

**SPEECH BY THE PRIME MINISTER OF SWEDEN GÖRAN PERSSON
AT THE MEMORIAL CEREMONY FOR ANNA LINDH, STOCKHOLM, 19 SEPTEMBER 2003**

Anna Lindh In Memoriam

19.VI.1957 – 11.IX.2003

Your Majesties,
Excellencies
Dear friends,
and especially Anna's family,
relatives and close friends,

We have gathered here today to share our grief. But above all, we have gathered to share our positive memories.

Anna Lindh with her jacket flapping open and her backpack thrown over her shoulder, on her way.

Anna Lindh with her mobile telephone in one hand, and the other gesturing in protest: "No, I think you're wrong there".

Anna Lindh with her quick reactions, a toss of the head and then her laughter, in big happy waves.

She was born in 1957. Less than three decades later, when Anna Lindh was 27, she was on the podium of Folkets Hus at Norra Bantorget in Stockholm. She was expressing her thanks for the confidence and trust invested in her as the newly elected Chairman of the Swedish Social Democratic Youth League, the first woman ever to hold this position:

"For democracy to work in our society and passivity to disappear," she said, "people must first come together and learn to work together for common goals."

This was the spirit animating



Photo: Pawel Flato

Anna Lindh is no longer with us. It still feels so strange, so difficult to accept. We still have such vivid memories of her. Anna was in our midst, not on the periphery, usually at the centre of things. As a mother and wife, as a daughter and sister, as a close friend and colleague. As an example to many, many more. We have lost her. This is so. And this awareness hurts so dreadfully.

her work as she led the Social Democratic Youth League over the next six years. It was during these years that she began to develop her talent for the direct response, the ability within fifteen seconds to formulate a well-defined opinion in front of the television camera. More and more people began to sit up and take notice of Anna Lindh.

When she was 33 and near-

ing the end of her pregnancy, she left her Youth League assignment. She described to the Congress why she was a Social Democrat.

"Only this morning when I went to the antenatal clinic, I saw what society does for expectant parents and their children in Sweden – through maternity care and child care, the social services and health and

medical care. These things help me know why I am a Social Democrat. /.../

Having seen reports on the television and in newspapers from our Baltic neighbouring countries, having seen faces marked by will and longing, but also fear in their eyes after years of occupation and communist oppression, I know why I am a Social Democrat. /.../

When I see street children in Latin America with their grubby and undernourished faces, or small girl prostitutes in Chile and Thailand – whose only dream is to be able to live another week – I know why I am a Social Democrat."

This was the nature of Anna Lindh's commitment – it was close to home and reached far beyond our borders.

As she expressed it herself, both vision and everyday life.

And that's what she was like as a person too.

Anna Lindh refused to choose between politics and family. She chose both. She showed it was possible to live that way and she was admired for doing so – admired far beyond the borders of Sweden.

And that is probably why she was such a strong role model for so many, especially among young women.



Anna Lindh In Memoriam. Continued from page 1.

Anna Lindh lived out her vision for the world in her everyday life.

But Anna knew that good political leadership is about more than just lofty words.

As a member of the party's executive committee and as culture and leisure commissioner, Anna was aware of the importance of staying close to the people she represented in Stockholm, and later to people in her home town of Nyköping.

As a lawyer Anna Lindh knew that a successful politician needs to get below the surface of things, that the precise details of chemicals policy and the articles of the Kyoto Protocol must be every bit as sustainable as the vision of a sustainable society.

Anna Lindh was 37 years of age when she became Minister for the Environment. As environment minister she was able to follow through on the rapprochement between Social Democracy and the environment movement that she had already begun as chairman of the Swedish Social Democratic Youth League, and to begin to translate it into practical policies. She found it deeply unfitting that modern society allowed pollution to go on and degradation to continue.

Her international work as environment minister was a challenge, but above all it was a success. She had a striking ability to slip naturally into a wide range of situations and to win the respect of people from very different walks of life wherever she met them around the world.

And then Anna Lindh became Sweden's Minister for Foreign Affairs, at the age of 41. With her burning international involvement since her teens, with Olof Palme as her model, with her strong integrity and great courage, she became a very



Prime Minister Göran Persson

Photo: Pawel Flato

popular and highly respected foreign minister.

Today Sweden plays host to her friends from every corner of the earth. This feels right and appropriate, for Anna Lindh did not just speak for Sweden in the world. She also spoke for the world in Sweden.

Dear friends, let me read a poem by Tomas Tranströmer, a few lines I know Anna liked. This is how it goes:

Inside the vast Romanesque church the tourists thronged in the half-dark.

Arch after arch yawned, no view of the whole.

A few candle flames flickered.

An angel with no face embraced me

and whispered through my whole body:

"Don't be ashamed of being human, be proud!"

Inside you arch after arch opens without end.

You will never finish, that's how it's meant to be."

Blinded with tears

I was thrust out onto the simmering piazza

along with Mr and Mrs Jones,

Mr Tanaka and

Signora Sabatini

and inside them all arch after arch opened without end.

Anna Lindh believed in human beings.

She believed in people as the remarkable beings they are, with an almost unlimited capacity to grow and develop.

Anna believed in people's inner strength and potential, but she also knew how easily that strength can be lost.

People are not churches made of stone, where arch after arch stands open.

People have to open the arches themselves, one by one.

And it can be done!

With the right support people can walk through arch after arch without end.

But people can also be diminished, their soaring arches thrown down.

People can be kept from realizing their potential.

Anna saw it happen everywhere.

In a Swedish school when a child is bullied and the adults don't see

In a refugee camp in Afghanistan, where there is not enough medicine.

In Kosovo, among the raped and violated.

