

ISSUE 2, 2016

# SECURITY COMMUNITY

THE OSCE MAGAZINE



# Overview »



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### Front Cover

Head of a terracotta  
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ruler of Bactria, 2nd  
century BC. Tajikistan  
National Museum of  
Antiquities, Dushanbe.  
Illicit trade in art and  
antiquities is robbing  
us blind. See Special  
Section p.12.  
Photo: Konstantinos  
Orfeas Sotiriou





Photo: OSCE/Ursula Froese

# An OSCE Experiment in Connectivity

By Ursula Froese

“Connectivity” – in the world of ICT, the concept is clear: it refers to how well a piece of software interacts with others. But in politics, it is still fresh, open to interpretation. Exactly what you need when you want to give impetus to a new agenda, a new direction. In the case of the conference “Connectivity for Commerce and Investment” hosted by the German OSCE Chairmanship in Berlin earlier this year, a new approach to connecting international politics and business.

“You have all traveled to Berlin,” said OSCE Chairperson-in-Office German Foreign Minister Franz-Walter Steinmeier in his welcoming remarks, “to engage in an experiment: an experiment because we want to talk about political visions at a time of severe political discord, an experiment because we want to talk about concrete co-operation at a time when violent conflicts in our common area are claiming lives almost every day, and an experiment because we want to talk about trade and business at a time when many people believe that our vision of a common area of security and stability will never come to pass.”

Almost 1,000 invited delegates crowded into the Foreign Ministry building’s plenary hall for the opening session on 18 May. High-level business people, policymakers, experts and diplomats had come from

across the OSCE region and beyond, North America, Western Europe, Russia, the Balkans, the Caucasus, Central Asia, Mongolia, the Mediterranean and Southeast Asia, including China.

In itself, the idea of bringing business and politics together is not new to the OSCE. Commercial exchange was given a prominent place already in the 1975 *Helsinki Final Act*, the Organization’s seminal document. After the Cold War ended, members of the business community from East and West were invited to the first annual Economic Forum in 1992 to help to kick-start a shared market economy. That gathering, since renamed the Economic and Environmental Forum, is still held in Prague every September, on a theme set by the OSCE Chairmanship (this year’s Forum, from 13 to 15 September, was devoted to good governance.)

What was the novelty, then, of what Steinmeier was proposing to his guests? New, for one, was the understanding that the economy is not just one area of inter-governmental co-operation among others, as may have been the case in the past. In Helsinki four decades ago, there was agreement, but also skepticism, among the participating States about including economic and environmental issues – the so-called “second basket” – in the comprehensive security agenda.

Forty-one years later, the idea of holding this conference on connectivity was carried by the conviction that lasting peace and stability will never be achieved in the OSCE region unless economic ties are strengthened across the board, and that this can only be done in partnership with business and industry. There was a sense of urgency among the delegates in Berlin, of hope, even, that they may be holding a key to loosening the geopolitical deadlock that seems to be tightening its grip on this group of 57 states committed to building a security community stretching across the northern hemisphere.

Also new was the realization that fundamental questions about our economic stability can only be addressed if we look beyond the borders of the OSCE region. That is why, for instance, a prominent place was given to the presentation of the “One Belt, One Road” project by the delegation from China, neither an OSCE participating State nor an official Partner for Co-operation.

## Giving shape to the concept

As the conference got underway, the contours of what connectivity could mean in the OSCE context began to take shape. Steinmeier got the ball rolling by referring to the one of the most material ways of connecting a region: by rail. He named the example of the cargo line of over 10,300 kilometers that begins in Chongqing, China, runs over Khorgos and Moscow and ends in Duisburg, Germany, a route used, for instance, by the computer company Hewlett Packard to ship its laptops from China to Duisburg in 12 days, as opposed to 45 days by sea.

“This amazing connection over several climate zones shows the geographical challenges of shaping our common space from the transatlantic partners to Europe to Asia,” he said. “It shows the huge economic dynamic that is already developing or has the potential to develop in this space. And it shows the importance of politics dealing with the economy and the other way round.”

In the ensuing sessions, other projects for building regional transport corridors were brought to the table, as were ways to enhance existing ones by harmonizing laws and reducing transaction costs. The challenge for landlocked countries to bring their goods to market was given special attention. Infrastructures for transporting more ephemeral goods, fuel and power, were also discussed. On the topic of energy security, the OSCE’s Office of the Co-ordinator of Economic and Environmental Activities announced the completion of its most recent publication, *Protecting Electricity Networks from Natural Hazards*.

There were lively exchanges about promoting financial investment in infrastructures and boosting regional trade. “On trade, a highly complex picture emerged,” said Mark Leonard, Director of the European Council on Foreign Relations. “On the one hand, global value chains provide new opportunities, but on the other, we are seeing increased protectionism and complex trade negotiations.”

The digital revolution, an all-pervasive theme, was the focus of a special plenary session. Kerstin Günther of Deutsche Telekom presented her company’s vision of a sweeping digitalizing of European telephone networks, describing the benefits to a small country like the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia which made the switch in 2013. Ross Lajeunesse of Google spoke about digital technology leveling the playing field for small- and medium-sized enterprises: “That is what global trade looks like today: it’s not cargo ships laying down big containers; it’s two entre-preneurs sitting on a sofa somewhere in Europe reaching new markets all around the world.”

The discussion did not stop at celebrating widening commercial horizons, however. Admonishments were voiced about the need, given the rapidity of change, to ensure that benefits are shared by all. “Digital technology is making life better, creating and improving jobs. This story cannot be told enough. But it’s going at such a pace that we have to ask, are we taking everyone with us?” said Alexander De Croo, the Belgian Minister for Development Co-operation, the Digital Agenda, Post and Telecommunications. “This is what national governments should work on,” he added.

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Another workshop, touching closely upon the OSCE's work to resolve protracted conflicts, focused on fostering trade in Transdnistria. (The OSCE works for the resolution of the conflict between Moldova and its breakaway region through its role in the settlement negotiations and its field operation in Chisinau.) Representatives of two Transdnistrian enterprises, a baby food manufacturer and a textile company, gave first-hand accounts of difficulties encountered and pragmatic solutions found for conducting international trade out of a grey economic zone. Participants concluded that efforts to stimulate economic co-operation should not wait for the conclusion of a political settlement and may even bring progress to a conflict resolution process.

This tone of optimism pervaded all of the discussions during the two days of plenaries, panels and workshops. At the same time, it was clear that making real progress in each of the areas explored would require digging deeper. How should the many questions raised be taken forward by the OSCE?

Daniel Baer, United States Ambassador to the OSCE, posed the question at the closing of the conference: "You can't just have railways; you also need rules of the road. Not just new technology, but also people able to take advantage of it. It is a tenet of the OSCE that you can't just have economic connectivity. One of the challenges for us going out of this conference will be how to take the specific

topics that we have been looking at here and base our further discussions on the foundation of our OSCE commitments."

Just weeks later, an opportunity presented itself in the OSCE context to address some of the thornier issues of regional economic co-operation, at the OSCE Security Days entitled "From Confrontation to Co-operation: Restoring Co-operative Security in Europe", hosted by Secretary General Lamberto Zannier on 23 and 24 June, also in Berlin. Connectivity was one of the topics debated, in particular the relation between different forms of economic integration in the OSCE area, including the European Union and the Eurasian Economic Union.

Austria, which will take over the OSCE Chairmanship in 2017, has announced that it will host a follow-up conference on connectivity next year, in Astana, in co-operation with Kazakhstan. The dialogue between politics and business which Germany started will therefore be continued.

"I applaud the experiment", said De Croo, summarizing his experience at the meeting in Berlin. "The private sector is a good sparring partner for talking about security, because it can only thrive, can only invest, when there is stability. From another perspective, it is also a push factor, in the sense that if we as governments do bring security, do bring stability, it becomes very tangible what it is for and where it could lead."

*Ursula Froese is the editor of Security Community.*



# Keeping the Electricity Flowing

By Wolfgang Kröger

Of all the critical infrastructures on which our modern societies depend, the electricity transmission system is arguably the most vital. Industry, communications, transportation – none of these can function without a reliable supply of electric power.

The European high-voltage grid is spread over five synchronous areas, managed by 41 transmission system operators (TSOs) in 34 countries, serving 534 million citizens. Such a highly interconnected multi-component system exhibits complex behaviours and is open to local or spatially distributed impacts. Guaranteeing the normal operation of the electricity network is difficult at the best of times. Current major political and organizational changes in the energy field, namely the targeted increase in the share of renewable energy sources and the move towards an unbundled competitive energy market, are posing new challenges.

Firstly, integrating power from wind or solar energy, which is produced intermittently, often far from consumer areas and at off-peak hours, requires both massive transfers and peak smoothing strategies.

Secondly, co-ordination is complicated by short-term trading entailing the use of close-to-real-time operational data and increasing cross-border power exchanges. In the past, a single entity, which owned and operated the entire supply chain, would typically have the absolute right to

provide electricity to consumers. Now, in times of free access and disintegrated monopolies, each constituent follows its own procedures and rules, while the security of supply as a societal good needs to be ensured by a state organization.

In continental Europe, a comprehensive collection of operational principles, technical standards and recommendations helps TSOs to manage their networks and ensure interoperability among them. Interference with market forces is forbidden unless safety is at stake.

## Accidents happen

No matter how carefully loads are calculated and monitored, a responsible approach to risk management assumes that accidents will happen. The mishap that split the Western European transmission system into three parts and plunged much of the continent into darkness on 4 November 2006 provides a good illustration of the complex interplay of factors – contextual, technical, human, organizational – that can come together to put a system in danger. The trigger was the outage of two high-voltage lines over the Ems River in northern Germany to let an inland built cruise liner, the Norwegian Pearl, pass on its maiden voyage out to sea. The event was announced months in advance; appropriate calculations were made and provisions taken. But just days before the outage, the shipyard requested an advancement of the

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time from one o'clock in the morning to late evening. The neighbouring TSOs were not well informed and the congestion forecast not updated. In any case, the load for the earlier time was already sold so that it would have been legally impossible to change short of *force majeure*.

