

# HELSINKI +40

## OSCE PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY'S HELSINKI +40 PROJECT 2014-2015



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*Building the OSCE of the Future*

**HELSINKI +40****OSCE PA**

# 2015 OSCE PA ANNUAL SESSION HELSINKI +40 PROJECT REPORT

## HELSINKI +40: BUILDING THE OSCE OF THE FUTURE

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*Prepared by the International Secretariat of the OSCE PA*

*Photos by Yuri Sergeev of RIAC, George Marshall and Victoria Langton of GMF, Melker Dahlstrand of the Swedish Riksdag, Nat Parry of the OSCE PA, and Dado Djilas of the National Assembly of Serbia*

## Forward

**Moscow****Washington****Stockholm****Copenhagen****Belgrade**

**T**his publication offers an overview of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly's Helsinki +40 Project, which was launched in January 2014 to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe's founding document, the 1975 Helsinki Final Act. It begins with the final report of the Helsinki +40 Project, then provides a detailed overview of each of the five Helsinki +40 seminars, including their full programmes. While far from comprehensive, the brochure strives to provide a thorough description of the seminars, discussing in detail the general themes touched upon by the participants, the recommendations offered and the conclusions reached, with a view towards strengthening the OSCE as it heads into its fifth decade.

Special thanks go to Project Chair Joao Soares and Co-Chair Ilkka Kanerva, appointed by former OSCE PA President Ranko Krivokapic, for the political leadership they have provided to this endeavour. Special recognition also goes to the think tanks and parliaments that have hosted the seminars for their generous support, as well as to Maria Chepurina, Programme Officer at the OSCE PA, for her invaluable work on this project.

Documents supplementing this report, including food-for-thought papers and speeches, are available on the Assembly's website at [www.oscepa.org](http://www.oscepa.org).

**R. Spencer Oliver**

OSCE PA Secretary General  
Helsinki +40 Special Project Co-ordinator

Copenhagen, June 2015

## Helsinki +40 Project Final Report



Project Chair Joao Soares (MP, Portugal) speaks alongside RIAC President Igor Ivanov at the first seminar in Moscow, 25 Sept. 2014.

### Background: Why is the 40th anniversary of the Helsinki Final Act important?

The significance of the Helsinki Final Act lay in its articulation of a security concept that was as innovative as it was comprehensive. In an era in which security was almost exclusively defined in relation to the external security of States, inter-state relations and military threats, the agreement bound politico-military security to two additional dimensions: the economic-environmental and the human. This was an unprecedented departure given that, amidst sustained militarized hostility between competing blocs, human rights and fundamental freedoms had not hitherto been addressed as genuine security issues.

The timeliness of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE, the forerunner to the OSCE) and this new approach were reflected in the immediate centrality of the human dimension to the Organization's workings. As Peter Schlotter, professor of political science at the University of Heidelberg, explains: "The basis of the CSCE accords was a trade-off: The Western states complied with the desire of the Soviet Union and its allies for recognition – political and under international law – of the post-war territorial status quo. In return, the West sought to bind Soviet foreign policy to norms and rules."<sup>1</sup> The latter was deemed

<sup>1</sup> P. Schlotter. The OSCE's contribution to democratic peace – 30 years of the Helsinki Final Act. 2005.

achievable through mutual respect for human rights and democracy, hinting at the reinvention of the very concept of 'security' that was underway.

Another notable feature that differentiated the Helsinki Final Act from other inter-governmental instruments was the fact that it was essentially an agreement born of continued disagreement in the thematic areas concerned. Although it was implicitly acknowledged that participating States would continue to hold divergent views across all three dimensions, it was implied that all three dimensions would be thoroughly reviewed during the 1977 Belgrade Follow-Up Meeting.

This linkage – not only as a negotiating tactic, but also as an institutionalized principle of international relations – would be emulated by many governments and institutions in the years to come. The Helsinki Final Act's establishment of a comprehensive forum for both parties also helped lay the groundwork for ending the Cold War in the spirit of the Charter of Paris.

The Helsinki Final Act is a testament to what is possible when States make a concerted effort to not let differences override a parallel search for common understanding. The future of the OSCE depends on the political will, steadfast commitment to dialogue, trust and compromise and, in particular, observance of the Helsinki Decalogue of Principles by its participating States. It equally depends on the ability of the Organization itself to reform and adjust to new challenges.

### Introduction

The OSCE Parliamentary Assembly's Helsinki +40 Project, launched in January 2014 and culminating in the Assembly's 24th Annual Session in Helsinki in July 2015, brought together distinguished experts, diplomats, academics, students, negotiators, CSCE/OSCE veterans, and the most experienced OSCE PA parliamentarians to exchange views, share history, experi-

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Rolf Ekeus, former OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities, speaks during the seminar in Stockholm.

ence the Organization as it was at the beginning and how it has developed until today.

This Helsinki +40 Project provided a crucial opportunity to reflect on what the OSCE has accomplished as an organization and identify where reform is needed for it to stay relevant and efficient, especially in light of the crisis in and around Ukraine, which has been a litmus test of both the Organization's strengths and weaknesses.

The discussions have been candid, enlightening, and creative. The project has given visibility and credibility to the OSCE's broader Helsinki +40 Process, initiated in December 2012, and has been an exercise worthy of its contribution to the history and the future of the OSCE.

### Consolidated Recommendations

#### The OSCE's role in reconsolidating European Security

The relevance of the OSCE is enshrined in its principles, which are not merely a set of mecha-

nisms or tools, but serve as the foundation of Euro-Atlantic security. Unfortunately, the entire Decalogue of Principles has been broken during the Ukraine crisis. The damage that has been done may be irreparable and the OSCE, even if it does survive, will emerge in a greatly diminished form unless all participating States reconfirm the relevance of and their respect for the Helsinki Commitments and recommit to follow it not only in words but also in action.

There is no need for a new Decalogue of Principles, as no agreement of similar strength can be expected to be reached today. The political commitments made in the Helsinki Final Act remain of fundamental importance for today's security architecture. However, the wide array of existing OSCE tools might be better used to strengthen the implementation of the commitments undertaken and to ensure that they are upheld by the participating States. The Organization should also focus on further strengthening its comparative advantages and focus primarily on areas where it

*There is no need for a new Decalogue of Principles, as no agreement of similar strength could be expected to be reached today.*

can add value, without duplicating the work of other organizations in the field. In this context, applying the "less is more" philosophy, which builds on the already existing acquis of the organization, sets new realistic objectives and considers the amount of resources available, could bring the best results.

Such tools could include, among others, the Human Dimension Moscow Mechanism, which provides the possibility for participat-



Participants gathered at the Swedish Parliament for the OSCE PA's third Helsinki +40 seminar on 11 March 2015.

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ing States to establish ad hoc missions of independent experts to assist in the resolution of a specific human dimension problem, the Prague – or consensus minus one – Mechanism and the Mechanism for Consultation and Co-operation as regards unusual military activities, or the Vienna Mechanism, as well as several others, previously used. The OSCE Institutions should be less dependent on politics, not more. Strengthening OSCE Institutions by expanding their independence and allowing greater room for action which would not require a preliminary consensus decision of the Permanent Council can be part of the solution.

Such action could include professional mediation and multilateral verification/fact-finding activities through country visits, including within the scope of the Vienna Document.<sup>2</sup> These activities could be conducted by joint efforts of OSCE Institutions which should be granted standing invitations to enable them to hold visits without requesting separate invitations each time. The OSCE PA could be associated more closely with such activities through mandates to conduct fact finding, monitoring and mediation missions. In addition, the Conflict Prevention Centre can be further strengthened, notably in its operational and planning capacity.

The powers and role of the Chairperson-in-Office and the Secretary General should also be reviewed, to ensure their adequate political

<sup>2</sup> The Vienna Document contains the OSCE's primary military confidence- and security-building measures.



OSCE PA SG Spencer Oliver, Pres. Ilkka Kanerva and Head of Serbian Delegation Dijana Vukomanovic listen to Sonja Licht of the Belgrade Fund for Political Excellence, 27 May 2015, Belgrade.

role and decision-making capacities. In addition, to counter the perception of the OSCE as a “non-career” Organization and to attract top international talent into its ranks, the term limits for professional staff need to be softened. The OSCE reliance on secondments also needs to be reduced, especially for posts in the field. This, and an end to the ongoing de facto decrease of budget resources could contribute to enhancing the Organization’s professional capacities.

Although all OSCE participating States face the same transnational threats, be it terrorism, human trafficking or cyber-crime, to mention but a few, they have not made full use of the OSCE’s potential for joint co-operation and effective response to these threats and societal deficiencies.

Yet, the complexity of transnational challenges demonstrates that OSCE participating States can benefit from closer co-operation rather than from drifting further apart.

The other main problem witnessed almost everywhere is a lack of good governance capacity at all levels to address a multitude of perceived threats. Through better adjusting its tools to address such problems, the OSCE can enhance its significance and relevance.

### Consequences for the OSCE of the crisis in and around Ukraine

Although the Organization has been facing serious difficulties and challenges to its purpose and political relevance over the last 20 years, the current crisis in and around Ukraine has brought the OSCE to the fore as the sole international organization accepted by all parties to the conflict that aims to find a political solution to the crisis. The OSCE is more necessary than ever, seminar participants agreed, and it has demonstrated, during this crisis, that over the years it has developed a wide array of instruments to address crisis situations, although the use of these instruments is significantly weakened by the consensus requirement in the Per-

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manent Council.

