

MARCH 2005

OSCE

MAGA

ZINE

OSCE diplomacy in action:
Searching for a solution in Ukraine

Christmas in Ukraine:
Record number of OSCE observers monitor election

A Constitution for Europe:
Enshrining minority rights

OSCE's parlamentariske Forsamling
(2. samling)

OSCE alm. del - Bilag 21
Offentligt



Slovenia takes over the helm

The OSCE at a crossroads

In this issue



SLOVENIA TAKES OVER THE HELM

OSCE at a crossroads
By Richard Murphy

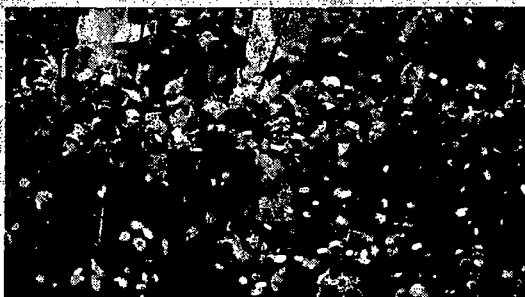
4

Panel of Eminent Persons to draw up vision
for OSCE's future

7

Cold War Echoes
By Dimitrij Rupel

8



CHRISTMAS IN UKRAINE

Record number of OSCE observers
monitor election
By Urdur Gunnarsdottir

9

OSCE DIPLOMACY

Searching for a solution in Ukraine
By Oleksandr Pavlyuk

12



SPIRIT OF HELSINKI

The New York Times goes on the road in Kazakhstan
By Christopher S. Wren

15

Junior journalists in Atyrau realize "unattainable dream"
By Iliya Agayev

17

Thirty years ago:
Reporting on the Helsinki Final Act

18



ENSHRINING MINORITY RIGHTS

A Constitution for Europe: When words matter
By Krzysztof Drzewicki

19

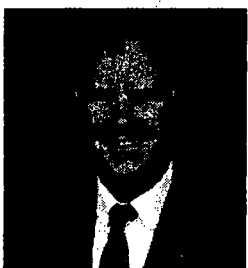
APPOINTMENTS

22

AN APPRECIATION

David R. Nicholas

23



Front cover: The triple bridge (*Tromostovje*) in the heart of Ljubljana dates back to 1842 and was widened in 1929-1932.

Photo: Matjaz Preseren/PR and Media Office of Slovenia

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Meeting new Ukrainian leaders, 5 January: parliamentarian Yuliya Tymoshenko, now Prime Minister, President Viktor Yushchenko and Foreign Minister Borys Tarasyuk. Photos: OSCE/BOBO.



"We should not forget that the first few decades of the CSCE were marked by an atmosphere of deep hostility and mistrust, with two armed blocs confronting each other," he said. "Helsinki launched a process of co-operative security which remains valid and relevant today. What we have in common is much greater than the points on which we differ."

Nevertheless, in his first address to the Permanent Council in Vienna on 13 January, the Chairman-in-Office acknowledged the political difficulties in the Organization. "Slovenia takes the helm of this ship in choppy seas," he said. Expressing concern at the tone of some statements from certain OSCE countries, he added: "We must work together to prevent political fault lines from reappearing."

He told the representatives of the 55 participating States that Slovenia wanted to use its year at the helm to "revitalize, reform and rebalance" the Organization. He followed up on this in February by appointing a seven-member Panel of Eminent Persons to carry out a thorough review of the way the Organization operates. It is due to present its recommendations for the future by the end of June.

"My expectation, which I believe is shared by all participating States, is that you will provide us with a vision for the future and some radical, yet politically realistic, food for thought on where the OSCE should

be going in the years ahead," he told the Panel at its first meeting near Slovenia's capital, Ljubljana.

PIVOTAL ROLE

The Chairman-in-Office had begun the year by visiting Ukraine on 4 and 5 January. After meeting members of the outgoing and incoming governments in Kyiv, he flew to the west of the country and drove into the Carpathian mountains to visit newly-elected President Viktor Yushchenko, who interrupted his holiday for the meeting.

The OSCE had mounted its largest-ever election observation mission for the repeat second round of Ukraine's presidential elections on 26 December. "The eyes of the world were on Ukraine for a month and the role of the OSCE election observers in the process was pivotal," he said in Kyiv.

"I wanted to come here as soon as possible to show solidarity with the Ukrainian people and to demonstrate the importance which the OSCE attaches to a democratic and stable Ukraine, enjoying good relations with its neighbours at the heart of the OSCE community."