Nature played its part: when the lines were switched off at 21:39 there were strong winds in northern Germany and the in-feed caused high load flow to the Netherlands. In itself, this would not have been fatal. The load was taken over by remaining lines, in particular between the substations Landesbergen and Wehrendorf, southwest and southeast of the Ems crossing, respectively. But these substations were operated by two different TSOs, and miscommunication ensued. Being unaware of different protection strategies and settings at the other end of the line, they made faulty load flow calculations. The team responsible for Landesbergen decided to couple two bus-bars (conductors for collecting and distributing current), an emergency measure which they expected would reduce the load. It had the opposite effect.

The bus-bars were connected at 22:10:11. Immediately, the line at Wehrendorf tripped out. Within less than 18 seconds – at 22:10:28.7, to be exact – a cascade of automatic line trippings had split the European transmission system into three: two areas of under frequency in the west and south and an area of over frequency in the north-east. While in the north-east the frequency could be brought back down through generator cut-offs, automated load shedding was necessary in the west and the south. Consumers were affected for about half an hour. It took a few hours to re-synchronize the whole grid.

## Prevention and mitigation

To guarantee normal operation of electrical networks, protection must be provided against cascade tripping, voltage or frequency collapse and loss of synchronism. The classic approach to preventing sudden disturbances is based on the so-called N-1 principle. According to this principle, when an unexpected failure of a single element of the integrated network, such as a line break, occurs, the remaining active elements must be capable of accommodating the change of flows and avoiding a cascade of trippings or loss of a significant amount of consumption. N-1 security needs to be monitored at all times by TSOs for their system and parts of adjacent systems; after a disturbance

each TSO must to return to N-1 compliant conditions as soon as possible, usually in about twenty to thirty minutes. Maintaining N-1 security requires developing accurate lists of contingencies that need to be taken into account. Threats may affect a single critical component or a number of them, directly or indirectly (via failure of another system); the source can be external or internal. To assess the severity of contingencies and identify bottlenecks and critical elements, TSOs use empirical investigations, statistical data and blackout patterns. As all of these are based mainly on experience, however, they potentially lack predictive capabilities.

There is no doubt that N-1 security, if diligently implemented, is a best practice for ensuring the high performance of our power transmission grid. However, advanced, comprehensive analyses as well as surprising situations experienced in the past have taught us that there is a plethora of unprecedented scenarios, involving complex multiple failures, with which it is insufficient to cope. Understanding the behaviour of the electricity network, often part of a system of interdependent systems, is extremely challenging; an all-encompassing approach accounting for all the interwoven issues does not exist. A number of advanced knowledge-based and mathematical modelling techniques – Input-Output Interoperability Modelling, Complex Network Theory and Agent-based Modelling, for instance – are available and widely applied, each with its own strengths and weaknesses.

## Natural hazards: a paradigm shift to resilience

Of the roughly twenty major blackouts we have experienced worldwide during the past 15 years, four were caused by bad weather conditions and one by an earthquake/tsunami. This demonstrates the importance of taking account of natural hazards when managing risks to electricity networks. Each of these events was different in terms of power loss (the most extreme being 60 Giga-Watts in the Great Lakes/NewYork City region of the United States in 2003), number of affected people (620 million in India in 2012) and duration (from a few hours to two weeks during the Lothar Cyclone that swept Europe in 1999).



Transmission systems, being large in scale, are subject to many different kinds of natural hazard. Most are multi-type, with one event triggering others. For example, a seaquake may induce a tsunami, followed by a flood and landslides. Economic losses and insurance costs deriving from natural hazards are high and will likely rise as extreme weather conditions increase due to climate change.

Most natural hazards are large-areal by nature. Although some of the most critical components can be identified and protected, it is difficult to fortify transmission systems against them. Therefore, some people suggest a paradigm shift from prevention to resilience, putting emphasis on adapting to and recovering from shocks rather than concentrating on avoiding them.

Reliable, integrated electricity networks are essential for individual states and for regions. Local failures can grow to a global scale. Therefore, raising awareness among states of potential breakdowns, notably those caused by natural disasters, sharing knowledge and facilitating dialogue are of paramount importance. In this regard, organizations like the OSCE have a key role to play.

*Wolfgang Kröger is Professor emeritus of Safety Technology at the ETH Zürich and former Executive Director of the ETH Risk Centre.*



Street art in Gračanica, Kosovo by Vuk Djuric

## New OSCE Handbook: Protecting Electricity Networks from Natural Hazards

In 2013 the OSCE participating States adopted a Ministerial Council decision on protecting energy networks from natural and manmade disasters, tasking the Office of the Co-ordinator of Economic and Environmental Activities (OCEEA) to facilitate knowledge exchange, particularly on protecting electricity networks. The OSCE's 57 participating States include some of the largest producers and consumers of energy and they often depend on imports to meet local demand. Blackouts in one country can have an impact on an entire region.

The OCEEA organized an expert workshop in June 2014 and the contributions laid the foundation for a practical handbook, now published: *Protecting Electricity Networks from Natural Hazards*. It provides policymakers, operators and regulators a state of the art overview of risk mapping, mitigation and management as well as examples from several countries of how to make electricity networks more resilient to natural hazards.

Download *Protecting Electricity Networks from Natural Hazards* here: [www.osce.org/secretariat/242651](http://www.osce.org/secretariat/242651)

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## Interview with Baroness Anelay of St Johns, British Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs

# Waging War on Sexual Violence in Conflict

Wartime rape, whether committed wantonly or used systematically as a cynical weapon, is a serious breach of international law that brings lifelong devastation to its victims. Baroness Joyce Anelay, British Minister of State and the Prime Minister's Special Representative on Preventing Sexual Violence in Conflict, leads her country's pioneering Prevention of Sexual Violence in Conflict Initiative (PSVI). Visiting the OSCE in Vienna in July, she presented it to the Permanent Council, the Forum for Security Co-operation and at a conference on ending violence against women.

**The United Kingdom set a milestone in the fight to end sexual violence in conflict when it hosted a global summit in London in 2014, which resulted in the adoption of the International Protocol on Documentation and Investigation of Sexual Violence in Conflict. Why was that important?**

The Protocol is important because it gives a practical guide to NGOs, civil society and governments about how to collect information about the crimes that have been committed. We collect that information in a way that is

sensitive in the treatment of those who are victims but also robust enough to make sure we have the evidence in storage that will be needed many years later when a trial goes to court. For example, in Syria it may be a long while before those who have suffered so badly at the hands of Daesh find that there can be an end to impunity. But I want them to be confident that there is a system which can help them. So what we've done is provide this guide, which can be used around the world. It has been translated into ten languages, including Kurdish, Arabic, Albanian, Lingala, and Swahili.

The Protocol has been effective in the Western Balkans, for instance, in the areas that suffered so badly during the conflict 20 years ago. It was used to collect the evidence which has made it possible, first of all, to persuade governments to change their law, so that perpetrators can be called to account. Secondly, it has given NGOs guidelines about how to collect information and how to assist the victims as they go through the legal process – if that is what they want. Often, victims say to me, “it’s not a matter of money or compensation or seeing the person who did this to me going to jail for a long time. What I want is to be believed.” It’s that dignity, I think, we can give them.

Also, I hope the Protocol gives some reassurance to victims that they can tell the story once and then that’s it. Often in the legal systems around the world, victims of sexual violence find themselves put in an appalling situation where they have to repeat the same story again and again and they say: “I feel as I’m reliving the trauma again every day of my life.” We mustn’t let that happen.

### **How can the international community help victims to overcome the personal stigma of wartime rape?**

We have worked over the last two years to address the issue of stigma, but this year we decided to concentrate on it very strongly. I remember very well last year when I was talking to some ladies in Kosovo, and one of them said to me: “I was a victim of sexual violence, of multiple rapes. Now my life has improved.” And the words she then used shocked me. She said, “my family has forgiven me”. For me that meant that she still saw herself as the guilty person, which she had never been.

It’s important to work with communities, so that we can help them to see that the victims, whether they are men, boys, women or girls, are not implicit in the appalling violence. We need to work to ensure that they can see themselves as part of the community again. I visited northern Nigeria and spoke with those who are campaigning for the Chibok girls to return. Thinking about the women that have returned from the clutches of Boko Haram and the stigma they have faced has made me more determined than ever that we should work with the communities around the world to remove that stigma.

### **The best way to combat sexual violence in conflict is, of course, to prevent it from happening in the first place. What steps should be taken in this regard and what can the military do?**

First of all, there is long-term work to be done in communities about the perception of women as such. It’s a gender issue, a case of making sure that a woman is not seen as being the property of a man or a group, that she is a fully functional member of the community in her own right. That is a long term project.

In the short term, we can carry out training of those who are in the military forces and the police. We can train first responders to be sensitive to the kind of trauma victims have faced and to ensure they find the assistance they need. This also includes providing training to those who are in the international humanitarian relief field. I’ve had good conversations with the International Committee of the Red Cross and Red Crescent about these very matters. In the United Kingdom we have a really strong PSVI champion in our Ministry of Defence, General Gordon Messenger. By the end of this year, any British forces that are deployed overseas will have received PSVI-related gender training. We have already provided this kind of training to more than 700 Peshmerga in northern Iraq and thousands in Africa, with the assistance of the African Union.

This is an area where the United Nations should play an even greater role. We are all shocked by the allegations of sexual exploitation and abuse that have been leveled against members of the peacekeeping forces. I’m very determined that the United Kingdom should be able to work on this with the United Nations, to make sure that these cases are dealt with and that there is zero tolerance, as Ban Ki-moon says.

