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OSCE

Marc Perrin de Brichambaut is
appointed OSCE Secretary General

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M A G A

Kyrgyzstan in transition:
OSCE displays swift and decisive action

T I N T

Ready to lead on politico-military issues:
Belarus puts focus on concrete results



Ján Kubiš: Leaving a legacy

Six years as Secretary General of the OSCE



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The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe is a pan-European security body whose 55 participating States span the geographical area from Vancouver to Vladivostok.

OSCE Chairmanship 2005: Slovenia

OSCE Structures and Institutions

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

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- OSCE Office in Baku
- OSCE Mission to Georgia
- OSCE Office in Yerevan
- The Personal Representative of the Chairman-in-Office on the Conflict Dealt with by the OSCE Minsk Conference

Central Asia

- OSCE Centre in Almaty
- OSCE Centre in Ashgabad
- OSCE Centre in Bishkek
- OSCE Centre in Dushanbe
- OSCE Centre in Tashkent

Eastern Europe

- OSCE Office in Minsk
- OSCE Mission to Moldova
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South-eastern Europe

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

Message from the Commissioner for External Relations and European Neighbourhood Policy, European Union

This issue of the *OSCE Magazine* provides us with an opportunity to express our appreciation for outgoing OSCE Secretary General Ján Kubiš, with whom I have worked closely in my various capacities, especially during my term as Austria's Foreign Minister and as the OSCE's Chairperson-in-Office in 2000.



EUROPEAN UNION

During the past six years, Secretary General Kubiš has been at the centre of our efforts to adapt the OSCE to the new international environment. He has done an excellent job in challenging times.

His tenure saw the rapid growth of field missions in the western Balkans and the creation of new offices in Central Asia and the Caucasus, a particular priority for Austria during its Chairmanship in 2000. Ambassador Kubiš also modernized the Organization's management, making it more efficient in serving the needs of the participating States. With strategic foresight, he helped steer the OSCE to respond to new security threats such as terrorism, trafficking and organized crime.

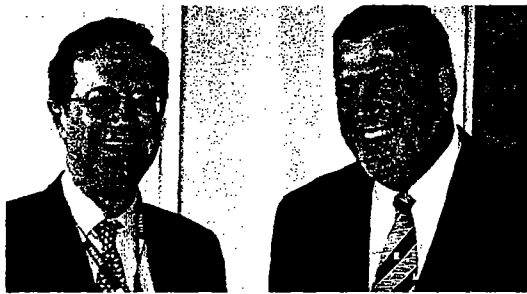
Thanks to his leadership, the OSCE has consolidated its position as a key player in early warning and post-conflict rehabilitation, and as a provider of comprehensive and co-operative security.

I have always been impressed by his boundless energy, even putting his health at risk, his analytical insight and political astuteness, and his unwavering commitment to the fundamental values embodied in the OSCE.

Ján Kubiš leaves behind an organization with reforms firmly on track. We must make sure the process fully succeeds, so that the OSCE remains an important pillar of the Euro-Atlantic architecture in the twenty-first century.

Benita Ferrero-Waldner
 Brussels
 June 2005

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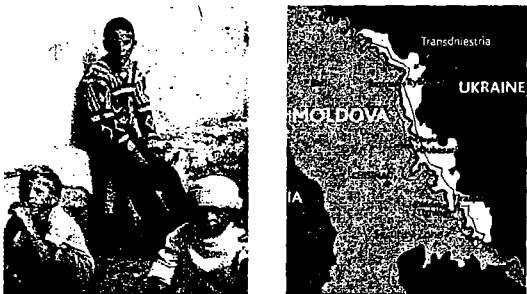
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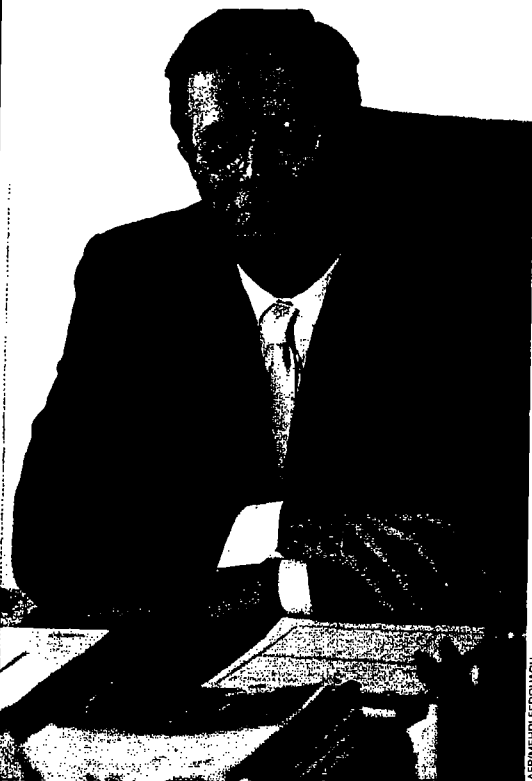


APPOINTMENTS

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The cover photo by AFP shows Secretary General Ján Kubiš at the OSCE Academy in Bishkek, which hosted a press briefing on 27 March on the crisis in Kyrgyzstan. Behind him is one of several panels with an OSCE theme designed by Kyrgyzstani artist Valery Ruppel (photo, left) and his son Daniil, for the OSCE Academy.

www.osce.org



Marc Perrin de Brichambaut is appointed OSCE Secretary General

would like to tell each of you how proud I feel to join the outstanding group of professionals who serve the Organization in Vienna and the field. Serving a body that is based on the values, standards and ambitions adopted by 55 countries is a special duty — and a special privilege — for all of us. It requires our very best efforts. My goal is to help and enable each of you to give your best.”

He expressed his strong belief that the OSCE remained relevant and vital to the citizens of all its participating States and beyond. “The difficulties that the Organization experiences reflect the broader problems that our societies encounter,” he said. “It should be our common determination to contribute to overcoming them. The reform process now under way within the Organization is a great opportunity for all of us.”

Since graduating from the *Ecole Nationale d'Administration* in Paris in 1974, Secretary General de Brichambaut has held senior positions and advisory roles in the French Government and diplomatic posts in Washington, D.C., New York and Vienna.

French President Jacques Chirac sent his best wishes to the new Secretary General, saying: “You know that the OSCE, with its role of promoting common values, peace and stability throughout the European continent, is of great importance to France.

“As a signatory of the Helsinki Final Act, France has accompanied the OSCE through all its changes. The Organization as we know it today has its origins in the Charter of Paris for a New Europe. Please be assured of France’s support in accomplishing your mission at the service of the OSCE.”

The OSCE Chairman-in-Office, Slovenian Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel, noted that Ambassador de Brichambaut was taking over just as the Helsinki Final Act was marking its thirtieth anniversary. It was also a challenging time, when the Organization was undergoing intensive discussions about its future. (As the *OSCE Magazine* went to press, the seven-member Panel of Eminent Persons, created in December 2004, was about to present its report, “Common Purpose”, on a strategic vision for the Organization in the twenty-first century.)

“His job will not be easy but I am confident that, with his enormous experience, Ambassador de Brichambaut will make a significant contribution to the reform process and that he will help to ensure that the OSCE remains dynamic and effective,” Minister Rupel said.

Marc Perrin de Brichambaut is the fourth Secretary General in the history of the CSCE/OSCE. The first Secretary General was Wilhelm Höynck of Germany (1993-1996), followed by Giancarlo Aragona of Italy (1996-1999) and Ján Kubiš of Slovakia, who has just completed two three-year terms (June 1999 to June 2005).

Senior French diplomat Marc Perrin de Brichambaut was named by the OSCE participating States in early June to succeed Ján Kubiš as the Organization’s Secretary General. His three-year term started officially on 21 June 2005.

A former Head of the French Delegation to the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, Ambassador de Brichambaut was serving as Director for Strategic Affairs at the French Defence Ministry when his new appointment was announced.

In a letter to OSCE staff, Secretary General de Brichambaut said, “I

Marc Perrin de Brichambaut: Expert in East-West and security issues

1974 Starts career at the *Conseil d'Etat*, France's highest administrative court, where he becomes an administrative judge.
1977-1981 Special Assistant to the United Nations Under-Secretary-General for International Economic and Social Affairs, New York.
1981-1983 Adviser to French Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson, focusing on development and disarmament.
1982-1986 Chief of Staff to Jean Lemery, Minister of European Affairs and later Foreign Affairs.
1987-1990 United Nations Counselor in the Swiss Embassy, Washington, D.C.
1991-1993 Deputy Minister, General Secretariat of the French Government.
1993-1995 Deputy Secretary-General of the French Delegation to the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, Vienna.



JÁN KUBIŠ: LEAVING A LEGACY

End of an era for “Mr. OSCE”

22 June 2005, Vienna:
“We are all grateful to
Ján Kubiš for assembling
the team that serves with
distinction in Vienna and
in the field missions,” said
new Secretary General
Marc Perrin de Blichambaut
(left) at his predecessor’s
farewell reception.
Photo: OSCE/
Alexander Nitzsche

The man who led the OSCE for more than half of its 10-year existence as an organization stepped down in June. Ambassador Ján Kubiš of Slovakia relinquished his post as Secretary General after completing two three-year terms. The veteran diplomat marked his departure in characteristically low-key style, hosting a reception for delegations and Secretariat staff at the Hofburg on 22 June and addressing the Permanent Council for the last time on 23 June.

Ambassador Maria-Pia Kothbauer of Liechtenstein, the Dean of the OSCE diplomatic corps, praised Ambassador Kubiš for his extensive knowledge of the Organization and his expertise in European affairs. Describing him as “Mr. OSCE for the last six years”, she singled out his amazing memory, personal modesty and low profile as defining characteristics. In an interview with the *OSCE Magazine* on his last day in office, Ambassador Kubiš reflected on his close association with the Organization throughout his career as a diplomat.

**BY RICHARD MURPHY AND
WALTER KEMP**

“I have seen the OSCE evolve from an instrument for bridging a Cold War divide into a tool for building a united Europe on the basis of shared democratic values,” Ján Kubiš said. “We have changed from a series of conferences

into an organization. We are much more operational, better organized and better managed than we were a decade ago. OSCE Missions and Institutions are a proven success.”

But, the outgoing Secretary General added, the OSCE was still not used to its full potential by its 55 participating States. “The OSCE is under-utilized. There have



13 January 2003, Vienna.
Ján Kubiš with Austrian
Foreign Minister Benita
Ferrero-Waldner and Dutch
Foreign Minister Jaap de
Hoop Scheffer during the
Netherlands' Chairmanship
of the OSCE

been a lot of important declarations but the Organization has never become the primary tool for conflict prevention, crisis management and post-conflict rehabilitation that it was intended to be. That is a pity. Our political leaders need to reinvigorate the OSCE as a forum for high-level political dialogue.”

Following the delay in adopting the OSCE's 2005 budget, which was not agreed until May this year, Ambassador Kubiš said he was concerned about the possible re-opening of East-West dividing lines in Europe.

LEGITIMATE INTEREST

“I was unpleasantly surprised to hear language reminiscent of the Cold War being used again, with some countries talking about interference in their internal affairs. Language like this is inappropriate in the modern OSCE. The fact is that the implementation of the Organization's commitments is a matter of legitimate interest for all OSCE countries.”

Nevertheless, Ambassador Kubiš did not accept the view that the OSCE was in crisis.

“Crisis implies huge stress, sometimes to breaking point, and I don't believe that is the case. Like all international organizations, this one needs reform and needs to readjust its work priorities. That is natural.

“The Organization needs to remain relevant for all its participating States – for all of us. There might be differences of opinion, which is normal and healthy, but there are no longer two blocs as in the Cold War. The basic set of values and commitments is

the same for everyone.”

However, the OSCE should define a new strategic vision and continuously adapt itself to a changing European security environment, he said. “We need to take calls for change seriously if we are to maintain our efficiency and credibility in the eyes of all of our participating States.”

Ambassador Kubiš said the job of Secretary General was occasionally frustrating but never dull. “It was an honour and a challenge and I enjoyed it immensely. I will never regret my years at the OSCE.”

Visiting OSCE field missions — currently 18 — always provided a morale boost. “I can't tell you how exhilarated and happy I was whenever I visited our field offices, seeing often very young people working effectively to assist host countries with their development. They are the ones who make the OSCE relevant to ordinary people.”

