinki Meeting was preceded by a huge amount of work. Now we have the Corfu Process, which is the latest landmark in the comparatively modern phase of deliberations on the future of our common security and co-operation. The fall of the Berlin Wall may be referred to as the first landmark in this same process. And various developments in the past two decades prove that this fall was just the beginning of dismantling, brick by brick, the wall of mistrust in our minds. It is an unavoidable, laborious and goal-oriented exercise that occupies us every day, and which is far from being complete. We believe that the decision concerning the Kazakh Chairmanship of the OSCE represented just one more brick, but a very significant one, removed from that wall.

— **Kairat Abdrakhmanov, Ambassador of Kazakhstan to the OSCE, at the Special Permanent Council, 6 November 2009**

The special event earlier today at the Hofburg commemorating the 20th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall underscores what the OSCE is all about. It reminds us about the value of our strategic dialogue and work to build confidence, trust and greater co-operation in the vast OSCE region — from Vancouver to Vladivostok — through our comprehensive security agenda and through our commitment to the safeguarding of the rights of individuals and their fundamental freedoms. — **Stefan Skjaldarson, Ambassador of Iceland to the OSCE, on behalf of the Delegations of Canada, Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway and Switzerland, at the Special Permanent Council, 6 November 2009**

As we marked the 20th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall earlier today, we understood that this event triggered off a multitude of changes and processes, the aftermath of which we here today are still unable to grasp in all its dimensions. The world changed dramatically, with an outcome still unknown. Living in times of change, we bear a tremendous responsibility for our future. The way we conduct ourselves during this time of great transformation will have far-reaching consequences for generations to come. The only

way we, the participating States, can contribute to building a future of peace, stability and prosperity is by acting in concert, respecting international law and the sovereign equality of States, including their territorial integrity, reaffirming our common principles and values, enhancing dialogue, making multilateralism more effective and achieving consensus on fundamental issues that affect us all. — **Miroslava Beham, Ambassador of Serbia to the OSCE, at the Special Permanent Council, 6 November 2009**



6 November 2009, Vienna. Standing ovation for former Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher at the Hofburg

With their bare hands: Making a difference

Winning videos showcase the spirit of '89

By Tatyana Baeva

How does one go about measuring the total impact of a highly personal piece of work that seeks to bring together concept and creativity, originality and relevance? As we closeted ourselves in a room and started going through each of the OSCE video competition entries, we, the six members of the jury, decided to set aside our neatly configured criteria, sit back and just watch, feel and listen.

“When we were choosing the five winning entries, the determining factor simply came down to: How effectively did each video capture civil society in action in two or three minutes?” says Alexandros Dimitrakopoulos, Counsellor with the Greek Delegation to the OSCE. “In the end, you just knew when it all came together.”

The competition, “Taking Part: Civil Society Initiatives in the OSCE Area”, was launched by the German Delegation to the OSCE in early August, in co-operation with the Greek Chairmanship and the Secretariat’s Press and Public Information Section.

“In keeping with the spirit of the fall of the Berlin Wall 20 years ago, we wanted to pay tribute to citizen-based initiatives that are helping to promote stability, prosperity and democracy in

the OSCE region — as seen through the camera lenses of young men and women,” said Ambassador Heiner Horsten, Head of the German Delegation to the OSCE.

“After all, it was courageous, determined and responsible members of civil society who succeeded in bringing down the Wall ‘with their bare hands’, as former German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher once said.”

The six winners — from Armenia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova and Poland — could hardly believe their ears when we called to let them know that their entries had won, that they would be among the guests attending the events at the Hofburg commemorating the anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall, and that they would get to meet Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

“The desire to make a difference and to inspire others to do the same is the common thread running through the winning entries,” said Uwe Petry, Counsellor with the German Delegation to the OSCE. “Otherwise, the themes tackled in the videos and the young people who produced them are as different from one another as the countries they come from.”

“You Can Always Help — Just Because” is a well-crafted silent video that shows a backpacker on Yerevan’s Sevan highway. Despite repeated unsuccessful attempts to hitch a ride, he is not discouraged. When he chances upon a big stone in the middle of the highway, he does not hesitate to pick it up and move it out of the way.

Ani Harutyunyan, 21, a mathematician and graduate student from Yerevan, produced the video as part of a series of four public service announcements (PSAs) to entice television viewers into the world of volunteerism. “At the same time, I wanted to illustrate what a PSA really is,” she said. “Companies in Armenia have been

Vienna, 5 November 2009. German Ambassador Heiner Horsten (third from right) with (left to right) Ignacy Kołaczyński (Poland), Kaarmanbek Kuluev (Kyrgyzstan), Victoria Kriukova and Oxana Andriuc (Moldova), Ulan Shamsat (Kazakhstan) and Ani Harutyunyan (Armenia).



using PSAs to compete for attention, but often these don't really have the public's best interest at heart."

By submitting his video entitled "Free Sailing in the Free Internet", Ulan Shamset, 25, an engineer turned journalist, hoped to draw attention to his personal commitment to freedom of expression as the Co-ordinator of the newly formed K@ZNET Freedom Civic Initiative in Kazakhstan. Fast-paced scenes show men, women and children mobilizing peacefully across the country to send a message to the Government that "there is no freedom without freedom of the Internet", and urging the abolition of restrictive Internet laws.

"Our volunteers are convinced that the current law is unfair and does not reflect the principles of freedom and democracy," says Ulan. "We hope that, when Kazakhstan assumes the OSCE Chairmanship next year, the Government will prove that we are indeed a democracy, not just in word but also in deed. We're independent now, and civil society is emerging."

Ulan was looking forward to telling his friends back home that the information package they prepared especially for his Vienna trip — containing a CD-ROM, a hand-folded paper boat to represent "free sailing" and an "I love K@ZNET Freedom" button — found its way to Minister Genscher.

Fostering inter-ethnic tolerance was just one of the themes explored by the youngest winner, Ignacy Kołaczyński, 18, a high school senior from Poland who wants to be a lawyer. "Civil Society: Where Does it Begin?" spotlights a wide range of grass-roots activities in Ignacy's own neighbourhood, including the mobilization of action on behalf of Vietnamese merchants whose market stalls were in danger of being closed.

"I wanted to show other young people that it is possible to live in harmony with those whose backgrounds and ethnic origins are different, and that everyone has a right to work and not to be discriminated against," he said. These values were inculcated in him as a young boy by his father, who served three times as an OSCE military monitoring officer in Georgia between 1994 and 2002.

"Seeing with Eyes Closed" by advertising executive Oxana Andriuc, 29, and journalism student Victoria Kriukova, 21, from Moldova, has twin goals: to increase the self-confidence of a group of blind people through sports, and to foster greater tolerance in society for the handicapped.

The production team's footage captured the discipline and persistence of several blind men attempting to improve their skills in a ball game at a rehabilitation sports club for the disabled in the city of Bender. In an interview, the club's founder, who was born blind, said he wanted to help people like himself. "It's even tougher for those who lose their sight later in life," he says, without any hint of self-pity.

Oxana and Victoria, both heavily engaged in social issues back home, said they felt "almost guilty" about enjoying Vienna and the red carpet that was rolled out for them by their OSCE hosts. "It makes us feel better knowing that, during our visit and conversations with people, we encountered a lot of interest in the plight of the blind community featured in the video, which could perhaps lead to the opening up of other sources of funding."

"Don Quixote of Bishkek", a human rights activist who is a familiar face in the Kyrgyz capital, is the protagonist in the video by Kaarmanbek Kuluev, 24, a freelance journalist. Kaarmanbek follows a day in the life of Maksim, a committed and fearless one-man demonstrator who does not appear, at first glance, to be protesting against anything in particular.