Foreign Minister Rupel indicated at the very outset that the Slovenian Chairmanship would place high priority on the situation in Kosovo, where the OSCE maintains its largest field mission.

Kosovo figured prominently on the agenda in his meetings in Belgrade, Moscow, New York and Washington, D.C. In Pristina,



NATO Secretary General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer (left) confers with OSCE Chairman-in-Office at the Conference on Security Policy in Munich, 11-13 February.

OSCE/BOBO

Panel of Eminent Persons to draw up vision for OSCE's future

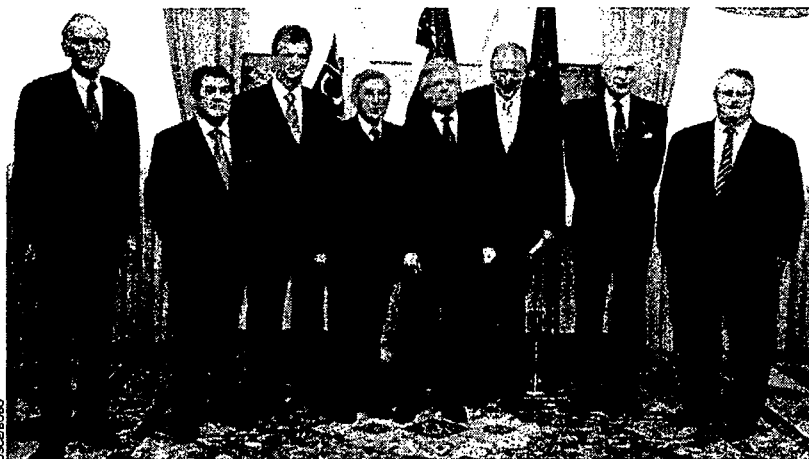
The OSCE Chairman-in-Office has urged the OSCE's Panel of Eminent Persons to be "bold" in performing its task of giving new impetus to political dialogue and providing a strategic vision for the Organization in the 21st century.

"I don't want to over-dramatize this — the OSCE has been in a constant state of flux since 1975 and has periodically been adapting and re-tooling itself to deal with changed threats and challenges to security," Slovenian Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel said at the Panel's first meeting on 17 February near Ljubljana, "but long-time OSCE-watchers tell me that the situation now is significantly different. Serious questions are being raised at a high level about

the OSCE and there is a strong sense that something profound has to change."

The Panel members reconvened in Vienna on 10 and 11 March. They are expected to issue their recommendations by the end of June.

The OSCE participating States had agreed at their Ministerial Council meeting in Sofia in December to establish the Panel, "recognizing that the 30th anniversary of the Helsinki Final Act, the 15th anniversary of the Charter of Paris for a New Europe and the 10th anniversary of the OSCE provide a unique opportunity to reflect on the role of the Organization in a changing Europe."



Brdo Castle near Ljubljana was the setting of the first meeting of the Panel of Eminent Persons on 17 February, following their appointment by the Chairman-in-Office (third from right) on 3 February. The members, representing a cross-section of participating States, are (left to right):

Wilhelm Höynck (Germany): Former Secretary General of the CSCE/OSCE (1993-1996);

Kuanysh Sultanov (Kazakhstan): Deputy of the Senate of Parliament and former Ambassador to China;

Miomir Zuzul (Croatia): Former Acting Foreign Minister and member of the Croatian negotiation team at the Dayton Peace Accords;

Nikolay Afanasievskiy (Russia): Ambassador to Poland and former Deputy Foreign Minister;

Knut Vollebaek (Norway): Ambassador to the U.S. and former Foreign Minister and Chairman-in-Office of the OSCE (1999);

Hans van den Broek (Netherlands): Former Foreign Minister and member of the EU Commission; and

Richard S. Williamson (United States): Former Assistant Secretary of State, U.S. Representative to the UN Commission on Human Rights, and Ambassador to the UN Office at Vienna.



Dimitrij Rupel: At home in many worlds

Dimitrij Rupel's career, background and scholarly pursuits span the worlds of politics, public service, diplomacy, academia, and arts and letters.

At 44, he was appointed the first Minister for Foreign Affairs of the newly independent Republic of Slovenia (1990-1993), a post he has held again.

He has been a Member of Parliament (1992-1995), Mayor of Ljubljana (1994-1997) and Slovenia's Ambassador to the United States (1997-2000).

His political activism goes back to the period when he co-founded and edited the magazine *Nova Revija*, which published the Slovene National Programme in 1987, a manifesto for political change. He later helped establish the Slovenian Democratic Alliance (SDZ) and became its first President in 1989.