In an industrial town where another major layoff becomes reality.

In any one of us, when our self-confidence and faith in the future falters.

For Anna, people were at the core of every issue.

People's worth and rights.

Human rights were always her driving force.

Violations and oppression the opponents in the fight.

Democracy is always the means, people are always the ends.

That's the way she was – in big issues and small alike.

Unaffected and full of consideration for her family, friends and colleagues.

Realistic, but with a sense of optimism that was contagious.

She offered encouragement and criticism with equal warmth.

She cared.

Bosse, David and Filip, I would like to say a few words to you.

But I know: no words in the world can ease your pain, no words in the world can do justice to your dearest Anna, your beloved mother.

I want you to know that we are here, there are many of us, and we are with you.

Today, it feels impossible, but together we shall continue to work for what Anna stood for.

We will carry her mission and her vision, and try to fill her role.

But no one can take her place.

This is how irreplaceable a person is.

This is how valuable and so unique.

We will carry the memory of Anna with us for a long time, as an invisible treasure.

As a source of strength.

As a source of warmth.

As a source of joy.

Thank you, Anna, for all you gave and for the person you were.

Now we move on.

Towards the future.

But as we leave, we can see you before us. The way you turn your head, Anna, just the way you used to.

A quick wave as you pass by.

And you add: Take care of yourselves!

We answer:

Yes, we will take care of ourselves.

We will take care of one another.

We promise you this, dear Anna.

Thank you.

The Music Will Echo

TRIBUTE TO ANNA LINDH

Few events stop the clocks.

One such was the death of Anna Lindh – a woman who loved the world and who was loved by the world.

When I read the tributes to Anna – the words of the famous, and the words of those who are not famous but whose lives she had touched – I was struck by one thing above all others. Joy at the memory of her own humanity burst through the bonds of grief.

Evil slouches past into the shadows, but what we all remember is the light.

All who have written about Anna have touched on the qualities so familiar to those fortunate to know her.

She was pretty and brave, witty and professional, charming and kind.

Perhaps undiplomatically we should concede that the arrival of every foreign minister in a room does not necessarily lift the spirits. But with Anna it was different, blond and smil-



Chris Patten, EU Commissioner

ing cheerfully, a knapsack full of official papers over her shoulder, she took her place at the conference table. To be with her – can I say this about a foreign minister? – was invariably good fun.

There are three points I want to make about Anna as we saw her in Europe.

First, I have met no one in politics who more naturally and gracefully combined private and public life. Mother, wife, formidable politician, she took in her stride the pom-

posities of the chancelleries and never lost touch with the hopes held and the indignities suffered by men and women everywhere. No one was ordinary to Anna, so everyone was capable of being extraordinary. This attribute, more maybe than any other, meant that she turned politics into an honourable adventure.

Second, Anna had no problem in using the words ethics and foreign policy in the same sentence. She was not naïve. She knew that we live in an imperfect world. But she also knew, and in a thoroughly professional way with a thoroughly professional team of colleagues, she demonstrated that it is invariably right to try to do the right thing. Morality and expedience are, surprisingly often, close neighbours.

So I witnessed Anna battling away with tyrants and cynics and bullies on issues of human rights and democracy which others would too often

tiptoe past. She made her point tenaciously, while her charm contained the fall-out.

Third, how often does a foreign minister represent all the best qualities that the world outside associates with their country? For us all, Anna was Sweden and we hope to our very marrow that Sweden will go on being Anna.

What condolence can her friends from other countries offer those here who fiercely grieve - her husband, her sons, her family, her Prime Minister, her nation. Only this perhaps. We know that life mimics art. We do not judge a book, a poem or a symphony by its length but by how it touches and moves each one of us.

As music critics have said, the most beautiful symphonies are sometimes those that are unfinished.

And so it is with Anna. The music will echo and the words and the memories will cascade down the years.

ANNA LINDH MEMORIAL FUND

In memory of Anna Lindh, the Social Democratic Party of Sweden has established a fund in her name and a foundation to govern it. Mr. Ingvar Carlsson, former Prime Minister of Sweden, has been appointed Chairman of the Foundation's Board. Proceeds from the Fund will support activities against vio-

lence and the work for democracy, human rights and sustainable development. Beneficiaries should primarily be children, youth, women and local or international organisations.

The Foundation appeals to individuals and organisations to contribute to the Fund. For contributions made in

Sweden, postgiro 90 12 10-5 can be used.

Contributions in other countries should be made to the same postgiro account, adding the following information: Nordea Bank Sweden, SE-105 71 Stockholm, Sweden. SWIFT code: PG-SISESS.

ANNA LINDH VERBATIM MARE BALTICUM

CITED FROM SELECTED SPEECHES AND ARTICLES, 1996–2002

As Minister for the Environment, Anna Lindh was instrumental in launching the Agenda 21 for the Baltic Sea Region. In her opening speech to the Ministers of Environment from the CBSS member states at the conference launching the Agenda 21 for the BSR in Salt-sjöbaden, Sweden on 20 October 1996, Anna Lindh said:

When I was a little girl, the Baltic Sea was still a rather unspoiled inland sea. In one generation, the Baltic Sea has become severely polluted. ... In one generation, we have almost given the Baltic Sea a deadly blow. ... If this is the result of one generation, why shouldn't we be able to produce another dramatic change of the Baltic Sea in another generation? Let us pass over a better environment to the next generation! What are the possibilities? Let me look back once more. I belong to a generation that grew up with the image of the Baltic Sea as a barrier. Not only a water barrier, such barriers are not so difficult to cross. No, more difficult was the iron curtain, which meant a social, political and economic barrier between people. When finally the Berlin wall fell, we suddenly discovered a new world. We became aware of our common history and the many strong linkages, we realised that we have a common future and a common need for political stability, for economic development and for ecological balance in the Baltic Sea Region.