"Some disapprove of his activities, calling him a clown, others compare him with Don Quixote, tilting at windmills," says Kaarmanbek. "But others, including his mother, grasp the message behind his method, which often gets him into trouble with the law."

Kaarmanbek, whose lively coverage of unusual stories around Bishkek has been attracting a following, had the last word at the video award ceremony at the Hofburg on 5 November.

Responding to the congratulatory remarks of German Ambassador Hornstein and Greek Ambassador Mara Marinaki, he said: "It has been interesting to see how a big organization engages in big politics, but the world of youth is somewhat different. We don't wear ties, we have nicknames, we are on Facebook and we don't go to too many official conferences. But the fact that your organization is interested in civil society activities is something that makes us feel good and encourages us to work even harder."

Tatyana Baeva joined the OSCE Secretariat as a Press and Public Information Officer in October 2009. Prior to that, she served as a press officer for the European Commission Delegation to Russia.



*"You Can Always Help — Just Because"
Ani Harutyunyan, Armenia*



*"Free Sailing in the Free Internet"
Ulan Shamset, Kazakhstan*



*"Civil Society: Where Does it Begin?"
Ignacy Kołaczyński, Poland*



*"Seeing with Eyes Closed"
Oxana Andriuc and Victoria
Kriukova, Moldova*



*"Don Quixote of Bishkek"
Kaarmanbek Kuluev, Kyrgyzstan*

ON THE WEB
www.youtube.com/osce

Kazakhstan seeks to “breathe new life” into interaction among participating States

Kanat Saudabayev was appointed Kazakhstan's Secretary of State - Minister for Foreign Affairs on 4 September 2009. Shortly after assuming his new functions, including spearheading the country's preparations for its Chairmanship of the OSCE in 2010, Minister Saudabayev answered wide-ranging questions posed to him by OSCE Spokesperson Martin Nesirky. He described what the Chairmanship meant for Kazakhstan and its citizens and expressed confidence that its forthcoming regional and international security initiatives would breathe new life into the interaction among the OSCE participating States.

Martin Nesirky: Kazakhstan will be the first Central Asian country and the first State from the former Soviet Union to chair the OSCE. What prompted your country to undertake this challenging mission?

Foreign Minister Kanat Saudabayev: The Chairmanship of the OSCE represents a logical next phase in the development of our young State. The OSCE and many of our partners in the Organization have played an important role in our achievements. During the 18 years of our country's independence, we have managed to build a strong market-oriented economy, to ensure democratic development and to strengthen inter-ethnic and interreligious harmony. From the very outset, Kazakhstan was an active participant and played a leading role in the processes aimed at ensuring security and integration in the Eurasian region. To demonstrate our commitment to ensuring peace, shortly after our independence, we renounced the world's fourth largest arsenal of nuclear weapons.

The OSCE has been playing a key role in maintaining the European security architecture and determining the nature of mutual relations among the various countries of Europe and the principles governing these relations. Time and again, the Organization has demonstrated its ability to bring “added value” to the security sphere. I am confident that the potential contribution of Kazakhstan towards regional stability, along with international security initiatives, will breathe new life into the interaction among OSCE participating States.



Those about to assume the OSCE Chairmanship hesitate to reveal too much about their priorities in advance, but could you indicate what you intend to focus on and why?

You are quite right: We will officially announce our priorities at the first meeting of the Permanent Council in January 2010. Until then, we all need to stand behind the efforts of the current Greek Chairmanship in carrying out its packed agenda.

At this early stage, however, I can definitely say that European security issues, the resolution of protracted conflicts and the stabilization of Afghanistan will be the focus of our efforts. We will also pay close attention to issues related to arms control and to the proliferation of dangerous materials and weapons of mass destruction. As a recognized leader in the non-proliferation field, Kazakhstan intends to make full use of the practices it has developed.

Kazakhstan attaches great importance to combating the new threats and challenges of the modern age, especially international terrorism, religious extremism and the various forms of illicit trafficking and organized crime. As you know, the participating States have approved the theme of the economic and environmental dimension in 2010, which is “promoting good governance at border crossings, improving the security of land transportation and facilitating international transport by road and rail in the OSCE region”.

In the human dimension, tolerance and related issues will be among the main items on our agenda. Based on our own positive experience in maintaining peace and harmony in a multi-ethnic and multi-faith society, and in promoting international interreligious dialogue within the framework of the Congresses of Leaders of World and Traditional Religions, we plan to focus on the many aspects of this subject, including gender and human rights.

How do you plan to guide the Corfu Process that was launched under the Greek Chairmanship?

The Corfu Process is the logical response of the OSCE community to the rather difficult and at times traumatic events that have occurred in the OSCE area in recent years. We will seek to maintain a dialogue on all aspects of pan-European security, which touches on all three dimensions and geographically encompasses not only the Euro-Atlantic area but also the vast Eurasian region.

The Corfu Process is in keeping with that approach. Its ultimate goal is to search for practical answers to specific questions. It has not set any limitations in terms of duration or content. We believe that the Corfu Process should be geared primarily towards topics that enjoy the most support and that have the greatest chances of being developed into concrete documents and programmes. We are in the midst of a series

of working meetings in Vienna, and if results emerge from these discussions, the Kazakh Chairmanship will have painstaking work ahead of it to implement any agreements that are reached.

In your opinion, how does the OSCE differ from other organizations? How would you characterize its main strengths and weaknesses?

The OSCE’s broad geographical coverage in its membership, its multilateral approach to stability and security, and the consensus principle employed in decision-making are features that add to our Organization’s uniqueness.



OSCE FOREIGN MINISTRY OF KAZAKHSTAN

Having said that, we have not always proved able to respond appropriately to situations of tension and conflict, despite the fact that the Organization was created as an early warning and crisis resolution instrument. I believe that this problem does not lie within the OSCE itself, but can be traced to the participating States’ lack of political will. In our search for compromise, we really should make maximum use of our unique platform for dialogue.

Kazakhstan is home to more than 100 ethnic groups.

Meet Kanat Bekmurzayevich Saudabayev

- Secretary of State from May 2007 to August 2009
- Ambassador to the United States from December 2000 to May 2007
- Head of the Prime Minister’s Chancellery with the rank of Cabinet Member from 1999 to 2000
- Ambassador to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and also accredited to Norway and Sweden, from 1996 to 1999
- Foreign Minister in 1994
- Ambassador to Turkey from 1994 to 1996

Minister Saudabayev holds a Ph.D. degree in philosophy from Kazakh State University and a Ph.D. degree in political science from Moscow State University. He is a graduate of the Leningrad State Institute of Culture and the Academy of Social Sciences attached to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Prior to joining the diplomatic service, he had a distinguished career in culture and the arts, earlier serving as director of the Kazakh Academic Theatre and later as Chairman of the State Committee of Culture. He speaks Kazakh, Russian, English and Turkish.



MAP: OSCE MAGAZINE/NOVA REUTER

Population:	GDP per capita:
16.4 million	US\$8,350 (2008)
Ethnic groups:	GDP (purchasing power parity):
More than 130	US\$177,545 million (2008, IMF)

How can Kazakhstan influence the resolution of protracted conflicts?

Unfortunately, most protracted conflicts in the OSCE area began in the territory of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). As you know, President Nursultan Nazarbayev has personally played a part in ensuring a constructive dialogue between the parties to conflicts, both bilaterally and in various multilateral formats. Historically, Kazakhstan has enjoyed cordial relations with all the CIS countries and is involved in key investment projects in most of them. We do understand the arguments and problems of the parties and have always made an effort to take them into account, while making sure that we observe the fundamental norms of international law. This is precisely the approach we aim to take during our time at the helm of the OSCE.