Thus, while temporarily increasing the visibility of the OSCE, the crisis has also highlighted its weaknesses, such as insufficiency of effective tools, restricted mandates, lengthy decision-making procedures and limited resources. The existing OSCE conflict prevention mechanisms failed to prevent and counter the crisis from the outset.

The OSCE needs immediate reaction mechanisms, which could enable the OSCE Secretary General or the Chairperson-in-Office, in consultation with each other, to immediately deploy an observer or fact-finding mission on the territory of the state that alleges it has been victim of aggression, several seminar participants suggested. In such situations, if additional decisions are necessary, the Permanent Council should be able to act on the basis of a modified consensus rule that would prevent either of the parties to the dispute from blocking a decision.

At the current stage of the crisis, the inefficiency of the Permanent Council meetings, during which Ambassadors appear to be talking past each other rather than seriously working towards finding a joint solution, has been apparent. To ensure that the OSCE acts as a platform for political dialogue that makes a difference worthy of the name, the participants in the dialogue need to be on a political level, based in capitals, as envisioned in the Charter of Paris when the OSCE was institutionalized.

The first and foremost task for the OSCE is to work towards a political settlement of the Ukraine crisis based on respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country, as enshrined in the Helsinki Decalogue of Principles. Without this, mutual trust in the OSCE area cannot be restored. It is in the interest of all OSCE participating States to prevent the emergence of another protracted conflict in the area. Everything should also be done to ensure that Ukraine does not become a “new Berlin Wall” separating Russia and the West.

In addition, the OSCE needs to intensify its efforts in arms control, disarmament and confidence-building, including at regional levels. Previously agreed arms control mechanisms currently suspended or jeopardized should be



revived and strengthened. Fuller use of the existing tools and mechanisms of arms control, disarmament and CSBMs, could be done, for example, by agreeing upon an additional code, or codes, of conduct for the participating States in the most problematic areas, and on gradual modernization of the existing one to ensure the mechanisms are adapted to new security challenges. There is an urgent need to find ways out of the crisis of conventional arms control mechanisms. The possibility of establishing peace-keeping operations, possibly as a joint effort with the UN, EU, CSTO and NATO could also be explored.

Ways to increase women’s role in conflict mediation and early warning needs to be further considered. A gender-sensitive approach could be adopted when conflict prevention and resolution strategies are developed, including within the OSCE Code of Conduct on Politico-Military Aspects of Security.

### **Need for structural reform of the OSCE and modernization of its mechanisms**

Although the crisis within the OSCE is first and foremost political, and can only be fully countered through a political pledge by its participating States to respect and fully implement commitments undertaken, there is also a dire need for structural reform of the OSCE, which would focus on modernization of structures and improvement of procedures of the Organization.

Most diplomatic missions to the OSCE as well as Foreign Ministries consider the consensus rule indispensable, as it gives a sense of power and ownership of the Organization to each of its participating States, notwithstanding their size and political weight. In the current

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political environment, marked by a very low level of political trust within the OSCE, decisions leading towards gradual modification of the consensus rule may not be realistic except for a possibility of minor adjustments related to personnel and administration as called for by the OSCE PA.

A major step forward would be for the OSCE governmental side to examine the decision making practices, such as qualified majority and consensus minus one, as already applied in the OSCE PA, and consensus minus two (excluding the parties to a dispute), as foreseen by the OSCE Court of Conciliation and Arbitration. In addition, a differentiated set of majority requirements could be applied to managerial decisions, which could require consensus-minus-one or two or by adopting what the OSCE PA has termed “virtual consensus” requiring a consensus of 90 per cent of both membership and financial contributions.

The lack of transparency and accountability of the Organization continues to be a matter of concern and criticism. The OSCE PA has repeatedly recommended that closed-door Permanent Council meetings be open to the public and the press.

In the human dimension, the OSCE has developed a strong internationally recognized presence in a number key areas, related to promoting compliance with human rights commitments. These include the activities carried out by the OSCE Representative on Freedom of the Media, the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities, Office for Democratic

Institutions and Human Rights, activities of the OSCE field presences in the human dimension, work of the OSCE PA Chair of the Committee on Democracy, Human Rights and Humanitarian Questions and election observation. These institutions do not, however, guarantee that alleged violations of human rights will be properly addressed by the Organization. The Moscow Mechanism (also known as the Human Dimension Mechanism), regularly applied in the 1990s, has become a dormant procedure over the past decade, notably after failing to work appropriately with regard to Turkmenistan in 2002 and Belarus in 2011.

The current practice of relegating the overview of implementation of human dimension commitments to lengthy, poorly attended

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Human Dimension Implementation Meetings (HDIMs) in Warsaw needs to be changed, while regular open review sessions in Vienna should be introduced. The OSCE could equally admit the possibility to deal with

individual human rights-related complaints, notably from individuals from OSCE participating States that are not members of the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR).<sup>3</sup> The strengthening of OSCE activities in the field of security and the economy should not be at the expense of the human dimension or to the detriment of key OSCE values in the human dimension. All suggested reforms should be gender-sensitive and ensure that the gender component is integrated into the OSCE’s processes.

## **Towards a stronger OSCE field presence**

As a regional arrangement under Chapter VIII of the UN Charter, the OSCE today has greater operational capabilities than it had in the 1990s,

3 A. Zagorski. Comparing human rights instruments of the OSCE, United Nations and Council of Europe. OSCE Focus Conference Proceedings. 2013

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with one of its key strengths being field work experience and presence in conflict zones of the OSCE area. The crisis in and around Ukraine has underlined that the Organization's long-term presence on the ground is one of its key strengths. Such presence not only enables the OSCE to monitor the developments, providing unbiased information and acting as an impartial observer, but also assist participating States in preventing conflicts, managing crisis situations and post-conflict reconciliation, as well as support implementation of the commitments undertaken.

The recently established Special Monitoring Mission to Ukraine has played a useful role in bringing transparency to events in that country, despite working within a relatively limited mandate. However, the mandate prepared by the Permanent Council for the Observer Mission at the Russian Checkpoints Gukovo and Donetsk severely limited its ability to actually report cross-border events, which rendered this mission ineffective. The consensus rule again in this case limited the Organization's ability to act effectively.

The comparative advantage of the OSCE – its field presences – is being increasingly undermined due to, on one hand, lack of adequate, timely funding and multi-year budgets and mandates, and on the other hand, over-reliance on seconded personnel and extra-budgetary contributions. Bias and suspicion towards the work carried out by the missions results in their frequent downgrading and/or closure, such as in the cases of Azerbaijan, Belarus and Kazakhstan.

There is a need for more, not fewer, field presences, which should have at least two-year budgets and even longer planning cycles. The activities of the missions should also be critically evaluated to ensure their direct, efficient and result-oriented engagement with the authorities, citizens and other organizations in the host country. The missions should focus their activities on areas where their engagement is both needed most and appreciated by the country where it is located.

The trend of field mission closure and mandate restriction needs to be urgently curbed.



RIAC President Igor Ivanov, Ambassador Javier Ruperez and Secretary General Spencer Oliver at the first seminar in Moscow, 25 Sept. 2014.

A new type of thematic and region-wide mission with specific Helsinki commitment-related mandates should be considered.

The level of competence, length of assignment and level of remuneration of the seconded staff of missions should be similar to those of diplomats sent on bilateral assignments.

### **Lack of International Legal Personality of the OSCE**

Although considered by some participating States as essential for the OSCE's flexibility, the OSCE's lack of legal personality has at times resulted in serious challenges for the OSCE on an operational level. This includes uncertainties as to the status of the OSCE field presences in the host countries, difficulty entering into agreements on co-operation with other international organizations as well as uncertainty as to the liability of the OSCE and its officials vis-à-vis third parties, to mention but a few.

This was demonstrated in Ukraine, where the OSCE's rapid reaction capacities were significantly impacted at the outset by the lack of a formal legal status in the host State, which called into question security and immunity recognition of the mission members, hindered their freedom of movement and access to military sites as well as the delivery and use of necessary technology, including the unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs).

The OSCE PA has from the outset been an active advocate of strengthening the legal framework of the OSCE, giving the OSCE legal personality as well as privileges and immunities in line with those of other international organizations. The OSCE PA has been regularly raised the topic, urging the adoption of the 2007 draft Convention on the International Legal Person-

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ality, Legal Capacity, and Privileges and Immunities of the OSCE, while at the same time underlining that the document should ensure that the PA's role, status and involvement in the OSCE's work as one of the OSCE Institutions is codified correctly and does not impede a future strengthening of its role.

An agreement in principle on the desirability of drafting the Charter could be an important decision within the framework of the Helsinki +40 Process.

### **The Parliamentary Assembly as the democratic dimension of the OSCE**

The OSCE Parliamentary Assembly occupies a unique position within the OSCE, as it provides a vital link between the governmental side of the Organization and the people in the OSCE area. Founded under the 1990 Charter of Paris, the Parliamentary Assembly already existed when the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe was transformed into an Organization at the Budapest Summit in December 1994. The OSCE PA is thus the oldest established OSCE Institution which still exists in its original form.