### **What role do you see for the OSCE in preventing sexual violence in conflict?**

The OSCE has a niche role to play. It’s a regional organization with a strong voice. It can use it more strongly, on behalf of the role of women in society and the work of preventing sexual violence in conflict. After all, United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security clearly states that it covers regional organizations, including the OSCE.

I am very much encouraged by the interventions made both yesterday and today and commitments by the participating States about the role the OSCE can play in a practical way, not only in discussing the theory of what should be done, but practical steps of what the OSCE can do. It has a great reputation in its monitoring missions. I think it can demonstrate even more than it does now its commitment to ensuring that there’s genuine equality across the board and respect for all, no matter what their sexual orientation, no matter what their gender, no matter what their faith and no matter what their nationality or race.



# Special Section

## Cultural Heritage and Security

### How illicit trade in art and artefacts is robbing us blind and what the OSCE can do

Dennis Cosgrove, who heads the Border Security and Management Unit in the OSCE Secretariat's Transnational Threats Department, explains why trafficking in cultural property is a security threat that the OSCE can and should do more to address.

#### What is the link between cultural property theft and security?

At first glance cultural property theft appears to be very much a boutique area for art dealers and people interested in paintings and cultural heritage. How it relates to security or organized crime is not immediately apparent – or rather, it wasn't until the looting activities of terrorist organizations like Daesh became known.

My first encounter with this was many years ago when as an FBI Special Agent I was working on a case of theft and smuggling from Russia to the United States. There were diamonds and gold involved, which everyone understands have value, and in addition there were pieces of art. It was my first encounter with this area as an investigator. I became aware of the value that art and artefacts have for criminals, and that trying to recover and return them to the rightful owners is not an easy task.

When I joined the FBI Art Crime Team and worked further cases, I also learned that convincing others of the importance of fighting the illicit art trade is not easy. Part of the problem is that there is also perfectly legitimate art trade. There is no legitimate trade in heroin, for example. So you have this blend of legitimate and illicit trade, and that can get very tricky.

Essentially, what has happened in the art world is that the value of artwork and antiquities has skyrocketed; in comparison with the 1990s, prices have gone through the roof. That is what makes this area so enticing, not

only for honest investors but for criminals as well. A stolen piece of art can be used as a money laundering vehicle, traded for weapons or drugs – or used to finance terrorism.

Not only has the illegal trade in cultural goods exploded, it is sometimes linked to the illegal arms trade, the trafficking of human beings and migrant smuggling. Organized crime is becoming increasingly engaged in this type of trafficking. In financial terms, while it is difficult to get an estimate, most studies rank illicit trafficking in cultural property closely behind that in weapons and drugs.

#### How can the problem be tackled?

A lot needs to be done to increase the knowledge of people, especially border and customs officials. This became clear to me when we conducted our first week-long OSCE workshop on combating illicit trade in cultural property in Dushanbe in July, for participants from the different agencies in Tajikistan that deal with cross-border criminality. They learned from experts of INTERPOL, the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, UNESCO, the Afghan Customs Service and the United States Department of Homeland Security. Each of these agencies brought something else to the table.

We had Konstantinos-Orfeas Sotiriou, for example, an investigator with the Greek National Police and passionate archaeologist, accompanying us to museums and sites and explaining: “these are the things you need to look for when you are conducting a search.” For some of the participants it was quite an awakening. Without the training they may not have caught even the most obvious illegal shipment of antiquities. I think in the future they will have quite a different reaction when they come across a box of broken pottery that looks old.

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◀ Participants in the OSCE Workshop on combating illicit trade in cultural property in Dushanbe in July view a cross-sectional cutaway of the ancient earthen wall that protected Gissar fortress, with the exposed excavation site layering down to the time of Alexander the Great more than 2300 years ago. (Photo: US Dept. of Homeland Security/SA David Keller)

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## **What are international agencies doing to combat cultural heritage crime?**

There are well-established agreements on the protection of cultural property and prohibition of its illicit trade, such as the 1954 Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict and its two Protocols.

Recently, there are attempts to criminalize cultural heritage destruction. The International Criminal Court in The Hague will pronounce a sentence in September on the first case in which a defendant (Mr Al Mahdi) admitted guilt to the destruction of historical and religious monuments (in Timbuktu, Mali) as a war crime.

The Council of Europe is preparing a new criminal law convention to combat the illicit trafficking of cultural property. The OSCE is participating in the process and we have provided input for specific areas.

The museums and academic community play an important role in combating this illicit trade. The International Council of Museums has a number of helpful tools and useful databases to assist investigators as does the World Customs Organization. This past April in Vienna the International Conference on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East issued a statement warning that cultural heritage in the Near East and North Africa is in great danger and calling for intense international co-operation at all levels.

There are gaps in the international efforts, however, that need to be filled. The UNESCO conventions, for example, are mostly focused on thefts from museums. The same is true of initiatives by the European Union and the World Customs Organization. There is a lot the OSCE can do in close partnership with the other organizations and agencies that I have already mentioned. The OSCE Parliamentary Assembly passed a resolution on protection of cultural property at its 2014 meeting in Baku.

## **What role could the OSCE play?**

First and foremost, we have our expertise in border management, which is central to combating trafficking in cultural goods. We have our border focal points network, our field offices; we can connect people from different agencies in a cross-border, regional context. To me it's a natural fit.

Fighting cultural property crime is closely linked to our other work on transnational threats. You can't look at it separately from combating trafficking in drugs and weapons: we know that the same groups are engaged, because it's so profitable.

In the OSCE we have an unusual mixture of source, transit and destination countries. The only way to address cultural property trafficking is to bring together representatives from different countries. At the workshop in Dushanbe we had Afghans and Tajiks: not many organizations can do that. Engaging Afghanistan is very important because it has such a serious problem with smuggling of artefacts. Keeping up with the evolving nature of the illicit artefact trade is an important challenge, which the OSCE is equipped to fulfil. It's not enough to have just training; you have to stay fresh in terms of what is going on: the routes, the people involved, the sellers, the end users – this is changing all the time. But it's no different from trafficking in weapons or drugs or human beings. At the OSCE, we have expertise, networks and forums in all of these fields. We have the POLIS forum for strategic police matters, for example, where we can update one another on the latest trends, trafficking routes and modes of operation.

Another area where the OSCE has experience is working with communities. Local people often know exactly where heritage sites are and what is going on there; they have to be encouraged to step up and protect them.

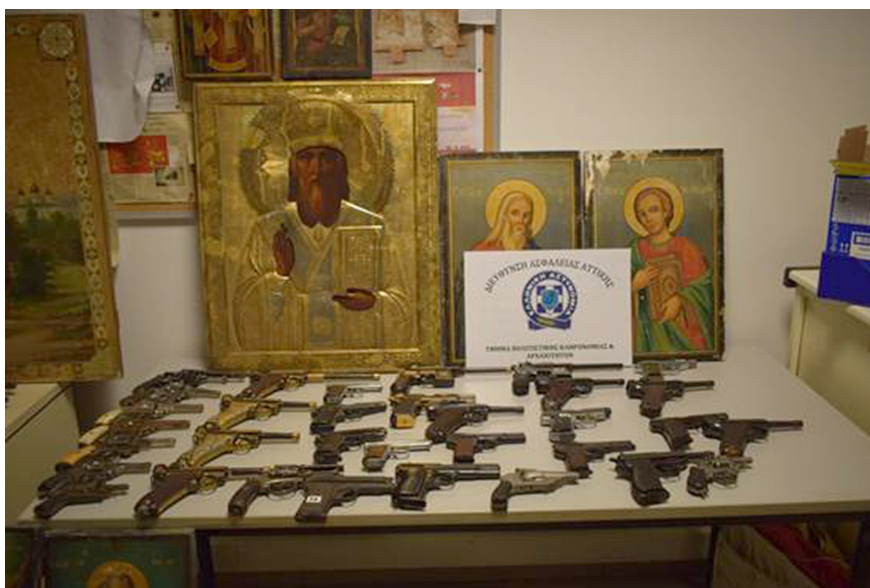
In terms of expertise, we are very lucky that our OSCE participating States – Greece, Turkey, Italy – have some of the world's best experts. Italy has arguably the best unit for investigating cultural trafficking in the world. We are not short on experts. We hope to organize a regional workshop for Central Asia and one in the Western Balkans region that will involve Bulgaria, Romania and Turkey. Also, we are looking to future engagement with the OSCE Partners for Co-operation in the Mediterranean region.

While stopping the illicit trafficking of cultural property may never become a priority area for the OSCE, it definitely deserves to be included in our work to combat transnational threats. As Orfeas put it during our workshop in Dushanbe, if you stop an illegal shipment of items that will be sold to a terrorist organization, you may have contributed to preventing a terrorist act.

# Antiquities smuggling and organized crime

Incomplete files, lack of access to arrest cases and sensitive data often keep the true nature of criminal involvement in antiquities smuggling in the shadows. In Greece, the police recently gave full access for the first time to their files on antiquities smuggling to a research team at the University of Athens led by Konstantinos-Orfeas Sotiriou. Their analysis of 315 cases was presented at the tenth meeting of the International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East in Vienna in April 2016. It reveals an undeniable connection between antiquities smuggling and organized crime.

Two results stand out. While the perpetrators came from a wide array of professions, the largest group, 22 per cent, was business people, individuals with high economic status who could easily use their domestic and international connections to launder money from smuggling. Secondly, in 26 per cent of the cases, the antiquities confiscated were found together with guns and explosives. One arrest of antiquities smugglers by police in Thessaloniki, Greece, yielded 63 pistols, 4,211 bullets, 41,450 Euros, 501 gold coins and seven military rifles. (Photo: Konstantinos Orfeas Sotiriou)





# Why Archaeological Sites are CRIME SCENES

By Konstantinos-Orfeas Sotiriou

**L**ike most people, I am used to seeing scenes in TV series such as CSI where a crime has been reported and the police immediately arrive at the site, sealing it off with those yellow strips and prohibiting entry. But what does that have to do with archaeology? In the following article, a bizarre connection between archaeology and crime scenes will be unveiled.