At a practical level, we are planning to appoint a Personal Representative of the OSCE Chairman-in-Office for conflicts, who will also chair or co-chair specialized negotiating bodies. We don't wish to overestimate our capabilities, but we will definitely spare no effort in seeking to make some progress in this difficult area. We also plan to place emphasis on preventive diplomacy. The crisis in August of last year convinced us of the need to do that.

The world is in the grip of a financial and economic crisis. Do you think that the OSCE has a role to play in addressing the crisis?

Although the OSCE is not a financial organization, it should play an active part in dealing with the consequences of the global crisis, especially in confronting its negative impact on the security

situation in the OSCE region. For one thing, the Organization should identify the main areas in its mandate that are the most vulnerable to negative changes in the security sphere — for example, the migration processes in the OSCE area.

Within the context of the global crisis, migrants represent the most vulnerable economic sector in countries of both origin and destination. They belong to the category of most vulnerable people, along with refugees and internally displaced persons. The OSCE should consider how its activities can help to assist all interested countries to raise the level of their social, economic and legal protection for these people.

As an important producer and exporter of energy, Kazakhstan is a major player in the global energy industry. How can its experience in this sector help the OSCE make a contribution towards increasing energy security?

The OSCE participating States do not have a common position regarding the Organization's role in ensuring energy security. We know that the Western countries are most interested in strengthening energy security and the security of energy supplies, especially given the problems that arose concerning gas supplies in Europe last winter. We also know that many participating States would like to exploit the OSCE's potential to ensure energy security in Europe.

Kazakhstan is a country with major hydrocarbon reserves. As a landlocked country, we are extremely interested in the export of raw materials to as many foreign markets as possible, including European markets. However, present-day realities show that many exporters of oil and gas prefer to resolve energy supply issues on a bilateral basis — the setting of prices, development of routes, volumes, and other factors — without the involvement of third countries or parties. These countries believe that the OSCE does not have the necessary experience and mechanisms to effectively maintain and strengthen energy security. For this reason, it would be very wrong to embrace inflated expectations of what the OSCE can achieve in terms of ensuring real energy security.

We believe, however, that the OSCE could serve as a convenient forum for the demonstration of political goodwill by the participating States, aimed at resolving energy security issues. Next year, as part of its activities in the second dimension, Kazakhstan will try to organize an exchange of views between OSCE States on this matter in the hopes of reaching a mutual understanding.

What new approaches can be adopted to promote gender balance within the Organization and in the entire OSCE area?

Ensuring equality between men and women is an integral part of our policy, both within the

Organization and at the State level. This commitment, which is enshrined in the 1999 Charter for European Security, is key to strengthening peace, prosperity and democracy in the OSCE region.

In Kazakhstan, women account for 58 per cent of all civil servants and about 40 per cent of entrepreneurs. In seeking to create a competitive society, we will continue our efforts to ensure that the principle of gender equality remains deeply rooted in our country.

Naturally, we will do all we can to promote the policy of gender balance within the OSCE. Recently, we proposed to the participating States the themes for the OSCE's human dimension events in 2010. The first one on our list is a supplementary meeting on the promotion of gender balance and the participation of women in political and public life, which is planned for 8 March, International Women's Day.

Kazakhstan has said it will focus on the OSCE Asian Partners for Co-operation. How do you picture the development of the OSCE's external relations in 2010?

Kazakhstan is at the crossroads of the civilizations of Europe and Asia. We link our future with both the East and the West. In the modern world, the system of security and co-operation must not be regarded as specifically "European" or "Asian". Europe and Asia are closely tied to one another, geographically, politically and economically. These ties are particularly evident in Central Asia.

The OSCE's mechanism for dialogue with its Asian Partners is unique. It is important for us to intensify our interaction by continuing our traditional joint events and identifying additional areas of co-operation to strengthen mutual security.

We very much look forward to continuing to assist Afghanistan in the reconstruction of its economy, in close co-operation with the local authorities and other members of the international community, including the OSCE, the Collective Security Treaty Organization, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization and the Economic Cooperation Organization.

We hope to intensify the dialogue between the OSCE and the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the League of Arab States. After all, Kazakhstan helped initiate the creation of the Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia (CICA), which is something like an OSCE in Asia. In 2010, at the third summit of the CICA heads of State and government, we are planning to organize an additional meeting for the OSCE Asian Partners, bearing in mind that they are all members of CICA, with the exception of Japan, which holds observer status.

Kazakhstan will also be the first country with a field mission to hold the Chairmanship. What role does the OSCE Centre in Astana play in Kazakhstan's aspirations for reform?

The work of the OSCE Centre in Astana will greatly assist Kazakhstan's Chairmanship. The Centre maintains good relations with government agencies and institutions of civil society and is implementing specific projects.

We support the OSCE Centre's efforts in promoting confidence- and security-building in the region, improving border security and management, managing transboundary water resources, assisting the Government to improve the legislative and institutional mechanisms for the development of civil society, combating money-laundering and countering corruption. I believe that the Centre's activities ought to be guided by the needs of society and should also promote close regional co-operation.

I might add that we are dealing with various challenges on our own and are promoting liberal reforms. We are determined to continue on a path leading to a more developed and politically engaged civil society and a mature political culture.

How has Kazakhstan been preparing for the Chairmanship?

Kazakhstan has been actively preparing for the Chairmanship in a responsible manner. A State commission on Chairmanship issues was set up under a presidential decree and has already been functioning. A Chairmanship task force has been hard at work in Astana. In Vienna, the work of the Chairmanship will be co-ordinated by the Permanent Mission of Kazakhstan to the OSCE.

Over the past two years, courses, seminars and training sessions have taken place at the Secretariat and in the OSCE's institutions in Vienna, Warsaw and The Hague, at the Centre for OSCE Research in Hamburg and in a number of European capitals. We are grateful to the Secretariat and the participating States for their support in preparing us to assume this major responsibility.

What is the public image of the OSCE in Kazakhstan?

People in Kazakhstan perceive the OSCE as a highly respected international organization. Interest in it has grown considerably since our country was selected to assume the Chairmanship. Our citizens are enthusiastically studying various aspects of the OSCE's work and actively discussing the problems currently facing the Organization. It is no exaggeration to say that Kazakhstan's opportunity to lead this influential body is giving rise to a feeling of pride among its citizens and a sense of involvement in the processes taking place in the Euro-Atlantic region. As President Nazarbayev has noted, the future Chairmanship is regarded as a strategic national project.

ON THE WEB

www.mfa.kz
www.osce2010.kz
(to be formally presented on 7 December)
www.osce.org/cio

Taking turns at the helm

The CSCE/OSCE Chairmanship through the years

The OSCE's principle of changing chairmanships is an expression of the right of all States to play an equal part in the Organization. "The concept of a regularly changing chairmanship pre-dates the OSCE, harking back to the time when it was still a 'travelling conference,'" says Thomas Fischer, a specialist on the Organization's history. "In fact, the rules of procedure that were debated in Finland preparatory to the 1973-1975 Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) stipulated a daily — or in some cases even twice daily — rotation of the chairing of meetings."

The leadership role of today's Chairmanship first emerged from the Paris Summit in November 1990, which envisaged the CSCE as the main guarantor of security in a new Europe free of dividing lines. The gathering drew up the Charter of Paris for a New Europe, which heralded the beginning of the transformation of the Conference into today's Organization by giving it a Secretariat and other permanent structures and operational capabilities.