KEY TEST

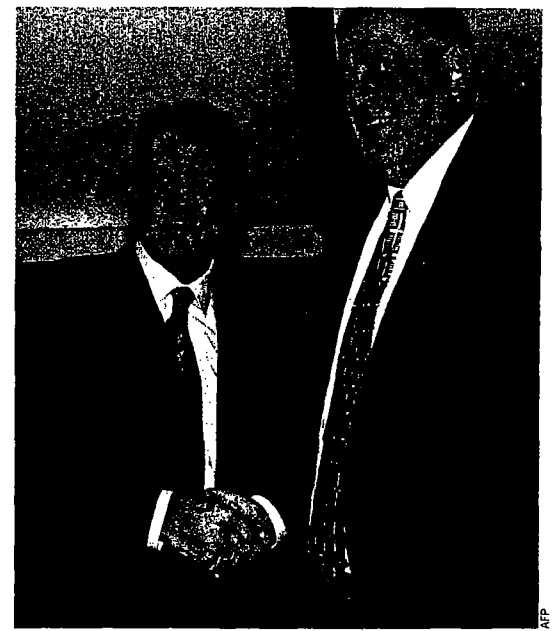
Relevance to the lives of ordinary people was the theme taken up by Ján Kubiš in his farewell address to the Permanent Council.

“It is not only the inter-governmental characteristics of the OSCE that are important. What matters is when it helps to improve the lives of normal people,” he said. “That is the key test of the Organization's relevance and that is how we must judge our success.”

Asked to describe some of the major disappointments during his term, he cited the unresolved conflicts in Georgia, Moldova and Nagorno-Karabakh.



August 1999, Kosovo Police Service School: The newly appointed Secretary General is briefed by School Director Steve Bennett and Head of the OSCE Mission in Kosovo, Ambassador Daan Everts (right).



26 November 2004, Kyiv: Opposition leader Viktor Yushchenko welcomes Ján Kubiš during the international mediation efforts to resolve Ukraine's political crisis.

"It is difficult for me to accept that, after 10 to 15 years, we are still facing so-called frozen conflicts. There have been a good number of efforts to resolve these conflicts but with no major results. I am not happy about this."

On the positive side, recent highlights included the OSCE's active role as part of the international mediation effort after the disputed presidential elections in Ukraine in late 2004 and the dispatch of an OSCE Election Support Team to Afghanistan — the Organization's first "out-of-area" activity.

"It was very gratifying to see the OSCE play such a constructive role in helping to end the political crisis in Ukraine. We were undoubtedly among the best prepared and best informed participants in the process," said Ambassador Kubiš, who represented the OSCE at the mediation talks in Kyiv.

The Afghanistan operation was a tribute to the operational effectiveness of the Organization — in particular the Secretariat, he said. "The successful deployment of the Election Support Team proved that the OSCE is able to react quickly and effectively to new tasks when called upon, in a way few international organizations can match."

He saw considerable scope for sharing the Organization's 30-year experience of co-operative security with other countries outside the OSCE area. "I believe we should build on the Afghan experience and not hesitate to reach beyond our participating States and engage in concrete activities, especially with our Mediterranean and Asian Partners."

Management reform took up much of Ambassador Kubiš' second term as Secretary General. He was proud about what had been done to make the workings of the Organization more efficient and transparent, giving credit to the former Director for Management and Finance, Michael von der Schulenburg, who spearheaded the IRMA management programme.

IRMA (Integrated Resource Management System) is an IT tool that allows a co-ordinated and comprehensive management of activities — from setting up operations and planning strategy, to mobilizing and managing resources, and reporting on progress to OSCE participating States.

"Much remains to be done, but this Organization has taken great strides in increasing our capacity to turn policy decisions into concrete operations, speedily and flexibly. In the process, we have improved cost-efficiency, transparency and our accountability to participating States," he said.

"Other international organizations, including the United Nations and the European Union, are following our progress with keen interest and we can all take pride in that."

POLITICAL ROLE

Asked if he had some advice for his successor, Marc Perrin de Brichambaut of France, Ambassador Kubiš replied: "Be bold. Use your mandate to the fullest possible."

He said the Secretary General should steer the operational work of the Organization, maintaining continuity



Ján Kubiš in his former office on Vienna's Ringstrasse

between annual Chairmanships, and should not shy away from an overtly political role. "The Secretary General is in a unique and privileged position in relation to the participating States and there is absolutely no problem with him playing a political role."

In his parting advice to participating States, Ambassador Kubiš singled out two things which he felt were fundamentally wrong with the Organization — personnel policy and the way the budget was agreed.

"The fact that all senior-level contracts are limited to a few years encourages brain-drain in an organization that should be trying to retain its best people," he told the Permanent Council. "We are effectively shooting ourselves in the foot. This is bad and short-sighted management."

He believed staff rules should be amended to allow longer terms for key staff without abandoning the basic "non-career" structure of the Organization.

On the budget, he made no secret of his frustration at the way OSCE delegations in Vienna had strayed into micro-management of the finances of the Secretariat and the Institutions, risking losing sight of the big political picture.

"We need to re-focus budgetary discussions at a political level," Ambassador Kubiš

said. "We should not get bogged down too often in budgetary details about relatively limited amounts of money, or waste time micro-managing the details of implementing approved decisions."

The outgoing Secretary General outlined his vision for the future of the Organization at the winter meeting of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly in February this year.

"I am now more convinced than ever that the concept of the comprehensive approach to security works," he told parliamentarians. "Soft multilateralism can make a difference."

Political commitments needed to be matched with action and determination to implement them. The OSCE should not become a framework for international acceptance of non-democratic regimes and legitimization of their policies.

"Hypocrisy will cost us dearly," he said.

Concluding, Ambassador Kubiš urged OSCE countries to re-unite around the common values that underpinned all the Organization's activities. "If the OSCE did not exist, we would have to invent it. Let us use it to the maximum."

Richard Murphy is OSCE Spokesperson and Head of the Press and Public Information Section. Walter Kemp is Senior Adviser, Office of the Secretary General.

Ján Kubiš: Three decades in the service of security and co-operation

1980-1985 Attaché and Third Secretary at the Embassy of Czechoslovakia in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

1985-1990 High-level positions in the Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Prague, including Head of the Security and Arms Control Section. Participation in several key negotiations within the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE), including talks concerning the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE).

1990-1991 Deputy Head of the Embassy of Czechoslovakia in Moscow

1991 Director-General, Euro-Atlantic Section, Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs

1992 Chairman of the Committee of Senior Officials of the CSCE under Czechoslovakia's Chairmanship of the CSCE

1993-1994 Permanent Representative of the Slovak Republic at the United Nations Office at Geneva

July 1994-July 1998 Director of the Conflict Prevention Centre, CSCE/OSCE Secretariat

1998-1999 Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General for Tajikistan and Head of the UN Mission of Observers in Tajikistan

June 1999-June 2005 Secretary General of the OSCE

Ambassador Kubiš was born in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, on 12 November 1952. He joined the diplomatic service in 1976, after graduating from the Moscow State Institute of International Relations. On 15 July 1998, he was awarded the OSCE Medal for his outstanding service to the Organization. In 2000, he also served as Special Representative of the OSCE Chairperson-in-Office for Central Asia.

Ján Kubiš: "Personification of peacekeeping"

GOVERNMENT OF TAJIKISTAN



After Tajikistan obtained its independence, it went through some difficult times and the role played by our friends throughout the world in overcoming our problems was very important indeed.

Among those who made a vast contribution to the attainment of peace and national harmony following a period of conflict in Tajikistan was Ján Kubiš. He first visited the country at the height of its instability, when he was Director of the OSCE's Conflict Prevention Centre.

Later, as the United Nations Secretary-General's Special Representative for Tajikistan, his tireless work gave him great authority not only in the country, but also throughout the international community.

His appointment as Secretary General of the OSCE immediately after the completion of his Tajik mission came as no surprise. In this senior post, too, Ambassador Kubiš has done a great deal to enhance co-operation among the participating States and with the United Nations. I often recall with great pleasure our numerous meetings during which questions related to strengthening the authority and the capabilities of the OSCE were discussed.

I would like to express sincere gratitude to Ján Kubiš for all that he has accomplished and to wish him every success in his future career.

Emomali Rakhmonov
President
Republic of Tajikistan



Ján Kubiš has been a trusted colleague and friend for many years. During his time at the helm of the OSCE Secretariat, relations between the OSCE and the United

Nations have grown ever stronger, in large part thanks to Ján's leadership qualities and his in-depth understanding of the dynamics of both our organizations.

Our working relationship dates back to 1998-1999, when Ján served as my Special Representative for Tajikistan — a crucial time in the implementation of the General Peace Agreement in that country. He was undaunted by the many political and security challenges that characterized that period.

Since he took office as OSCE Secretary General, co-operation between our two organizations in various regions has evolved productively — including in the South Caucasus, the Balkans and Central Asia — and has been strengthened by Ján's first-hand knowledge of those regions.

He leaves a valuable legacy with both our institutions, and I wish him all the best in the years ahead.

Kofi A. Annan
Secretary-General
United Nations



and "failed States" that cause instability in their own region and beyond.

To meet these challenges, we must apply political, military and economic instruments in a well-co-ordinated way. And that puts a premium on effective co-operation between our organizations.

The Balkans have demonstrated the potential for us to work together — for example, when we prevented civil strife in southern Serbia in 2000-2001, and brought together all interested parties in Ohrid in 2003 to work towards greater border security in the region.

I am determined to build on this experience and to explore further pragmatic co-operation in other functional and geographical areas because I firmly believe — along with Ján Kubiš — that a truly effective partnership between NATO and the OSCE will bring greater security for us all.

Jaap de Hoop Scheffer
Secretary General of NATO
Former Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands

It gives me great pleasure to highlight the increased co-operation between the OSCE and NATO as a very welcome development during Ján Kubiš' term as Secretary General of the OSCE. It is an objective which Ján has actively supported over the past six years, one which we worked for together when I was OSCE Chairman-in-Office in 2003, and which I will continue to promote during my own term in office as NATO's Secretary General.

We are confronted with new and complex challenges to our security — a lethal breed of terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction,

On behalf of the people and the Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan,



I would like to express my deepest gratitude for the extraordinary achievements of Ambassador Ján Kubiš during his two terms as Secretary General of the OSCE.

Since Afghanistan became an OSCE Partner for Co-operation in April 2003, our collaboration has grown steadily.

Ambassador Kubiš' continuing efforts to expand the relationship between the OSCE and my country culminated in the deployment of an OSCE Election Support Team in Afghanistan during the presidential election process in October 2004. The Support Team successfully met its goals, for which we are deeply grateful.

Through his dynamic leadership, professionalism and experience, Ambassador Kubiš was able to guide the OSCE Secretariat in accomplishing its many tasks.

We wish his successor well and hope he follows the same path of strengthening the bonds between the Organization and its Partners.

I wish Ján Kubiš good health and every success.

Abdullah Abdullah
Minister for Foreign Affairs
Islamic Republic of Afghanistan



On behalf of the Russian Federation, I wish to express my sincere appreciation to Secretary General Ján Kubiš for his outstanding service in the OSCE. His six years at the vanguard of our Organization have shown him to be a dedicated leader with deep insight into the intricate mechanisms of the OSCE.

Among his diverse accomplishments are a number of decisions aimed at streamlining the Secretariat and enhancing transparency in its work, and ensuring a more equitable geographical representation of staff in the OSCE central institutions and in the field.

Over the past years, he has personified the peacemaking mission of the OSCE, appearing in almost every trouble spot in the OSCE area and working selflessly to allay tensions and resolve underlying disputes.

Above all, Ambassador Kubiš has displayed unwavering commitment to the cause of reforming the Organization and forging it into an instrument of genuine and equal co-operation on pressing issues of pan-European security.

We are grateful for his unyielding efforts to enhance, in times of rapid change, the valuable functions of the OSCE in all its dimensions.

Ambassador Kubiš visited Moscow many times to meet senior Russian officials and has become known as a close friend of our country. His positive and dynamic approach to his work and his openness in listening to diverse opinions and in addressing the concerns of participating States which, even in the grip of harshest deadlock made compromise possible, have set an example for us to follow.

I wish him the best of luck in the years ahead and would like to encourage his successor to follow in the spirit he has embodied.

Vladimir Chizhov
Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs
Russian Federation

Ján Kubiš deserves much of the credit for the OSCE's great successes over the past six years of challenge and change for the Organization. His visionary leadership and firm stewardship of the OSCE will be sorely missed.

His contributions to the Organization extend beyond his service as Secretary General, dating from his participation in the Czechoslovakian Chairmanship in the early 1990s that played such an important role in making the then-CSCE relevant to post-Cold War Europe. As Secretary General, he has kept the OSCE focused on what it does best — reacting quickly, flexibly and robustly to fast-breaking developments.

Most recently, Ján was in the public eye for helping the OSCE support democracy in Kyrgyzstan. He was also an essential contributor to the OSCE's important work in the field, notably, the Organization's support for

democracy in Ukraine, its efforts to foster peace and bring hope to the people of Kosovo, and its positive response to the Serbian people's decision to end Slobodan Milosevic's authoritarian reign.

Whether behind the scenes or facing the international press corps, Ján has been an essential leader of the OSCE's successful efforts to support freedom and human rights, foster security and address conflict.