The 18th and 19th centuries were a time when a handful of wealthy people started to be interested in ancient objects from lost civilizations. This was the beginning of archaeology as a science. Inspired by myths and legends, the first pioneer archaeologists conducted expensive and dangerous expeditions to exotic places to dig under difficult circumstances, with only one goal: to find the objects of those mythical civilizations that they had heard about through stories. But were they really the first archaeologists?

Back in ancient Egypt during the Middle Kingdom, during the Ur III Period in Mesopotamia, during the Minoan and Mycenaean Periods in Greece, ancient looters were also digging with a passion: to find gold and precious stones inside the graves of great kings. So, one could ask, what is the difference between looters and archaeologists?

Throughout the 20th century, archaeological excavations unearthed some of the most exquisite palaces, houses, graves and complexes of humanity's great past.



Slowly but surely, interdisciplinary approaches were introduced to archaeology, and soon the concept of archaeological context gained great importance. By the term “context” we mean all the different forms of evidence that exist inside an undisturbed layer.

When an ancient house or building has collapsed after an earthquake or was burned down by conquerors, the remaining debris, if undisturbed, can provide valuable pieces of evidence: pottery, tools, furniture, vessels, cesspits and coins. Using the proper tools, digging meticulously layer after layer and transferring all the information uncovered to an archaeological diary, archaeologists can re-create the story behind this forgotten place. A variety of questions can then be answered. Who were the inhabitants? Were they Amorites, Minoans, Phoenicians, Egyptians, Greeks? What was their main occupation? Through coins, archaeologists can date with extreme precision the period when the story took place. A careful examination of the pottery can reveal the source of their supply of clay. Non-local pottery could reveal relations with other cultures and places thousands of miles away and burned grains inside vessels and cesspits could reveal eating habits.

Someone might argue that looters are doing the same job as archaeologists. But looters are motivated neither by science nor by the study and revival of the past but by profit. Their only motive is the prospect of selling the objects they find – golden rings, clay vessels and idols, ivory objects, swords, shields, helmets and coins – to wealthy buyers. They do not use proper methods, which require careful digging, inch by inch, using the right tools and documenting the whole procedure. Instead they use destructive tools and methods, as they have no time to spare in pursuing their illegal aims. Sometimes they even use big bulldozers, as in one case that was reported to the Department for Combating Smuggling in Antiquities in Athens in 2000. No doubt their methods allow them to find the objects they seek, but during the process they destroy all the rest of the evidence that is so important for us archaeologists.

Great archaeological museums like the Louvre in Paris, the British Museum in London, the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna and the National Museum in Athens advertise their exhibitions focusing mainly on objects that symbolize wealth and power. Tutankhamun’s mask, Agamemnon’s mask, Aphrodite’s marble statue and golden swords dating back to the Mycenaean Period are excellent artefacts. But in a way they distort the visitors’ understanding of what archaeology really means.

Archaeology is the only way humanity has to rebuild its past. A past without any written evidence, dating far back to the Neolithic Period, the Bronze Age Period and the Iron Age. A past that belongs to all of humanity, not to any single nation, and certainly not to the looters who seek only profit. A great past revealed through careful scientific excavation and research, that obliterates the boundaries separating nations and reveals the greatness of our common ancestors. Ancestors who managed to control rivers and through irrigation provided water for their people, who built towns back in 3,500 BC with separate commercial and religious parts. Ancestors who used the natural flow of the Nile and the Tigris and the Euphrates to transport objects from distant places. Ancestors who conducted marriage contracts in 2,000 BC, wrote literature and shared tales such as The Gilgamesh Epic.

Imagine chlorine being thrown onto a crime scene. No fingerprints, no drops of blood, no physical evidence, neither from the victim nor from the perpetrator, nothing would remain for forensic researchers to use as evidence to reconstruct the facts and answer questions regarding the crime committed. In the same way, looters are destroying humanity’s great past, our global past, which has yet to be revealed. An enormous number of questions are still waiting to be answered. The means for fulfilling this complex task is and always was archaeology. Being a police officer and an archaeologist has made me realize that an archaeological site has to be treated according to the same principles as a crime scene. Both are in need of our greatest protection and most thorough examination.



Photo: Konstantinos-Orfeas Sotiriou

*Konstantinos-Orfeas Sotiriou is a Sergeant in the Greek Police Force’s department against antiquities smuggling and an archeological researcher at the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens.*

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# Preserving History From Under the Sea

By Peter B. Campbell

The trafficking of antiquities has been an important issue for many decades, but one area that has been sadly neglected is underwater cultural heritage.

Underwater antiquities differ from those on land. Most objects are inorganic, since marine environments consume or bury material such as wood. Underwater finds include canons, porcelain, precious metals or statues. Many of the intact ancient bronze statues that have survived from antiquity come from the sea, since those on land were melted down for reuse. But precious art is the exception. In Europe, amphoras and ancient wine jugs are commonly looted; in Asia, Chinese porcelain is a lucrative item.

One would think marine archaeological sites would be easier to protect than terrestrial ones since they are fewer and a much smaller population has access to them: free divers, fishermen and SCUBA divers. But these are not the only looters. Commercial operators who work legally as salvors of modern vessels often supplement their business by illegally recovering historic artifacts. They turn off their transponders in culturally rich areas, like the sites of naval battles, and steal copper from World War I and World War II vessels, canons from sailing ships and ceramics from ancient sites.

UNESCO's 2001 Convention on the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage addresses such widespread looting. Many nations have strict legislation for their territorial waters. But marine law is complex and enforcing it at sea can be difficult. Monitoring of sites and investigation of looting is rarely undertaken. Ownership of objects can be complicated: within territorial waters, underwater sites belong to the state, except in the case of a sunken naval vessel, which always belongs to its flag nation.



*Ancient Roman shipwreck carrying amphoras from the fourth century found, but has since been looted. (Photo: Elaine Ferritto)*

It often falls to border security and customs officials to stop the trafficking of underwater cultural heritage. Officers can look out for ceramics or metals that are covered in marine growth – shells, coral, or calcium deposits – as an indicator of recent looting. Complete ceramics that are declared or appear to be of great age often come from the sea, as ceramics do not often survive hundreds of years intact on land.

The best practice for border security and customs officials who are faced with a possibly trafficked artifact is to document it with photos and copies of any paperwork and to consult the cultural property database and the specialists of INTERPOL. A looted artifact can sometimes be tied back to a specific shipwreck and in a few cases it has led to the discovery of a previously unknown archaeological site.



AD found by the author and his team in Albania. The ship was intact when

As on land, perhaps the biggest crime of underwater looting is the great loss of scientific information. Since the vast majority of ships to be found in the sea carried not gold and silver but everyday items like foodstuffs, most looting attempts are bound to be fruitless. But the recovery of a complete amphora or plate often requires the destruction of the objects around it due to marine concretion processes. Destructive methods such as dragging scallop dredges over the top of shipwrecks cause incalculable damage.

Already half a century ago, pioneer archaeologist Peter Throckmorton had this to say about the destruction of a first century Roman ship by ill-informed skin divers in France in 1957: “A whole chapter in the history of navigation was blown to rubble by some mindless diver, perhaps hunting for nonexistent gold, destroying not from malice but stupidity, like a bored child spilling the sugar on a rainy afternoon. The glory of the world must indeed pass away, but it seems wrong to speed its passage with dynamite and sledgehammers.”

As a field archaeologist I have seen entire shipwrecks smashed and in some cases dynamited in the search for valuables. A single artifact for sale is often indicative of the destruction of hundreds of others; the history lost can never be regained.

*Peter Campbell is a maritime archaeologist and researches antiquities trafficking networks.*

*Read more about his work at: [www.peterbcampbell.com](http://www.peterbcampbell.com)*



*Amphoras from a shipwreck found off the Fourni islands, Greece. Local people from the islands had reported looting of amphoras since the 1960s. The author and his collaborators investigated and found a number of shipwrecks. One ship contained a cargo of fourth century AD Black Sea amphoras, which is unique in the Aegean. The Greek antiquities police were able to trace amphoras from museums and confiscated in trafficking busts back to the Fourni site. This led to the discovery by the author of many more shipwrecks at that site, 45 shipwrecks in the past year, which is the largest concentration of ancient shipwrecks in the Mediterranean. (Photo: Vasilis Mentogianis)*

# Cultural Heritage Protection in Kosovo Building Blocks for Peace

By Päivi Nikander and Valerie Zirl

*“Culture stands on the front-line of conflict – it should be at the front-line of peace building.”*

– UNESCO Director General Irina Bokova addressing the United Nations Security Council

The 1998/99 Kosovo conflict, like many modern armed conflicts, was an identity-based confrontation, the result of a dispute between groups of society formed over a common culture. On both sides, cultural and religious monuments were specifically targeted as visual symbols of the other group. Hundreds of mosques and other Islamic religious sites, historic bazars and a large number of kullas, traditional Albanian stone houses, as well as Serbian Orthodox religious monuments were damaged or destroyed during and after the conflict. When inter-ethnic violence briefly but intensely resurged in March 2004, Serbian Orthodox churches and monasteries in different areas became the target of attacks by rioting groups of Albanians.

While traditional conflict-resolution methods are primarily tailored to address differences of interest between states, identity-based conflicts require a new approach. In Kosovo, cultural heritage protection had to become an intrinsic element of the peacebuilding process.