"The European Community's rotating presidency and regular meetings served as the model for the CSCE/OSCE Chairmanship and ministerial meetings, although in the case of the OSCE, the Chairmanships are not really 'rotating,'" says Wilhelm Höynck, Ambassador-at-Large of the Federal Republic of Germany in the early 1990s, who later served, from June 1993 to June 1996, as the first Secretary General of the CSCE/OSCE.

"The need to respond operationally to the conflicts in Yugoslavia lent urgency to the discussions at the CSCE Council's first meeting in Berlin in 1991 and its second meeting in Prague in 1992," he adds. "Both events led to a formal definition of the role of the Chairman-in-Office at the third Summit, held in Helsinki in July 1992."

The possibilities and limitations of the Chairmanship were shaped by decisions taken at these events:

The Helsinki Summit of 1992 agreed that the Chairman-in-Office would be responsible "for the co-ordination of and consultation on current CSCE business", and would be requested "to communicate ... decisions to the CSCE institutions and to give them such advice regarding those decisions as may be required". The "preceding and succeeding Chairmen, operating together as a Troika, ad hoc steering groups and personal representatives, if necessary" would provide assistance to the Chairman-in-Office.

The Budapest Summit of 1994 agreed that "overall responsibility for executive action will remain with the Chairman-in-Office" and that "the term of Chairmanship will normally last one calendar year".

The Meeting of the OSCE Ministerial Council in Porto, Portugal, in 2002 sought to streamline the working methods of the Chairmanship by adopting a decision (see page 23) stating that the OSCE Chairmanship-in-Office would be "designated as such by a decision of the Summit Meeting or the Ministerial Council as a rule two years before the Chairmanship's term of office starts". Furthermore, the functions of the Chairmanship "shall be exercised by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the participating State so designated ... together with his/her staff, including the Chair of the Permanent Council".

The following pages show a photographic gallery of the foreign ministers who have represented the 18 Chairmanships so far, starting with then German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

10 September 1991, Dom Soyuzov, Moscow, third meeting of the Human Dimension Conference of the CSCE (10 September-15 October 1991). German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher was a strong advocate for the principle that commitments in the human dimension were "matters of direct and legitimate concern to all participating States". The resulting "Moscow Mechanism" provided the option of sending experts to help participating States resolve a specific human dimension issue.



First Chairmanship: Germany June-December 1991

Hans-Dietrich Genscher, CSCE Chairman-in-Office. Foreign Minister and Deputy Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany (1974-1992). Honorary Chairman of Germany's Free Democratic Party (FDP) since 1992. Managing Partner of Hans-Dietrich Genscher Consult GmbH since 2000.



SENAŤ PCR

1992: Czechoslovakia

Jiří Dienstbier, CSCE Chairman-in-Office (1 January-2 July 1992). Foreign Minister and Deputy Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia (1989-1992). Special Rapporteur of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights on the situation of human rights in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Republic of Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1998-2001). Member of the Czech Senate since 2008.



CZECH FOREIGN MINISTRY

1992: Czechoslovakia

Jozef Moravčík, CSCE Chairman-in-Office (3 July-31 December 1992). Last Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia (July-December 1992). Foreign Minister of the newly formed Republic of Slovakia (March 1993-March 1994). Prime Minister of Slovakia (March-December 1994). Mayor of Bratislava (1998-2002).



JARL HJALMARSON FOUNDATION

1993: Sweden

Margaretha af Ugglas, CSCE Chairperson-in-Office. Sweden's second female Foreign Minister (1991-1994). Member, European Parliament (1995). Chairman of the Board, Jarl Hjalmarson Foundation, since 2002.



WWW.BOLOGNA.CHIESACATOLICA.IT

1994: Italy

Beniamino Andreatta, CSCE Chairman-in-Office (1 January-11 May 1994). Foreign Minister (1993-1994). Defence Minister (1996-1998). Died 26 March 2007.



ITALIAN DEFENCE MINISTRY - PRESS SERVICE

1994: Italy

Antonio Martino, CSCE Chairman-in-Office (12 May-31 December 1994). Foreign Minister (May-December 1994). Defence Minister (2001-2006). Former professor, LUISS University in Rome. Member of the Parliament's Defence Committee.



EUROPEAN COMMISSION

1995: Hungary

László Kovács, OSCE Chairman-in-Office. Foreign Minister (1994-1998 and 2002-2004). Member of the Council of Wise Men of the Council of Europe (1997-1999). Vice-Chairman of the Socialist International (2003-2008). European Commissioner for Taxation and Customs Union since 2004.



KEystone

1996: Switzerland

Flavio Cotti, OSCE Chairman-in-Office. Head of the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs (1994-1999). President of the Swiss Confederation (1991 and 1998).



CENTRE OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY DANISH MFA

1997: Denmark

Niels Helveg Petersen, OSCE Chairman-in-Office. Foreign Minister (1993-2000). Member of the Danish Parliament (Member of the Presidium, 2005-2007).



EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

1998: Poland

Bronisław Geremek, OSCE Chairman-in-Office. Foreign Minister (1997-2000). Professor, Chair of European Civilization at the College of Europe - Natolin (2002-2008). Member, European Parliament (2004-2008). President of the Jean Monnet Foundation for Europe (2006-2008). Died 13 July 2008.



OSCE/SUSANNA LOOF

1999: Norway

Knut Vollebæk, OSCE Chairman-in-Office. Foreign Minister (1997-2000). Chairman of the Panel of Eminent Persons on Strengthening the Effectiveness of the OSCE (2005). Ambassador to the United States (2001-2007). OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities since 2007.



ÖVP-BUNDESPARTEI

2000: Austria

Wolfgang Schüssel, OSCE Chairman-in-Office (1 January-4 February 2000). Foreign Minister (1995-February 2000). Chancellor of Austria (2000-2007). Member of the Austrian Parliament.



EUROPEAN COMMISSION

2000: Austria

Benita Ferrero-Waldner, OSCE Chairperson-in-Office (5 February-31 December 2000). Foreign Minister (February 2000-2004). European Commissioner for External Relations and European Neighbourhood Policy (2004-2009).



BRACON

2001: Romania

Mircea Dan Geoana, OSCE Chairman-in-Office. Foreign Minister (2000-2004). Member of the Romanian Senate since 2004. Speaker of the Senate since 2008.



OSCE/ALEX NITZSCHE

2002: Portugal

Jaime Gama, OSCE Chairman-in-Office (1 January-6 April 2002). Foreign Minister (1983-1985 and 1995-2002). President of Portugal since 2005.



OSCE/PORTUGUESE FOREIGN MINISTRY

2002: Portugal

Antonio Martins da Cruz, OSCE Chairman-in-Office (7 April-31 December 2002). Foreign Minister (2002-2003).



OSCE

2003: Netherlands

Jaap de Hoop Scheffer, OSCE Chairman-in-Office (1 January-3 December 2003). Foreign Minister (2002-2003). Secretary General of NATO (2004-2009). Chair for Peace, Law and Security at Leiden University since September 2009.



BELGA-BENOIT DORPAGNE

2003: Netherlands

Bernard Rudolf Bot, OSCE Chairman-in-Office (4-31 December 2003). Foreign Minister (2003-2007). President of the Board, Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy; and President of the Board of Governors, Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael.



OSCE/MIKHAIL EVSTATIEV

2004: Bulgaria

Solomon Passy, OSCE Chairman-in-Office. Foreign Minister (2001-2005). Chairman of the parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee (2005-2009). Founding President and Honorary President of the Atlantic Club of Bulgaria.