The Secretary General is responsible for the OSCE's day-to-day operations. Ján has kept the Organization functioning efficiently in the face of real challenges, including all-too-frequent budgetary uncertainty. We have not always agreed, as is to be expected in any organization of 55 geographically and historically diverse participating States. To Ján's credit, he has managed to take all our views into account and foster compromise, keeping our impor-



tant work in the field and in Vienna on track.

On behalf of Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice and a generation of U.S. officials, I want to express the deep appreciation of the United States for Ján's contributions to the OSCE and its missions. We wish him the very best in his future endeavours, and look forward to other opportunities to experience firsthand his intellect, diplomatic skills and boundless energy.

Robert A. Bradtke
Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for European and Eurasian Affairs
U.S. Department of State

I had the privilege of working closely with my friend, Ambassador Ján Kubiš, under Romania's OSCE Chairmanship in 2001 and when we were part of the OSCE Troika in 2000 and 2002.

During those challenging times for the Organization, I had the opportunity to team up with him. His hard work and dedication to the principles and goals of the OSCE made him an exemplary chief manager.

Ambassador Kubiš has demonstrated his skills in two main areas:

Firstly, within the Organization and in his dealings with the representatives of participating States, his counsel and expertise were valued and appreciated. Under the Romanian Chairmanship, he and his colleagues were our partners in carrying out our roles and responsibilities.

His voice added weight to our appeal to all parties in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia to put aside their differences and to make a genuine effort to reach a compro-

mise and work towards a lasting solution to the crisis. The Secretary General was always prepared to share his skills and capabilities with the peoples and the governments of Central Asia, applying his considerable experience on the ground. His dynamic approach is reflected in the active role of OSCE institutions and field missions today.

Secondly, the OSCE is an integral part of the web of international organizations dealing with security, human rights and economic issues, and it takes considerable talent and skill to co-ordinate and oversee co-operation with partner organizations, both at the political level and in the field.

I think that Ambassador Kubiš has succeeded very well in taking a pragmatic approach in this area.

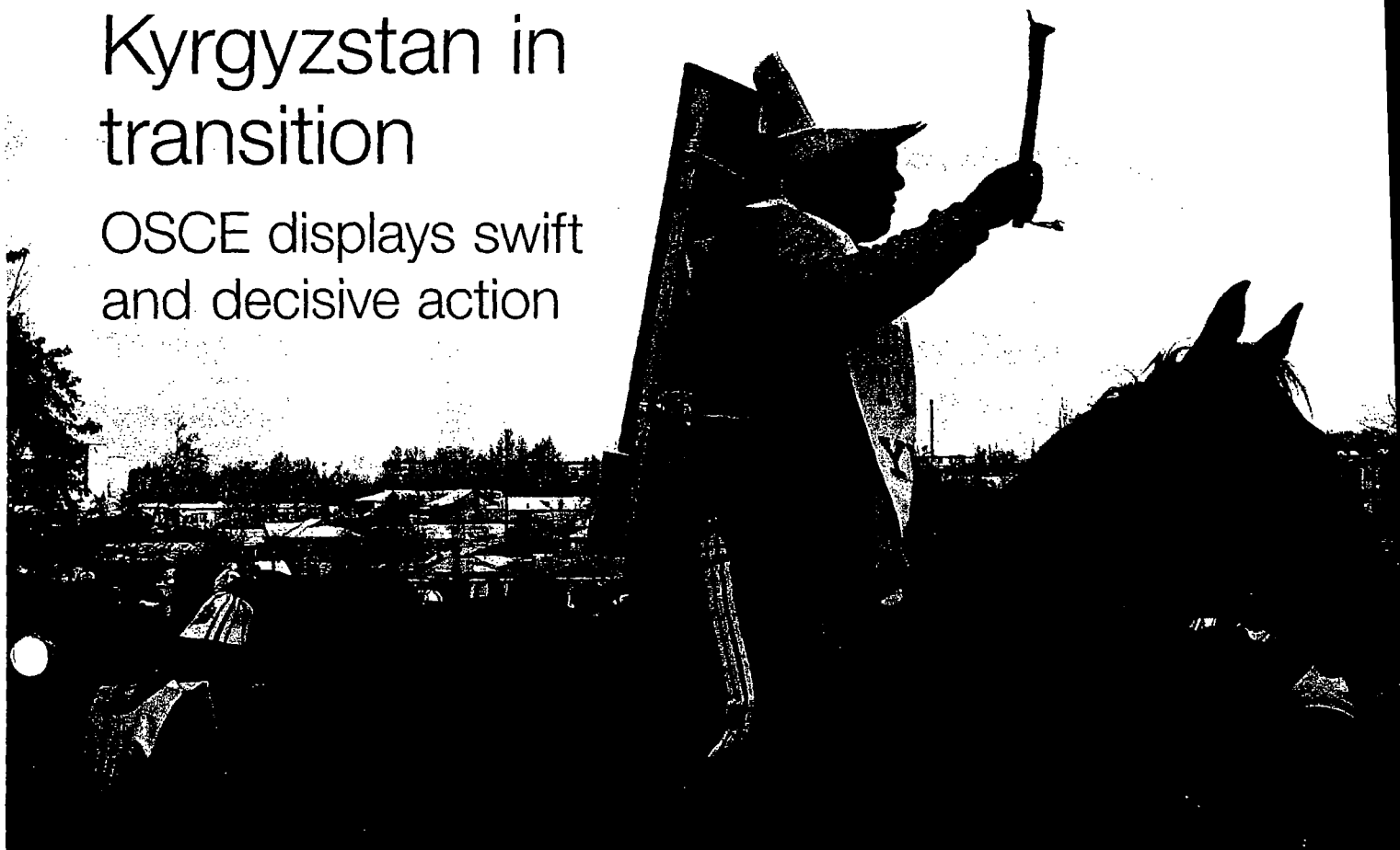
His outstanding competence in managing the OSCE sets an example to follow.

Mircea Geoana
Senator, Parliament of Romania
Chairman, Foreign Affairs Committee
Former Minister for Foreign Affairs



Kyrgyzstan in transition

OSCE displays swift and decisive action



Osh, 19 March: A man on horseback was among thousands of southern residents who took part in protest actions against the results of Kyrgyzstan's parliamentary election. Photo: Muhtar Irisov/OSCE

Why should the OSCE participating States care about the events that took place in Kyrgyzstan in March, and why should they spare no effort to assist the country at this critical juncture in its democratic development? The answers are obvious. In our globalized world, geographic distances no longer matter as much as they used to. The "local" suddenly finds itself on the global stage. Today, the impact of political and economic security in the countries of Central Asia extends far beyond their national borders.

BY ALOJZ PETERLE

In Kyrgyzstan, the long-simmering frustrations and grievances of the population reached the boiling point after the parliamentary elections in February and March 2005.

Following a series of scattered post-election protests in the southern region, which were initiated by candidates who were accusing the authorities of unfair electoral practices, the OSCE lost no time in trying to help contain the crisis.

As the gatherings attracted larger crowds and showed no signs of letting up, the most urgent task was to ensure that any attempt by authorities to control them would not entail the use of arms. A repeat of the fatal shootings at the mass rallies in the southern district of Aksy in 2002 was to be avoided at any cost. At the same time, the OSCE channelled its efforts into encouraging a political dialogue between President Askar Akaev and his opponents.

As soon as Government and opposition leaders had agreed to the OSCE's assuming the role of mediator, I flew to Bishkek on 24 March in my capacity as Personal Representative of the OSCE Chairman-in-Office to help ease the country's political tensions. It was to be the first of many visits in the following weeks.

I was in the middle of a meeting with then Foreign Minister Askar Aitmatov when we were suddenly interrupted by news that Bishkek's "White House" — the seat of government — had been stormed by demonstrators. Later, we learned that the President had left the country.



BERNARD SCHAMBERGER

Bishkek, 24 March: A peaceful demonstration unexpectedly led to a storming of Kyrgyzstan's government headquarters.

This unexpected turn of events changed the course of my mission profoundly, since one of the negotiating parties had disappeared. Furthermore, the security situation had spun out of control. With police and security forces backing off, public order broke down and widespread looting of business establishments in the capital took place unhampered during the night of 24 March and most of the next day.

It was an unusual situation, to say the least: At that moment, the country had de facto two presidents, two parliaments and diverse groups of demonstrators.

NEUTRAL PLATFORM

In the next few days, security in Bishkek improved visibly as a result of the re-establishment of new security forces under the co-ordination of former senior official Felix Kulov, who had been released from four years' imprisonment under the fallen government. At that point, the OSCE welcomed these moves towards stability.

After the country's one-day political and security vacuum, the OSCE quickly initiated a working relationship with the interim government, serving at the same time as a neutral platform for dialogue with the new leadership. With the OSCE providing a focal point for co-ordinated action, regular meetings were set into motion between the representatives of embassies, international organizations and NGOs.

As a matter of urgency, the OSCE appealed for law and order to be immediately restored. In all my discussions, politicians and private citizens alike said that the OSCE's police assistance programme, including the community policing component, was needed more than ever and that it was an opportune time to strengthen the capability and professionalism of the police service, especially in the South.

The Acting President, Kurmanbek Bakiev, and I agreed on the need for a joint Kyrgyz-

OSCE work plan aimed at bringing about stability and security in the country. Urgent as well as long-term tasks would be drawn up, with corresponding requirements for funding and personnel. This was done in cooperation with the European Union and the United Nations, and with bilateral embassies in Bishkek, which recognized the OSCE's leading role in this process.

Chairman-in-Office Dimitrij Rupel and the Permanent Council in Vienna provided me and the OSCE Centre in Bishkek with political advice. The Secretariat's professional support throughout the crisis will continue to be indispensable. The visits of the Chairman-in-Office and Secretary General Ján Kubiš to Kyrgyzstan gave further impetus to our efforts at the highest levels and drew wide media coverage, which is vital to securing broad support for our goals.

What is next for Kyrgyzstan?

With the presidential election of 10 July fast approaching, the eyes of the world will be on this important Central Asian republic as it goes through its first significant democratic test after the March upheaval and a period of fragile stability. Will it prove that it is ready to be part of the democratic family of nations by conducting a fair and transparent election, free of violence and intimidation?

CODE OF CONDUCT

In addition to the election assistance activities under the aegis of the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR), I believe that there is scope for the OSCE to play a productive role in facilitating dialogue among the presidential candidates, thus helping them to steer clear of polarizing the electorate during the voting season and beyond.

On a visit to Bishkek in early June, I called on Kyrgyzstan's presidential candidates to agree on a politically binding code of conduct — a "Charter of Accord" — on fairness in campaigning. Though not legally binding, the code would appeal to the sense of moral responsibility of the country's future leaders and would go a long way towards restoring public confidence in the political process. Regrettably, this goal was only partially reached as a few of the candidates refused to sign the Accord.

People's expectations are high. While many acknowledge that the campaign season is not the ideal time for their politicians to launch badly needed reforms, they are obviously keen to see an improvement in their lives once credibly-elected officials are in place.

It is likely, however, that Kyrgyzstan's transition phase will prove to be another trying time for the whole country. Large parts of the population have already faced up to the fact that replacing the former regime, granting the media greater freedom of expression, and making room for a more vibrant civil society will not necessarily rid the country of its deep-rooted ills as quickly as they would like.

This is why concrete and urgent assistance from the OSCE community — ranging from anti-corruption initiatives to entrepreneurship development schemes — is equally crucial before, during and after the elections.

Developments in Kyrgyzstan and, most recently, in Uzbekistan have shown that the effectiveness of the OSCE's long-term planning depends on its comprehensive diagnosis of a country's particular situation — and that there are no tailor-made solutions.

I believe that it is time for a strategic reconsideration as far as the future of Central Asia is concerned. There is no doubt that the dire economic plight in many countries in the region is a major destabilizing factor and that greater emphasis needs to be placed on this area — which does not necessarily mean we should be any less vigilant about the human dimension of the OSCE's involvement.

Let us now seize the opportunity that has been opened up to help Kyrgyzstan finally direct its energies towards its political and economic transformation, based

on a sound foundation of democracy, economic well-being and the rule of law.

In doing so, as the Chairman-in-Office reminds us constantly, we will also be doing ourselves a favour by demonstrating the Organization's continued relevance and its firm commitment to the security of Central Asia and the wider OSCE region.

Alojz Peterle, a member of the European Parliament, is the Personal Representative of the OSCE Chairman-in-Office for Central Asia. From 1990 to 1992, he served as Prime Minister of the first democratically elected Slovenian Government. He is also a former Foreign Minister.



Alojz Peterle (right) in Bishkek with Kyrgyzstan's Acting President Kurmanbek Bakiev

Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights: Election time-line in Kyrgyzstan



Residents of Aravshan, a village near Bishkek, prepare to vote in the second round of parliamentary elections.

27 February 2005: parliamentary elections.

Based on reports of 175 ODIHR observers from 28 countries, the elections are found to be more competitive than previous ones, but "sadly undermined by vote-buying, de-registration of candidates, interference with the media and a worryingly low confidence in judicial and electoral institutions on the part of voters and candidates".