Big Mosque of Mulla Veseli and the St. Uroš Orthodox Cathedral in the centre of Ferizaj/Uroševac (Photo: Valdete Hasani)

## Initial measures

In the immediate aftermath of the conflict, the international community focused on the physical protection of religious and cultural sites. In 1999, the NATO peacekeeping forces secured the most prominent Serbian Orthodox monasteries. In 2003, the United Nations Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) named the preservation of cultural heritage as one of the benchmarks to be achieved by the provisional institutions of self-government in Kosovo. Alarmed by the resurgence of ethnic violence in 2004, the international community the following year pledged US\$10 million for the protection of cultural and religious heritage sites at a donor conference organized by UNESCO together with the Council of Europe and the European Commission.

Safeguards for the protection of religious and cultural heritage were included among the guiding principles of the Kosovo status process initiated by the UN Security Council in 2005. The 2007 Comprehensive Proposal for the Kosovo Status Settlement contained an annex with protection mechanisms. Although the adoption of the proposal as a peace treaty failed, most of the provisions were later adopted, after Kosovo institutions unilaterally declared independence in 2008. The most important were the establishment of special protective zones around more than 40 Serbian Orthodox sites and the establishment of an Implementation and Monitoring Council, a high-level dialogue platform bringing together the Serbian Orthodox leadership with the Kosovo government to discuss issues affecting these zones.

The OSCE and the Council of Europe supported the Kosovo institutions in developing the necessary legal and institutional framework for heritage protection. Until today, a European Union representative co-chairs the Implementation and Monitoring Council meetings, while the OSCE provides technical expertise.

## From protection to reconciliation

Installing legal and institutional mechanisms to protect the rights of former opponents to the symbols of their cultural identity was but a first step towards reconciliation in Kosovo. However, even this first step required an immense effort on the part of community leaders and international peace builders. Effective implementation was protracted over years, hampered by a lack of political support and inadequate financial and human resources. A buy-in by the Serbian Orthodox Church into the process required extensive international advocacy. Cultural heritage protection was not a fast-selling item.

Still, the mechanisms the international community introduced were able to trigger a number of positive developments. Importantly, these have gone beyond the mere protection of physical sites to initiate a process of dialogue and reconciliation.

After the Implementation and Monitoring Council began to meet on a regular basis in early 2013, members of the Serbian Orthodox Church also increasingly participated in local level meetings together with central and local government representatives. Leaders of all religious beliefs in Kosovo entered into an OSCE-sponsored inter-ethnic dialogue process to jointly advocate for the protection of religious freedom.

Municipalities are assuming more and more responsibility for ensuring that the law applicable within protective zones is respected. Ever more frequently, Kosovo Albanian mayors and local governments interact with the Serbian Orthodox communities in their municipalities. The fact that Kosovo Albanian officials – mayors, ministers and even the president – are increasingly visiting Serbian Orthodox sites and participating in the Serbian Orthodox Church's religious festivities is a major milestone in the development of a constructive relationship between the communities.

In another big step forward, the Kosovo Police established a special unit trained to secure the most vulnerable sites and have taken over almost all security responsibilities from the international community.

There have also been setbacks. Vandalism and desecration of Serbian Orthodox churches, cemeteries and monasteries have a substantial impact on the Kosovo Serb community's perception of security. This violence is committed by a small portion of the Kosovo Albanian community, but a larger number will ascertain that their community never received an apology or reparations for the destruction of Albanian sites in Kosovo during the conflict. Regardless of what the reasons may be, the Kosovo Serb community will not see a sustainable future for itself if it cannot live and express its cultural identity without fear. Incidents like the desecration of Orthodox cemeteries in retaliation for the demolition of an Albanian monument in southern Serbia, threatening graffiti sprayed on walls and doors of Serbian Orthodox monasteries or stones thrown at Serbian Orthodox pilgrims visiting religious sites clearly demonstrate how fragile any rapprochement between the communities is and how quickly cultural heritage can again become the target of hate crimes. Landowners who struggle with the difficult economic situation often lack understanding for the restrictions to their property rights within special protective zones.

Even after more than fifteen years of international engagement, more needs to be done to ensure sustainable cultural heritage protection and to consolidate effective safeguards for cultural identities in Kosovo. The challenge remains to transform what was seen as symbols of different identities into the bricks for building bridges between divided communities.

## OSCE Engagement

The OSCE Mission in Kosovo, established in 1999 as “Pillar III” of UNMIK and primarily mandated to establish democratic institutions, rule of law agencies and human rights protection mechanisms after the conflict, today increasingly includes religious and cultural heritage protection initiatives in its programmes. “Because religion is such an important part of ethnic identity even though the conflict in Kosovo wasn’t religious but ethnic in nature, a lot of these religious heritage sites were destroyed or damaged in the conflict and its aftermath. For the same reason, rebuilding them and protecting them is a significant element in achieving reconciliation and a lasting peace,” says Head of Mission Ambassador Jean-Claude Schlumberger.

With a team of resident experts at its headquarters in Prishtinë/Priština and in its field offices across Kosovo, the OSCE Mission monitors developments around cultural heritage sites and, with the information collected, supports the work of the Implementation and Monitoring Council. It engages in mediation efforts between religious and political community leaders, supporting dialogue and offering a neutral problem-solving platform at both central and local levels.

The Mission particularly encourages women to participate in inter-religious dialogue and religious and cultural heritage protection. Not only does this provide valuable employment opportunities, it is also necessary for effective peace building. Women who lost loved ones during the conflict or became victims of violence themselves are an essential part of any peace process.

The Mission also pays attention to the important role young people can play in building confidence and tolerance among multicultural communities. Through art competitions like the 2015 photography contest, it brings together students of different communities to promote a sense of shared heritage and dismantle common stereotypes regarding “the others”. It thereby complements educational projects of the Council of Europe, the European Union and local NGOs such as Cultural Heritage without Borders. Students participating in visits to cultural and religious heritage sites are often exposed to the culture of other ethnic groups in their immediate neighbourhood for the first time. Children of all communities visiting cultural and religious heritage sites across Kosovo – and their parents supporting such initiatives – are encouraging signals that walls are starting to crumble.

## Worth the effort

The Kosovo experience shows that cultural heritage protection is a necessary element of the peace-building process after an identity-based conflict, not only because cultural symbols were a target during conflict. Proactively using cultural heritage protection to bridge ethnic and religious differences is a necessary precondition for sustainable peace in a society whose members attribute crucial importance to elements of their cultural identity.

Protection mechanisms that give equal importance to the cultural and religious heritage of all communities are likely to find the broadest public support and thus be the most effective. If the rules of special protective zones in Kosovo were also applied to more than a handful of non-Orthodox sites, land owners would find it much harder to blame a specific community for unfair treatment and impediments to their socio-economic development.

Cultural heritage management should go beyond mere preservation. It has value for local economic development, not only as a stimulus for tourism, but also in the creation of employment opportunities in the restoration, conservation, management and promotion of heritage sites. If members of all communities are involved in and directly benefit from this process, they are likely to gradually appreciate the value of cultural heritage regardless of its religious or ethnic affiliation. Smart cultural heritage management also specifically targets young people as future caretakers.

In the long run, cultural heritage may even contribute to the development of a joint Kosovo identity that leaves religious or ethnic affiliation aside. Here, the international community has a certain responsibility and soft power. For a positive impact among members of the public, it will be crucial that the inter-national community recognizes the equal and universal value of the heritage of the different communities in Kosovo, for example through the inclusion of sites representing the cultural heritage of all communities on the UNESCO World Heritage list. Such international recognition could well contribute to the communities taking pride in Kosovo’s cultural heritage and eventually losing sight of to whom it belongs.

*Päivi Nikander is Deputy Head of the OSCE Mission in Kosovo. Valerie Zirl served as political adviser to the Head of the OSCE Mission in Kosovo for more than five years.*

### Read more:

The 2014 OSCE report *Challenges in the Protection of Immovable Tangible Cultural Heritage in Kosovo* is available at [www.osce.org/kosovo/117276?download=true](http://www.osce.org/kosovo/117276?download=true)



Photo : OSCE/HCNM

## 20 Years Hague Recommendations Regarding the Education Rights of National Minorities

# Education is the Space where Identities are Negotiated

When Max van der Stoep, the first OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities, decided to distill four years of behind-the-scenes diplomacy into a set of recommendations to participating States, he chose to focus on the topic of education.

The *Hague Recommendations Regarding the Education Rights of National Minorities*, four short pages plus an introduction and an explanatory note, attempt, in their own words, “to clarify in relatively straight-forward language the content of minority education rights generally applicable in the situations in which the HCNM is involved.” They can be downloaded here: [www.osce.org/hcnm/32180](http://www.osce.org/hcnm/32180)

Van der Stoep’s main concern in the 1990s was the many disputes between minorities and central authorities in Europe’s eastern region. When today’s High Commissioner, Astrid Thors, opened a meeting of experts she convened last April to mark the *Hague Recommendations’* 20th anniversary, the concern she mentioned first was the refugee crisis and renewed nationalism and xenophobia in Europe. “What does this document mean for us today?” she asked. Here are some of the answers participants provided.

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## Astrid Thors

### Clear, practical advice

“In the *Hague Recommendations* Max van der Stoel gave clear, practical advice to participating States on how to organize education for national minorities. He explained how it could be done and, much earlier than many others, he pointed to the need for decentralization, for schools, parents and the school community to have a real say in minority education. Education is in many ways the space where issues of equality, national identity and the concept of nationhood are negotiated.

Van der Stoel also pointed to the need for a balance between integration and mother tongue education, emphasizing that youngsters should enjoy preschool education and the first acquisition of more theoretical vocabulary in their mother tongues before moving on to other languages. If that doesn't happen, there will be a retraction of the minority culture.