Two years later, as Sweden's newly-appointed Foreign Minister, Lindh delivered the opening address at the Stockholm Conference on Baltic Sea

Security and Cooperation on 19 November 1998 and said the following:

The Council of Baltic Sea States, CBSS, is an example of fruitful subregional cooperation, covering a range of topics, such as civil security, the fight against organized crime, the environment, trade and investments, education, human rights and the rights of children. The constructive interchange between the Russian Federation and the Baltic states within the Council is particularly rewarding. Sweden has been one of the most active participants in the Council of Baltic Sea States. We have demonstrated our commitment by hosting the recently inaugurated Secretariat of the CBSS. We welcome the interest shown by states outside the region, which share the values of the CBSS members and are prepared to participate actively in projects. Some of these countries have already been represented at Ministerial Council Sessions and hopefully they will have a closer institutional link with the CBSS in the near future, something that will benefit the whole region.

Less than a month later, Lindh delivered her first major policy speech as foreign minister, titled "Sweden in Europe", at the Swedish Institute of International Affairs in Stockholm, on 16 December 1998. She started with a personal reflection on the velocity of European development:

Development has been rapid. My parents were born between the two world wars. I had my fourth birthday as the Berlin Wall was being erected. My oldest son was

born when the Wall was being torn down. My youngest son was born in a free Europe. So much history in the lifetime of one family. But even if the reunification of Europe has gone at a furious pace, it rests on a long-standing, deep-seated community of values. ... The Baltic region is an area of Europe where the security patterns are still taking shape. We must be open, flexible and practical when we meet today's challenges in the security policy area. At the same time, security in our part of Europe must be firmly anchored in a wider framework, in which all of Europe and the states of North America are included. Europe's security is indivisible. Through a network of cooperation we are building security. There is great potential for economic development in the Baltic region. The building up of democratic institutions needs support and encouragement. Sub-regional cooperating bodies such as the Council of the Baltic Sea States, the Barents Euro-Arctic Council and the Arctic Council are important actors in this context.

On the eve of Sweden's assumption of the EU Presidency, Anna Lindh co-authored an article with EU Commissioner Chris Patten on "Europe's Crucial Northern Dimension", published in the Financial Times on 20 December 2000. Lindh and Patten agreed that:

Rarely are European Union leaders presented with issues where national and community interests coincide naturally. When they are, as with the so-called Northern Dimension, they should seize the opportunity. The Northern Dimen-



Swedish Foreign Minister Anna Lindh, as Saudargas, as CBSS Chairman-in-office, 1998.

sion, a part of the EU's policy towards northern Europe, aims to deliver benefits to the countries around the Baltic Sea by ensuring coherence and exploiting synergies between existing Union policies and instruments. It is also a crucial element in relations with Russia and is increasingly important in terms of EU enlargement. ... the EU also has to work with the regional bodies that operate at national and sub-national level in the Baltic Sea region. And it must ensure that duplication between these organisations is minimised. An immediate challenge is to establish a format for structured implementation of the plan. There must be a follow-up mechanism for reviewing progress and providing policy guidance for further action.

Just weeks before the close of the Swedish EU Presidency, Anna Lindh said the following at the 10th Ministerial Session of the CBSS in Hamburg on 7 June 2001:

When I was Minister for Environment the environmental problems in the Baltic Sea Region was



the host-country representative, and Lithuanian Foreign Minister Algirdas Šemeta, officially inaugurating the CBSS Secretariat at Strömsborg on 20 October

a clear priority... As Minister for Foreign Affairs I have noticed the interest for the Baltic Sea Co-operation among colleagues also from the Balkans and even Southern Africa – maybe not in particular the concrete environmental projects – but they are interested in the Baltic Sea Co-operation, in the Northern Dimension and in the CBSS, as models to promote peace. How a close co-operation ties the countries together. This fact with regard to the Northern Dimension, became very clear to us when Sweden took over the Presidency of the European Union. Our first challenge then was to achieve real progress on concrete issues... as a result of the activities of the German Presidency of the CBSS I think we can talk about something of a breakthrough for the role of the regional bodies... Our next challenge is to make the Northern Dimension a permanent and integrated part of EU daily activities, with well-structured follow-up procedures.

At the tenth anniversary session of the CBSS, in

Kaliningrad on 5–6 March 2002, Anna Lindh was accompanied by her elder son, underlining the familiar atmosphere of the meeting. The presence of the CBSS “founding fathers”, Uffe Ellemann-Jensen and Hans-Dietrich Genscher, gave the event an optimistic outlook buttressed with historical gravity. These strands were echoed also in Anna Lindh’s speech, setting the agenda for the second decade of the organization. It also proved to be her last speech to a CBSS audience: *It is a great pleasure for me to be in Svetlogorsk – I would like to thank both Igor Ivanov and the governor for this. Kaliningrad is an important region for the Swedish co-operation with the Russian Federation... We are convinced that the coming enlargement of the European Union brings considerable opportunities for the Kaliningrad Oblast. Its particular geographical position could become a distinctive advantage if these opportunities are being made use of... My son was fascinated when we flew here that the Baltic Sea is so big, as we*

followed the Baltic Sea from our home town in Sweden all the way to Kaliningrad. He is right. We have ten years of cooperation behind us, and we should now look forward. I think the future looks bright, as the wild dreams Uffe Ellemann-Jensen just described:

- *if the great growth potential of the Region is utilised,*
- *if we make sure that the development is sustainable,*
- *if equality and social welfare is given priority.*