BOGO

2005: Slovenia

Dimitrij Rupel, OSCE Chairman-in-Office. Reappointed Foreign Minister (November 2004–November 2008). Prime Minister’s Special Envoy for Foreign Affairs (November 2008–February 2009).



EUROPEAN COMMISSION

2006: Belgium

Karel De Gucht, OSCE Chairman-in-Office. Foreign Minister (2004–2009). European Commissioner for Development and Humanitarian Aid since 2009.



OSCE/MIKHAL EVSTAFEV

2007: Spain

Miguel Ángel Moratinos, OSCE Chairman-in-Office. Foreign Minister since 2004.



LEHTIMU/PEKKA SANKKI

2008: Finland

Ilkka Kanerva, OSCE Chairman-in-Office (1 January–4 April 2008). Foreign Minister (2007–2008). Member of Finnish Parliament since 1975.



OSCE/MIKHAL EVSTAFEV

2008: Finland

Alexander Stubb, OSCE Chairman-in-Office (5 April–31 December 2008). Foreign Minister since 2008.



PERSONAL

2009: Greece

Dora Bakoyannis, OSCE Chairman-in-Office (January–5 October 2009). Foreign Minister (2006–5 October 2009).



AFP PHOTO/CARL COURT

2009: Greece

George Papandreou, Chairman-in-Office (since 6 October 2009). Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Greece since 6 October 2009.

Role of the OSCE Chairmanship

The Chairmanship steers the political leadership of the OSCE; oversees the Organization’s activities in conflict prevention, crisis management and post-conflict rehabilitation; represents the OSCE; and co-ordinates and guides the OSCE institutions.

Meeting in Porto, Portugal on 6 and 7 December 2002, the OSCE Ministerial Council adopted guidelines for the activities of the Chairman-in-Office in greater detail than ever before. The foreign ministers’ Decision 8 was aimed at making the Chairmanship’s working methods “consistent with new practices and experience acquired over the past decade” and “ensuring that its actions are not inconsistent with positions agreed by all the participating States and that the whole spectrum of opinions of participating States is taken into account”.

In brief, the Chairmanship:

- Presides over and co-ordinates Summit Meetings and meetings of the Ministerial Council, the Permanent Council and subsidiary bodies, and reports on its activities;
- Co-ordinates the decision-making process concerning current OSCE business and sets the priorities for the activities of the OSCE during its year in office, supported by the executive structures of the Organization;
- Provides the Permanent Council with drafts, reports and overviews for its consideration;
- Provides the Permanent Council with recommendations on specific issues;
- Communicates views and decisions of Summit Meetings, the Ministerial Council and the Permanent Council to the Secretariat, institutions and field operations and provides them with advice and guidance on activities;
- Carries out its responsibilities for appointments and assignments;
- Represents the OSCE externally, in consultation with the participating States and with the assistance of the Secretary General; and
- Appoints personal representatives when dealing with a crisis or a conflict or to ensure better co-ordination of the efforts of the participating States in dealing with a specific issue.

The year culminates in an annual meeting of the Ministerial Council, which is the principal decision-making body of the OSCE in years when a Summit Meeting is not convened. The last Summit took place in November 1999, in Istanbul.

These pages were prepared with the assistance of Ursula Froese, Press and Public Information Section.

Going right to the core

A school for OSCE Chairmanships



BY DIANA DIGOL

Hamburg, Germany. Here at the Centre for OSCE Research (CORE), we take pride in the fact that ours is not a conventional and standard academic institution. We combine research with capacity-building, publishing and teaching, much of it on demand. We are the only think tank in the world specifically dedicated to carrying out research about the OSCE. We have a productive relationship with the Organization, often co-operating with it on special projects. But we are also independent from it and don't shy away from providing it with candid and constructive criticism.

Given the relatively young life of our institution — it is not quite ten years old — I believe we have had our fair share of interesting projects that are making a difference in Central Asia and beyond. For example, CORE helped develop the concept for the OSCE Academy in Bishkek and played a significant role in getting it off the ground.

Nonetheless, it helps to be reminded that there are still so many more untapped opportunities out there to be of service — such as in early 2007, when Kazakhstan approached CORE for help in strengthening the knowledge and skills of its diplomats in connection with the country's aspiration to take its turn at the helm of the OSCE. Here was a unique chance for CORE to contribute to the capacity of what could well be the first-ever CIS and Central Asian State to chair the largest regional security organization in the world.

The CORE staff immediately put their collective OSCE expertise to work by designing course modules tailored to the needs of officials from Kazakhstani ministries. In autumn 2007, five young diplomats from Astana arrived at our headquarters in Hamburg and immersed themselves enthusiastically in a packed four-week programme.

From 10 September to 6 October, Mondays to Saturdays, the group attended lectures by 25

Vienna, 10 June 2009.

Young diplomats from Lithuania and Kazakhstan with the CORE team.

experts from CORE, the OSCE Secretariat, the High Commissioner on National Minorities (HCNM) and the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR). To complement this theoretical knowledge, CORE organized on-site briefings and discussions for the Kazakhstani in Vienna, at ODIHR in Warsaw and at the Federal Foreign Office in Berlin.

Shortly after the training, at the end of November 2007, the decision that Kazakhstan had been anticipating did take place: the participating States agreed at their Ministerial Council meeting in Madrid that the Central Asian country would take over the Chairmanship in 2010, succeeding Greece and preceding Lithuania. The training agenda was now more relevant than ever. Following the positive evaluation of the pilot programme, CORE was asked to repeat similar courses for a second group of Kazakhstani diplomats — five men and five women — from 1 to 29 June 2008.

Meanwhile, looking ahead to its Chairmanship in 2011, the Lithuanian Foreign Ministry also recognized the potential benefits of the courses. This year, I was entrusted with organizing and co-ordinating a third round of training, which posed a different set of challenges. For the first time, it was going to be a mixed group — 12 diplomats from Lithuania and six diplomats from Kazakhstan. Furthermore, we had been asked to move the training to Vienna and to limit it to two weeks, from 1 to 14 June, since it was proving difficult for participants to be away from their duties for a whole month.

My main concern was how to maintain the high standards that had been set by my colleagues, while adjusting to new circumstances. We decided that, to make the most of the time we were allotted, we would divide the 18 participants into three groups during the first week. Each group would focus on one of three topics: the human dimension; conflict prevention and field operations and the HCNM; and the new security threats and challenges, including economic and environmental issues.

During the second and final week, the participants came together for the sessions devoted especially to Chairmanship matters, ranging from special procedures to the role and responsibilities of the Chairman-in-Office.

“The intensive and well structured programme not only provided us with a close look at the way the Organization works in practice, but also took us right to the very core of the common commitments and responsibilities of participating States,” said Timur Sultangozhin, First Secretary at the Embassy of Kazakhstan in Warsaw. “This training is especially useful for those of us who have been appointed to serve as liaison officers in OSCE institutions and

in key capitals in the OSCE area.” Mr. Sultangozhin himself has recently taken up this role at ODIHR.

Usen Suleimenov, Kazakhstan’s Deputy Permanent Representative to the OSCE, said that, apart from the theoretical aspects of the training, “what I found most useful were the practical case studies, including our simulation of decision-making situations. I hope that future Chairmanships continue Kazakhstan’s initiative to tap into the training offered by CORE”.

“Naturally, because so much material was covered in two weeks, it was inevitable that there would be some gaps,” said Dainius Baublys, Head of the OSCE Chairmanship Division in

24 June 2008, Vienna. OSCE Secretary General Marc Perrin de Brichambaut and Frank Evers, Deputy Head of CORE (centre), with young diplomats from the Foreign Ministry of Kazakhstan who took part in the second Chairmanship-related training course conducted by CORE.