The OSCE PA's key strengths consist in an effective decision-making process (simple majority, qualified majority and consensus minus one), transparency (openness of OSCE PA proceedings to the public and the media, their online streaming), accountability (yearly independent budget auditing) and gender balance promotion (tasking each participating State to ensure that both genders are represented on each national Delegation to the PA).<sup>4</sup>In the current political environment, the role of parliamentarians and of the OSCE parliamentary structure provides an important platform for vibrant inter-parliamentary dialogue, creates a platform for direct inter-personal contacts

among parliamentarians and candid discussion of critical OSCE issues.

In order to counter the democratic deficit within the OSCE and strengthen the legitimacy of the Organization's work creating a direct link with the citizens it serves, the parliamentary dimension of the OSCE should be better integrated in the work of the Organization. This could include the election by the OSCE PA of the OSCE Secretary General, approval of appointments of Heads of Institutions, vesting the PA with decisions on admission of new participating States as well as granting it oversight over and approval of the Organization's budget.

Beginning with the election observation mission to the Russian Federation in 1993, the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly has established its leadership in OSCE election observation. In 1997, the Danish Chairmanship negotiated

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the improved co-operation of OSCE election observation efforts between the OSCE PA and the OSCE/ODIHR, reaching an agreement through which a parliamentarian provides political leadership and is put

in charge of delivering the statement and the ODIHR conducts long-term observation and plays an important role supporting OSCE PA election observation missions.

It is also in the best overall interests of the Organization that the OSCE PA and the OSCE/ODIHR work co-operatively during election observation missions as one "OSCE election observation mission" using one OSCE logo, under the political leadership of the Special Coordinator, as intended by the 1997 Co-operation Agreement endorsed by the 2006 Brussels Ministerial Council Decision on Strengthening the Effectiveness of the OSCE.

### **Towards closer co-operation with the Partners**

Even if further geographical enlargement of the OSCE does not seem necessary now, more

<sup>4</sup> For additional details please refer to the OSCE PA Rules of Procedure.

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dialogue and real involvement of the partners for co-operation, including in the daily work of the OSCE, is needed. The region south of the Mediterranean Sea should be under particular focus, with stronger OSCE engagement on the issues of migration and human trafficking. The possibility of including additional partner countries can also be considered.

The Organization should also consider ways to spread the “spirit of Helsinki” through sharing its heritage, lessons learned and legacy with countries and regions, notably East Asia.

### Project Overview

In December 2012, the OSCE Ministerial Council adopted a decision in Dublin initiating the Helsinki +40 Process as an effort to provide political impetus to “strengthening our co-operation in the OSCE on the way towards 2015, a year that marks four decades since the signing of the Helsinki Final Act.” The following year, the Ministerial Council encouraged the forthcoming OSCE Chairmanships to seek further contributions to the process by the OSCE executive structures and the OSCE PA.

Considering its unique position within the Organization as the link between the governmental side of the OSCE and the people of the OSCE area, the PA recognized its responsibility to foster public debate and build support for the Helsinki +40 Process. The Istanbul Declaration, adopted at the Assembly’s 22nd Annual Session in 2013, underlined the need to inform the public about the process, to increase both interest and transparency.

In the autumn of 2013, Secretary General Spencer Oliver proposed to President Ranko Krivokapic (MP, Montenegro) that the PA launch a project leading up to the 40th anniversary of the Helsinki Final Act in 2015.

The project would include leaders of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly, prominent think tanks with expertise in the OSCE, diplomats – including former diplomats who had participated in the Helsinki process from the beginning – and representatives of civil society interested in the CSCE/OSCE.

President Krivokapic appointed former PA

President Joao Soares of Portugal as Chair of the Project along with Ilkka Kanerva of Finland and Francois-Xavier de Donnea of Belgium as Co-Chairs. Members of the OSCE PA Transparency and Accountability Committee were also invited to participate in the project. The Project was to be co-ordinated by Secretary General Oliver, supported by Programme Officer Maria Chepurina.

The OSCE PA International Secretariat subsequently engaged the Russian International Affairs Council in Moscow, the German Marshall Fund in Washington, D.C., the Swedish Institute of International Affairs in Stockholm, the Danish Institute for International Studies in Copenhagen and the Belgrade Fund for Political Excellence in Belgrade, as well as the Finnish Institute of International Affairs in Helsinki.

Through the engagement of distinguished experts, politicians and diplomats who have been involved in CSCE/OSCE activities, the project has initiated discussions on the OSCE’s Helsinki +40 Process, providing important food-for-thought materials and recommendations for the OSCE participating States and the Organization as a whole. The seminars featured focused discussions held under the Chatham House Rule.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Under the Chatham House Rule, anyone who comes to the meeting is free to use information from the discussion, but is not allowed to reveal who made the comment. It is designed to increase openness.

This report provides an overview of the main topics discussed and key recommendations made during the OSCE PA Helsinki +40 seminars as understood by the OSCE PA Rapporteurs. The report takes into consideration opinions expressed in the written contributions submitted by the seminars’ keynote speakers and during the exchanges of views that occurred in each of the events.

Some of the recommendations have been subject to debate and have not led to unanimity. The Rapporteurs accept responsibility for any possible omissions or inadvertent mischaracterizations of panelists’ views that may have occurred during the drafting and editing process.

First Seminar - Moscow



The first seminar in the OSCE PA's Helsinki +40 Project was hosted by the Russian International Affairs Council (RIAC) in Moscow, 25 Sept. 2014.

The first of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly's Helsinki +40 seminar series took place in Moscow on 25-26 September 2014, with participants assessing the present role of the OSCE, including how the Organization is addressing the crisis in Ukraine.

The use of the OSCE's various tools in response to the Ukraine crisis was seen as a sign of the Organization's continued relevance, while the crisis also points to the need for reform, participants said.

The seminar, held under the theme "Helsinki +40 Process: Prospects for Strengthening the OSCE," was hosted by the Russian International Affairs Council (RIAC) and featured addresses by OSCE parliamentary leaders, Russian lawmakers and OSCE experts.

In his opening remarks, OSCE PA President Ilkka Kanerva (MP, Finland) urged participants

to take stock of "the current period of profound crisis and uncertainty in the OSCE region... where heightened tensions and bellicose rhetoric between participating States are reminiscent of the past decades and most discouragingly, there appears to be limited appetite for compromise."

"The rapidly evolving geopolitical landscape presents new challenges which the OSCE's existing capacities may be inadequate to cope with... I believe that in order to move from abstract ideas into concrete proposals on these issues, one should conduct a lessons-learned exercise on the OSCE's response to the crisis in Ukraine. The Parliamentary Assembly could contribute significantly to such an endeavor," Kanerva said.

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Assembly President Ilkka Kanerva

Andrei Zagorski, Head of Department at the Institute of World Economy and International Relations - Russian Academy of Sciences, offered a similar proposal in presenting his paper for the seminar.

He suggested that a general review meeting of OSCE leaders should be convened in 2015 to reconfirm the principles of the Helsinki Final Act.

In the discussions that followed, participants also considered the prospect of agreeing to a legally-binding OSCE charter and a more political role for the OSCE Secretary General.

OSCE PA Secretary General



OSCE PA Secretary General Spencer Oliver at RIAC-OSCE PA Helsinki +40 seminar, Moscow, 25 Sept. 2014

## First Seminar - Moscow



Helsinki +40 Project Chair Joao Soares speaks at the first seminar of the OSCE PA's Helsinki +40 Project in Moscow.



OSCE PA Vice-President Kent Harstedt (right) speaks with Andrey Zagorsky, Head of Department at the Institute of World Economy and International Relations - Russian Academy of Sciences.

Spencer Oliver suggested that gross violations by Russia of OSCE principles in the context of the Ukraine conflict threatened to make the crisis “the final act for the Helsinki Final Act.” Oliver also called on the Russian side to accept the facts of the situation, rather than denying its role in the crisis.

In presenting his paper for the seminar, Ambassador Javier Ruperez, a former OSCE PA President and participant in the drafting of the Helsinki Final Act, also emphasized that the OSCE should not stop using or referring to the Final Act’s core decalogue of Principles Guiding Relations between Participating States. “The Organization must also continue to focus on the primacy of human rights to security,” he said.

Igor Ivanov, the President of RIAC, echoed the consensus of participants that despite challenges, the OSCE’s response to the Ukraine crisis has demonstrated that its tool box is diverse and still very much relied upon in today’s world. He went on to urge policymakers not to allow the crisis to create “another Berlin Wall between East and West.”

Helsinki +40 Project Chair Joao Soares (MP, Portugal) stressed the importance of the Parliamentary Assembly, arguing for an increased role within the Organization in order to better tap into the voice of citizens across the OSCE area.

Alexey Pushkov, Chairman of the International Affairs Committee of the Russian State Duma; Vladimir Dzhubarov, the First Vice-Chairman of the Foreign Affairs

Committee in Russia’s Federation Council; and Ivan Soltanovskiy, Director of the Department of European Affairs at the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs all spoke at the seminar, detailing Russia’s commitment to working within and improving the OSCE.

Soltanovskiy also discussed the consensus-based decision-making on the OSCE’s governmental side, an issue that was also addressed by several members of OSCE PA’s Ad Hoc Committee on Transparency and Reform of the OSCE who were in attendance.