I would like to stress four particular issues we have to deal with, and in all these for areas I hope that the summit in St. Petersburg will take decisions:

1. *Environment. The Baltic Sea is beautiful – we had a long walk along the beach yesterday – but it is also one of the most polluted seas in the world. In 1996 I had the pleasure of chairing the first meeting of Ministers of Environment of the Baltic Sea States. The meeting took the initiative that led to the Agenda 21 for the Baltic Sea Region, Baltic 21. We’ve made important progress these six years, and this might set a good example for other regions. Therefore we like to propose that a message on sustainable development and Baltic 21 be sent from the Baltic Sea States Summit in June in St. Petersburg to the World Summit in Johannesburg in September. We would also propose that our Ministers of Environment come together for a second meeting to prepare for future work.*

2. *Children. In January this year President Putin made an important statement on the difficult situation of the many street and homeless children in Russia. This problem has a transnational character as child refugees now show up in other countries, including Sweden, and we have great difficulties in attending to*

their needs. In CBSS there is already a system for exchange of information and experiences on children at risk of sexual exploitation. We should now broaden this work to meet the new challenges, and the aim must be to solve the problems in the original country to avoid child refugees and trafficking.

3. *Communicable Diseases. The Summit in Kolding in 2000 took the initiative to set up a Task Force for projects to address the problem, especially TBC and AIDS. But a lot more has to be done at international and national levels, not least on reforms for more effective use of national resources.*

4. *Civil Security. CBSS has a strong tradition on civil security. Last year the European Union and the CBSS launched a EURO-BALTIC project on civil protection. Our Coast Guard authorities should intensify their efforts to establish a joint information data bank. The HELCOM working group on an Identification System for vessels should also intensify its work. It is not acceptable that vessels continue to pollute and threaten our security without any consequences. In a few years time eight out of eleven country members of CBSS will also be members of the EU. This fact does not diminish the need for co-operation in our region, such as the CBSS and the Barents Euro-Arctic Council, on the contrary. To use the full potential of the region and also of Kaliningrad we need more co-operation and exchange – not less. In this respect, Immanuel Kant was maybe not a good role-model since he never ever traveled outside Kaliningrad – but maybe that was because he realised what a beautiful region this is. Thank you Igor for inviting us here, and for putting Kaliningrad high on the agenda!”*

Estonia Means Business

REPORT OF THE CBSS CHAIRMAN-IN-OFFICE, ESTONIAN FOREIGN MINISTER KRISTIINA OJULAND, TO THE 12TH BALTIC SEA PARLIAMENTARY CONFERENCE, OULU, 8–9 SEPTEMBER 2003

Mr. Chairman,
Distinguished Members of Parliament,
Ladies and gentlemen,
In the name of the Estonian Presidency of the Council of the Baltic Sea States (CBSS), I would like to thank you for your invitation to address this important gathering.

I wish to begin in a positive key and bring to your attention a new development in regional co-operation: Last month, a festival uniting musicians and environmentalists of the Baltic Sea Region was held in Stockholm, where world-famous soloists, choirs, and orchestras performed for appreciative audiences. High-level experts and politicians debated the challenges of preserving the Baltic Sea marine environment. What does this have to do with the broader political agenda of the Council of the Baltic Sea States? I can assure you, that a great deal.

The festival demonstrated that people from different sectors of society are ready to work together to protect the fragile Baltic Sea. Musicians took time out from their busy schedules and accepted much less than their usual fee to support the environmental cause. What struck me, when reading the festival programme, were the strong convictions that these musicians expressed. We, as professional politicians, can only be impressed when eminent performers speak from their hearts on environmental issues and about the need for more vibrant cultural co-operation when it comes to dealing with the Baltic Sea.



Photo: Julia Sarkkinen

CBSS Chairman reporting to the 12th BSPP.

/.../

I believe that a strong commitment to a cause comes naturally to those directly affected by the issue. We cannot and should not expect others from outside the region to take the lead in cleaning up the Baltic Sea. The activities and recommendations of the Helsinki Commission (HELCOM) form a sound basis for the hard political decisions that need to be taken if we want to succeed in saving the Baltic Sea.

Mr. Chairman, Members of Parliament: Estonia is committed to having the Baltic Sea classified as a Particularly Sensitive Sea Area (PSSA). In three days, the Swedish ministers for the environment and of the infrastructure will be getting together with their colleagues from the other countries around the Baltic Sea to discuss this initiative. For the Baltic Sea to obtain PSSA status in March 2004, an application must be presented to the International Maritime Organization by December of this year. All the

Baltic Sea littoral countries, except one, have already agreed to work towards this goal. And I take this opportunity, Mr. Chairman, to appeal to our Russian friends to join in this noble effort.

My task here today is to report to you on the work of the Council of the Baltic Sea States. Since time is limited, I will focus on a few matters, concerning which, our regional co-operation is particularly crucial, and will remain so even after European Union enlargement. The environment is one such area.

I'm glad that our ministers of the environment met, for the first time in seven years, in Luleå, Sweden on 28-29 August. The eleven ministers agreed to take urgent and concrete measures for enhancing maritime safety in the Baltic Sea. They emphasised that Baltic 21 should be complemented with cross-sectoral activities following EU enlargement. The ministers declared that they would work together to influence the new Action

Plan for the Northern Dimension, and to harmonise environmental legislation between Russia and the EU.

At a meeting on 29-30 September, in Gothenburg, it is expected that six CBSS countries will sign the Testing Ground Agreement for the Kyoto Protocol. This will help us reduce greenhouse gas emissions. I hope that my own country and the other Member States also sign this agreement. Estonia is now chairing the Group of Senior Energy Officials (GSEO) of the Baltic Sea Region Energy Co-operation (BASREC). During our Presidency, we intend to further develop activities in this field, such as the Baltic Ring, which is the regional integration of electricity and gas networks.