CORE AND KAZAKHSTAN

The Centre for OSCE Research (CORE), an independent think tank within the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg (IFSH), was founded in 2000 at the initiative of IFSH Director Dieter S. Lutz, a leading name in peace research in Germany. After the death of Professor Lutz in 2003, Wolfgang Zellner, a co-founder of CORE, assumed responsibility for promoting the research centre’s vision.

CORE has hosted a number of visiting fellows and students from Kazakhstan and has carried out several joint activities with the country’s leading academic and research institutions. In 2007, in co-operation with the OSCE Centre in Almaty, CORE organized one-day seminars on the OSCE at five Kazakhstani universities in Almaty, Astana and Karaganda. This year, from 23 to 28 November, CORE and Kazakhstan’s academic community organized a one-week workshop in Almaty on OSCE conflict-prevention mechanisms, funded by the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD).

CORE’s 16 staff members come from Germany, Kazakhstan, Moldova, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom and the United States. More than half of them are employed through projects that are funded by research foundations, international organizations, the German Federal Foreign Office and a wide range of partners.

www.core-hamburg.de



The Centre for OSCE Research (CORE) is part of the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy in Hamburg, Germany.



Diana Digol, from Moldova, joined CORE in March 2008 as a Senior Research Fellow. She holds a Ph.D. degree in political and social sciences from the European University Institute in Florence and a master's degree from the Diplomatic Academy, Vienna, and SAIS-Johns Hopkins University, Bologna Center.

the Lithuanian Foreign Ministry. “It helped that the course materials could be downloaded from a website and could be reviewed beforehand. The reading materials and the lecturers could not have been better.”

Both the Kazakhstans and the Lithuanians agreed that their daily joint activities enabled them to start thinking of themselves as a partnership preparatory to their being part of the same OSCE troika.

“I realized from being in the same sessions with our counterparts from Kazakhstan that learning how to function as a team and building good interpersonal relations with people from different cultural backgrounds at all levels are crucial to the whole Chairmanship process”, said Lithuanian attaché Nijole Naginyte, who is based in Vilnius. “It was also good to get to know OSCE staff with whom we will be working closely before and during Lithuania’s Chairmanship of the OSCE.”

Egle Morkunaite, who spent three years with the Lithuanian Delegation to the OSCE in Vienna and is now a Third Secretary in her

ministry’s OSCE Chairmanship Division, said that she welcomed the chance to update and expand her knowledge of the OSCE.

“Working at the Delegation, one co-ordinates the same sets of issues under a specific portfolio, so one does not often get the chance — nor find the time — to keep abreast of other issues in any great detail,” she said. “I experienced several ‘a-ha’ moments during the two weeks, when I suddenly gained new insights into the nuances of some complex topics.”

The group benefited from 45 lecturers during the first week and another 20 experts from the OSCE Secretariat and OSCE delegations. Jonathan Stonestreet, Senior Election Adviser at ODIHR, took on one of the heaviest teaching loads by covering OSCE election-related commitments in six teaching units of 90 minutes each.

Another lecturer was Manuel Marion, Deputy Head of the Secretariat’s Strategic Police Matters Unit. “The advantage of this programme is that we are able to sow the seeds that yield a good harvest for the benefit of the key players in the forthcoming Chairmanships. The courses serve to open the eyes of future Chairmanship team members to issues that we in the Secretariat deal with every day. Since we’re the ones who provide continuity to the OSCE’s work, it’s our responsibility to share this institutional memory.”

I might add that the responsibility of CORE goes beyond designing the courses and ensuring that everything runs smoothly. My colleagues Wolfgang Zellner, Frank Evers and Anna Kreikemeyer, who were the organizers of the previous sessions, are also regularly featured speakers. This year, in addition to my organizational role, I taught a course on “Introduction to the Human Dimension”.

Again and again, feedback reveals that perhaps one of the most appreciated aspects of the programme is that it tries to be as practical as possible. We hope to build on this approach — providing participants not only with an appreciation of the fascinating history and *raison d’être* of the OSCE, but also giving them an intimate look at its internal dynamics.

I hope that future — and aspiring — Chairmanships will continue to keep us here at CORE on their radar screens. If this training becomes established practice, it will be a feather in the cap of CORE as it celebrates the tenth anniversary of its founding in January 2010.

Cyprus confronts its MANPADS menace

How to dispose of 324 ageing shoulder-fired missiles



OSCE/ANTON MARTYNYUK

BY ANTON MARTYNYUK AND F. DAVID DIAZ

12 June 2009, Kalo Chorio, Cyprus. The animated conversation among the 50 or so guests of the Cypriot Government is interrupted by a giant explosion thundering across the expanse of the National Guard's demolition range adjacent to the small village of Kalo Chorio, near the coastal city of Larnaca. From our observation shed about one kilometre away from the actual blast site, the display of thick clouds of smoke billowing up over the area is awe-inspiring. Cypriot Defence Minister Costas Papacostas and his guests break out into spontaneous applause.

Along with members of the diplomatic corps, including ambassadors and military attachés, United Nations and Cypriot officials, community representatives and journalists, we had just witnessed the destruction of 20 man-portable and defence systems (MANPADS) — the last in a surplus cache of 324 of these weapons that were detonated in multiple open pits over four days in early June.

The event marked the concluding phase of a project co-ordinated by the OSCE, with the United States and the United Kingdom as the main providers of technical expertise. The Defence Ministry of the Republic of Cyprus took care of most of the costs and the practical arrangements.

“Today’s ceremony highlights the long-term commitment of the Republic of Cyprus to counter the illegal proliferation of small arms and light weapons as effectively as possible,” Defence Minister Costas Papacostas told his guests. Referring to the 324 surplus MANPADS that had just been destroyed, he said that “even if they had long outlived their shelf life, there was always a danger that they could fall into the hands of criminals, terrorists and insurgents who could use them in harmful and destructive ways, resulting in the loss of human lives”.

MANPADS were first introduced in 1967 for use by military forces as protection against aerial attacks. One look at these lethal short-range, surface-to-air missiles is all it takes to understand why they are particularly attractive to “non-State



OSCE/ANTON MARTYNYUK



OSCE

Photo above: Cypriot and US technical experts tape explosives to a launch tube containing a MANPAD missile. Photo right: F. David Diaz (extreme left) and Anton Martynyuk (extreme right) with the team of technical experts. Col. Georgios Georgiadis of the National Guard is second from left. Photo below: Cypriot air defence personnel unload a cache of MANPADS and carry out an inventory preparatory to their destruction.



US STATE DEPT./F. DAVID DIAZ

actors”. Consisting of a launch tube, the missile itself and a launcher, MANPADS are highly portable, easy to conceal and simple to use. The model destroyed under the OSCE project — the “9M32M STRELA” — was designed to hit targets flying at an altitude of up to 5 kilometres.

According to expert estimates, more than a million of these missiles have been manufactured and thousands are out of the control of national governments and are readily available on the black market for as little as a few hundred dollars. Since the 1970s, there have been more than 40 incidents in which MANPADS were deployed against civilian aircraft, leading to 28 aircraft crashes and more than 850 deaths world-wide.

“We had been wanting to get rid of our stockpiles for years not least because we’re in a politically ‘hot’ region and the island is served by two international airports, one right in Larnaca, not too far from here,” said Col. Georgios Georgiadis, Director of Army Materiel in the National Guard. “You can imagine how relieved we all are now that we no longer have the burden of keeping watch over the stockpiles, which were stored in scattered warehouses.”