The *Hague Recommendations* are primarily about the language of instruction. Today, when we work in the field of education, we are confronted also with questions of school optimization, of ensuring quality education for all children. We see the different historic narratives of different groups and how difficult it is to

reconcile them. This is as much a matter of tolerance as of language of instruction. In that sense, the *Ljubljana Guidelines on Integration of Diverse Societies* produced in 2012 by my predecessor, Knut Vollebaek, are a useful complement to the *Hague Recommendations*.

Looking ahead, we might consider developing a handbook on diversity in education. Why a handbook? Up until now, we have been focusing very much on legislation. It may be time for a more methodological approach, taking into account the many new methods that have been developed for accommodating diversity in the classroom.

One of the challenges I see is that education is defined quite differently in different participating States. Some are now talking in terms of 'learning outcomes', that is, what children are expected to have learned while at school. Others are very strict about the exact content of their textbooks. So we have a wide range of approaches, and this is something we would also have to take into account in a handbook.”

*Astrid Thors is the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities.*



Photo : OSCE/HCNM

OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities Astrid Thors at the conference marking the 20th Anniversary of *The Hague Recommendations Regarding the Education Rights of National Minorities*, The Hague, 21 April 2016.



## Fernand de Varennes

### A Human Rights Document

“The *Hague Recommendations* were a very brave development because they said that ‘one state, one language’ is no longer a proper European response to the linguistic diversity in Europe. They are a document about human rights, a guideline to what human rights commitments could mean in the area of education and language. As such, they are complemented but not replaced by the later *Ljubljana Guidelines*, which are about policy development.

Since then, a number of interpretive tools have been developed that are beginning to tell us what these standards could mean in legal terms. For example, the Advisory Committee of the Council of Europe’s Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, in its country reports, is tending to say that if at least 15 per cent of people in a certain territory share the same language, there should be some kind of use of that language in education. The European Court of Human Rights has recently found, in application of the right to education, that everyone has to be given the possibility to learn their national language. Surprisingly enough, that was the first time this has been clearly stated from the legal point of view. So there’s an evolution, I would argue, towards acknowledging that the educational rights of minorities are in fact a human rights application. This is still very young. We have to be patient. But certainly, it is not yet time to put the *Hague Recommendations* to rest.

The *Hague Recommendations* note that the first years of education are of pivotal importance in a child’s development and suggest that the medium of teaching in early education should ideally be the child’s language.

Numerous studies by academia, UNESCO, even World Bank reports, confirm this. Children taught in their own language for at least six to ten years acquire the literacy and learning skills that allow them to learn other languages better. Also, the more minorities and indigenous people are allowed to learn in their own language, the longer they stay in school. These studies also say that, if it is reasonably feasible, education in the language of minorities should go beyond these first years of education and extend even to higher education. So counter-intuitively, education in the minority language actually serves integration. There is also a gender aspect: girls in indigenous groups or isolated communities might have had almost no exposure to the dominant language and therefore benefit even more than boys when education is in their mother tongue.

Many of the violent ethnic conflicts in the world involve language issues. One example is the conflict in southern Thailand with the Malay-speaking Muslim minority, which claims hundreds of victims every year. Among the main targets are public schools.

Public education in a minority’s language provides employment opportunities and facilitates the integration of minorities. Denying it can be dangerous by creating forms of exclusion and alienation.”

*Fernand de Varennes, a leading expert on the human rights of minorities, is Dean of the Faculty of Law of the Université de Moncton, Canada and Extraordinary Professor at the Centre of Human Rights of the University of Pretoria, South Africa.*

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## Sia Spiliopoulou Åkermark Opening Up to Diversity

“The world has changed in the 20 years since the *Hague Recommendations*. Knowledge has become globalized; communication and business no longer know any borders. I find that fantastic; it’s a very challenging time intellectually. It is also dangerous: it can be captured by all kinds of one-sided political or financial interests. We want our children to be able to adapt to this new unpredictable world. I think what international law can offer in such a situation – and this why the *Hague Recommendations* and the *Ljubljana Guidelines* are so valuable – is to put the child’s interests first.

In the *Hague Recommendations* this was expressed in terms of the rights of parents: “states should adopt measures to encourage parental involvement and choice in the educational system.” I think in many ways this is a very wise starting point, because the child needs a safe environment to bloom and take the position it deserves in the future. At the same time our understanding has changed in the past 20 years. Now we tend to see the rights of the child at the centre, because sometimes parents can be setting other priorities or be under other stresses.

The nation state paradigm that was created in the 19th century is coming under pressure. Still, especially in Europe, there is a strong tradition of the general right to education, and we should build on this tradition. Guaranteeing the right to education is the responsibility of the state. It must allow itself to open up, to see the education of young people as something that transcends national, ethnic and religious borders.

Diversity is not a matter of policy choice; it is a matter of fact. Sooner or later we will have to confront it. The question is: how do we build upon the positive European achievement in education, adding diversity?”

*Sia Spiliopoulou Åkermark is Director and Head of Research of the Åland Islands Peace Institute, Finland.*

## Jan de Groof Tackle Education First

“Max van der Stoel was showing great prescience when he chose in the *Hague Recommendations* to focus on education. In managing the transition from a non-democratic regime to democracy, you have to tackle the most sensitive, the most difficult issue first, and that is schools and education. Within schools, you have to establish diversity. And then you can try to be successful as a society.

At the same time, reaching consensus on school policy is very tough. All the conflicts of society – cultural, religious, linguistic and socio-economic – are reflected in education.

In my country, Belgium, for instance, it was quite difficult for the state to recognize the three linguistic communities, Flemish, French and German. In the 1950s there was a so-called school war, a societal conflict among Catholics, Freemasons, the north and the south. A pact was finally signed in 1958. The state agreed to co-finance confessional schools on the condition that they were fulfilling laws on quality and equality and that their teachers had the required official diploma. Only once that consensus on education was reached did it become possible to achieve concessions in other areas.

In Europe today we are facing a huge educational challenge with the arrival of 200,000 new migrant children. What should we do? First of all, we need to accept them and respect the fundamental rights of refugees and so-called illegal migrants. We have to acknowledge the primary role of education for their future and also for the future of society.

We could see this as an enormous opportunity. Some countries, like Germany, are doing so. In higher education, for instance, they are creating student places on a massive scale. This is the only feasible reaction. To respond reluctantly is not an option.

Will European states be able to respond to the newcomers’ basic educational needs? The question is urgent. We have to invest, create capacity, train teachers. Otherwise, there will be tensions, frustrations, Europe will fail. This will be the most sensitive topic for Europe in the decades to come.”

*Jan de Groof is the founder and President of the European Association for Education Law and Policy (ELA). A university professor and frequent consultant for international organizations, he took part in several diplomatic missions of the first OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities, Max van der Stoel.*

Q and A with Joke van der Leeuw-Roord

# How Can History Education Change the World of Today?

*In the last part of the Hague Recommendations, devoted to curriculum development, states are encouraged to ensure that the histories, cultures and traditions of their national minorities are taught in their schools. Already since 1992, promoting exactly that has been the mission of Joke van der Leeuw-Roord and the organization she founded, the European Association of History Educators (EUROCLIO).*

## What is the purpose of EUROCLIO?

EUROCLIO brings together people who deal with the transfer of history and heritage to a younger generation. We work in many countries in Europe and beyond, especially in those that have experienced inter-ethnic tensions or recent violent conflicts. We create networks dedicated to promoting an inclusive approach to history. In some countries we work mainly with history teachers, in others with academics and museum people. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, for instance, it is quite a mixed group of people, most of them trained historians, who after the war were young and shared the desire to prevent that terrible past from becoming part of the present. What is impressive is how they have been able to connect their personal sorrow with a solid, professional approach.

In addition to creating networks, we provide opportunities for professional development and try to install in educators a commitment to lifelong learning. Thirdly, we address the matter of teaching tools. As history teachers we ask ourselves: how can we teach history in a responsible way, not overemphasizing certain things and neglecting others? And how can we make the learning of history attractive? Our goal is to make history a subject about which students say: “this has given me something for the rest of my life.”

## How did EUROCLIO get started?

In 1991 the Council of Europe organized the first pan-European meeting on history education after the fall of the Berlin Wall. I was the president of the Dutch History Teachers Association at the time and had been asked to attend by my government. On the first evening I was

sitting next to the Council of Europe’s Director for Education and he turned to me and said: “You know, we’ve worked with governments already such a long time, since the late 1940s, but so little has really happened on the ground. Can you try to set up an organization that works with the people actually doing history education?” I grew up very much in the shadow of the Second World War and the Cold War, and the fall of the Berlin Wall was an important personal experience for me. So this request really resonated with me and I thought, OK, I will try. I started already during the conference to approach people and ask them: “are you representing an association?” You have to remember that those were pre-Internet times, so it was really a matter of gathering addresses on bits of paper. But, surprisingly, within a year we had 17 organizations who were saying, “yes, we want to work together.”

## What new insights have you gained from this co-operation?

Already in that first year, there was an important learning moment. In the beginning it was all about these “poor people from the East” and how we really have to have to help them to do history well. But then we started to realize that it was not only our colleagues from the former East-bloc countries who had been subject to political prejudice. The moment that dawned on us was when one of our first members, the president of a Belgian-Flemish organization, was addressed by the communists saying, “oh, you had those big revolutionary days in 1918,” and he said, “no, that’s not true.” Three weeks later, he called me. “Joke”, he said, “it really is true - and we never heard about it. This is totally silenced in our history!” So we realized that, in fact, we are all operating

under a political umbrella, and that there is a pattern of prejudice to be found in every country, every community. In working together, we learned to recognize this pattern and it became a challenge for us to prevent it from being misused. The first element in this pattern is pride. You are proud of your history. A British person, for instance, would tell you that in Britain, pride in one's national history comes first. The second element is the sense of being the victim. And if you are a country like Estonia, you will always bring that out first. So the first two elements depend a bit on how your country is placed in the larger historical context. The third element is: "what we did wrong to others is always swept under the carpet; it's very difficult to address." And the last one is: "anything not connected to our own history is none of our business." So if you live in the Netherlands, you don't know anything about Norway, or about Africa, except if there was a colonial connection.