The highlight of the Estonian CBSS Presidency will no doubt be the 5th Baltic Sea States' Summit meeting of the CBSS Heads of Government in Tallinn on 28-29 June. During our CBSS Presidency, we are implementing a new model for high-level meetings: the prime ministers and foreign ministers would, in turn, meet every other year. I am convinced that this arrangement would allow us to focus more efficiently on the full range of inter-governmental co-operation.

This is the second time that Estonia is the presiding country of the CBSS – the first time was ten years ago, in 1993-94. Many significant changes have taken place in that decade. During our first Presidency, the CBSS was mostly centred upon political dialogue between diplomats. By now, the CBSS

has blossomed, and has become a comprehensive network covering virtually every field of governmental activity. Thus, it is only natural and logical that the prime ministers of the CBSS countries have taken an increasingly central role in guiding and shaping our co-operation. It marks the maturity of regional co-operation that the diplomat's role has become relatively less important, and that the role of various experts and technicians has become the key to ensuring that the real work, at the grass roots level, which affects the daily life of our citizens, gets done properly.

/.../

Please let me continue by speaking about CBSS co-operation in the field of civil security. I know that your parliamentarians' co-operation is giving priority to this issue. Estonia has, for more than a decade, pushed for better regional co-ordination of, for instance, maritime safety and co-ordination of search and rescue operations. Unfortunately, our ideas had not gained enough ground in time to increase the regional search and rescue capabilities before the ferry Estonia went down in 1994. Perhaps more lives could have been saved if the countries around the Baltic Sea had, at that time, been better prepared to co-operate and carry out joint operations.

I am happy to tell you that the regional professional contacts in the field of search and rescue are being strengthened through the CBSS EURO-BALTIC programme. The programme began this year and runs through 2006. It is quite encompassing, and will improve the protection of both human life and the environment against man-made and natural disasters. Polish and Swedish ex-

perts in the civil protection field have provided detailed plans in an application to the EU Interreg, Tacis and Phare. About 1 million EUR have been secured so far, and the CBSS countries are matching this amount. It is essential that EURO-BALTIC systematically bring together the various experts in this field. They know exactly what needs to be improved in their own countries, and they are dedicated to working together, with colleagues in the region, on very specific matters.

/.../

Speaking of cultural heritage, I would like to bring your attention to a feature of the Baltic Sea that embraces both culture, maritime safety, and nuclear and radiation safety. I am referring to the lighthouses along our coasts. They are being automated, and many are in need of renovation. Some have gained a new purpose as popular attractions for tourists. This summer, a photo exhibition of lighthouses along the Baltic Sea coast was shown in museums, libraries, and lighthouses. At its October meeting, the CBSS Working Group on Nuclear and Radiation Safety will examine the issue of dangerous radioactive materials left in some lighthouses along the Baltic Sea coast.

The ministers of culture will meet, in December, in St. Petersburg. Estonia is proud to host the Secretariat of Ars Baltica, one of the oldest regional co-operation initiatives, which was initiated by the former prime minister of Schleswig-Holstein, Björn Engholm, already in the late 1980s. It is particularly appropriate, that the ministers of culture meet in St. Petersburg during its 300th anniversary. As an Estonian, I fully appreciate the historic role of St. Petersburg as one of the

main intellectual and cultural centres in the region, and look forward to its future development.

Outi Ojala already spoke about NGO co-operation in the region. Civil society is indeed an integral part of the Baltic Sea region co-operation. Estonia is looking forward to hosting the next NGO Forum in Pärnu, following up last year's successful Forum at Turku. We should all promote a more constructive and harmonized participation of citizens and non-governmental organisations in further developing our region.

The ombudsman institution plays a critical role in linking civil society with the legislative and executive branches of government. Ombudsmen's powers and limitations were discussed at the CBSS Ombudsmen's Third Seminar that was held in Tallinn about a week ago. The continued functioning of the ombudsman is important as we strengthen our democracies.

I would like to express my sincere appreciation to the CBSS Commissioner for Democratic Development, Ms. Helle Degn, for the devotion, competence and tangible results she and her office have shown. As the end of the commissioner's mandate draws near, I wish to stress that the CBSS will remain committed to safeguarding the democratic process through its existing structures, and through partnerships with the relevant Pan-European institutions. It is a pleasure to note, that regional networks, such as the Union of the Baltic Cities, and your own parliamentarians' co-operation are helping to safeguard transparency in the public sphere, and many other crucial principles of democracy.

Dear Mr. Chairman,
Ladies and Gentlemen:

Although I have already spoken at length, I have barely touched the surface concerning what the CBSS is doing presently, and have hardly had a chance to trace its future potential.

I can assure you that Estonia means business. With the EU enlargement scheduled to take effect from May 1 of next year, our CBSS Presidency coincides with one of the most momentous events in our region since the fall of Communism and the restoration of the independence of the three Baltic States. Since then, however, more than a decade has passed, and we are fully aware that the CBSS, which was established under entirely different conditions, must undergo a process of adaptation to a totally different, a really open and liberal Europe. This means, that the CBSS must also go through a process of critical self-scrutiny. As a significant step in this direction, I would like to draw your attention to the fact that a review of the CBSS Secretariat will be carried out by an independent consultancy by the end of the Estonian Presidency, in order to assess the work of the organisation. In a way, it will also cast light on the effectiveness of the whole CBSS.

I'm looking forward to the new era, where the centre of gravity of the EU will move closer to our region. Programs such as the Northern Dimension and New Neighbours/Wider Europe will become more visible and get the attention in Brussels that they deserve.