13 March: second round of parliamentary elections. Elections are re-run in the 42 out of 75 single-mandate constituencies where the first ballot produced no outright winner. Based on reports of 82 short-term observers from 17 countries, the elections show some technical improvements, but "some areas of concern remained unchanged".

Late May: preparations for presidential election on 10 July. The ODIHR launches an Election Observation Mission, with 15 election experts based in Bishkek and 26 long-term observers deployed throughout the country. They are expected to be joined by about 300 short-term observers, working in two-person teams all across Kyrgyzstan, to monitor the opening of polling stations, the voting, the ballot-counting and the tabulation of results.

Investing in stability

Work plan
demonstrates
OSCE's
commitment to
Kyrgyzstan



Supporting the Chairmanship-in-Office in quickly and effectively reacting to developments in the OSCE area is a key function of the Conflict Prevention Centre. Following the dramatic events in Kyrgyzstan, I accompanied Alojz Peterle, Personal Representative of the Chairman-in-Office, on his visit to Bishkek in early April. The aim was to facilitate a process of political dialogue and negotiation in the country and to develop, together with the Kyrgyz authorities, key areas of assistance from the OSCE.

BY LAMBERTO ZANNIER

We had a number of meetings with Kyrgyz officials, representatives of political forces and civil society, and members of the international community in Bishkek. Together with Ambassador Markus Müller, Head of the OSCE Centre in Bishkek, we decided that the best way forward was to set up a concrete work plan, in co-operation with our Kyrgyz partners.

The work plan would contain the most essential elements needed to accomplish two goals: firstly, to avoid a deterioration in the situation in the country, and secondly, to stabilize the complex scenario that was emerging, pending a decision on the date of the presidential election.

Three factors set the stage for better conditions for the development of the work plan: the announcement of an election date, which we had advocated in our consultations and in a press statement; President Askar Akaev's resignation; and the concrete steps that were taken towards the rehabilitation of former Vice President Felix Kulov.

The first comprehensive version of the work plan was already completed when I returned to Vienna on 13 April. The following day, it was presented to the participating States. On 3 May, following further consul-

tations in Bishkek, the Kyrgyz Government gave its much-awaited approval of the plan.

The work plan identifies major priority areas in the short- and long-term and includes a list of individual projects. The OSCE Centre in Bishkek and its Field Office in Osh will play a pivotal role on the ground. We in the Conflict Prevention Centre are actively supporting them, while keeping all delegations in Vienna informed on behalf of the Chairmanship.

For the immediate future, it is crucial that Kyrgyzstan prepare itself well for the historic election on 10 July, and that the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR), as well as the Centre in Bishkek, actively contribute to this process. The ODIHR has received, and has accepted, an invitation to observe the election, and a major Election Observation Mission was deployed in late May.

It is also vital that law and order be maintained. In consultation with the Strategic Police Matters Unit, we have identified urgent tasks within the work plan's interim police projects. These include supporting the Kyrgyz police with advisers and trainers, and with essential equipment.

I am encouraged by the fact that the OSCE participating States are supporting our preventive approach at this time. It will, of course, be an expensive endeavour,

Emotions ran high at the central Ala-Too Square a few hours before the march to Bishkek's White House.
Photo: Gerhard Schaumberger

with several projects requiring immediate funding, and I am pleased that a number of countries have already stepped forward with pledges.

In the medium term, work on freedom of the media, and assistance directed towards economic growth and in ecological matters, should be at the forefront of the OSCE's activities in the country. Another priority is building effective and inclusive institutions reflecting the needs of the broad cross section of Kyrgyz society.

In the longer term, challenges include tackling legislative shortcomings, fighting corruption and continuing to promote OSCE standards and commitments in different fields.

By addressing each of these key issues, we in the OSCE are demonstrating our firm commitment and resolve to contribute to a more peaceful, prosperous and democratic Kyrgyzstan.

It is now time for implementation.

Ambassador Lamberto Zannier, Director of the OSCE Secretariat's Conflict Prevention Centre (CPC), heads a 45-member team. Part of the Organization's Secretariat in Vienna, the CPC is often described as the "information hub" for all field activities. It supports the Chairman-in-Office and the Secretary General in implementing the Organization's tasks in early warning, conflict prevention, crisis management and post-conflict rehabilitation.



Kyrgyzstan: Counting on the OSCE

The OSCE's objective view is a prerequisite for fair, honest and transparent elections, said Kurmanbek Bakiev, Acting President of Kyrgyzstan, on 30 May. He was addressing the Permanent Council in Vienna just two months after the change of regime in his country. Here are excerpts from his address and from his press statement:

Let me express my gratitude to the OSCE Secretariat and the Slovenian Chairmanship for their assistance in developing the special OSCE work plan to ensure stability and sustainable democratic and economic development in the Kyrgyz Republic, and also my hope that it will be approved as soon as possible and will receive the financial support of the OSCE participating States.

There have been a lot of discussion and varying interpretations of the events of 24 March in the international mass media. The "people's revolution" in the Kyrgyz Republic was due mainly to a regression in the democratic governance of the country, a high level of corruption and low living standards.

The final factor that exhausted the people's patience was the two rounds of parliamentary elections in February and March this year.

The people of Kyrgyzstan — and this is set out in the Constitution — have been able to demonstrate their ownership of power, with the support of the country's political parties, community-based organizations and NGOs.

Corruption has penetrated so deeply into all aspects of our lives that we will have to continue addressing this problem for a long time to come. The Government attaches the highest priority right now to fighting it, and to further pro-

moting the principles of democratization, reducing poverty and improving living standards.

Some 94 per cent of the country's area is covered by mountains, and the rural people, especially those living in the mountainous areas, have a very low standard of living. The Government must focus on this problem.

We are also counting on our long-time co-operation with the OSCE. Security issues and action to combat terrorism and trafficking in narcotic drugs and human beings, as well as other cultural, humanitarian

and economic issues, are extremely important; nevertheless, we believe that, given the current situation, the country's economic development must be at the top of the agenda.

Co-operation with OSCE experts and their

objective assessments are extremely important for the Kyrgyz Republic. They will make it possible for us to hold elections that are free from serious irregularities, are based on the principles of fairness, honesty and transparency, and are in compliance with OSCE standards.

Kurmanbek Bakiev is running for the presidency of Kyrgyzstan in July. He served as Prime Minister for more than a year (2001-2002), and as Governor of Chui province (1997-2000) and of Jalal-Abad province (1995-1997).



A little boy in the nomadic community around Charyn-Kul Lake near the Chinese border plays with an OSCE key chain. The picture was part of an exhibition of the work of French photographer Eric Gourjan at the Hofburg in May. www.regard.com/fr



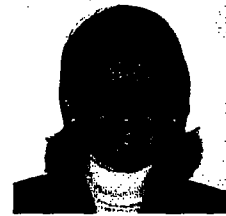
ALEXEY DUNDICH, 23, RUSSIAN



DILDORA KHAMIDOVA, 22, UZBEK
FROM OSH, KYRGYZSTAN



JONATHAN KOROWICZ, 31, IRISH



NURIA KUTNAEVA, 27, KYRGYZ



ALEXANDRU NARTEA, 24, MOLDO

OSCE as mediator in Kyrgyzstan

Young people in Central Asia stress role of dialogue

Some three weeks after the unrest in Kyrgyzstan, the *OSCE Magazine* invited the first candidates for the one-year master's programme in political science at the OSCE Academy in Bishkek to give their candid comments on developments in the country and the role of the OSCE in stabilizing the situation. Despite the fact that they were in the middle of thesis-writing in anticipation of their graduation in July, 10 of the 40 students responded to the call. Several wrote well-crafted analytical and personal essays that deserve more space than the *Magazine* could offer. For a full transcript of the contributions, please write to: osce-magazine-at@osce.org

The chain of events that triggered the Kyrgyz revolution seems like a poorly managed series of accidents. The Kyrgyz people protested against electoral violations, but what happened then — an evening of looting — was not at all in keeping with revolutionary democratic principles.

The Tajiks lament: "They do not know what war is; they do not know what they're doing." The Uzbeks are baffled: "Imagine if we were to behave that way." The Russians take the concerned, geopolitical view that it is "a crack, a split in the security map". Etcetera. And against this background, the Georgians and the Ukrainians, who rushed to associate the Kyrgyz people with the Orange Revolution, rejoiced for their brothers-in-arms, but in their haste did not pay attention to how the situations differed.

Nonetheless, despite the contradictory nature of the outcome of the revolution, it was certainly a progressive element in the process of the country's development. The time has come for change, something which was scarcely possible under "family rule". What changes will occur will depend upon the specific nature of the government. The Russian Revolution of 1917 had profound consequences. The Kyrgyz version: to be continued.

Alexey Dundich

The fact that many people in the capital blamed the southern population for organizing the demonstrations, calling them "wild Southerners", upset me. Yes, the protests started in my home town, but the population of Osh just wanted the election results to be reviewed.

Of course there is a need for change, but I feel that the course of change is more important than change itself. Will the opposition bring peace, democracy and welfare to the people of Kyrgyzstan? For me, this is a key question, and right now I don't feel that optimistic about it.

After the events in March, I believe that conflicts should be an integral part of democratic societies, in the sense that they help introduce changes that make societies healthier. The challenge, though, is how to keep conflicts peaceful and non-destructive. My studies at the OSCE Academy are providing me with the opportunity for a fruitful debate about the nature of conflicts and better ways of dealing with them.

Since Russians and Uzbeks account for a significant proportion of the electorate, I think that the OSCE should involve ethnic representatives in the election commission.

Dildora Khamidova





RAKHMAJON SOBIROV, 24, UZBEK



DANIYAR SUYUNOV, 24, KYRGYZ
FROM UZBEKISTAN



JAFAR USMANOV, 22, TAJIK



VIOLETTA YAN, 26, KYRGYZSTANI
BORN IN TOMSK, RUSSIA



DINARA ZARIPOVA, 26, KYRG

I reacted to the March events with a mixture of concern, surprise and fascination, along with a healthy measure of cynicism and the hope that events would not work against the population.

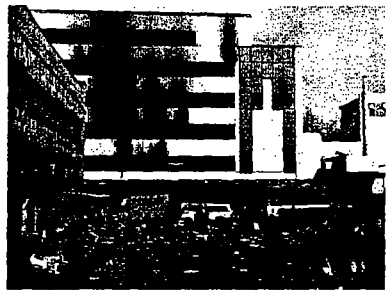
As an Irishman who had been living in Kyrgyzstan for almost four years, I had wondered at the contradictions of the old order.

Never had the police been so wanted in Bishkek! While many people took advantage of the absence of law enforcers by taking part in the lootings, many police officers and ordinary citizens showed civic pride and responsibility by defending the capital, expressing solidarity with their compatriots, and presenting a united front against lawlessness.

The OSCE should continue to work with the country's law enforcers, taking advantage of the experiences that many of them went through during the two weeks of unrest. Many realized for the first time that authority is a

matter of commanding respect and that respect is earned by standing up for principles that are worthy of respect.

Some point out that the tribal nature of Kyrgyz society implies that the Central Asian States are fragmented



and that tensions can only be balanced, not reconciled. While history has an important part to play, this does not mean that Central Asia cannot by itself and with the goodwill of its neighbours become a stable and prosperous region.

Jonathan Korowicz

On 24 and 25 March, national television was showing cartoons while foreign news agencies were depicting the same violent scenes over and over again.

Perhaps the events of 24 March cannot be called a "revolution" in the strict sense of the word. However, there is no denying that the revolution did happen in the minds of the people. Just three months earlier, they would never have thought it possible for their demands to be heard. In the spring of 2005, people started believing in their own possibilities. This belief should be steered in a positive direction.

Now people are aware that every vote counts. However, the country's political culture is still not well developed. One of the negative consequences of the revolution is that people understand power from the perspective of being

part of a crowd — as in the "self-acquisition" of plots of land near Bishkek.

The most crucial task now is to prevent a civil war from erupting. In fact, however, the Kyrgyz people are being forced into just such a conflict — witness the regionalization and tribalization of politics, and the sowing of the seeds of intranational and interethnic discord.

Nuria Kutnaeva

The events proved that "rule of law" and "peace and order" are not abstract concepts, but do affect everyone. Unfortunately, it is only when these are taken away from our everyday lives that we start appreciating them.

I believe that the OSCE is the most appropriate organization to deal with situations such as the one in Kyrgyzstan. The Organization's support should focus on reconciliation and dialogue between the old and new stakeholders, and between civil society and the authorities.

Various observers have been offering a prognosis regarding possible similar scenarios in other post-Soviet States. I doubt

whether there will be a spillover effect in my own country, Moldova, where internal political developments are quite stable. However,

the events in Kyrgyzstan should send a clear message to all leaders in the CIS region: Power should be exercised only on behalf of the best interests of the people.