## What are some of the practical challenges you have faced?

One difficulty we have encountered almost everywhere is finding the right mix of expertise when setting up a project. You ask for good people, and you get good people, but... It begins with gender balance. Very often when experts come together one has the problem that it's only men, but in education it's quite often only women! Furthermore, in countries with a strong sense of independence, like Georgia, Ukraine, Latvia and Estonia, you often get a titular group that is not really representative of the total population. In Latvia or Estonia, for instance, a large part of the population is Russian-speaking, and we want them, too. Immediately, the language problem comes in. For instance, in the late 1990s we had a working group in Estonia who said they didn't want to communicate among themselves in Russian. So a choice was made to look for an English-speaking person from the Russian-speaking community. But it turned out that being able to speak English does not necessarily mean being a good history educator. Eventually, after a great deal of emotional resistance, the group was able to put the need for quality material above its desire for communicating in the national language.

Another challenge is accommodating donor preferences. Many of our projects are in former East-bloc countries, because that is where funding is available, even though there is important work to be done in Western Europe, too, as is becoming all too

obvious in the present day. Donors do not always see the bigger picture. Also, project specifications often require that a certain combination of countries be included, even in cases where, in our opinion, it might be more beneficial to start with a local project to first build up basic expertise in history and citizen heritage education.

## What have been EUROCLIO's main achievements?

The real strength of our organization has been building civil society organizations: we now have more than 70 in 55 different countries. We have trained thousands of colleagues and many of them have ended up in crucial positions in their political and educational systems. They have become educators, thinkers and historians who are really able to question history, far more than they were ever taught in school or in university ten or twenty years ago.

History is always a matter of perspective. Especially in the Balkans, the frontier lines drawn by nationalists are very much overlapping. There is always a moment in history where you can draw a line and say: "this is all ours". We try to let people reflect on that. But it is not only the Balkans. They are always depicted as the bad guys. The German, Belgian or Dutch perceptions of their borders have also shifted, just not in the same period in history. It is very important for us in Western Europe not to present ourselves as the civilized countries taming the wilderness – it is too primitive to think like that.

A lot of the research that we need to do in order to be able to see things from the point of view of the other has not yet been done. I always tell young historians: look for areas of research that are important and perhaps not so fashionable. We need really solid facts. History is interpretation, but it has to be based on facts.

*Joke van der Leeuw-Roord, a prominent expert on education, innovative methodology and transnational history, is the founder and Special Advisor of the European Association of History Educators (EUROCLIO).*

European  
Association of  
History Educators



<http://euroclio.eu>



Photo: ESRI

## Mission to Serbia

# Roma Inclusion in Education

Support and continuity in the education of Roma children is crucial for the integration of the Roma national minority in Serbia. The percentage of Roma who completed primary education increased from 29 percent in 2002 to 33 percent in 2011. By contrast, only 11 percent had completed secondary school in 2011. The reasons for dropping out of secondary school are different for girls and for boys. Early marriage, economic hardship and community pressure are some of the main reasons Roma girls abandon school. Boys tend to quit to devote themselves full time to earning a living.

Valjevo in western Serbia is one city that has seen progress in Roma education, thanks to an ongoing €4.8 million European Union-funded project, European Support for Roma Inclusion (ESRI), although issues of employment and housing, the two biggest problems facing the Roma community, remain. This was stated in January 2016 at the presentation of the work of joint mobile teams, which are part of the project. The teams are comprised of municipal Roma co-ordinators, pedagogical assistants, health mediators and representatives of social work centres and the national employment service. Valjevo is one of 20 pilot cities and municipalities in which mayors signed a Memorandum of Understanding in February 2014 to support them.

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The broad composition of the mobile teams reflects the comprehensive, multicomponent approach of ESRI. Under the slogan “We are Here Together”, the project is being implemented by the OSCE Mission to Serbia in co-ordination with the Serbian Office for Human and Minority Rights. It addresses the most persistent aspects of Roma exclusion ranging from lack of access to the most basic rights, such as adequate health-care, education and welfare benefits, to difficulties entering the labour market.

For the OSCE Mission, the work on ESRI follows on ten years of work for Roma integration, notably in training pedagogical assistants and health mediators and supporting the co-ordination of municipal services. One of the persistent challenges the Mission has encountered is promoting co-ordination among the different institutions responsible for these programmes. Lloyd Tudyk, ESRI project manager at the OSCE Mission, explains that “when this large-scale project started, most of the interventions for Roma inclusion in Serbia had been based on one or two issues and tackled either only a ccess to education or only unemployment. We’ve seen during these two years that the comprehensive approach is working.”

Petar Antic, an OSCE Mission advisor for the mobile teams, says that the results achieved in Valjevo are significant: “inter-agency co-operation is now much better, above all between the social work centre, the national employment service, schools, health facilities and the municipality.” Promoting the enrolment of Roma in schools is a core part of the mobile teams’ work. Thanks to their efforts, more than 1,200 Roma children were enrolled in pre-school education.

The Roma co-ordinator from Valjevo, Dejan Marinković, notes that if Roma are better educated, they might be given more of a chance by employers, which in turn would solve housing and many other problems. “Without education there is no work; no job, no flat; and without that there is no health care – this is the vicious circle we are trying to break,” he says.

One component of ESRI is dedicated to preventing Roma secondary students from dropping out of school. During two school years, the programme awarded scholarships to 667 students whose grades were poor and who would therefore have been in danger of ending their education early. The programme was implemented by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development, with the assistance of the OSCE Mission and the Roma Education Fund.

One hundred and ninety-one pedagogical assistants and 194 mentors made an important contribution to enhancing the participation of Roma in the education process. The pedagogical assistants, who earned certifications as part of the project, worked with Roma and non-Roma children primarily on academic matters. The mentors, also trained within the project, facilitated socialization and helped to solve personal and family problems of the students who received scholarships. “The goal is to provide continuity and quality education for these socially vulnerable children, teach respect for diversity, develop multicultural values and foster cultural identity,” pedagogical assistant Vojke Zorica Jovanovic says.

The drop-out prevention programme, which concluded in June 2016, will be carried forward by the Ministry of Education with the assistance of EU funding. The mobile teams will continue to work; in fact, there are plans to expand the network.

Investing in secondary education means giving poor and excluded children a more equal start in life. Not only is access to education a human right, enhancing it is also smart economics that raises long-term labour productivity and helps break the inter-generational cycle of poverty affecting Europe’s poorest and most vulnerable communities. The ESRI’s promotion of inclusive education, coupled with its comprehensive approach, is helping to boost the chances of many Roma children in Serbia.

*This article was prepared by Liudmila Tsiklis, Intern at the Communication and Media Relations Section of the OSCE Secretariat, based on information provided by Lloyd Tudyk, ESRI project manager at the OSCE Mission to Serbia.*

# The OSCE Academy in Bishkek

*By Bermet Sarlykova and Pal Dunay*

There is a unique OSCE educational project in Central Asia: the OSCE Academy in Bishkek. It was established in 2002 upon the initiative of Kyrgyzstan to promote regional co-operation in a part of the OSCE region where exchange and rivalry continue to go hand in hand. Over the years, its activity has gradually expanded in accordance with needs. Two Master of Arts (MA) programmes, in Politics and Security and in Economic Governance and Development, are complemented by shorter, tailor-made courses for professionals and dialogue with politicians, diplomats and experts.

The past year was particularly busy, as the foundations of the Academy had to be renewed. The Memorandum of Understanding that formalized the creation of the Academy in 2004 was redrafted in line with new developments and re-signed by the OSCE Chairperson-in-Office, German Foreign Minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier, and his Kyrgyz counterpart, Erlan Abdyldaev, on 31 March 2016.

The Academy's Charter, adopted by the Board of Trustees, was approved by the Kyrgyz Republic's Ministry of Justice and a new certificate of state registration as a legal entity was issued. The two MA programmes received new licenses and accreditations from the Ministry of Education and Science, guaranteeing the future of the OSCE Academy for several years to come. Kyrgyzstan supports the OSCE Academy in a variety of ways, among others by providing the Academy's premises free of charge.

## Highest number of applicants ever

For the 2016/2017 academic year, the OSCE Academy received 1,194 applications from potential students, the highest number ever. Thirty-two students (16 women) were accepted for the Politics and Security programme and 25 (9 women) for Economic Governance and Development.

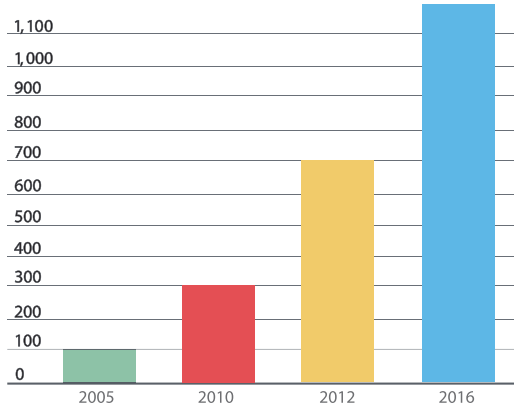
Most students come from Central Asia. Since 2009 there are students from Afghanistan, an OSCE Partner for Co-operation, and lately also from the newest OSCE participating State, Mongolia. By 2016, the OSCE Academy had 331 graduates, 185 female (including seven from Afghanistan) and 146 male. The number of women at the Academy's courses regularly exceeds men. This is very important in a region where women work extremely hard to achieve their best often under not fully favourable conditions.