I also look forward to hearing your views, as parliamentarians of the region, on what we, as the executive branch, should do to further improve our mutual cooperation.

Thank you for your kind attention.

Violence must not prevail

MESSAGE FROM JAN O. KARLSSON, SWEDISH MINISTER FOR DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION TO THE NGO CONFERENCE ON SEPARATED AND TRAFFICKED CHILDREN IN THE BALTIC SEA REGION, VILNIUS, 16 SEPTEMBER 2003

Distinguished participants,
Ladies and Gentlemen:

I address you at a very difficult moment for the Swedish government and the people of my country.

A brutal attack took the life of Foreign Minister Anna Lindh in Stockholm last week.

Due to this tragic event, Mr Jan O Karlsson is not able to be here today.

Deeply regretting that he cannot be present, he has asked me deliver his speech, and convey you a greeting of support and encouragement.¹⁾

I read:

Dear friends,

Foreign Minister Anna Lindh fell prey to senseless, meaningless violence.

In the midst of our grief, we must grow stronger.

Stronger in our defence of democracy, stronger in our struggle for an open society, where the rights of every human being are respected.

Violence must not prevail, must not defeat us.

Many acts of violence never reach the headlines, never make the way into public debate.

Countless victims have no face, their voices are not heard.

This invisible, hidden violence is the fate of many of the children that are the focus of our gathering here today.

This conference is a reminder that the pain we experience now, must strengthen our determination to take steps forward, against abuse and ex-



Mr. Jan O. Karlsson,
Minister for Development co-operation,
Migration and Asylum policy, Sweden.

Photo: Pawel Flato

ploitation, against all kinds of violence.

Anna Lindh was committed to the values of democracy and human rights, to international co-operation.

Her relentless defence of human rights meant a focus on the most vulnerable members of our societies. It was a struggle for their rights, for their dignity.

This is also the objective of this conference.

Young girls and boys that cross borders in our region separated from their parents are often victims of the most horrible crimes and human rights abuses.

They fall prey to ruthless adults, who are profiteering on their vulnerability by trafficking or smuggling them from one country to another.

They may be exploited for labour or forced to commit petty crimes.

Worse, they maybe traded into prostitution or trafficked

for other forms of sexual exploitation, or to have their internal organs removed.

These children are also often deprived of their identity documents, and thereby the child's absolute right to his or her identity.

Children cross borders for several reasons – some run away from unbearable living conditions or different kinds of exploitation. Some do it voluntarily and on their own, some pay adults to assist them.

Others again are forced or deceived with promises of a brighter future in another county.

In some of our countries the government shoulder the main responsibility for the protection of these children. In other countries, the NGO-community do most of the work.

I am convinced that it would be highly beneficial for all of us to have a much closer co-operation. We need each others devotion and commitment. No

government can be successful alone, nor can any authority or organisation on its own.

A regional co-operation on separated and trafficked children must involve many sectors of our society – national and local governments, NGOs and the civil society at large.

It concerns migration management, law enforcement, border control, welfare authorities and the legislative system. All these different bodies need to be actively involved if we are to be successful. Building networks between different actors is vital.

Border management is an important governmental responsibility in our region. Migration needs regulation. But control alone will not be sufficient, in fact, I believe that we are fairly well prepared when it comes to border management. The challenge is instead to strike a balance between control measures and prevention.

As part of our development co-operation, Sweden supports a range of activities in the asylum and migration sphere in the Central and Eastern Europe. The support is often channelled through international organisations such as the International Organisation on Migration, the UNICEF and ECPAT. Sometimes our support is channelled directly to organisations like Women to Women, Women's Forum and, indeed, Save the Children.

But the duty to shape a child friendly environment is ulti-

¹⁾ Speech Delivered by State Secretary Charlotte Svensson.

mately a responsibility for national governments, in co-operation with other actors.

We need many informal networks, as well as formalised partnerships between and in between a variety of different actors.

The fight against trafficking in human beings, particularly women and children, and the fate of unaccompanied children are priorities for the Swedish Government. We have recently adopted a strategy on combating trafficking in human beings within the framework of our international development co-operation. The main focus of the strategy is trafficking in women and children and the worst and most common forms of trafficking, such as trafficking for sexual purposes, forced labour and hazardous child labour.

In addition, Sweden is taking measures to be able to ratify the UN-protocol against trafficking in human beings, and in order to incorporate the EU framework decision on the same issue.

The fight against trafficking in human beings and the measures needed to counteract other reasons for unaccompanied children crossing borders must be broad. Let me mention some of the most important components:

- We must reduce the demand for services involving the exploitation of people, one of the root causes of trafficking. All countries, both countries of origin and of destination, have a responsibility in this respect. Where there is no demand, there will be no supply.

In Sweden we have tried to address part of this by criminalising the purchase of sexual services. Prostitution is one of the most common forms of exploitation of victims of traffick-

ing. We are trying to influence buyers and potential buyers. The law has been in effect since 1999, and we have already seen some effects. Legislation like this is an important instrument in the fight against trafficking in human beings for sexual purposes as well as against prostitution.

- We need to develop preventive measures and effective legislation that criminalises all stages of trafficking. There also has to be effective legal assistance, protection and rehabilitation of victims.

- The preconditions of trafficking and other reasons behind unaccompanied children crossing borders must be addressed – for example poverty, unemployment, low-paid jobs, and not least the low status of girls and boys and how to strengthen their human rights.

- We have to raise awareness. This can be done in many ways. A film like *Lilja 4-ever* by the Swedish director Lukas

Moodysson – which most of you saw last night – constitutes one example, media campaigns another, to say nothing of the importance of education.