Alexandru Nartea



I believe that the events in Kyrgyzstan are providing food for thought in my country — both for the Government and for the people. I would not wish to have a Kyrgyz scenario in Uzbekistan, where it might result in an even more disastrous outcome. My country's government authorities, I believe, will not ignore the events in the neighbouring country.

However, this should not imply that every means should be employed to avert similar events. Instead, the Uzbek Government should do its best to prevent violence by getting rid of the main reasons for popular dissatisfaction, such as poverty, human rights violations and lack of transparency.

For their part, the OSCE participating States should observe the developments in Central Asia attentively and be ready to respond to changes in the region. The OSCE's comprehensive approach to security can cope in crisis situations only if the approach is balanced and truly "three-dimensional". This is sometimes difficult and requires teamwork among the participating States.

Support for the newly established OSCE Academy is crucial. By investing in the future decision-makers of Central Asia, this educational institution can be a leader in the promotion of OSCE principles throughout the region.

Rakhmadjon Sobirov

Recent events in Bishkek have shown that change has begun in the Central Asian region and that this phenomenon is irreversible.

It is clear that the Kyrgyz Government does not have the experience or the resources necessary to solve the many problems that have been building up in the country. Regular roundtable discussions, aimed at seeking solutions, should be initiated. These should involve government officials and representatives of civil society, international organizations and the media, with the OSCE acting as an independent arbiter.

Resolving even just one problem successfully and then publicizing the fact through the media would go a long way towards demonstrating that issues can be dealt with through negotiations in the framework of the law.

Daniyar Suyunov

"We did it!" This expression of deep relief and satisfaction could be heard from almost everyone on the evening of 24 March, right after the seizure of the government headquarters.

Have there been any lessons learned? Central Asians are still confusing — consciously or unconsciously — the notion of democracy with that of total permissiveness. Authorities are confident that they will rule their respective "estates" for decades. Citizens yearn to learn what "civil society" is all about; they try to be that civil society, but not to behave like a civilized crowd.

The OSCE should hold regular meetings and consultations with all the political forces in Kyrgyzstan to prevent an escalation of the current crisis. A "North-South" dialogue should draw in people from different backgrounds. Representatives of government, political parties and NGOs should be offered training to improve the country's political culture.

Jafar Usmanov

Will the transfer of power in Kyrgyzstan be peaceful? This concern was what had motivated me to choose the parliamentary elections as the topic of my master's thesis, which I started writing in January.

The events in March made me realize how peace and stability can be fragile if the Government fails to communi-

cate with its population, if the rule of law is widely disregarded, and if pre-conceived notions about the public's supposed reluctance to engage in politics dominate the early-warning approach.

While watching reports on CNN in the Situation Room of the OSCE's Prevention Centre, where I was an intern, I could not help wishing that the media would interpret the events in Bishkek correctly so as not to contribute to the escalation of the conflict. After all, it was my city and my country and I, as a citizen, would inevitably be responsible for dealing with any possible consequences.

The OSCE's "exclusive" early-warning approach should continue to be a trademark of the Organization in the Kyrgyz Republic and in Central Asia as a whole.

Violetta Yan

I was disappointed by the flight of the President at a time when the country was in deep trouble. If he had stayed, it would have shown that he cared about Kyrgyzstan's future and he might still have commanded people's respect, even after resigning.

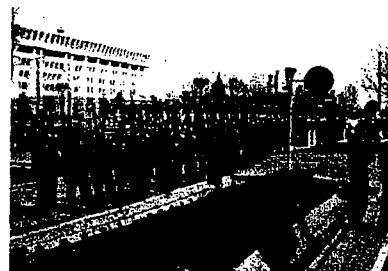
Some of the consequences of the events are: The country's constitutional and legal framework has been undermined, including through the illegal seizure of lands; people believe that everything can be solved through the use of force and by evading the law; more people, especially those who are Russian-speaking, want to leave the country; and a North-South division of the country is a possibility.

One of the country's greatest needs is greater transparency in the decision-making process. The OSCE should bring its influence to bear on the Government to ensure that decisions are taken in an open manner and that professionalism is the major criterion in making appointments.

Dinara Zaripova

Gerhard Schaumberger, former educational expert at the OSCE Academy, and Dinara Asanbaeva, Academic Supervisor, co-ordinated the students' contributions. For more on the OSCE Academy, an independent public foundation since August 2004, please access: www.osce-academy.net/en

Scenes from a revolution, on pages 16 to 18, were captured by Urban Karlsson, Community Policing Expert (Sweden) in the OSCE's Police Assistance Programme, Kyrgyzstan.



HELSINKI FINAL ACT 1975 - 2005

Thirty years ago in *Pravda*



The idea of a pan-European security conference was raised by the Soviet Union in the 1950s and brought up again in the mid-1960s. In 1969, the western alliance indicated its readiness to take part in such a gathering provided certain conditions were met, including a discussion of conventional disarmament in Europe and the inclusion of human rights issues. Obstacles were overcome in the early 1970s, and finally the preparatory talks were launched in November 1972, with Finland serving as host. The signing of the Helsinki Final Act, wrote two *Pravda* correspondents, was "a victory for all who cherish peace and security on our planet". Here are excerpts from their joint report on the landmark event of 1 August 1975:

Triumph of reason

This is a day we shall remember — people will be speaking and writing about it for many a year; it will go into the history books as one of the most important landmarks on the road to lasting peace in Europe. The document that was signed today in Finlandia Hall by the leaders of 35 States will not only be studied by politicians, diplomats and historians, it will be seen as belonging to millions and millions of ordinary people.

The signing of the Final Act may be seen as the practical implementation of efforts to achieve détente whose necessity was referred to at the Conference by the head of the Soviet delegation, Leonid Brezhnev, General-Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It is precisely this practical achievement that must be our main endeavour, that lies at the heart of everything that is needed to make peace in Europe truly stable and durable. And the cornerstone of all this, in our view, is the task of stopping the arms race and attaining genuine results in our efforts to achieve disarmament.

Today was the third and final day of this pan-European Conference. During the debates, Europe and North America once again, as yesterday and the day before, displayed to the whole world, in extraordinary diversity, their complex and to some extent conflicting views of public affairs. And once again we saw very clearly — without for a moment wishing to belittle these complexities and differences of opinion — that it is possible and indeed essential to find a common denominator for the vital interests, hopes and aspirations of all the States taking part in the Conference. This common denominator is a very short and eloquent word — peace, the need for peace.

... And so the debates are over. The clocks read 16.45 local time. The delegates leave the hall. These three days of joint effort have brought many of them closer together and given them a better understanding of each other's positions — although no one is inclined to close his eyes to the fact that differences of principle persist in some cases. On the whole, the atmosphere in the corridors is one of elation.

17.00 hours, and the participants again fill the hall, while the heads of delegation take their place at the rostrum. At this closing ceremony, the President of Finland, Urho Kekkonen, presides. The Final Act, wrapped in a green cover, is in fact a fairly volumi-

nous book. Its text is reproduced in full in this edition of *Pravda*. What it is in reality is a vast charter for peaceful co-existence, and this is what it is called at the press centre by most political observers.

When the festive signing ceremony is completed, everyone, all participants in the Conference and press representatives, rise to their feet. The vaults of Finlandia Hall resound to prolonged applause, with which all present in the hall welcome the successful conclusion of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe.

A solid foundation of basic principles has been laid down for relations between participating States, principles designed to define standards for their behaviour in mutual relationships. The Conference determined the direction and the specific forms to be taken in co-operation in other areas as well, for instance in trade and economic relations as well as in science and technology, environmental protection, culture, education, and contacts

between people, institutions and organizations.

Possibilities for co-operation now extend into areas where it would have been unthinkable in the days of the Cold War. We now have, for example, far broader exchanges of information in the interests of peace and friendship among peoples.

One is bound to agree in particular with the conclusions of the Finnish newspaper *Kansan Uutiset* which wrote, "The spirit of this Conference is oriented towards the future, and one must hope that the day-to-day practice of our continent and international relations in general will bear witness to a consolidation of the lofty principles enshrined in the signed documents."

The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe has now ended. What has been achieved, as Mr. Brezhnev said in his statement, is a triumph of reason from which all of us stand to gain: The countries of the

East and of the West, the peoples of the socialist and capitalist countries, participants in alliances and those who have remained neutral, small countries and large ones. This is a victory for all who cherish peace and security on our planet.

Helsinki, 1 August 1975

Yuri Zhukov and Yuri Kuznetsov

Special Correspondents, Pravda

(Translated by OSCE Language Services)



At the State dinner for the delegates in Helsinki, Finland's President Urho Kekkonen (foreground, left), converses with Janos Kadar, First Secretary, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. Holding their own discussion across the table are Archbishop Makarios, President of Cyprus, U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and U.S. President Gerald Ford.



Moldovan schools in Transdnistria:

An uphill battle against “linguistic-cleansing”

In the summer of 2004, 15-year old orphan Igor Dabija became something of a media celebrity. He shared his story with television audiences in Moldova, Romania, Ukraine and Russia, and an interview with him was much sought after by every major news agency. Despite this fleeting brush with fame, however, Igor and his friends in the Republican Orphanage in Bender, near Tiraspol, are not especially keen to see journalists and camera crews descending on their school again anytime soon.

**BY GOTTFRIED HANNE AND
CLAUS NEUKIRCH**

The Bender orphanage and its 320 wards ranging from 6 to 17 years old came under the international spotlight in late July last year, along with other schools in the country's Transdnistrian region that conduct classes in the Romanian language using the Latin alphabet. In Bender and Rybnitsa, hundreds of schoolchildren and their teachers kept a protective vigil over their buildings. They had been horrified to learn how the Transdnistrian militia forcibly closed down the Moldovan lyceum in Tiraspol, and they wanted to make sure the scene was not repeated.

“I am here to defend my school because it holds the key to my future,” Igor told a television journalist. The boy, who was abandoned by his parents, added: “I don't have anything else in life that is as precious to me.”

Although in the end Igor's school was spared, his classmates and his teachers remain anxious about the likelihood of their having to come to the defence of their schools once again.

“This coming summer, we will all stay here at the orphanage and will not leave for our regular summer camps”, says Maria Ungereanu, director of the Bender orphanage.

William Hill, Head of the OSCE Mission to Moldova, is just as concerned. “Negotiations between educational experts from Moldova proper and from Transdnistria resumed in the spring, but so far we have not achieved a lasting solution to the school conflict,” the Ambassador said.

The plight of Moldovan schools in Transdnistria has figured prominently in the agenda of the OSCE Mission and the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities since early 1993. The contentious issue is a lingering remnant of the armed conflict

July 2004: Orphans in Bender return from their annual summer camp only to find their school shut down by Transdnistrian militia.

Photo: OSCE Mission to Moldova/Liliana Sorrentino



OSCE MISSION TO MOLDOVA/KRISTIN FRANKLIN

Two girls take a gloomy look over the remains of their school in Tiraspol after it was raided by the Transdniestrian militia on 15 July 2004. Repair work lasted until February 2005.

The OSCE Mission to Moldova, based in the capital, Chisinau, was officially established in February 1993 and started operations the following April. It opened a branch office in the Transdniestrian administrative centre, Tiraspol, in February 1995 and an office in Bender in May 2003.



MAP: OSCE MAGAZINE/NOVA RELUTER

between Transdniestrian and Moldovan forces in 1992, which left several hundreds of human casualties and some 100,000 refugees in its wake.

Shortly after the pro-Moscow Transdniestrian authorities had firmly entrenched themselves in power, they reintroduced the use of the Cyrillic alphabet, in keeping with Soviet policy that considers Moldovan (essentially Romanian) in Cyrillic as a different language from Romanian.

CONSTANT INTIMIDATION

However, Moldovan schools in the cities of Bender, Tiraspol, Rybnitsa and Dubasari, as well as those in the villages of Corjova and Roghi (see map) have continued to offer instruction in the Latin script, in line with the Moldovan Ministry of Education curriculum. Undeterred by the local authorities' constant intimidation, teachers have been educating more than 4,000 children in their native language as best they can, using the Latin alphabet to which Moldova reverted in 1989.

The unstable situation has left Moldovan parents in a quandary. If they enrol their children in one of the schools that offer a Moldovan curriculum using the Latin script, they risk being threatened by the regional security service, and seeing their jobs put in jeopardy. Sending their children to one of the 33 Transdniestrian schools that teach in their native language in Cyrillic is, however, hardly an appealing alternative, as the schools follow an outdated curriculum and use textbooks from the Soviet period.

Furthermore, nowhere in the world — even in Transdnistria — are there institutes

of higher education that teach Romanian in Cyrillic. Bluntly put, the authorities' insistence on the Cyrillic script means that Moldovan children in Transdnistria are deprived of their right to receive higher education in their mother tongue.