"My first love was literature and I came to politics relatively late in life," the Foreign Minister says. "Perhaps that's why I take a broad view of Slovenia's role in the world — I see it from many perspectives."

Foreign Minister Rupel obtained a degree in world literature and sociology from the University of Ljubljana (1970), and subsequently a Ph.D. in sociology from Brandeis University in Massachusetts (1976). He was Visiting Professor at Queen's University in Kingston, Canada, at the New School for Social Research in New York, and at Cleveland State University in Ohio. He has also taught at the University of Ljubljana.

He is a prolific writer, with a string of novels as well as books with historical, international relations and sociological themes. Among his best-known works are: *Skrivnost države* (Secret of State), 1992; *Odcarana Slovenija* (Disenchanted Slovenia), 1993; *Srečanja in razhajanja* (Meetings and Partings), 2001; and *Prevzem zgodbe o uspehu* (Taking Over the Success Story), 2004.



Christmas in Ukraine

Record number of OSCE observers monitor election

In the closing weeks of 2004 to the start of the new year, the OSCE's Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) once again found itself in the thick of a controversial election. Following a ruling by Ukraine's Supreme Court in early December, which invalidated the second round of the presidential election on 21 November, a re-run was set for 26 December. Realizing the significance of the rescheduled poll, OSCE participating States expanded the mission's size from 600 to more than a thousand observers from 44 countries — an all-time high.

BY URDUR GUNNARSDOTTIR

The largest OSCE election observation mission ever — a total of 1,300 personnel, including parliamentarians from the OSCE area — turned out to be nothing short of a logistical miracle. Faced with a massive administrative and co-ordination task, members of the ODIHR team in Kyiv were unfazed. They worked around the clock to fly in observers, assigning them to more than 5,800 polling stations in various parts of the country, hiring translators and drivers for each two-person team, ensuring that everybody had a place to stay in, and arranging their return to Kyiv and their onward journey.

Fortunately, the only venue that was large enough to hold briefings for the whole group was available — Ukraine's aeronauti-

cal institute. ODIHR experts described the nuances of legislative and administrative matters, a media analyst presented the findings of an extensive, four-month monitoring of the national media, and a political analyst sketched the political landscape. Steering the whole operation was the former Head of the OSCE Presence in Albania, Ambassador Geert-Hinrich Ahrens of Germany, who delivered a message of appreciation and encouragement and gave other practical instructions.

On Christmas eve, packed buses and trains took observers to every corner of the country. They lost no time in familiarizing themselves with their assigned locations, checking out polling stations and making preparations for the big day. Pizzas and sandwiches were the holiday fare for most. Mindful of the fact that many of their col-

Kyiv's Independent Square goes "orange".

Photo: ODIHR/Urdur Gunnarsdottir

21 November. Second round of voting takes place.

22 November. Observers assess election day even less favourably than the first round. "With an even heavier heart than three weeks ago, I have to repeat the message from the first round," Bruce George says. "The Election Observation Mission concludes that the second round has failed to address election irregularities and lacked transparency. The deficiencies have not been addressed."

Emphasizing that the electoral process has not been concluded and urging transparency, especially in the tabulation of votes, Ambassador Geert-Hinrich Ahrens says: "While this was certainly a competitive election, it was not conducted on a level playing field."



Keeping vigil in freezing temperatures.

26 November, 1 December and 6 December.

High-level roundtables with the main political actors are held at the presidential Mariinsky Palace to help resolve the mounting crisis. OSCE Secretary General Ján Kubiš takes part at the request of the Bulgarian Chairmanship. The international mediation efforts pave the way for the repeat of the second election.

26 December. The second round of voting is repeated.

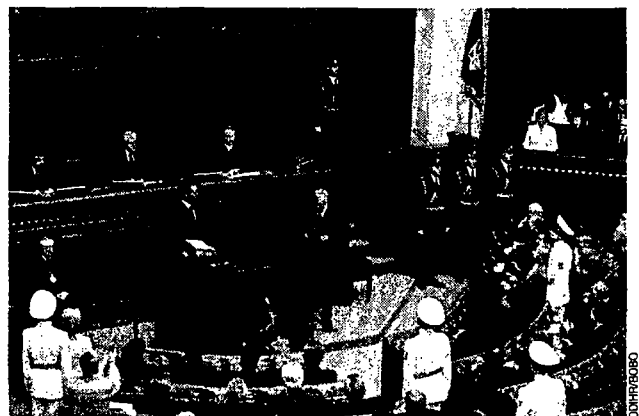


A Ukrainian citizen makes her voice heard.