- We have to strengthen international and regional co-operation to fight trafficking in human beings and to counteract other reasons behind unaccompanied children crossing borders. Such co-operation is partly already in place in our region through the co-operation on children at risk in the Baltic Sea Region.

Dear friends,

This conference is another step forward in a long process.

In February, I was proud to host a conference in Frösundavik outside Stockholm, that was organised in co-operation with the Council of the Baltic Sea States. In Frösundavik, I felt it was imperative to highlight the work carried out by non-governmental organisations, and Save the Children was invited to address the governmental conference.

Sweden did not hesitate to sponsor and contribute to this important initiative in Vilnius.

This event is one of the outcomes of the conference in Frösundavik. I am committed to make sure it is followed by many more.

We are only at the beginning.

The spotlights have been turned on, we have established a network of people, organisations and states that are willing to take action, we have begun to identify methods and best practices.

Most importantly, we are gathering knowledge and gaining experience.

Our focus are the children.

We need to put the fate of unaccompanied and separated children at the centre of attention in our communities, in our societies and in our region.

It must be the subject of discussions and decisions at the national level. It must be placed at the top of the international agenda.

Thank you.

NGO CONFERENCE ON SEPARATED AND TRAFFICKED CHILDREN

An NGO Conference on “Best practices and co-operation regarding separated and trafficked children within the Baltic Sea Region” was held in Vilnius, Lithuania 14–16 September 2003.

The Conference was a response from the NGO community to the CBSS conference in Frösundavik, Sweden in February 2003, which had stressed the importance of involving the NGO community in the struggle against trafficking in children and in finding appropriate solutions to the problem of unaccompanied children crossing borders in our Region. The Conference was also based on the call for joint action made by the CBSS summit in St Petersburg in 2002 - a call that was forcefully reiterated in the conclusions from the 12th CBSS Ministerial meeting in Pori, Finland in June 2003.

About 90 participants attended the conference from more than 50 NGOs, representing nearly all the CBSS countries and also Moldova, Ukraine, Belarus, Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Italy and Romania. It was made possible by Save the Children Sweden and other sponsors, including a financial contribution from the Swedish government.

A number of significant conclusions and recommendations were formulated, with the overriding message that the NGO community has a considerable amount of experience that they wish to put to use in active collaboration both with each other and with governments at the regional and national levels. Only if NGOs and governments work together can we have a reasonable hope of adequately addressing and combating the issue of separated and trafficked children within our region.

Enhancing Regional Disaster Management

2ND CBSS CIVIL PROTECTION DIRECTORS-GENERAL MEETING, ST. PETERSBURG, 10–12 SEPTEMBER 2003



Left to right: Wenche Berg, Directorate of Civil Defence and Emergency Planning, Norway; Yury V. Brazhnikov, Deputy Minister of EMERCOM, Russia; Christina Salomonson, Director General of the Swedish Rescue Services Agency.

Mr. Sergei Shoigu, Minister of EMERCOM, Russia, hosted the second annual meeting of CBSS Directors-General for Civil Protection. Over thirty colleagues participated in the meeting, which took place on 10–12 September at the Pribaltiiskaya Hotel in St. Petersburg. Shoigu said the meeting was an excellent occasion to discuss the prevention and management of natural and human-made disasters, emergencies and acts of terrorism. Both the number and scale of emergencies are increasing, he said. He pointed to the region's great number of potentially dangerous chemical, radiation and fire hazard installations, including nuclear power plants, heavy ferry traffic, cargo communications and large seaports. Shoigu called for a joint monitoring and forecasting of dangerous natural processes, technological risks and related ecological impact. Co-operation should also cover scientific studies, in his view.

Shoigu stressed the need for the CBSS countries to assist each other in emergency prevention and management, especially in potentially transboundary areas.

Mr. Yuri V. Brazhnikov, Deputy Minister of EMERCOM, said co-operation in the field of emergency prevention in the Baltic Sea Region has led to a number of agreements between Russia and other countries over the past 10 years. We have seen excellent practical arrangements based on such agreements, he said. One concrete example was when Finnish rescuers about two years ago deployed to nearby Svetlogorsk in Russia to assist after house explosions.

The Director of the North-West Regional Centre of EMERCOM, Mr. Alexander I. Efremov, said 18 Russian universities offer an education in emergency preparedness, while two educate rescue and fire experts. Mr. Alexander V. Kul-

chitckiy, Chief of Civil Protection and Emergency Prevention Directorate, EMERCOM of the Kaliningrad region, noted that several meetings and various training activities are being held together with Poland and Lithuania. Kulchitckiy said his office works with insurance companies to establish procedures in the event of environmental disasters and other emergencies.

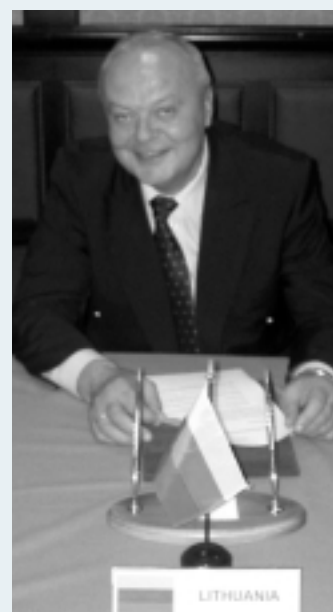
Dr. Barbara Polak, Advisor to the Chief, National HQ of the State Fire Service and Civil Defence of Poland presented the EUROBALTIC Civil Protection Program, which has received Interreg funding from the EU. This CBSS programme will continue until 2006 and is developing regional competence and co-operation in the area of emergency preparedness and management. Numerous regional workshops, joint studies and projects are to be carried out in accordance with stringent demands for detailed plans, co-financing and the creation of partnerships across borders. Dr. Polak said an exercise for rescue units and logistical support was scheduled for September. A seminar will be held in Lithuania on the creation of a joint 112 emergency telephone number in the region. In Kaliningrad there will be a pilot project on deactivating WWII ammunition, and Poland will host a seminar on the safety of cultural heritage in a crisis situation.