Caught in this no-win situation, many of the parents choose to enrol their children in one of the Russian-language schools, where the learning environment is free of harassment and educational methods are relatively up to date. Resorting to an even more drastic step, some families simply opt to uproot themselves from their home base and relocate to Moldova proper.

It was these "strong-arm" assimilation measures in Transdnistria that led Rolf Ekeus, the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities, to call the region's education policy "nothing less than linguistic cleansing". Addressing the OSCE's Permanent Council in Vienna in October 2004, he called Transdnistria's measures provocative, illegal and inhuman.

"The Transdnistrian policy of suppressing the State language of the Republic of Moldova is unacceptable not only because it violates the fundamental rights of ethnic Moldovans but also because it impedes the determining of a special status for Transdnistria and the bringing about of a final conflict settlement in Moldova," Ambassador Ekeus said.

Since 1994, every summer without fail, the same uneasiness has set in and the same disputes have arisen over whether or not the schools are to be allowed to re-open in September. Also without fail, the OSCE Mission and the High Commissioner step



OSCE MISSION TO MOLDOVA/ILIANA SCORRENTINO



OSCE MISSION TO MOLDOVA/REG COOK

1 September 2004: The first day of school is hardly cause for celebration at the Moldovan school in Rybnitsa. Parents and teachers gather on the banks of the Dniestr as pupils are still without a school building.

July 2004: Transnistrian militia try to stop pupils from entering the Bender orphanage but eventually they manage to sneak back into their rooms.

up their year-round mediation efforts.

In 2003, experts from the High Commissioner's office and the OSCE Mission to Moldova were able to broker a comprehensive breakthrough agreement according to which Moldovan schools in the six localities would be changed from public to private academic institutions, to be financed by the central Moldovan authorities. The intention was to enable schools to offer a Latin-script Moldovan curriculum.

The euphoria over the agreement turned out to be short-lived. Radical circles within the Transnistrian leadership refused to compromise, and the crisis escalated to new heights.

DEFUSING TENSION

On 15 July 2004, members of the Transnistrian militia stormed the Moldovan school in Tiraspol, destroying parts of the building, removing the furniture, textbooks and archives, and declaring the facilities and other school property confiscated. Transnistrian authorities also declared the Latin-script schools in Bender and Rybnitsa closed, disconnecting their

power, water and gas supplies. Finding themselves surrounded by regional forces, students and their parents and teachers took it upon themselves to guard their schools day and night.

To defuse the potentially explosive climate, members of the OSCE Mission, with some help from their colleagues in the Secretariat, took turns monitoring the schools in Bender and Rybnitsa from sunrise to sunset, seven days a week.

Under the watchful eyes and interference of Transnistrian security forces, they delivered food and drinking water to the besieged children in the orphanage, who managed to hold out for more than a month despite unbearably unhygienic conditions.

Meanwhile, the Mission continued to pursue talks with local authorities on the terms for the withdrawal of the militia and the re-opening of the schools — to no avail, as the authorities adamantly refused to enter into any negotiations. On 29 July, Transnistrian militia also stormed the school in Rybnitsa.

As tension mounted, the international community stood fast and firm in its position that Transnistrian authorities should agree to some kind of compromise. Condemning the region's unilateral actions, participating States paid unwavering attention to the crisis. Delegations called on the Russian Federation and Ukraine to bring their influence to bear on the Transnistrian leadership.

Senior staff of the OSCE Mission and special representatives of the OSCE Chairman-in-Office, the Russian Federation and Ukraine engaged in intensive shuttle diplomacy between the Moldovan Government and separatist authorities, pressing for a solution to the stalemate.

Finally, in late August, international pressure and the prospect of local upheavals started making an impact on Transnistrian

News update: 1 July 2005

Moldovan schools in Transnistria granted legal status

As the OSCE Magazine was about to go to press, the Moldovan schools in Tiraspol, Rybnitsa, Bender and Corjevo received the welcome news that they had been granted permanent registration by the Transnistrian authorities, a recognition of their legal status. The schools can now enter into contracts with local suppliers of water, electricity and other communal services.

Since February 2005, the OSCE Mission to Moldova has hosted nine rounds of negotiations between the Moldovan and Transnistrian educational authorities on the issue, with representatives from the Russian and Ukrainian embassies serving as mediators.

"The agreement reached on 1 July on a set of school statutes acceptable to both sides hopefully brings a long-awaited solution to the conflict over the existence of these Moldovan institutions in the Transnistrian region," said Kristin Franklin, Human Dimension Officer in the OSCE Mission to Moldova.

Negotiations between the Moldovan and Transnistrian educational authorities will resume in September to resolve issues concerning a common curriculum for disputed subjects, and applications for licences and accreditations. Regardless of the results of these talks, however, the schools are expected to open at the start of the academic year.

authorities. They agreed to register the schools under a private status, valid for one year, which would enable them to follow a Moldovan curriculum using the Latin script. Four of the six schools began the new academic year as planned, on 1 September 2004, with the Rybnitsa school following suit in October.

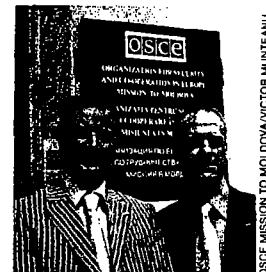
For the Tiraspol school's more than 500 children, however, the transition was to take considerably longer. Over five months, they had to travel long distances to attend schools in neighbouring villages while their building was undergoing repairs. The school finally reopened on 7 February 2005.

As the dramatic events of summer 2004 approach their one-year anniversary, pupils and students are happily immersed in learn-

ing in their native tongue using the Latin script. But beneath the semblance of normality, an unsettling calm prevails. The school in Rybnitsa operates on the premises of a kindergarten of a local factory, since the municipality refuses to return the confiscated school building. The future of all six schools hangs in the balance, at the mercy of the local authorities' potential sanctions, including an interruption of public services.

Igor Dabija and the region's 4,200 affected pupils who call Transnistria their home want nothing more in the world than to continue being educated in their native language in the Latin script. But come summer, they may have to stand guard over their schools again. If they have to, they should not be left on their own.

Gottfried Hanne (right) is a Political Officer and Claus Neukirch is Spokesperson in the OSCE Mission to Moldova, which currently comprises 11 international staff members.



School children: innocent victims of a political conflict

Moldovans comprise the largest national group (34 per cent) in the region controlled by the authorities in Tiraspol, but Ukrainians (29 per cent) and Russians (28 per cent) together make up a "Slavic majority". Traditionally, Bender as well as the industrialized cities on the left bank of the Dniestr river have always had stronger links with their old Soviet roots than have Chisinau and other localities on the right bank.

The events in the summer of 2004 revolved around 4,000 students in six Moldovan schools teaching Romanian in the Latin script. Another 33 schools in the Transnistrian region conduct their teaching in Moldovan (Romanian) using the Cyrillic script.

In fact, the schoolchildren are innocent victims of a larger conflict between the central government in Chisinau and the Transnistrian authorities in Tiraspol which goes back to the beginning of Moldova's process of emancipation from the Soviet Union in the late 1980s.

The following key developments form the backdrop:

1989. Protest movements strongly in favour of the preservation of the Soviet Union and of "socialist values" start surfacing in the Transnistrian region's predominantly non-Moldovan cities.

23 June 1990. Moldova's declaration of sovereignty. Moldovan legislation is declared to be superior to Soviet Union legislation.

1 September 1991. Declaration of independence by the Transnistrian authorities. The Transnistrian authorities declare their independence from the Moldovan central government and from the Republic of Moldova.

27 August 1991. Moldova declares its independence from the Soviet Union. In the following weeks and months, Transnistrian paramilitary formations progressively take over previously Moldovan public institutions such as police stations, administrative bodies, schools, radio stations and newspapers.

2 March 1992. Developments build up into a violent conflict after Transnistrian forces and Moldovan police clash in Dubasari.

19 June 1992. A large-scale military battle ensues, involving the use of heavy arms. The sought-after prize: control of the city of Tighina/Bender, situated on the right side of the Dniester but claimed by Transnistrian authorities.

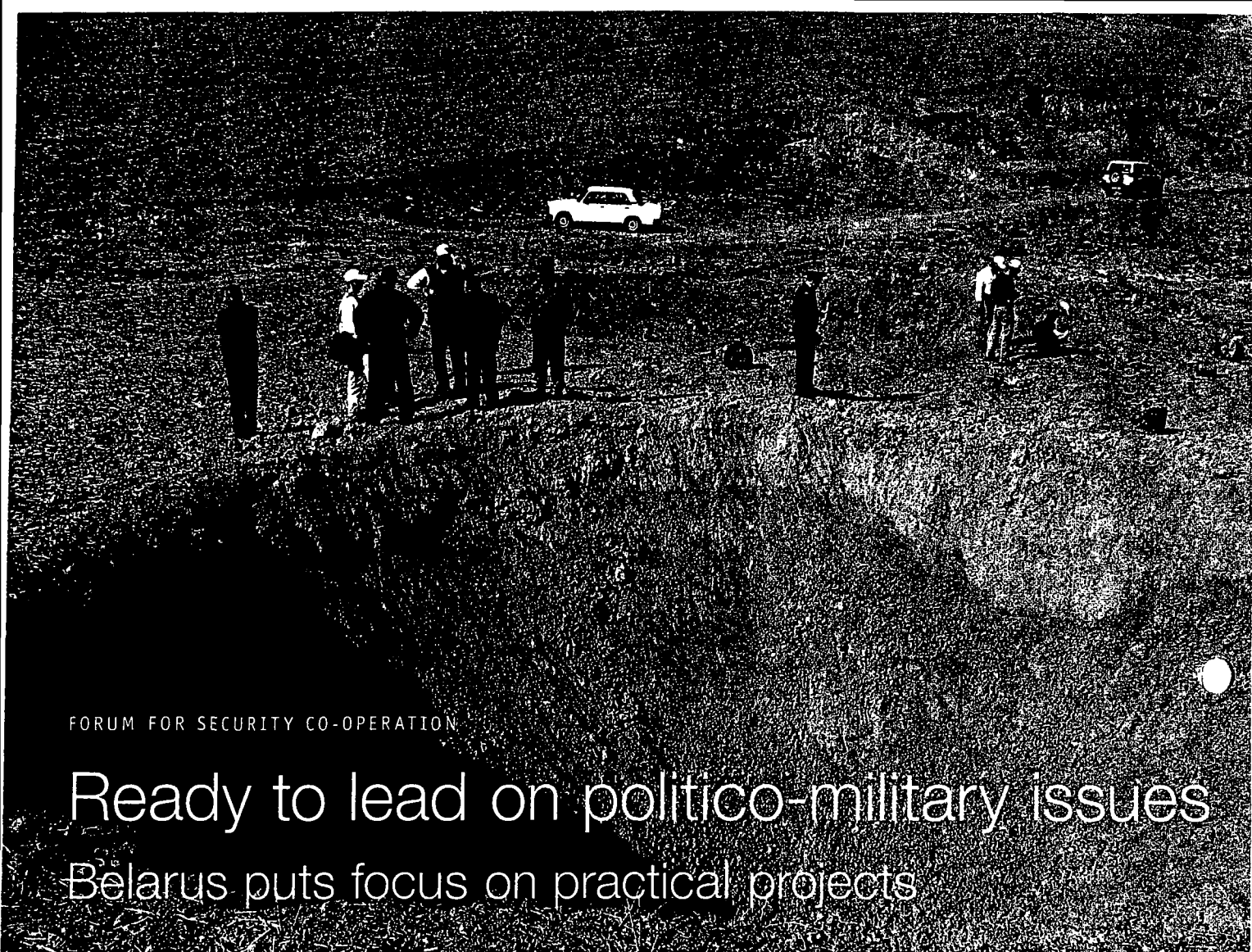
21 June 1992. Moldovan units are driven out from Tighina/Bender.

21 July 1992. A ceasefire agreement is signed in Moscow.

The present, today, historical, ethnic and religious factors do not present any serious risk of conflict between the populations on the left and right banks of the Dniestr. The economic interests of the elite have become the major force behind the country's continued division, with Transnistrian authorities wishing the maintenance of the status quo by drawing out individuals and institutions that they perceive as representing Chisinau's concerns.

OSCE Mission to Moldova (www.osce.org/moldova) is the only international organization providing free legal assistance to the Transnistrian conflict victims and their families.





FORUM FOR SECURITY CO-OPERATION

Ready to lead on politico-military issues

Belarus puts focus on practical projects

An OSCE assessment team inspects the ammunitions demolition pit at the Lohur military firing range near Dushanbe.

Photo: OSCE/Conflict Prevention Centre

Belarus took on the Chairmanship of the OSCE's Forum for Security Co-operation on 13 April, shortly after the country's new Permanent Representative, Alyaksandr Sychoy, arrived in Vienna. A former Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs, Ambassador Sychoy gives a preview of the projects-oriented path of the Forum's politico-military agenda in 2005 and says the autonomous, decision-making body should continue adapting its guiding principles to suit the evolving global security scene.