## Conferences and research

The OSCE Academy hosts an annual security conference, held seven times so far. Regional and extra-regional experts engage in frank discussions about regional security matters under Chatham House rules. In 2014 the Academy also hosted an academic conference. Selected papers will soon be published in the peer-reviewed journal, *Central Asian Survey*. Another conference, entitled Post-Communism 25+ in Central Asia, is planned for 6 October 2016 in Issyk Kul, Kyrgyzstan.

The OSCE Academy promotes the research of young experts, including its graduates. Since 2014 the *Central Asian Policy Briefs* have been published on a monthly basis. Most of their authors are young Central Asian experts who work in the region.

## Number of applications 2005-2016



### Opportunities

The OSCE Academy offers its graduates a variety of internships and fellowships. Under the Junior Public Officers Programme, established in 2010, students who graduated with an MA Politics and Security can intern at the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, and Afghanistan. Since 2016, Kyrgyz graduates of the Economic Governance and Development programme can intern in the Ministry of Economy's Investment Promotion Agency.

### Read more:

Visit the OSCE Academy website: [osce-academy.net](http://osce-academy.net)

*Central Asia Policy Briefs* are available here: [osce-academy.net/en/research/policy-briefs/](http://osce-academy.net/en/research/policy-briefs/)

The OSCE Academy and the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly (OSCE PA) signed a Memorandum of Understanding on 10 August 2016 providing one graduate annually a six-month research fellowship at the OSCE PA's Secretariat in Copenhagen. Other opportunities for graduates include scholarships at the Geneva Centre for Security Policy and research fellowships at the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs.

### Alumni update

According to data gathered from the annual alumni survey and additional investigations, 71 per cent of OSCE Academy alumni live and work in Central Asia and in Afghanistan. Eighty-two per cent are employed, 22 per cent in senior positions. Many employed alumni are building their careers in international organizations, followed by the private sector, education and research, the public sector and non-profit organizations.

### Finance

The OSCE Academy's annual budget of less than a million Euro is allocated and spent with great care. Almost 20 per cent comes from the OSCE's Unified Budget, demonstrating the continuing commitment of the 57 participating States.

*Bermet Sarlykova is Communications Co-ordinator and Pal Dunay is Director of the OSCE Academy in Bishkek.*



# YOUR VIEW

## Importance of the economic dimension

In Issue 2/2015 of Security Community I was very interested to read the analysis of Professor Kurt P. Tudyka entitled “Whither the Second Basket?” Based on my experience as a diplomat actively engaged in preparations for and follow-up to the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE), I would like to address two issues mentioned by the author: firstly, the diversified form of the second so-called “basket” of the *Helsinki Final Act*, which may seem surprising from our present-day perspective, and, secondly, the current activities of many institutions and groups in the economic sphere which, in the opinion of Professor Tudyka, make the role of the OSCE in the economic and environmental areas unclear.

The fact that economic issues were reflected in the Helsinki Final Act in such a diversified form was not at all accidental. It was mainly due to smaller participating States, especially the neutral and non-aligned (NNA) countries, who contributed greatly to the content of the second basket. Together with the Warsaw Pact delegations, they helped to push through the principle of co-operation and its inclusion in the ten Principles Guiding Relations between Participating States – particularly important for good co-operation in the fields of economy, science and technology as well as the environment. Easing tensions was a predominant concern.

This became even more evident at the Follow-up Meeting held in Vienna between 1986 and 1989, where I was put in charge of pushing forward the Czechoslovak proposal for the convening of a pan-European Economic Forum and where a broad programme of economic and environmental co-operation was adopted. I am glad that these proposals of ours did not evaporate into thin air. The Economic and Environmental Forum remains on the OSCE’s regular agenda until today. There were high hopes at that time for furthering economic co-operation, especially in our part of Europe. But after significant political changes took place in Central and Eastern Europe, the role of neutral countries as moderators lost its meaning. Efforts by advocacy groups and various institutions in the field of economics stole the spotlight from the OSCE, which was nevertheless engaged in a number of innovative activities.

The principle of consensus started to be increasingly overlooked. Aspects of power – military, financial, as well as economic – seem to have prevailed. It looks like today’s Europe has unfortunately returned to a different kind of Cold War setting.

I do not want to debate the causes of this situation. I have always tried to find positive solutions and possibilities for the CSCE/OSCE to move forward. The economic dimension of the CSCE process played an important role in developing the principle of pan-European co-operation. It always had a direct impact on other areas, military security as well as human rights. Consequently, it should be playing a positive role even today.

Instead, on a different platform, the decision was made to introduce economic sanctions. The business communities of the smaller countries are suffering the most. They should use the framework of the OSCE to put pressure on decision-makers to lift them.

*Jiří Opršal, Czech Republic*

## Need for real role for all countries

For a long time, a rather sad scenario can be observed in Europe and beyond. No real concept has been developed for the integration of post-communist countries – all of them – into the global international order. Obviously the countries which in the past had a leading role will not be willing to accept a total deprivation of that role. To diagnose that, one doesn’t need military strategy, only psychology. But, insofar as the role of the military is not to create but to prevent conflicts, every military strategist should be a psychologist.

So far, the only success in such complicated matters was obtained many years ago when a Polish general and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Adam Rapacki, proposed a regular inter-national conference, the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, which became the OSCE.

It falls upon all democratic countries to propose solutions that would show some gateway for countries from central and eastern Europe: how they should behave, what new platforms they should form, what they could hope for, how they should exchange their previous role for a new role. If there is no official proposal, than the “universe” creates its own, often chaotic, proposals.

*Agnieszka Laskosz, Wrocław, Poland*

## Good Read

# *Mer Noire* by Dov Lynch

“He watched out for a first glimpse of the Black Sea, at the turn of a valley, at the exit of a tunnel. He wanted to see its colour. Was it really black? In his imagination it had the form of a dolphin rising from the water. His father had told him it was a poisoned sea. Two thousand metres deep, but 90 per cent of its volume supported no life, suffocated by the concentration of hydrogen sulfate produced by all the debris brought by the rivers that nourished it. By the Danube, the Dniepr, the Dniestr. Three rivers with unfathomable consonants.”

Dimitris is Irish, an ex-IRA fighter. His father, an IRA hero. His mother, born in Sukhumi, at the other end of Europe, is so long gone he can hardly remember. When his father dies and the brigade wants justice for his exiled brother, Dimitris knows what to do. The ensuing trajectory is a voyage into darkness, from one war that won't die to another, simmering almost unknown in the mountains beyond the Black Sea.

Dov Lynch is an Irish diplomat and essayist.

Anacharsis, 2015, 141 pp. (French)

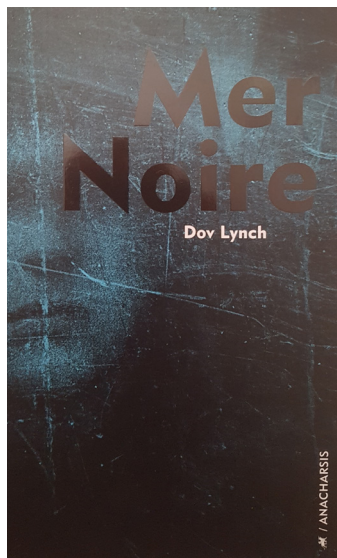


Photo: AHDR

## Max van der Stoel Award Ceremony

Every two years, the High Commissioner on National Minorities and the Government of the Netherlands organize the Max van der Stoel Award. The prize is presented biennially to a person, group or institution for their extraordinary and outstanding achievements in improving the position of national minorities in the OSCE participating States.

This year, the Association for Historical Dialogue and Research (AHDR), a Cypriot non-governmental organization, has been named the winner of the 2016 Max van der Stoel Award for its commitment to building a multilingual and multi-faith society which celebrates diversity and promotes mutual respect and understanding. AHDR was established in 2003 by a group of history educators and researchers dedicated to the advancement of historical understanding and critical thinking amongst the public and, more specifically, amongst pupils, educators and civil society. The Award ceremony will be held on 24 October in The Hague.

For more information, visit:  
[www.osce.org/hcnm/mvdsaward](http://www.osce.org/hcnm/mvdsaward)

## Riace, Italy

Two intact bronze statues dating from the fifth century B.C. were retrieved off the coast of this small Calabrian town in 1972. Resting at the bottom of the sea for over two millennia, the Riace Warriors, as they have come to be called, escaped the fate of being melted down for making weapons that was met by most antique bronzes on land.

The old town of Riace, perched on the cacti-covered mountainside, has since the beginning of the present millennium been the site of an experiment in hospitality to people fleeing conflict from across the sea. Since Mayor Domenico Lucano initiated the project in 1998, around 450 migrants of more than 20 nationalities have come to call Riace their home.



Photo: AVD

## Recent OSCE Publications

**Protecting Electricity Networks from Natural Hazards** Published by the OSCE Secretariat (English)

**Handbook on Combating Corruption** Published by the OSCE Secretariat in collaboration with UNODC, OECD and GRECO and other partners (English)

**Handbook on the Follow-up of Electoral Recommendations** Published by the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (English)

**Conflict Sensitive Journalism – Best Practices and Recommendations** Published by the OSCE Project Co-ordinator in Ukraine (English, Russian, Ukrainian)

**Co-ordination & Co-operation between International Actors in support of the Host Country** Published by the OSCE Secretariat (English)

**Secretary General's Annual Evaluation Report on the Implementation of the 2004 OSCE Action Plan for the Promotion of Gender Equality- 2015** Published by the OSCE Secretariat (English)

**Annual Report of the Secretary General on Police-Related Activities in 2015** Published by the OSCE Secretariat (English)

**OSCE/ODIHR Annual Report 2015** Published by the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (English)



Organization for Security and  
Co-operation in Europe