The determined commitment of the Republic of Cyprus to safely dispose of the MANPADS stockpiles drove the fast-paced action that followed on the heels of the Defence Minister’s request for technical assistance from the OSCE community. At a joint meeting of the Permanent Council and the Forum for Security Cooperation in October 2008, Minister Papacostas said that although “experts in our National Guard are capable of destroying small quantities of MANPADS by using detonators and simple explosives, so far they have not handled the mass

destruction of missiles and are keen to learn the best way to carry this out in line with international safety and environmental protection standards”.

In March this year, our OSCE-led group of experts from the United Kingdom and the United States visited Cyprus to take a close look at the MANPADS, evaluate the threats they posed, study the available methods of disposal and visit the demolition range sprawled out over 20 square kilometres. Working hand-in-hand with the Cypriot National Guard's Explosive Ordnance Disposal Unit, we developed a detailed plan to eliminate the weapons. At the same time, we made sure that the activities would also build the capacity of the national experts to handle larger operations, following the best practices available.

By the time we returned in June for the demolition — amidst sizzling 40 degree temperatures — it was clear that months of intensive co-operation between Vienna, Nicosia, London and Washington, D.C., had paid off.

With Col. Georgiadis managing the activities on the ground, not a single human or environmental safety concern was left to chance. The National Guard and the specialists from the United Kingdom had already gone through a test run of the procedures by destroying the first two MANPADS. The help of the military police was enlisted to secure the demolition area, and the Larnaca Fire Brigade, military doctors and medical staff were at the ready in case of an emergency. Carefully following the safety standards recommended by the OSCE, the MANPADS were transported from military depots to

the site. Precise accounting procedures were in place. Any items of ordnance remaining unexploded after the demolition were to be disposed of properly.

But it was the Defence Ministry's concern for the local communities in the vicinity of the firing range that left a positive impression. At the ceremony, the visibly pleased Mayor Angoulis Kyriakos of Kalo Chorio, which means “Good Village”, said that the residents were consulted during the planning of the operation. Also among the guests were the mayors of three other nearby villages, representing about 1,700 residents.

“Kalo Chorio, the village closest to the firing range, is home to about 2,000 people, most of whom are refugees,” said Col. Georgiadis. “We wanted to make sure that such a massive operation lasting several days would not have a negative impact on them and their farms. When we met village representatives, we discovered that the residents preferred one blast a day to several staggered explosions throughout the day, which they felt would be more disruptive.”

Taking this wish into account, we abandoned our original plans to have several blasting operations using the existing ten open pits. Instead, we arranged for 50 demolition pits to be dug, with each pit holding two MANPADS. To carry out just one blast a day, the 50 pits were connected with “non-electric bi-directional short delay connectors”, which held up the explosions between the pits by 25 milliseconds each.

“From a distance, we heard one spontaneous explosion but there was actually a sequence of 50 explosions”, said Col. Georgiadis. “This was the first time we used this method and we were

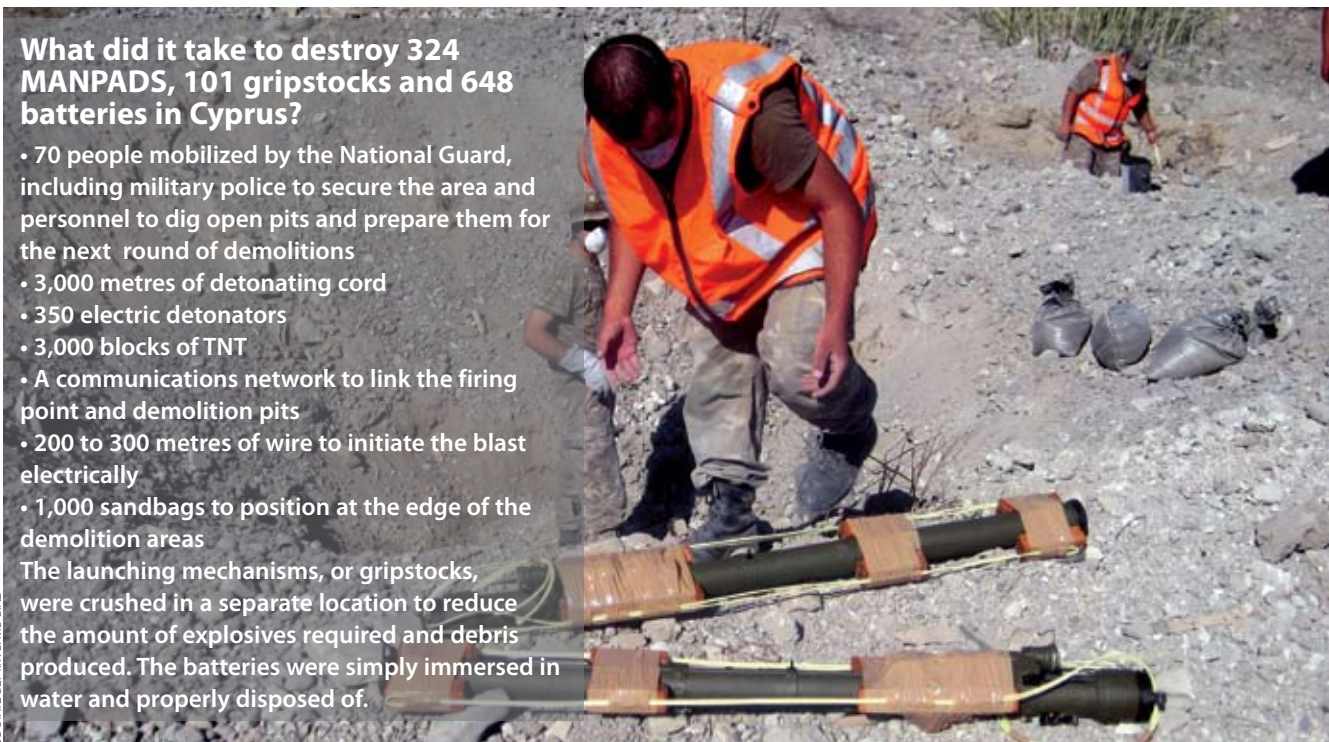
Cypriot soldiers position two MANPADS deep into a demolition pit to prepare them for disposal.

What did it take to destroy 324 MANPADS, 101 gripstocks and 648 batteries in Cyprus?

- 70 people mobilized by the National Guard, including military police to secure the area and personnel to dig open pits and prepare them for the next round of demolitions
- 3,000 metres of detonating cord
- 350 electric detonators
- 3,000 blocks of TNT
- A communications network to link the firing point and demolition pits
- 200 to 300 metres of wire to initiate the blast electrically
- 1,000 sandbags to position at the edge of the demolition areas

The launching mechanisms, or gripstocks, were crushed in a separate location to reduce the amount of explosives required and debris produced. The batteries were simply immersed in water and properly disposed of.

US STATE DEPT. / DAVID DIAZ



very happy that it did what it was supposed to do — destroy up to a hundred MANPADS all at one go while keeping the noise level down out of consideration for the residents of the surrounding communities.”

Col. Georgiadis confessed that he and his team had first thought that the co-operation with the OSCE would merely be on a “superficial” level. “We found out that it went far deeper,” he said. “One had to go through the experience to realize how much everyone benefited, especially our officers. On the spot, for example, we learned how to carry out the OSCE’s recommended best practices in recording, photographing and verifying identification and manufacture markings on the MANPADS and grip stocks — which adds an important element of transparency to the process.”

Col. Georgiadis agrees that the exercise boosted their self-confidence. “Since then, we’ve been destroying 85 tonnes of old artillery ammunition every month,” he said. “We have also moved the blasting operations 3 kilometres deeper into the range to reduce the impact on the surrounding villages even more.”