BY ALYAKSANDR SYCHOV

Four project proposals for Tajikistan, on-site visits to Belarus, assessment missions to Kazakhstan and Kaliningrad, and a series of workshops and seminars: These are just some of the on-the-ground activities stemming from the flow of requests from participating States for practical assistance in disarmament, arms control, and confidence- and security-building measures.

Meticulously reviewing every single one of these requests is one of the many core tasks of the Forum for Security Co-operation (FSC). Without too much fanfare, through patient and persistent dialogue, consultation and negotiation, the independent body has been able to deftly carve its politico-military niche within

the Organization's comprehensive security structure.

Belarus has always been an active advocate for a vigorous Forum, and we are particularly honoured to have taken over the Chairmanship for the first time. We were, in fact, the first country, in July 2003, to turn to the Forum's assistance mechanism to address the security and destruction of our stockpile of surplus small arms and light weapons. This initiative is about to bear fruit: Staff from the Conflict Prevention Centre and experts from the United Kingdom, Switzerland and Spain have completed a series of four assessment visits to Belarus and are drawing up a project concept based on their findings.

The question uppermost in everyone's mind at the start of a new four-month Forum Chairmanship is its chosen focus

and priorities. The current FSC Troika — Azerbaijan, Belarus and Belgium — has opted for a pragmatic approach, in tune with the Organization's overall reform drive towards greater efficiency. And so, under the Azerbaijani Chairmanship at the beginning of the year, we decided to travel down a continuous path in the form of a coherent agenda for the whole of 2005.

Our traditional core activities, designed to prevent conflict between States, are unchanged since they remain as vital as ever. The challenge lies in putting our landmark politico-military instruments into operation and building on them to ensure that they serve us in the most open, transparent and effective way possible in response to today's new risks and realities.

The instruments I am referring to are the politically-binding OSCE Document on Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW), adopted in 2000, and the OSCE Document on Stockpiles of Conventional Ammunition, adopted in 2003. There is also, of course, the Vienna Document 1999, which has been serving as the impetus for regular information exchange between participating States' military services — to name just one in a comprehensive range of confidence- and security-building measures. The FSC's latest decisions, aimed at stricter controls over the exporting and brokering of man-portable air defence systems (MANPADs) and other arms and weapons, show that we are keeping up with emerging security demands.

URGENT TASKS

So far, since the adoption of the five-step assistance scheme under the SALW Document in 2002, Belarus, Kazakhstan and Tajikistan have approached the FSC for concrete help in destroying and managing their stockpiles. Each request is at a different stage of project development, with that of Tajikistan being the most advanced.

These three countries have also asked for assistance in destroying their surplus ammunition, as have the Russian Federation and Ukraine. Horrific images of the disastrous explosion in south-eastern Ukraine in May 2004 are still fresh in our minds. Sparked by an accidental fire at a huge dump of Soviet-era artillery shells, which was waiting to be decommissioned, the blasts lasted eight days, killing five people, wounding hundreds, and sending thousands of residents fleeing from their homes. Ukraine has approached the OSCE for assistance in the region's clean-up operation.

Demand for help in disposing of stocks



of liquid rocket fuel — also known as “mélange” — has also been growing, with requests in from Armenia (872 tons), Uzbekistan (more than 1,000 tons) and Ukraine (up to 17,000 tons). Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan are among several countries that are expected to request assistance in launching their own mélange projects.

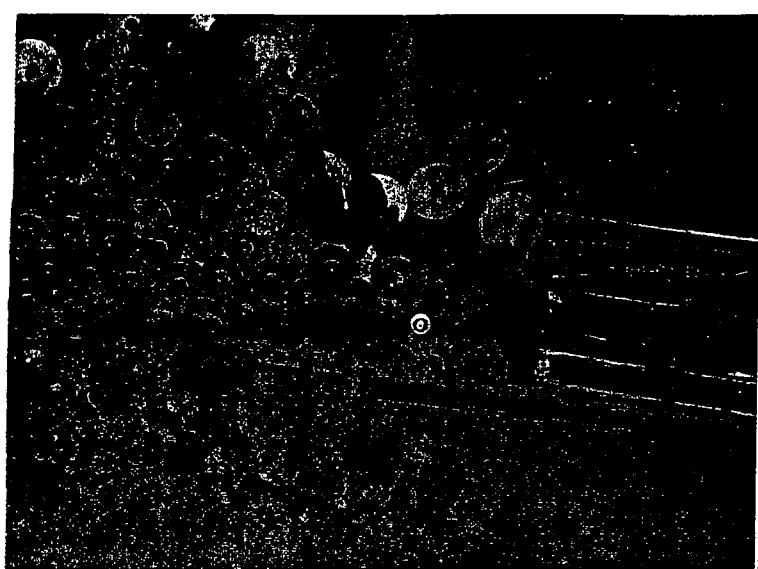
Mélange is usually stored in barrels that are prone to corrosion over time. Once leaked, this highly toxic, volatile and explosive chemical substance can have a debilitating impact on the health of whole communities and their environment. Land contamination is likely to linger for almost a century.

In Armenia, the OSCE's strategy for assistance has been making considerable headway since the start of the year. The chosen

Inside the surplus ammunition storage site of Tajikistan's Ministry of Interior



An international team examines shoulder-fired “Strela-11M” anti-aircraft missiles near Sluck, Belarus, prior to destroying them.



OSCE/CONFLICT PREVENTION CENTRE

Remnants of conflict in Tajikistan



OSCE/CONFLICT PREVENTION CENTRE

Properly stored mortar shells in a facility in Dushanbe

method of neutralizing mélange will result in a positive byproduct — a liquid fertilizer that can be used by the country's farmers. This follows the lead of a pilot project in 2002, which successfully converted 450 tons of mélange into fertilizer for western Georgia's acid soil.

The mélange dilemma is shared by enough participating States to merit its being addressed by a special OSCE programme. An OSCE-wide workshop in July 2005 on the most effective way to dispose of stocks of the substance might just provide a perfect opportunity to present a special scheme. The FSC would be wise to give this matter serious consideration, especially since the

Anton Martynyuk, Officer in the Conflict Prevention Centre, and Capt. Philippe Houliat, a French expert (back to camera), train Tajik personnel on the proper defusal of mines.

inherent hazards — encompassing political, human and socio-economic concerns — epitomize the OSCE's "comprehensive security" approach.

PULLING TOGETHER

It is obvious, however, that the best-laid plans can start making a dent in the problem only if matched by financial support. Disposing of surplus ammunition, explosive material and detonating devices is extremely costly and time-consuming; in the OSCE area alone, the tasks would involve an amount several times the annual budget of the Organization. Since funding depends on voluntary contributions, we will all have to pull together to get the greatest possible mileage out of our efforts and our resources.

A model in productive partnership is a training workshop in Tajikistan that recently brought together 44 local law enforcers and members of the country's armed forces. The aim was to bolster their ability to stem the spread of accumulated weapons, including MANPADS, and to prevent them from falling into the hands of terrorists and criminal groups. Following the OSCE's best practices, the group also learned how to improve the physical safety and security of stockpiles.

The gathering, in early April, was initiated by the FSC, organized by the OSCE Centre in Dushanbe, and supported by the National Drugs Control Agency of Tajikistan, the U.S. Defense Threat Reduction Agency and the OSCE's Conflict Prevention Centre.

The Belarus Chairmanship will seek to encourage similar joint activities and stimulate the project-development process by encouraging closer co-operation between the Forum, potential project donors, the



OSCE/CONFLICT PREVENTION CENTRE

OSCE Secretariat, field operations, and regional and international organizations.

Let me emphasize that during our FSC Chairmanship, the Belarus Delegation is ready to discuss new initiatives and proposals from every participating State. Whether the debate is on the merits of a proposed seminar on military doctrines, or on contributing to the Organization's concept on border security and on its fight against terrorism, we should persist in examining the relevance and value of our tried-and-tested

instruments in the politico-military sphere.

Our Chairmanship is not setting out impossible, "super-goals"; rather, we are ready to roll up our sleeves for some serious and pragmatic work geared towards practical results. As German Ambassador Dieter Boden reminded us at the first session of the FSC under our Chairmanship, "We are judged on what we finish, not on what we start."

Alyaksandr Sychov became Permanent Representative of Belarus to the OSCE on 24 March. From 2000 until his current assignment, he was his country's Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs, a post he first held from 1992 to 1994. He has also served as the Permanent Representative of Belarus to the United Nations in New York and as Head of the Foreign Economic Relations Department of the Foreign Ministry of Belarus. Ambassador Sychov is a graduate of the Moscow State Institute of International Relations.



Surplus munitions: hazardous remnants of wars and conflicts

One day in November 2004, when an OSCE team of four experts entered an ammunition warehouse in Dushanbe, Tajikistan, they were astounded by the chaotic scene that greeted them. Grenade launchers, man-portable air defence systems (MANPADS), Kalashnikovs, home-made rifles, artillery shells, unexploded ordnance and fused anti-personnel mines — among a bewildering assortment of menacing-looking munitions — were strewn haphazardly in piles and boxes on the floor or left casually leaning against the wall.

The thought that a deadly blast could be triggered by a simple mobile phone signal, by an accidental human touch, or by a slight shifting of some of the containers sent a

shudder through the inspection group, which included representatives of nine Tajik ministries and agencies.

"We estimated that the total potential explosive power of the munitions would be capable of wreaking havoc on a vast expanse of the densely-inhabited district where the depot is," reported team leader Anton Martynyuk, Officer in the OSCE's Conflict Prevention Centre.

"We simply could not believe that the facility had been around for 10 years, just 50 metres from a kindergarten and 100 metres from a prison," he added. "Considering that the storage conditions and the level of skills of the security personnel were completely unacceptable by any standards, it's a miracle that nothing disastrous has happened

so far. And this was only one of eight sites we visited in Dushanbe."

Responding to a request for a similar on-the-spot visit, this time from the Russian Federation, an OSCE team is set to inspect facilities in the northwest region of Kaliningrad. Supported by Denmark, the experts will map out a plan for the initial destruction of some 5,000 metric tons of surplus conventional ammunition, which are in a precarious state.

It is no wonder that Kaliningrad is often referred to as a ticking time-bomb, what with its stockpiles of deteriorating conventional weapons and munitions, including missiles, maritime and aerial bombs, and anti-personnel landmines. The decomposing explosives loom threateningly over a region which, as it

happens, is host to a special economic zone.

The Tajik and Russian cases dramatize the fact that the state of surplus munitions is rapidly deteriorating and that the risks posed by these hazardous remnants of wars and conflicts all across the OSCE area are growing constantly. In Russia, the ammunition heaps are vestiges

of the Cold War. In the regions of Tajikistan, munitions at five highly populated storage points are grim reminders of six devastating years of civil strife in the 1990s — as well as of the uphill battle against the multi-billion dollar trade in drugs and weapons originating in neighbouring Afghanistan.



Standing guard over a bewildering assortment of surplus small arms at Tajikistan's Ministry of Interior



Mission accomplished in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Agreement on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures declared obsolete

Terminating a crucial agreement on confidence-building would normally trigger alarm and conjure up images of resignation, frustration and failure. On the contrary, however, when Bosnia and Herzegovina and its two Entities agreed to terminate their eight-year-old Agreement on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures on 29 September 2004, the event sent a clear signal to the international community that the agreement had achieved its purpose and was no longer required.

September 1998: Under Article II, a German-led inspection team, supported by officers from Republika Srpska, is about to carry out an aerial inspection of a specific area in the BiH Federation.

Photo: OSCE/Emil Schreiber

BY HEINZ VETSCHERA

The Agreement on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures has its roots in the military provisions of the General Framework Agreement on Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina (the “Dayton Accords”). Signed in December 1995, the Dayton Accords ended more than three years of war in BiH. However, they also left BiH in a unique military situation. BiH was shaped as a federal State,

with a weak central power and two relatively strong Entities — the (Bosniac-Croat) Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the (Serbian) Republika Srpska. Each Entity was allowed to keep the armed forces that it had established during the conflict. In contrast, the State had no military forces of its own nor did it have any control over the Entities’ armed forces.

To stabilize the situation, the Dayton Accords set up the following framework:

ANNEX 1-A: AGREEMENT ON MILITARY ASPECTS OF THE PEACE SETTLEMENT. This called for the deployment of a robust NATO-led peacekeeping force (Implementation Force or “IFOR”, later re-named Stabilization Force or “SFOR”) to separate the two former belligerent parties from one another. SFOR has recently been replaced by an EU-led peacekeeping force (“EUFOR”).

ANNEX 1-B: AGREEMENT ON REGIONAL STABILIZATION. This envisaged a series of negotiations on military confidence- and security-building measures (CSBMs) and on arms control and limitation, to be held under OSCE auspices. The aim was to achieve a certain level of normality between the Parties by helping them to bridge the military division.