Following the seminar on 26 September, Oliver, Soares, Ruperez and Goran Lenmarker, the Chairman Emeritus of the Governing Board of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), met with more than 50 master’s students from the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO University) to discuss the OSCE’s role in the world.

### RIAC report on strengthening the OSCE

The Moscow seminar was supplemented by a report prepared by Andrei Zagorski entitled “Strengthening the OSCE: Building a Common Space for Economic and Humanitarian Cooperation, an Indivisible Security Community from the Atlantic to the Pacific.” Edited by RIAC President Igor Ivanov, the report highlighted the relevance of co-operative crisis management tools in light of the Ukraine crisis, stressing in particular the unique mechanisms of the OSCE. The report advocated the political settlement of the Ukraine crisis based on respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country in order to restore mutual trust, and included recommendations aimed at strengthening the OSCE. The full report is available at [www.oscepa.org](http://www.oscepa.org).

## Second Seminar - Washington



GMF President Karen Donfried offers remarks at the opening of the Helsinki +40 seminar at the German Marshall Fund in Washington, 18 Nov. 2014

The second leg of the OSCE PA’s Helsinki +40 Project took place in Washington on 18-19 November, with former Assembly presidents, members of the U.S. Congress, diplomats, experts and academics considering how the OSCE can most effectively promote good transatlantic relations and respond to new challenges, particularly in light of the crisis in and around Ukraine.

The need for an East-West bridge that inspired the creation of the OSCE remains acute today, but the capacities of OSCE institutions, particularly its parliamentary dimension, must be strengthened, and there must be renewed focus on adherence to the Organization’s core principles, the participants said.

The Washington seminar, “Helsinki +40: Implications for the Transatlantic Relation-

ship,” was hosted by the German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF) and also included a session on Capitol Hill with U.S. Senator Benjamin Cardin and U.S. Congressman Christopher Smith, the Chair and Co-Chair, respectively, of the U.S. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (Helsinki Commission).

In opening the seminar, OSCE PA President Ilkka Kanerva (MP, Finland) laid out the challenges that the Helsinki +40 Project expects to address.

“What should be done to overcome the dividing lines and sclerosis that have emerged stronger than ever in the Organization over the past 20 years? How to make the participating States live up to their commitments and account for the transgression of the OSCE’s founding principles? And, in general, what mechanisms need to be developed to make the OSCE’s soft power a little harder and to prevent the Organization’s 40th anniversary from becoming a ‘final act’ for the Helsinki Final Act?” he asked.

GMF President Karen Donfried noted that the international community’s reliance on the OSCE to respond to the crisis in Ukraine had proven the Organization’s continued value, but that reform is needed to maximize its potential.

Martin Sletzinger, a Senior Scholar at the Wilson Center, and Klas Bergman, a journalist and former spokesperson for the OSCE PA, presented policy briefs for the seminar, tracing the lasting impact

### GMF policy briefs discuss enduring impact of Helsinki Final Act

Three policy briefing papers supplemented the debate in Washington: “The Helsinki Final Act: From Dissidents to Election Observation,” by Klas Bergman; “The Helsinki Final Act: Is There Life After 40?,” by Javier Ruperez; and “The Lasting Impact of the Helsinki Process,” by Martin Sletzinger. The briefs explored various aspects of the past and present of the Helsinki Final Act, examining the impact it has had on the ability to hold governments accountable for their human rights practices. The papers discussed, inter alia, the role of Helsinki monitor groups to ensure the implementation of human rights stipulations in the Helsinki Final Act and concluded that respect for both national sovereignty and international human rights are as important now as they were in 1975. All three are available at [www.oscepa.org](http://www.oscepa.org).

## Second Seminar - Washington

of the Helsinki Final Act and emphasizing the importance of a public dimension to the OSCE's work, in particular through the PA.

Ambassador Javier Ruperez, a former OSCE PA President and participant in the drafting of the Helsinki Final Act, also presented a paper at the seminar. He argued that public accountability for violations of the Act's principles would be key if the Organization is to weather the Ukraine crisis with its credibility intact.

Helsinki +40 Project Chair Joao Soares (MP, Portugal) recommended an expanded role for the PA within the OSCE as a means to increase credibility by giving elected representatives greater input in decision-making. He also emphasized that all OSCE participating States – not just Russia in the context of the Ukraine crisis – must be held to the standards they have vowed to uphold.

U.S. Senator Benjamin Cardin suggested that the OSCE should actively encourage and even institutionalize a self-evaluation procedure, whereby participating States assess their own actions against commitments undertaken in the OSCE, strengthening the Organization's spirit of mutual responsibility in the process.

U.S. Congressman Christopher Smith, who also serves as Head of the U.S. Delegation to the OSCE PA, called for the OSCE to make increased investments in training for its personnel and devote more resources to initiatives that combat anti-Semitism and human trafficking, among others.

Former OSCE PA President and U.S. Con-



gressman Alcee Hastings and several other participants argued that empowering the Organization to better respond to crises such as Ukraine requires reconsideration of the consensus-based decision-making that governs much

*“What mechanisms need to be developed to make the OSCE’s soft power a little harder and to prevent the Organization’s 40th anniversary from becoming a ‘final act’ for the Helsinki Final Act?”*

Assembly President Ilkka Kanerva

of what the OSCE can do. They noted that the December 2014 OSCE Ministerial Council meeting in Switzerland could provide an opportunity to reconsider the consensus rule, at least for budgetary and personnel issues as a start.

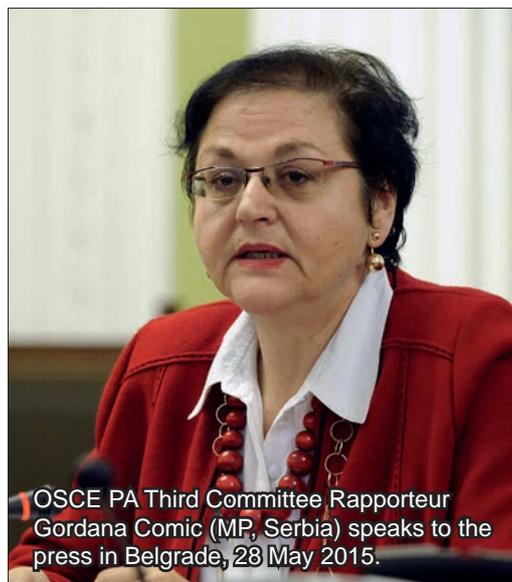
Other suggestions offered during the seminar included strengthening the Organization's accountability and transparency by opening Permanent Council meetings to the press and providing for a parliamentary role in approving the OSCE budget and appointments of senior officials.

Following the seminar, Kanerva, Soares and Ivan Vejvoda, the Senior Vice President for Programs at GMF, led a town-hall event on the OSCE with students at Washington's Georgetown University on 19 November.





Helsinki +40 seminar in Copenhagen, "The OSCE's Lack of Legal Status – Challenges in Crisis Situations," 27 April 2015



OSCE PA Third Committee Rapporteur Gordana Comić (MP, Serbia) speaks to the press in Belgrade, 28 May 2015.



Amb. Peter Burkhard addresses session on OSCE field presences at OSCE PA's Helsinki+40 seminar in Belgrade, 27 May 2015.



The fifth OSCE PA Helsinki +40 seminar took place in the Serbian Parliament on 27-28 May 2015.



OSCE PA Vice-President Alain Neri (MP, France) speaks during the OSCE PA's third Helsinki +40 seminar on 11 March 2015 in the Swedish Parliament.



Lisa Tabassi, Head of Legal Services of the OSCE Secretariat, at the Copenhagen seminar



Anna Wieslander, Deputy Director of UI, greets OSCE PA Vice-President Doris Barnett (MP, Germany), Stockholm, 11 March 2015.



Tobias Billström (Sweden, MP), First Deputy Speaker of the Riksdag, speaks alongside OSCE PA VP Kent Harstedt (MP, Sweden; left) and UI Director Mats Karlsson in Stockholm.



Head of Legal Services of the OSCE Secretariat Lisa Tabassi addresses Helsinki +40 seminar in Copenhagen.



Alain Neri (MP, France), seated, speaks to Joao Soares (MP, Portugal) at the OSCE PA Helsinki +40 seminar, Belgrade, 27 May 2015.



OSCE PA Special Rep. Amb. Andreas Nothelle at the RIAC-OSCE PA Helsinki +40 seminar, Moscow, 25 Sept. 2014



Russian International Affairs Council President Igor Ivanov and OSCE PA President Ilkka Kanerva at the first OSCE PA Helsinki +40 Project seminar in Moscow, 25 Sept. 2014



Martin Sletzinger, Senior Scholar at the Wilson Center, presents his policy brief at the Washington seminar, alongside Ambassador Javier Ruperez.



Helsinki +40 seminar in Copenhagen, 27 April 2015



John Bernhard, Special Advisor of the Chairperson-in-Office on the Legal Framework of the OSCE (left), addresses the seminar in Copenhagen.



Marko Savkovic of the Belgrade Fund for Political Excellence speaks at the Helsinki +40 seminar, 27 May 2015. Photo courtesy of the National Assembly of Serbia/Dado Djilas

Third Seminar - Stockholm



OSCE PA Helsinki +40 Project Chair Joao Soares (MP, Portugal) speaks at the seminar, Stockholm, 11 March 2015.