27 December. The OSCE/ODIHR mission announces in a preliminary statement that the repeat second round has taken Ukraine substantially closer to meeting international standards.

10 January 2005. The Central Election Commission announces that Viktor Yushchenko has won the repeat second run-off, after he registers as leading by 8 percentage points.

23 January. Viktor Yushchenko is sworn in as president. Guests include Chairman-in-Office Dimitrij Rupel and Secretary General Ján Kubiš.



Ukraine inaugurates its new head of state, 23 January.

and I had flown in earlier and were standing by to provide support.

From the airport, we whisked the Secretary General to a bilateral meeting with departing President Leonid Kuchma. He was spending the last few weeks of his presidency in his official residence outside the city. As we drove through the snow-covered woods, I felt uniquely privileged — as a Ukrainian-born staff member of the largest security organization in Europe — to be taking part in the making of history in my own country.

After the one-hour meeting, we proceeded to our next appointment: discussions with the leader of the democratic opposition, Viktor Yushchenko. We found his election headquarters in Podil, the historic part of the city, buzzing with revolutionary fervour. People exuded conviction and deep confidence in their cause.

That evening, the first of what was to be a series of “roundtable” meetings was held in the presidential Mariinsky Palace, in central Kyiv. President Aleksander Kwasniewski of Poland, President Valdas Adamkus of Lithuania, EU High Representative Javier Solana, OSCE Secretary General Ján Kubiš, and Speaker of the Russian State *Duma*, Boris Grizlov, were joined by the central figures in Ukraine’s crisis: President Kuchma, Chairman of the *Verkhovna Rada* (parliament) Volodymyr Lytvyn, and the two presidential contenders, Viktor Yushchenko and Viktor Yanukovich.

The meeting proved to be a timely and ground-breaking confidence-building measure. It was the first face-to-face encounter between the two camps since the election. Tension and unease were in the air. Gradually, however, this gave way to dialogue — a major feat, given the wide chasm between the two sides.

The OSCE’s preliminary findings and conclusions concerning the second round of the presidential election served as the springboard for discussions. Citing the report of the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR), the Secretary General pointed out that “the second round of the Ukrainian presidential election did not meet a considerable number of OSCE commitments and Council of Europe and other European standards for democratic elections”.

This first meeting ended with a joint statement urging all sides to refrain from the use of force and to start negotiations towards a peaceful settlement of the political stalemate. Although the Ukrainian leaders

and the citizens themselves were the key players, the engagement of the international mediators — at the roundtable talks as well as in the flurry of behind-the-scenes diplomacy — was essential to maintaining the momentum of the complex process.

A second meeting was held on 1 December, followed by a third on 6 December. The latter lasted six hours, ending only after 2.00 a.m. the next day, reflecting the general intransigence on both sides. At a particularly trying moment, the heads of delegation secluded themselves in another room to try to come up with an agreement among themselves. The rest of us waited anxiously and impatiently, exchanging views and trying hard to fight exhaustion and drowsiness. Everyone was eager to bring about a positive outcome.

When Parliamentary Chairman Lytvyn emerged from behind closed doors and shook his head, looking dejected, I realized our optimism had been premature: the meeting was to conclude without an agreement after all, although a statement to the press was issued.

The discussions did serve to create a sound basis for the critical compromise reached the next day, 8 December, at the *Verkhovna Rada*, which, in turn, paved the way for the repeat of the second round of elections on 26 December.

People’s faces reflected determination while radiating peace and good cheer.
Photo: ODIHR/Urdur Gunnarsdottir



The New York Times goes on the road in Kazakhstan

Journalism master classes reflect spirit of Helsinki



The long road from Helsinki to the windswept steppes of Central Asia took me almost three decades to travel. As a foreign correspondent for *The New York Times*, I had covered the creation in 1975 of what is now the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe. Thanks to the OSCE, I found myself in the back room of a small restaurant in Kyzy Lorda, Kazakhstan, in December 2004, teaching a score of enthusiastic local journalists the basics of Western-style reporting and news-writing.

BY CHRISTOPHER S. WREN

The OSCE has become a family affair. My son, Chris, a trial lawyer in New York City, worked during his law-school vacation in 1997 as an election monitor for the OSCE in the Bosnian city of Brcko. So it seemed logical that after retiring from nearly 29 years at *The Times*, I should sign on as a media consultant and trainer for the OSCE in Kazakhstan, which belonged to the Soviet Union when I first visited it as bureau chief in Moscow.

On another trip to Kazakhstan for the Washington-based International Center for Journalists in 2003, I met Beata Martin-Rozumilowicz, political and media officer at the OSCE Centre in Almaty. She invited me to conduct a series of master classes for young Kazakhstani journalists.