He pointed out that the project’s confidence-building objectives also spilled over into the quality of interaction between the National Guard and the British Forces stationed in Cyprus, whose Commander had been invited to observe the demolition.

“This was one of the most efficient and most cost-effective projects we had ever been involved in,” said expert Bob Gannon. “The National Guard demonstrated great professionalism, the logistical arrangements went without a hitch and we, in fact, also learned a great deal from them. There’s no doubt in anyone’s mind that the Explosive Ordnance Disposal Unit is now perfectly capable of conducting similar demolition operations on a massive scale in the future. Our role was merely to give them a helping hand in the form of safety oversight and technical advice.”

We hope that we — the OSCE, the United States and the United Kingdom — can build on this first, fruitful co-operative venture with our Cypriot counterparts through other practical activities in line with the Defence Ministry’s dynamic approach. A logical next step, for example, would be to pool our efforts to improve the storage facilities for retained stockpiles of small arms and light weapons and their management. This would make life far safer and more secure for the nearly 800,000 people on this beautiful island.

Not too many people realize that Cyprus is one of the original 35 signatories of the Helsinki Final Act and that it was a founding member of the neutral and non-aligned group of countries

that contributed significantly to building bridges between the opposing interests of the East and the West.

Since that landmark event, “Cyprus has participated energetically in all the bodies of the OSCE and has been implementing its obligations with great determination,” Minister Papacostas said. “As a member of the European family and the OSCE, we will continue working with the same zeal to promote global peace and stability.”

Anton Martynyuk, CSBM/Project Officer in the FSC Support Section of the OSCE’s Conflict Prevention Centre, was the team leader of this project. F. David Diaz is a Foreign Affairs Officer in the Office of Weapons Removal and Abatement in the Bureau of Political-Military Affairs, which is the U.S. Department of State’s focal point for the destruction of conventional weapons, including MANPADS.

“Effective and comprehensive”: Stemming the illicit spread of MANPADS

The participating States’ commitment to curb the proliferation of “portable launchers of anti-aircraft missile systems” — as MANPADS are defined in the OSCE’s Document on Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) — is embodied in the OSCE Document on SALW as well as in three supplementary decisions adopted by the OSCE Forum for Security Co-operation in 2003, 2004 and 2008. Taken together, these constitute an effective set of measures to strengthen control over exports, transfers and stockpiling of MANPADS.

In **FSC Decision No. 7/03: Man-Portable Air Defence Systems**, the participating States called for promotion of the application of effective and comprehensive export controls for MANPADS. It urged the participating States to “propose projects for tackling MANPADS-related problems” such as stockpile security and management, and reduction and disposal.

FSC Decision No. 3/04: OSCE Principles for Export Controls of Man-Portable Air-Defence Systems complemented and reinforced the implementation of the Document on Small Arms and Light Weapons by calling for stricter guidelines for the transfer of MANPADS, including a wide range of requirements for stockpile management and security of MANPADS in States that are potential recipients of exports of MANPADS. The participating States agreed to incorporate these principles into their national practices and to promote them in non-OSCE participating States.

FSC.DEC/5/08: Updating the OSCE Principles for Export Controls of Man-Portable Air Defence Systems introduced amendments aimed at improving the implementation of export controls by making them more easily understood by commercial exporters and licensing authorities. The updated principles also covered issues concerning the transfer of production.

Recommended reading

- *The OSCE Handbook of Best Practices on Small Arms and Light Weapons Concerning National Procedures for Stockpile Management and Security of MANPADS (Annex C), 2006*
- *Document on Small Arms and Light Weapons, 2000*



Jiří Parkmann assumed the post of **Head of the OSCE Office in Prague** on 1 October, succeeding Ambassador Jaromír Kvapil. Both are from the Czech Republic.

Prior to his OSCE appointment, Ambassador Parkmann served as Deputy Chief of the Czech Mission in Paris (2004-2008) and as General Consul of the Czech Republic in Montreal (1999-2003).

Most recently, he was Head of the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) Unit in the Foreign Ministry during the EU Presidency of the Czech Republic. Earlier positions included Adviser to the First Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs, Chairman of the Intergovernmental Commission for Public Awareness in the context of the Czech Republic's accession to NATO and Adviser responsible for foreign relations to the Minister without Portfolio.

He is a graduate of the Economics University in Prague, with a degree in international business studies, and pursued

postgraduate studies at Charles University.

"Once the seat of the Secretariat of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE), the Prague Office has been serving as the guardian of the Organization's historical legacy since 1991, and I hope to steer its activities in the right direction," says Ambassador Parkmann. "As the central repository of ever-expanding historic documents, we have a special responsibility to keep the OSCE's institutional memory alive by assisting historians, scholars and participants in our Researcher-in-Residence Programme to study our invaluable records."

Ambassador Parkmann is keen to strengthen the Prague Office's oral history project, which aims to gather a collection of recordings of interviews with CSCE delegates who contributed towards the making of the Helsinki Final Act of 1975. Another focus is the Organization's transition phase in the 1990s — from the CSCE to the OSCE.

The Office is also the focal point for records management of both paper documents and digital files, and in this connection works closely with the Secretariat in Vienna. It assists in organizing the meetings of the Economic and Environmental Forum when they are held in Prague.

Janie McCusker assumed the post of **Head of Security Management** at the Secretariat in Vienna on 1 October.

Prior to her OSCE appointment, she was Senior Security Co-ordinator and Head of Security at the United Nations Population Fund in New York, where she established its security structure and capacity and advised senior management on strategic, policy and operational matters concerning security.

A British citizen, Ms. McCusker's career in security management spans more than 30 years. As a police counter-intelligence specialist with the British Royal Air Force for 22 years, she served in a number of locations in the United Kingdom and Germany and with NATO in the then-Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

After joining the United Nations as a Field Security Co-ordination Officer in 2001, she was assigned to Uzbekistan until 2003.

The role of Security Management in the OSCE is to ensure that the

Organization can carry out its tasks effectively and efficiently with the help of a properly-functioning security system. Underpinning the system is the OSCE's duty to care for its staff by regularly assessing security threats and risks and putting every possible reasonable measure in place to enable personnel to carry out their tasks.



"It is an honour for me to be appointed to this position," Ms. McCusker said. "Building on the work of Declan Greenway, my predecessor, I hope to carry out a review of security policies, procedures and practices to determine how we can improve them and to create a more streamlined approach to security. I look forward to working

with colleagues both in the Secretariat and in the field."

Ms. McCusker holds a master's degree in conflict resolution and a post-graduate certificate in business management and has had extensive training and experience in negotiation and mediation.

OSCE PREVIEW CALENDAR

(early 2010)

- Observation of presidential election **Ukraine, 17 January**
- Chairmanship workshop on combating illicit crop cultivation and enhancing border security and management: Thailand as a case study **Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai, Thailand, 24 to 28 January**
- OSCE Economic and Environmental Forum, Part I: Promoting good governance at border crossings, improving the security of land transportation and facilitating international transport by road and rail in the OSCE region **Vienna, 1 and 2 February**
- Chairmanship international expert workshop on combating modern slavery: national, regional and international experiences **Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia, 9 and 10 February**
- Public-private expert workshop on protecting non-nuclear critical energy infrastructure from terrorist attacks **Vienna, 11 and 12 February**

ANNIVERSARIES

- 1 August:** 35th anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki Final Act (1975)
- 19 November:** 20th anniversary of the signing of the CFE Treaty (1990)
- 21 November:** 20th anniversary of the signing of the Charter of Paris for a New Europe (1990)

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