The third event of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly’s Helsinki +40 Project took place on 11 March 2015 in Stockholm, with experts, policymakers, ambassadors and OSCE parliamentarians considering how the European security architecture, and the OSCE’s inclusive security community in particular, can better prevent conflicts and respond to new threats.

Among key ideas to emerge was the need for the Organization to rededicate itself to work on the ground and field presences in order to better mitigate economic, governance and human rights challenges before they escalate into conflicts. Other suggestions included the development of a specific mediation mandate for the PA; the need for greater civil society involvement in the Organization’s work; the promotion of active self-evaluation by participating States; and the need to boost co-operation with other

international organizations.

The Stockholm seminar, held under the theme “The OSCE’s role in (re)consolidating European security,” was hosted by the Swedish Parliament and the Swedish Institute of International Affairs (UI), an independent, non-profit institute that serves as a platform for research and information on international relations.

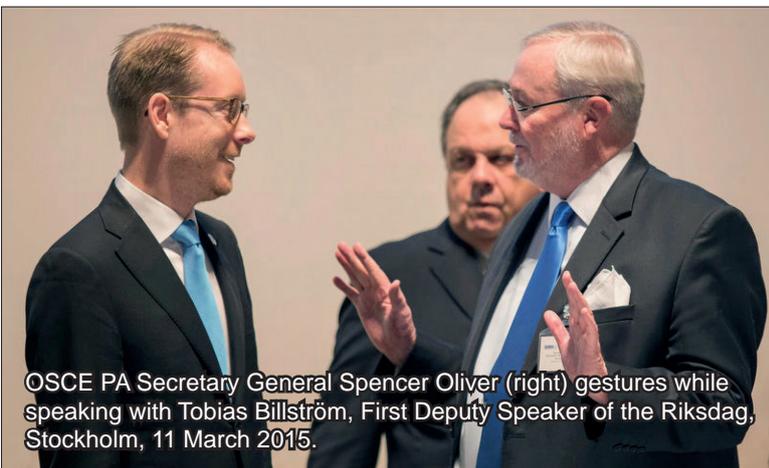
In his opening remarks, Tobias Billstrom, the First Deputy Speaker of the Swedish Parliament, underscored trust and dialogue as two critical elements in countering the “growing threat to democratic values and respect for international treaties and human rights” in the OSCE area. He emphasized the value of the OSCE PA in that regard.

*“Inside the OSCE, the Parliamentary Assembly is the only truly democratic institution that exists.”*

Helsinki +40 Project Chair Joao Soares

Former Assembly President Goran Lennmarker added that the deepening trust deficit in the OSCE area means that Parliamentary Assembly’s role may be greater than ever. A codified role for the PA in mediation activities should be considered, he said, along with the establishment of Helsinki Commissions, such as in the United States, to promote adherence to commitments and self-evaluation in all participating States.

Helsinki +40 Project Chair Joao Soares (MP, Portugal) argued that if the OSCE is currently facing a crisis of values, there is even greater need to put the principles it



OSCE PA Secretary General Spencer Oliver (right) gestures while speaking with Tobias Billström, First Deputy Speaker of the Riksdag, Stockholm, 11 March 2015.

## Third Seminar - Stockholm



Participants at the OSCE PA's third Helsinki +40 seminar on 11 March 2015 in the Swedish Parliament

advocates into practice within the Organization itself.

“Inside the OSCE, the Parliamentary Assembly is the only truly democratic institution that exists. The governmental side works according to the consensus rule, which places strict limitations on actions that the OSCE can take and on the very language that the Organization uses to describe events taking place in the OSCE area,” he said.

OSCE PA Vice-President Kent Harstedt (MP, Sweden) suggested that another method to increase accountability is to invite ministers and high-ranking officials from participating States to report on their implementation of OSCE commitments and answer the Assembly’s questions. Mats Karlsson, UI’s director, contended that the OSCE must re-focus on its founding cross-dimensional approach to security – encompassing economics, the environment and human rights – if it is to make the most of its potential to prevent conflict.

One way to do so, former OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities Rolf

Ekeus suggested, is to refocus on field activities and tackle challenges with a more hands-on approach. A related goal is to better engage civil society in OSCE work, he said, noting that the Parliamentary Assembly could take the lead in bringing such initiatives to life.

OSCE PA Secretary General Spencer Oliver also advocated a re-dedication to field work and the need for ground-level initiatives to inform communities about the Helsinki Principles and their countries’ commitments.

Preservation, persistence and patience are the three keys to the Helsinki Final Act’s current and future vitality, he said, noting that the 40th anniversary of the Final Act is one of the most critical junctures in OSCE history.

“‘Helsinki +40’ sounds catchy,” he said, “but this is no time for resting comfortably on our laurels. In short, our Organization faces a crisis moment, for the 40th anniversary has come at a time when world events and flagrant violations of the Helsinki Final Act do not merely present a challenge to us, but threaten to destroy us.”

### Food-for-thought paper on Europe’s security architecture

A food-for-thought paper written by OSCE PA Research Fellow Anna Di Domenico explored in depth the theme of the Stockholm seminar, “The OSCE’s role in (re)consolidating European security: Strengthening unity of purpose and effectiveness.” Noting that the need to reconsolidate the European security architecture has been increasingly recognized on both sides of the Atlantic, the paper found that any future evolution in the European security architecture must recognize the roles of the OSCE, EU, NATO and other institutions as they have developed. The Ukraine crisis has exposed to a certain degree the ineffectiveness of existing institutions, the paper argued, revealing not only a deepening East-West divide, but also calling into question the fundamental principles of inter-state relations in Europe, including the 1975 Helsinki Final Act.

The paper is available at [www.oscepa.org](http://www.oscepa.org).



Participants, including OSCE Vice-President Kent Harstedt of Sweden (second from left) and Alain Neri of France (second from right), at the OSCE PA's Helsinki +40 Project at the Russian International Affairs Council in Moscow, 25 Sept. 2014.



Former OSCE PA President Ranko Krivokapic (MP, Montenegro), U.S. Helsinki Commission adviser Janice Helwig and current PA President Ilkka Kanerva, 18 Nov. 2014



Project Chair Joao Soares speaks at Belgrade University debate, 28 May 2015.



OSCE PA Deputy Secretary General Gustavo Pallares (left) speaks with former OSCE PA President Goran Lenmarker, Stockholm, 11 March 2015.



Head of Danish Delegation Peter Juel Jensen opens the seminar in Copenhagen, 27 April 2015.



Roberto Montella, OSCE PA Director of Presidential Administration, at the Belgrade seminar, 27 May 2015.



Participants at debate at Belgrade University concluding Helsinki +40 seminar, 28 May 2015



Participants of the Belgrade seminar, 27 May 2015.



Former OSCE PA Communications Director Klas Bergman speaks at the Helsinki +40 seminar in Washington, 18 November 2014.



Stockholm seminar, "The OSCE's role in (re)consolidating European security," 11 March 2015.



Alex Johnson, U.S. Helsinki Commission Policy Advisor, at the seminar in Copenhagen.



Session on project outcomes, Helsinki +40 seminar in Belgrade, 28 May 2015



Secretary General Spencer Oliver, alongside Ambassadors John Bernhardt and Andreas Nothelle, participates in the Helsinki +40 seminar in Copenhagen.



The fifth OSCE PA Helsinki +40 seminar took place in the Serbian Parliament on 27-28 May 2015.

## Fourth Seminar - Copenhagen



Helsinki +40 Project Chair Joao Soares (MP, Portugal) addresses the seminar in Copenhagen, 27 April 2015.



The OSCE PA's Special Representative in Vienna, Ambassador Andreas Nothelle, participates in the Helsinki +40 seminar in Copenhagen, 27 April 2015.

The OSCE's lack of a clear, international legal status and the challenges that result for its personnel, particularly during crisis situations, was the topic of the OSCE PA's fourth Helsinki +40 seminar, held on 27 April in Copenhagen.

Participants in the event, including diplomats, legal experts and leading OSCE parliamentarians, noted that the situation in Ukraine, and the problems faced by the Organization in trying to respond rapidly, had brought the longstanding problem to the fore: The question of granting a legally binding character to the Organization must be tackled once and for all if the OSCE is to fulfill its potential, they said.

The seminar, hosted by the Danish Parliament and in co-operation with the Danish Institute for International Studies (DIIS), was the fourth leg of the OSCE PA's Helsinki +40 Project. The Project aims to evaluate the OSCE's

past and inspire reform on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of its founding document, the Helsinki Final Act of 1975.

"We need a political shock in the OSCE right now, particularly if we are to finally resolve the legal question. Otherwise, we could very well become irrelevant," said Project Chair Joao Soares (MP, Portugal), who opened the seminar alongside Peter Juel Jensen, Head of the Danish Delegation to the OSCE PA.

*"It is clearly unacceptable that common and clear rules are not already in place when the OSCE has to act so rapidly."*

Ambassador John Bernhard,  
Special Advisor of the OSCE Chairperson-in-Office on the Legal Framework

Lisa Tabassi, the Head of Legal Services at the OSCE Secretariat, and John Bernhard, the Special Advisor of the OSCE Chairperson-in-Office on the Legal Framework, explained that the Organization's 24 separate entities in

23 countries operate under a broad variety of legal statuses, resulting in a patchwork of privileges and immunities – and many gaps.