The two elements were designed to complement one another. With mutual mistrust still in the air after the conflict, a robust deterrent, as stipulated in Annex 1-A, was needed. It was foreseen that this deterrent would become redundant as co-operation led to greater military stability.

ANNEX 1-B’S ARTICLE II: CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES IN BIH. Within seven days of the signing of the Dayton Accords, the Republic of BiH, the Federation of BiH, and the Republika Srpska were, under Article II of this Annex, obliged to begin negotiations on confidence-building measures under the auspices of the OSCE. Their goal was to achieve an agreement within 45 days. The negotiations, chaired by Hungarian Ambassador Istvan Gyarmati, were successfully concluded with the signing of the Agreement on 26 January 1996 in Vienna.

The “Vienna Agreement” largely drew on measures developed earlier within the OSCE’s politico-military dimension in the Stockholm (1986) and Vienna Documents (1990, 1992 and 1994) on CSBMs. These included the annual exchange of military information; mutual notification, observation of and constraints on certain military activities, as well as verification; and contacts and co-operation.

But the Agreement also introduced some innovative measures: the exchange of military liaison missions between the two Entities; restrictions on deployments in sensitive areas; prohibition of the re-introduction of foreign forces, which had figured prominently during the conflict; and the monitoring of weapons-manufacturing capabilities.

On 14 June 1996, the Vienna Article II Agreement on CSBMs was complemented by an "Agreement on Sub-Regional Arms Control" under Article IV of Annex 1-B. It aimed at balanced arms limits for BiH and its two Entities, as well as for the Republic of Croatia and the then Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The OSCE was also charged by Annex 1-B with assisting the Parties in the implementation and verification of the agreed measures. Both Articles II and IV foresaw a Personal Representative of the Chairman-in-Office (currently Italian Brigadier-General Claudio Sampaolo) who would act on behalf of the OSCE vis-à-vis the Parties. While there had been two separate Personal Representatives in the first years, their functions were merged in 1997.

In addition, when the OSCE Mission in BiH was established in early 1996, a Department for Regional Stabilization — later re-named Department of Security Co-operation — was formed to provide administrative and technical assistance to the Personal Representative in his efforts on the ground.

Implementation of the Article II Agreement got off to a good start on 1 February, when the two Entities' Military Liaison Missions started to meet on an almost daily basis. On 11 March 1996, two OSCE-led inspections signalled the launch of the verification regime. A French-led inspection team, including six officers from the BiH Federation, entered the territory of Republika Srpska. At the same time, a German-led inspection team, including six officers from the Republika Srpska, entered the Federation.

Despite the fact that hostilities had ended barely a few months earlier, the Parties, after some initial problems, generally complied with the agreed measures. Most of the gaps were due to lack of experience rather than to any lack of good will. This was particularly true for the obligatory measures, such as the exchange of military information and mutual inspections.

The Parties were, however, less forthcoming in implementing the agreed measures



on contacts and co-operation. To address this problem, in late 1996, the Personal Representative initiated a series of seminars focusing on the OSCE's politico-military dimension. These had a twin objective: to enable representatives of the Parties to get together in a less formal setting, and to raise their awareness of broader issues in the OSCE area, looking beyond the narrow topic of the country's military division.

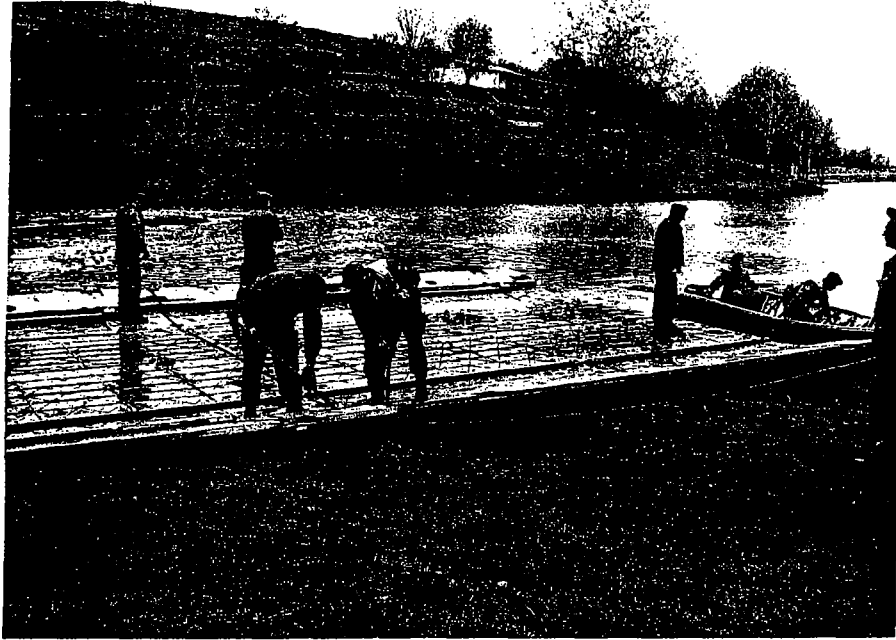
The first seminar, in December 1996, presented the OSCE's Code of Conduct on Politico-Military Aspects of Security, which emphasizes democratic control of the armed forces. This set the stage for later topics: arms control, the Parties' military doctrines, security co-operation and peacekeeping. With the encouragement of the Personal Representative, the Parties also simulated joint large-scale disaster relief operations involving civilian authorities.

TURNING POINT

Progressive improvements became evident at the four Review Conferences that took place in 1998, 1999, 2001 and 2002. As the implementation of the various measures took on a routine character, the Parties began to feel more comfortable with one another and became more co-operative. These developments, combined with the improved security policy environment of BiH caused by the democratic changes in neighbouring countries, led to a situation where, finally, the basic problem — the military division of BiH — could be addressed.

The international community made it clear to the various parties within BiH that any progress towards integration into wider European and Euro-Atlantic frameworks, including participation in NATO's Partnership for Peace Programme and membership in NATO or EU, would remain an illusion as long as the country's military was divided.

September 1998: An OSCE inspection team and SFOR patrol soldiers (in jeep) cross paths at the Maglay corridor, BiH Federation.



(left photo) August 2003:

Forces of the two BiH Entities build a mobile bridge on the Bosna river at a spot shared by Dobo in Republika Srpska, and Gracanica in the BiH Federation. This first-ever joint activity was an exercise in responding to disasters, under the auspices of Article II.

(right photo) Spring 1996:

Inspectors from Republika Srpska and their British counterparts at barracks in the BiH Federation. Just a few weeks after the Article II Agreement was signed, mutual inspections became a routine event, with the assistance of OSCE.

Ultimately, although the two Entities still insisted on the right to keep their own armed forces, they accepted the establishment of a single defence structure — a State-level command and control over all BiH armed forces. A Defence Reform Commission, set up in May 2003, drew up the new framework. Its recommendations in September 2003, including oversight by the State parliament, and the creation of a State Ministry of Defence and State-level military command structures, were incorporated into a State Defence Law adopted by the State Parliament in December 2003.

This ground-breaking development led the Article II Parties to bring forward their fifth Review Conference by eight months — convening in mid-2004 instead of 2005 as originally scheduled. At the Conference, on 16 June 2004, the Parties agreed that the changed circumstances had made the Agreement obsolete in practice, and that they would immediately cease to apply most of the measures and terminate the Agreement by 29 September 2004.

ASSESSMENT

The Article II Agreement had served its role well. It was an indispensable tool for

coping with the realities of the military situation in post-conflict BiH by enhancing mutual confidence and reducing the recurrence of conflict.

No doubt, good intentions on the part of all sides were crucial. The Parties realized early on that there was more to be gained by adopting a co-operative stance.

The military professionalism of the Parties' representatives also facilitated the process; they found enough common ground on which they could co-operate, while maintaining loyalty to their own Entity authorities.

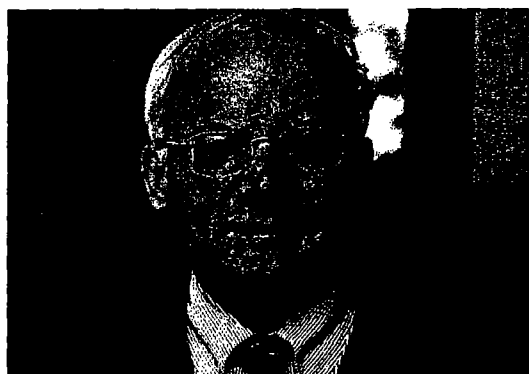
Yet another advantage was the strong leadership provided by the OSCE Personal Representatives — five so far. They served as brokers of consensus at the political level, ensured the continuous flow of the process, and spared no effort in surmounting obstacles to the Agreement's implementation.

If a major task of confidence-building is to break down enemy images, this was certainly accomplished by the Article II Agreement. It will go down as a rare instance of the results of confidence-building being measurable in real terms.

Brigadier-General Heinz Vetschera, an expert on military CSBMs, is a professor at the Austrian National Defence Academy. He served as Senior Assistant to the Director of the CSCE/OSCE Conflict Prevention Centre (1991-1995). In 1996, he took part in the negotiations on CSBMs in BiH under Article II of Annex 1-B to the Dayton Agreement. He served twice in the OSCE Mission to BiH, first as an expert on CSBMs (1996-1997) and later as Deputy Director of the Mission's Department of Security Co-operation (2002-2003).

The Office of the Personal Representative of the Chairman-in-Office for Article IV, located at Mahlerstrasse 12, 1010 Vienna, continues to provide support and advice to the five Parties to the Agreement on Sub-Regional Arms Control (Serbia and Montenegro, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Republika Srpska) in implementing Article IV activities. Key responsibilities of the Office include the verification of military information provided by the Parties during their annual information exchange and the collection and dissemination of all official notifications. Online information: www.oscebih.org





BOBO/KRISTINA KOSEC

Alain Couanon of France assumed the post of **Head of the OSCE Centre in Dushanbe** in mid-March, succeeding Yves Bargain, also of France.

He is not new to the region, having served as his country's Ambassador in Ashgabad, Turkmenistan, from 1999 to 2003.

Prior to his OSCE appointment in Tajikistan, he was Special Adviser to the Director in the department of the French Foreign Ministry responsible for French nationals abroad and foreigners in France.

Since joining the Foreign Ministry in 1975, Ambassador Couanon has held assignments in Budapest, Moscow and Islamabad. He headed the Ministry's Soviet Department and, later, the Department for Consular Affairs. In the 1990s, he was General Consul in Johannesburg, Houston and Bombay.

Ambassador Couanon holds a master's degree in Eastern European History and Philology from the Sorbonne University.

Jorge Fuentes Monzonis-Vilallonga of Spain was appointed **Head of the OSCE Mission to Croatia** in May, succeeding Peter Semneby of Sweden.

"I am fully committed to assisting the country in the implementation of reforms on its path to full EU membership," Ambassador Fuentes said. "The Mission has very good working relations with the Government, which enables us to be of assistance, even when it comes to tough issues."

Most recently, the career diplomat was Spanish Ambassador-at-Large for European Integration (2000-2005). Prior to that, he was Spain's Permanent Representative to the Western European Union (1997-2000). As his country's Ambassador to Bulgaria (1993-1997), he also covered the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

Ambassador Fuentes has been intensely involved in OSCE matters since the early CSCE consultation meetings. He was Acting Head of the Spanish Delegation to the CSCE Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Stockholm



OSCE MISSION TO CROATIA/TOMISLAV PAVLEK

Ambassador Jorge Fuentes (right), welcomes Croatian Prime Minister Ivo Sanader to the headquarters of the OSCE Mission to Croatia on 7 June.

(1983-1984). At the Spanish Foreign Ministry, he was Deputy Director-General for Eastern, Central and Southern Europe (1982-1989) and Director for OSCE Affairs (1985-1989).

Ambassador Fuentes holds degrees in Law and Political and Economic Sciences from the Complutense University, Madrid. He also attended the Diplomatic School of Spain. He has written several books and articles on the OSCE, the EU and other topics relating to international affairs.

Werner Wnendt of Germany was appointed **Head of the OSCE Mission in Kosovo** on 28 April. Since the Mission is an integral part of the United Nations' Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo, he also acts as the Deputy Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General for Institution-Building.

"I hope that both the OSCE and I personally can help to meet the greatest challenge in this mission — developing Kosovo in such a way that it can be home to all people who want to live here, in peace with their neighbours," said Ambassador Wnendt.

Prior to his OSCE appointment, he was serving as the Senior Deputy High Representative in Bosnia and Herzegovina, a post he assumed in August 2003. From late 2000 to 2003, he was a foreign affairs adviser to the German Federal President.

Ambassador Wnendt joined his country's Foreign Service in 1980 and has held positions in missions to the European Union in Brussels, as well as in Kenya, Pakistan, the United States and the Czech Republic.

In his new assignment, he succeeded Pascal Hieschi of France, who headed the Mission from January 2002.



OSCE MISSION TO KOSOVO/TOMISLAV PAVLEK

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