I developed a two-day intensive seminar in reporting and editing and took it to 10 cities and towns around Kazakhstan from February to December 2004: Astana, Atyrau, Aktau, Aktobe, Karagandy, Kostanai, Kokshetau, Kyzy Lorda, Shymkent and Oral. Ian MacWilliam, a correspondent for the BBC in Almaty, held similar master classes in five other cities. Nine of the 15 classes were funded by the Delegation of the United Kingdom to the OSCE.

The Helsinki Final Act, which I reported on from the Finnish capital in 1975, pledged the signatory nations to encourage such exchanges of experience between experts in

the press, radio and television. "The master class," one of my students in Astana wrote afterwards, "reminded me how important it is not to forget the basic principles upon which the profession of a journalist is based."

Although I have taught at Princeton University and Dartmouth College in the United States, I made it clear that I had come to Kazakhstan as a colleague, sharing the knowledge that I had accumulated during 40 years as a working journalist.

"Not everything would work here," one of the participants demurred. I agreed. I invited them to challenge, modify or discard anything I said, because we Americans had no monopoly on the truth. I didn't care what they wrote, I said, but I wanted them to learn to do it well.

The idea behind the master classes was to hone the professional skills of journalists, most of whom are still trying to overcome the legacy of the old Soviet Union, which taught journalists to function as propagandists. This role has changed in Kazakhstan, but many journalism schools haven't. A developing democracy needs an independent media, not just to help citizens make informed choices but also to function as a watchdog against official or unofficial misfeasance.

WHIMSICAL RULES

My students complained that their own journalism schools were long on theory and short on practice. "In two days, we have covered a volume of information which would have taken one year at a university," one told me after the master class. Another said she had heard of newspapers like *The New York Times*, but had never seen a copy before I brought some to the master class.

My classes, conducted in Russian with some additional translation into Kazakh,

Master class participants with
The New York Times.
Photo: Tanya Bogusevich/
Centre in Almaty



Learning from Poland.

Polish media professionals share expertise

More than 350 junior journalists, aged 18 to 25, completed one of the 15 master classes held all across Kazakhstan in 2004. The best 15 participants from the regions were sent on a two-week professional internship in Poland, where they toured newsrooms and radio and television stations and exchanged views with leading local journalists. The internship programme was made possible through a partnership between the OSCE Centre in Almaty and the Polish-Czech-Slovak Solidarity Foundation, with the assistance of the Polish Embassy in Kazakhstan.

Junior journalists in Atyrau realize "unattainable dream"

By Iliya Agayev

There was not a single empty seat at a two-day seminar for budding journalists in Atyrau, known as the "oil capital of Kazakhstan" (Note that my country has many capitals!). Not too many young people are involved in journalism in this western city of 200,000, so the level of attendance was a major achievement in itself. What's more, the seminar organizers managed to draw in journalism students from the local university. Most of them, including the most senior, have had extremely limited theoretical and even less practical training.

Thanks to the fairly large media market and the relatively frequent training sessions and seminars in Almaty and Astana, Kazakhstan's old and new capital cities, junior reporters somehow manage to develop their skills and supplement the knowledge acquired at university.

However, for the overwhelming majority of their colleagues in the other regions, participation in events of this kind remains an unattainable dream, and they are forced to make do with what little is on offer locally. Since the most talented regional journalists usually seek work in the capital cities, their young, aspiring colleagues from the provinces often have no one to look up to from whom they can gain experience.

Christopher Wren, our principal trainer, is a journalist with some three decades' worth of experience working under the most varied and difficult conditions. However, skills alone, even the very best, are often not enough to make someone an effective teacher. What is also required is a special talent to enable the trainer to pass on knowledge in a way that is accessible to beginners.

This is exactly where Mr. Wren was at his best. An excellently structured programme, training modules that

took into account the primary needs of neophyte reporters, accessible language, a willingness to answer questions, and finally, practical assignments designed to consolidate the knowledge conveyed — these were the elements that made the seminar so special.

What was particularly important was that the trainer had an excellent understanding of the situation concerning journalism in the post-Soviet environment. Because of his previous work in the old Soviet Union, he was able to compare journalism then and now.

I believe it is fair to say that the two-day seminar in Atyrau was a notable event in the professional life of the region's up-and-coming journalists like myself.

Iliya Agayev, 22, took part in the pilot master class for young journalists organized by the OSCE Centre in Almaty in February 2004. He now works for the Epokha weekly newspaper in Almaty.



Journalists examine a newspaper with a critical eye.