Without an international legal status in place, the first OSCE Special Monitors deployed to

Ukraine had no protection beyond the courtesies extended to official visitors. In the first three weeks of the Mission, its lack of formal legal status meant it could not open bank accounts or obtain customs clearance for equipment and armored vehicles. It took 12 weeks for the OSCE and the

### OSCE Secretariat's food-for-thought paper on Organization's lack of legal status

OSCE Legal Services contributed a food-for-thought paper to the Copenhagen seminar dealing with the challenges posed by the OSCE's lack of an agreed legal status, particularly in crisis situations such as Ukraine. The paper explored the question of the international legal personality of the OSCE, legal issues arising in respect of the OSCE's rapid deployment to Ukraine, the contribution of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly to strengthening the legal status of the OSCE, and options currently under consideration in the OSCE Informal Working Group on this topic. The paper can be accessed at [www.oscepa.org](http://www.oscepa.org).

## Fourth Seminar - Copenhagen



Secretary General Spencer Oliver (right) asks a question at the OSCE PA Helsinki+40 seminar in Copenhagen.

Ukrainian government to sign a Memorandum of Understanding on safety guarantees and other privileges for monitors. During that period of limbo, eight personnel were abducted by armed groups.

Tabassi noted that in the case of the OSCE observer mission to two Russian checkpoints on the border with Ukraine, there is still no Memorandum of Understanding in place between the OSCE and the Russian government regarding the deployment practicalities, capacities, privileges, immunities and security of personnel.

“This problem is not just a theoretical one or a playground for lawyers... It is clearly unacceptable that common and clear rules about status, privileges and immunities are not already in place when the OSCE has to act so rapidly,” Bernhard said.

He described the options currently being considered within the Organization on strengthening its legal status and highlighted the importance of the parliaments of participating States in pushing for action on the issue.

Miodrag Panceski, the Deputy Head of Serbia’s Mission to the OSCE, said Serbia’s Chairmanship of the Organization has stressed the need to achieve tangible progress towards strengthening the legal framework.

“Recognition of the OSCE as a legal entity and the granting of functional privileges is nothing more and nothing less than what is

customarily and routinely granted to other international organizations established under public international law. Let us help the OSCE to provide for what it was created for 40 years ago: to provide for security and to provide for co-operation,” he said.

*“The only way for something this complex, requiring almost treaty ratification by the OSCE’s 57 countries, to work, is perhaps to start with a ‘coalition of the willing’ and build from there.”*

Secretary General Spencer Oliver, Special Co-ordinator of the Helsinki +40 Project

Seminar participants, including OSCE PA

Secretary General Spencer Oliver, PA Vienna office head Ambassador Andreas Nothelle and Karsten Jakob Moller of the DIIS, also reviewed the Organization’s previous attempts to reach consensus on a document that would have the force of law.

“The only way for something this complex, requiring almost treaty ratification by the OSCE’s 57 countries, to work, is perhaps to start with a ‘coalition of the willing’ and build from there,” Oliver said.

“The PA has consistently pushed for the creation of a legal personality of the OSCE and will continue to do so,” he added, stressing that the Parliamentary Assembly’s status as an OSCE Institution must be accurately recognized and its members and staff granted full privileges and immunities.

The event also featured a presentation on overall OSCE reform by Irish Ambassador to the OSCE Philip McDonagh, who serves as Co-ordinator with responsibility for reviewing the effectiveness and efficiency of the OSCE within the Informal Helsinki +40 Working Group in Vienna.

## Fifth Seminar - Belgrade



Head of Serbian Delegation to the OSCE PA Dijana Vukomanovic opens Helsinki +40 seminar in Belgrade, 27 May 2015.

The OSCE needs a strengthened presence on the ground, closer co-operation with civil society and a rededication to human rights commitments to help realize its goal of achieving comprehensive security, said participants in the OSCE PA's Helsinki +40 seminar in Belgrade on 27-28 May.

OSCE PA President Ilkka Kanerva (MP, Finland) joined other leading parliamentarians, representatives of the Serbian OSCE Chairmanship, think tank experts, civil society actors and academics for the two-day event, which was hosted by the National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia in co-operation with the Belgrade Fund for Political Excellence (BFPE).

"People from the 57 participating States are expecting us to deliver our promises that peace has no alternative," said Dijana Vukomanovic, the Head of Serbia's Delegation to the PA, in her opening remarks on 27 May.

"The road ahead of us will not be easy... [We] should help each other to shape public opinion and mobilize political, legislative, human, logistical and financial resources in order to give [OSCE] issues due attention in our respective countries," she added.

Participants agreed that OSCE field missions and presences on the ground often provide the primary avenue for implementing the Organization's goals and achieving a measurable impact, as well as providing early warning of conflict. The OSCE and its participating States must reverse their recent course and put

more resources and political will – not less – into these presences, they said.

"The OSCE PA has always been supportive of the OSCE's work in the field and has been critical when missions were downgraded or shut down. So let us develop together a roadmap for strengthening OSCE fieldwork in the next decade," President Kanerva said.

"With the situation between Ukraine and Russia, in particular, there is a need to discuss the capabilities on the ground of the OSCE," he added.

*"People from the 57 participating States are expecting us to deliver our promises that peace has no alternative."*

Dijana Vukomanovic, Head of Serbia's Delegation to the Parliamentary Assembly

In recent years, participants noted, the OSCE's Advisory and Monitoring Group in Belarus and the OSCE Mission to Georgia were closed and others have been downgraded in their mandates.

Gordana Comic, the Deputy Speaker of the Serbian Parliament and the Rapporteur of the OSCE PA's Committee on Democracy, Human Rights and Humanitarian Questions, argued that the downgrading of mandates, often due to host government insistence, is an indicator of negative trends taking place within the country.

Ambassador Peter Burkhard, the Head of the OSCE Mission to Serbia, noted that a consensus vote within the Organization is currently needed to extend the mandates of missions, meaning that decisions often hinge on the political climate.

Seminar participants also emphasized the need for better integration of civil society into the work of the OSCE, from informing the

## Fifth Seminar - Belgrade

development of projects, partnering with the Organization on their implementation and providing feedback on challenges and successes in their respective countries.

BFPE President Sonja Licht noted that the Helsinki Final Act itself had “opened the space” for the involvement of civil society.

“The OSCE platform has an opportunity to change from being purely inter-governmental, into something else – a cross-sectoral exercise and initiative,” she said.

Ambassador Dejan Sahovic, the Head of Serbia’s OSCE Chairmanship Task Force, noted that strengthening the Organization’s co-operation with civil society is one of the Chairmanship’s goals.

“Unlike some of the other international organizations, the OSCE has no available mechanisms for monitoring compliance with OSCE commitments. This could be an area for the participation of civil society organizations, should the next Chairmanships decide to follow in the footsteps of the Serbian and Swiss Chairmanships,” he said.

Several experts from the BFPE recalled the PA’s recommendation for the establishment of an advisory council of NGOs to the OSCE.

Gordana Comic was among several participants who said that realizing the OSCE’s full potential will require placing human rights at the fore of its agenda.



OSCE PA Third Committee Rapporteur Gordana Comic (MP, Serbia) speaks at the Helsinki +40 seminar in Belgrade.

*“While much has been achieved in 40 years, too many countries shrug off criticism of their rights records.”*

Gordana Comic, OSCE PA Third Committee Rapporteur

“While much has been achieved in 40 years, too many countries shrug off criticism of their rights records and continue to abuse their citizens – without being held accountable by this Organization. Allowing this to continue means allowing the Final Act to die. The OSCE must decisively raise human rights on its agenda and establish mechanisms for real accountability,” she said.

“The OSCE must also adopt an evolved understanding of what ‘human rights’ means today. Are there ‘newer’ human rights that it is time for us to acknowledge? Various forms of inequality, such as in access to healthcare, for example, continue to plague many societies within the OSCE, and should we not consider this one of our central human rights challenges, too?” Comic asked.

On 28 May, Helsinki +40 Project Chair Joao Soares (MP, Portugal), OSCE PA Secretary General Spencer Oliver and others led a session on the outcomes of the entire Helsinki +40 Project.

### BFPE food-for-thought paper explores role of civil society

Mina Lazarević and Marko Savković of the Belgrade Fund for Political Excellence collaborated on the food-for-thought paper, “Civil Society Contribution to Reform of the OSCE: Case Study Serbia,” which was distributed at the Helsinki +40 seminar in Belgrade. Noting that the OSCE counts on the help “of a complex and fragmented, yet influential and impartial ally – civil society,” the paper explored examples in which pan-European initiatives are assisting the OSCE’s work on various issues, and provided a case study of Serbia’s OSCE Chairmanship-in-Office, which has aimed to engage civil society. The report noted however that there is no coherent system of civil society’s inclusion in decision-making and argued for greater regulations to ensure more meaningful participation.

The paper is available at [www.oscepa.org](http://www.oscepa.org).

**Programme for the Moscow Seminar**

INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR  
**HELSINKI +40 PROCESS:  
 PROSPECTS FOR STRENGTHENING THE OSCE**

PROGRAM



Venue:  
 Lotte Hotel, Novinsky bulvar, 8 bld. 2

9:30–10:00 **Registration and welcome coffee**

10:00–10:15 **Opening remarks**

**Igor IVANOV**,  
*President, Russian International Affairs Council*

**Joao SOARES**,  
*Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee on Transparency and Reform of the OSCE,  
 Chairman of the Helsinki +40 Project, OSCE Parliamentary Assembly*

10:15–11:45 **Plenary Session**

*Speakers:*

**Alexey MESHKOV**,  
*Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Russian Federation (TBC)*

**Ilkka KANERVA**,  
*President, OSCE Parliamentary Assembly*

**Alexey PUSHKOV**,  
*Chairman of International Affairs Committee of the State Duma, Russian Federation*

**Vladimir DZHABAROV**,  
*First Vice-Chairman of the Committee for Foreign Affairs of the Council  
 of the Federation of the Russian Federation, Head of the Council of the Federation  
 Mission to OSCE Parliamentary Assembly (TBC)*

**Spencer OLIVER**,  
*Secretary General, OSCE Parliamentary Assembly*

*Chairmen:*

**Igor IVANOV**,  
*President, Russian International Affairs Council*

**Joao SOARES**,  
*Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee on Transparency and Reform of the OSCE,  
 Chairman of the Helsinki +40 Project, OSCE Parliamentary Assembly*

11:45–12:00 **Coffee break**

## Programme for the Moscow Seminar

12:00–13:45

### Session 1. Discussion. Helsinki+40: The OSCE's role and place in the European security system

*Speaker:*

**Andrey ZAGORSKY,**  
*Head of Department, IMEMO RAS, professor, MGIMO University*

*Topics for discussion:*

- The crisis management potential of the OSCE. What mechanisms should be used – and in what conditions should they be used – to successfully prevent/resolve crises and conflicts?
- Lessons from the Ukrainian crisis for the OSCE
- What measures should be taken to strengthen the OSCE?
  - The military and political dimension
  - The economic dimension
  - The human dimension

*Chairmen:*

**Mikhail MARGELOV,**  
*Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Council of the Federation, Russian Federation*

**Javier RUPEREZ,**  
*Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, President, the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly (1996-1998)*

13:45–14:45

### Lunch/buffet

14:45–16:15

### Session 2. Discussion. Helsinki+40: Perspectives for dialogue in the OSCE space

*Speaker:*

**Javier RUPEREZ,**  
*Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, President, the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly (1996-1998)*

*Topics for discussion:*

- The compatibility of economic integration processes in the OSCE space
- The OSCE as a platform for dialogue and the search for ways to form a common humanitarian space
- The role of the parliamentary institutions of member states in strengthening the OSCE and increasing its effectiveness

*Chairmen:*

**Andrey ZAGORSKY,**  
*Head of Department, IMEMO RAS, professor, MGIMO University*

**Spencer OLIVER,**  
*Secretary General, OSCE Parliamentary Assembly*

16:15–16:45

### Conclusion

**Igor IVANOV,**  
*President, Russian International Affairs Council*

**Ilkka KANERVA,**  
*President, OSCE Parliamentary Assembly*

16:45–17:45

### Meeting the press

18:00–19:30

### Dinner

**Programme for the Moscow Seminar**



*Venue:*  
 Moscow State Institute of International Relations (University)  
 of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Prospekt Vernadskogo,  
 76, room 423

10:00–11:30

**Members of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly  
 delegation meet students from the Moscow State  
 Institute of International Relations (University)  
 of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.  
 Presentations and QA session**

- Speakers:*
- Joao SOARES,**  
*Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee on Transparency and Reform of the OSCE,  
 Chairman of the Helsinki +40 Project, OSCE Parliamentary Assembly*
  - Spencer OLIVER,**  
*Secretary General, OSCE Parliamentary Assembly*
  - Javier RUPEREZ,**  
*Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, President, the OSCE Parliamentary  
 Assembly (1996-1998)*
  - Göran LENNMARKER,**  
*SIPRI Chairman Emeritus of the Governing Board, Member of the SIPRI Helsinki +40  
 Advisory Board*

*Questions and answers:*

*Chairman:* **Ivan TIMOFEEV,**  
*Program Director, Russian International Affairs Council*

# Programme for the Washington Seminar

**G | M | F** The German Marshall Fund  
of the United States  
STRENGTHENING TRANSATLANTIC COOPERATION

**OSCE PA** ORGANIZATION FOR SECURITY AND CO-OPERATION IN EUROPE  
PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY

## INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR

# Helsinki +40: Implications for the Transatlantic Relationship

Tuesday, November 18, 2014

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- 08:30 – 09:00 Registration and welcome coffee
- Location:*  
**The German Marshall Fund**  
1744 R Street NW  
Washington, DC 20009
- 09:00 – 09:15 **OPENING REMARKS**
- Karen Donfried**  
President, German Marshall Fund
- Ilkka Kanerva**  
President, OSCE Parliamentary Assembly (Finland)
- 09:15 – 10:45 **SESSION I – HOW TO AVOID THE FINAL ACT OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT**
- Alcee Hastings (D-FL)**  
United States Representative (United States)
- Joao Soares**  
Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee on Transparency and Reform of the OSCE, OSCE PA; Chairman of the Helsinki +40 Project, OSCE PA (Portugal)
- Andrei Zagorski**  
Expert of the Russian International Affairs Council; Head of Department IMEMO RAS, professor, MGIMO University
- Javier Ruperez**  
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary
- Chair:*  
**Spencer Oliver**  
Secretary General, OSCE Parliamentary Assembly

**Programme for the Washington Seminar**



10:45 – 11:00	Coffee break
11:00 – 12:30	<p><b>SESSION II – DO WE NEED A “NEW” HELSINKI PROCESS?</b></p> <p><b>Martin Sletzinger</b> Former Director of East European Studies and Senior Scholar, The Wilson Center</p> <p><b>Klas Bergman</b> Independent Writer and Editor</p> <p><b>Ivan Vejvoda</b> Senior Vice President for Programs, German Marshall Fund</p> <p><i>Chair:</i> <b>Kyle Scott</b> Senior Resident Fellow, German Marshall Fund</p>
12:30 – 13:15	Lunch
13:15 – 14:00	Transfers to Capitol Hill
14:00 – 15:15	<p><b>SESSION III – THE ROLE OF THE PARLIAMENTS AND U.S. CONGRESS MOVING FORWARD</b></p> <p><i>Location:</i> <b>485 Russell Senate Office Building</b></p> <p><b>Ben Cardin (D-MD)</b> United States Senator; Chairman, U.S. Helsinki Commission (United States)</p> <p><b>Chris Smith (R-NJ)</b> United States Representative; Co-Chairman, U.S. Helsinki Commission (United States)</p> <p><i>Chair:</i> <b>Ilkka Kanerva</b> President, OSCE Parliamentary Assembly (Finland)</p>

## Programme for the Washington Seminar

**G | M | F** The German Marshall Fund  
of the United States  
STRENGTHENING TRANSATLANTIC COOPERATION

**oscePA** ORGANIZATION FOR SECURITY AND CO-OPERATION IN EUROPE  
PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY

15:15 – 15:30

### CONCLUSION

**Ivan Vejvoda**

Senior Vice President for Programs, German Marshall Fund

**Spencer Oliver**

Secretary General, OSCE Parliamentary Assembly

Wednesday, November 19, 2014

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10:00 – 11:30

### STUDENT FORUM

*Location:*

**Georgetown University**

Edward B. Bunn S.J. Intercultural Center

Executive Conference Room, 7<sup>th</sup> Floor

37<sup>th</sup> St NW, Washington, DC 20007

**Ilkka Kanerva**

President, OSCE Parliamentary Assembly (Finland)

**Joao Soares**

Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee on Transparency and Reform of the OSCE, OSCE PA; Chairman of the Helsinki +40 Project, OSCE PA (Portugal)

*Moderator:*

**Ivan Vejvoda**

Senior Vice President for Programs, German Marshall Fund

**Programme for the Stockholm Seminar**



**Helsinki +40 Seminar:  
The OSCE’s Role in (re)consolidating European Security  
(Stockholm, 11 March 2015)**

PROGRAMME

**Tuesday, 10 March**

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19:30 Dinner hosted by the Parliament of Sweden (*venue: Brasserie Makalös, Hotel Kungsträdgården, Västra Trälgårdsgatan 11B*).

**Wednesday, 11 March**

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9:30 Arrival of participants  
  
*Venue:  
Sveriges Riksdag / The Swedish Parliament – Skandisalen  
Mynttorget 1, 100 12 Stockholm*

**10:00 – 10:30 OPENING OF THE SEMINAR**

Remarks by:

- **Tobias Billström**, First Deputy Speaker, Sveriges Riksdag / Swedish Parliament
- **Joao Soares**, Chairman of the OSCE PA Helsinki +40 Colloquium Project
- **Mats Karlsson**, Director, Swedish Institute of International Affairs (UI)

10:30 *Group photo and short coffee break*

**10:45 – 12:15 PANEL I - THE OSCE’S ROLE IN (RE)CONSOLIDATING EUROPEAN SECURITY: STRENGTHENING UNITY OF PURPOSE AND EFFECTIVENESS**

Keynote speakers and commentators:

- **Rolf Ekeus**, Ambassador, former OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities, SIPRI Chairman Emeritus
- **Mark Rhinard**, Senior Research Fellow, Swedish Institute of International Affairs (UI); Associate Professor of International Relations at Stockholm University
- Moderator: **Spencer Oliver**, Special Co-ordinator of the Helsinki +40 Colloquium Project, Secretary General, OSCE Parliamentary Assembly

## Programme for the Stockholm Seminar

**12:15 – 13:30** Lunch hosted by the Parliament of Sweden  
(venue: Partimatsalen, Riksgatan 1)

**13:30 – 15:00** **PANEL II - COMPREHENSIVE SECURITY: THE NEED FOR A CROSS-DIMENSIONAL PERSPECTIVE**

Keynote speakers and commentators:

- **Lars-Erik Lundin**, former EU Ambassador to the OSCE
- **Anna Wieslander**, Deputy Director, Swedish Institute of International Affairs (UI)
- Moderator: **Mats Karlsson**, Director, Swedish Institute of International Affairs (UI)

15:00-15:15 *Coffee break*

**15:15 – 16:45** **PANEL III – THE OSCE PA AND THE FUTURE OF THE OSCE**

Keynote speakers and commentators:

- **Göran Lenmarker**, Expert; former President of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly
- **Spencer Oliver**, Special Co-ordinator of the Helsinki +40 Colloquium Project, Secretary General, OSCE Parliamentary Assembly
- Moderator: **Klas Bergman**, Independent Writer and Editor; Director of Communications, OSCE Parliamentary Assembly (2007-2010)

**16:45 – 17:00** **CLOSING REMARKS**

- **Kent Härstedt**, Vice-President, OSCE Parliamentary Assembly
- **Joao Soares**, Chairman of the OSCE PA Helsinki +40 Colloquium Project
- **Spencer Oliver**, Special Co-ordinator of the Helsinki +40 Colloquium Project, Secretary General, OSCE Parliamentary Assembly

Departure of participants

**Programme for the Copenhagen Seminar**



**Helsinki +40 Supplementary Seminar:  
The OSCE’s Lack of Legal Status – Challenges in Crisis Situations  
(Copenhagen, Monday, 27 April 2015)**

**PROGRAMME**

16:00 Arrival of Helsinki +40 Seminar participants

*Venue: Danish Parliament / Folketinget  
Landstingssalen, Christiansborg  
1240 Copenhagen*

**16:15 – 16:30 OPENING OF THE SEMINAR**

Remarks by:

- Peter Juel Jensen, Head of the Delegation of Denmark to the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly
- Miodrag Panceski, Deputy Head of Mission, Permanent Mission of Serbia to the OSCE and other International Organizations in Vienna
- Joao Soares, Chairman of the OSCE PA Helsinki +40 Colloquium Project

**16:30 – 17:45 PANEL I – THE QUESTION OF LEGAL STATUS FOR THE OSCE AND IMPLICATIONS FOR UKRAINE**

Keynote Speakers:

- John Bernhard, Special Advisor of the Chairperson-in-Office on the Legal Framework
- Lisa Tabassi, Head of Legal Services, OSCE Secretariat, Vienna

Chair: Karsten Jakob Møller, Emeritus Researcher, Danish Institute for International Studies (DIIS)

**17:45 – 18:00 Break**

## Programme for the Copenhagen Seminar

**18:00 – 19:15**      **PANEL II – STRENGTHENING THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK  
OF THE OSCE: WAYS FORWARD**

Keynote speakers:

- **John Bernhard**, Special Advisor of the Chairperson-in-Office on the Legal Framework
- **Comments by: Joao Soares**, Chairman of the OSCE PA Helsinki +40 Colloquium Project, and **Andreas Nothelle**, OSCE Parliamentary Assembly Special Representative in Vienna

Chair: **Spencer Oliver**, Special Co-ordinator of the Helsinki +40 Colloquium Project;  
Secretary General, OSCE Parliamentary Assembly

**19:15 – 20:00**      Refreshments for seminar participants

**20:00**              Departure of participants

**Programme for the Belgrade Seminar**



***HELSINKI + 40 FINAL SEMINAR***

**Reaffirming the Strengths, Envisioning the Prospects**

*(Belgrade, Republic of Serbia, 27-28 May 2015)*

**AGENDA**

*(as of 25 May 2015)*

**WEDNESDAY, 27 MAY 2015**

- 10:00 – 10:30      **OPENING REMARKS**
  - Dr. Dijana Vukomanović**, Head of the Delegation of Serbia to the OSCE PA
  - Ilkka Kanerva**, President of the OSCE PA
  - Sonja Licht**, President, Belgrade Fund for Political Excellence
  - Joao Soares**, Chairman of the Helsinki +40 Project
  
- 10:30 – 12:30      **SESSION 1: WHAT KIND OF FUTURE FOR OSCE FIELD PRESENCES?**
  - H.E. Peter Burkhard**, Ambassador, OSCE Mission to Serbia
  - Jan Plešinger**, Head of the Prague Office of the OSCE Secretariat
  - Bojan Elek**, Researcher, Belgrade Center for Security Policy
  - Chairperson: Spencer Oliver**, Secretary General of the OSCE PA



## Programme for the Belgrade Seminar

- 13:30 – 15:00      **SESSION 2: OSCE CHAIRMANSHIP – BEST PRACTICES**
- H.E. Dejan Šahović**, Ambassador, Serbian OSCE Chairmanship
- Presentation of the BFPE good-for-thought paper: "Civil Society Contribution to Reform of the OSCE: Case Study Serbia" (**Mina Lazarević** and **Marko Savković**, Belgrade Fund for Political Excellence)
- Chairperson: **Ilkka Kanerva**, President of the OSCE PA
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- 15:30 – 17:00      **SESSION 3: THE OSCE HUMAN DIMENSION: TOWARDS NEW OBJECTIVES**
- Gordana Čomić**, Deputy Speaker, National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia, Rapporteur of the Third Committee in the OSCE PA
- Milan Antonijević**, Director, Lawyers' Committee for Human Rights YUCOM
- Svetlana Durđević-Lukić**, President, Public Policy Research Centre
- Chairperson: **Meho Omerović**, Member of the Delegation of Serbia to the OSCE PA; Chairperson of the Committee on Human and Minority Rights and Gender Equality, National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia
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- 17:00 – 17:30      **CONCLUSIONS**
- Dr. Dijana Vukomanović**, Head of the Delegation of Serbia to the OSCE PA
- Spencer Oliver**, Secretary General of the OSCE PA
- Sonja Licht**, President, Belgrade Fund for Political Excellence

### THURSDAY, 28 MAY 2015

- 10:00 – 12:00      **SESSION ON THE OUTCOMES OF THE HELSINKI +40 PROJECT**  
(Discussion of the outcomes of the five Helsinki +40 seminars / Consideration of the draft Final Report, to be presented in Helsinki on 6 July 2015)
- Comments:
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**Programme for the Belgrade Seminar**

**Joao Soares**, Chairman of the Helsinki +40 Project

**Spencer Oliver**, Secretary General of the OSCE PA

**Amb. Andreas Nothelle**, OSCE PA Special Representative in Vienna

**Andrei Zagorski**, Member of the Russian International Affairs Council; Head of Department IMEMO RAS, professor, MGIMO University

Moderator: **Ilkka Kanerva**, President of the OSCE PA

12:00 – 12:20

**MEET THE PRESS**

Representatives of the OSCE PA (**Joao Soares, Ilkka Kanerva**)

**Dr. Dijana Vukomanović**, Head of the Delegation of Serbia to the OSCE PA

**Gordana Čomić**, Deputy Speaker, National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia, Rapporteur of the Third Committee in the OSCE PA

Moderator: **Spencer Oliver**, Secretary General of the OSCE PA

14:00 – 16:00

**DEBATE AT BELGRADE UNIVERSITY**

**“The future of the OSCE: lessons learned from the OSCE’s engagement in Ukraine”**

14:00 – 14:20

Introductory remarks:

**Prof. dr. Ilija Vujačić**, Dean, Faculty of Political Science

**Dr. Dijana Vukomanović**, Head of the Delegation of Serbia to the OSCE PA

**Andrei Zagorski**, Member of the Russian International Affairs Council; Head of Department IMEMO RAS, professor, MGIMO University

**Milena Stošić**, Special Representative of the CiO for Youth and Security

14:20 – 16:00

Debate

Judges and commenters:

**Joao Soares**, Chairman of the Helsinki +40 Project

**Spencer Oliver**, Secretary General of the OSCE PA

**Michael Uyehara**, Deputy Head of OSCE Mission in Serbia

Coordinator: **Prof. Vesna Knežević-Predić**

## Helsinki Final Act Decalogue of Principles

### **Declaration on Principles Guiding Relations between Participating States**

- I. Sovereign equality, respect for the rights inherent in sovereignty
- II. Refraining from the threat or use of force
- III. Inviolability of frontiers
- IV. Territorial integrity of States
- V. Peaceful settlement of disputes
- VI. Non-intervention in internal affairs
- VII. Respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief
- VIII. Equal rights and self-determination of peoples
- IX. Co-operation among States
- X. Fulfilment in good faith of obligations under international law



Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe  
PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY

**OSCE Parliamentary Assembly**

International Secretariat of the OSCE PA

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