EMERCOM invited the group to its the North-West Regional Centre, which is located in St. Petersburg. In a communications room, a wall covered with LCD-screens put the participants in direct visual

and verbal contact with staff in regions including Komi, Arkhangelsk, Murmansk and Vologda. At the adjacent Mobile Command and Control Station, rescue workers demonstrated the latest procurements in search and rescue vehicles and equipment. After an intense and informative day, the participants were treated to an evening boat excursion on the Neva River and along ports and shipyards in the Finnish Bay.

All delegates signed a document on the outcome of the meeting. They vowed to enhance co-operation in the field of civil protection and recommended to review existing agreements and initiate more co-operation activities like the EUROBALTIC Programme.

Director of the Fire and Rescue Department of Lithuania, Mr. Kazys Zulonon, announced that Lithuania would host the Third CBSS Meeting of Directors-General of Civil Protection in 2004.



Kazys Zulonon, Director of the Lithuanian Fire and Rescue Department.



Left to right: Hans Petter Jahre, Tor-Aksel Busch and Knut Kallerud of the Norwegian Office of the Director of Public Prosecutions; Ingela Klintberg and Ola Sjöstrand of local and district Swedish prosecutors' offices; Bogi Nilsson, Director of Public Prosecutions of Iceland.

8th CBSS Prosecutors-General Meeting

OSLO, 24-25 SEPTEMBER 2003

At their 8th meeting since 1997, representatives from the prosecutor-general offices in all CBSS Member States except Russia gathered. Mr. Tor-Aksel Busch, Director of Public Prosecutions in Norway, said that perhaps this group should have a more formal link to the Task Force on Organised Crime (TF-OC) and its Operative Committee (OPC). One could look to the International Criminal Court, which seeks to organise a closer exchange between the prosecution and investigation functions.

Vice Chief Prosecutor Ingela Klintberg, Co-ordinator of the Network for Trafficking in and Sexual Abuse of Women and Children said some CBSS countries see trafficking issues from the gender equality viewpoint, some as immigration issues, while others use the angle of domestic violence. Russia, the most neglecting country in this field, handles it as a foreign affairs issue, according to Ms. Klintberg. Ms. Klintberg said a majority of women trafficked in the region originate in Latvia, Lithuania and Russia. Often those from Latvia and Lithuania are of Russian origin. Violence is generally not used to recruit, but to force the women to keep providing profits. The Network believes it is legally questionable to deport a trafficking victim on grounds of viola-

tion of immigration laws. A proposed change in Swedish law would give victims temporary residency permit.

Mr. Rune B. Hansen, Senior Public Prosecutor, reported for the TF-OC Expert Group on Environmental Crime. It is common to forget environmental crime aspects, he said. Dumping of cars is an example where the prosecutor usually charges the perpetrator only with the more obvious act of insurance fraud. Waste from production of synthetic drugs is an enormous source of environmental crime, according to Mr. Hansen. In combating crimes such as oil pollution from ships and from transport of hazardous waste, a key word is operative co-operation. The Group has produced three field manuals for crew on ships and aircraft. It aims to carry out a joint and simultaneous port control throughout the Baltic Sea Region, together with prosecutors and other authorities.

Mr. Henning Fode, Chief of Public Prosecutors of Denmark, called for an integration of the work of the prosecutors general with the OPC of the TF-OC. Its mandate expires at the end of 2004. The CBSS Summit in Tallinn on 28-29 June 2004 is expected to decide how or whether to continue these regional efforts. Mr. Jakob Scharf, Chief of Police and Chairman of

OPC, said Interpol and Europol attend all OPC meetings. To avoid duplication, one should explore if OPC meetings may be held within the framework of the CoE and Eurojust.

A representative of the CBSS Secretariat, Senior Advisor Gry Tina Tinde, gave an overview of the CBSS history, organisation and future challenges. Ms. Helle Degn, CBSS Commissioner for Democratic Development, said prosecutors general must be able to act without any kind of influence. Ms. Degn pointed to the UN Guidelines on the Role of Prosecutors and the work of the International Association of Prosecutors. The Parliamentary Assembly of the CoE stresses the effective separation of state power from the prosecutor-general function. Accountability to the public is crucial, as is transparency and consistency. She recommended all prosecutors general to issue an annual public report. Citizens should have direct access to prosecution services. It is necessary to decentralise, to ensure access to fair trial to people living in remote areas, Ms. Degn said.

A Polish representative said it was a challenge in Poland to maintain an independent prosecutor general, since the Minister of Justice and the Prosecutor General is the same person. Other staff in the Prosecutor-Gener-

al's Office may not be members of a political party.

Mr. Andreas Haugen, Chief of Police and Co-ordinator of the OPC Expert Group on Stolen Vehicles, said some 200,000 vehicles disappear annually in the region. Most are taken to Russia, where it is virtually impossible to reclaim them, as it is not forbidden to sell and re-register them there. A criminal in Norway had shown the police that he could open and drive away with a Mercedes S-class in 12 minutes. Authorities must monitor closely the re-registration of vehicles. Returning vehicles to their owners has not had any success, Mr. Haugen said.

Mr. Tuomas Oja, Finnish Member of Eurojust, said this EU co-operation supports investigations and prosecutions by the Member States into serious cross-border and international crime. The office began operating in 2001, but was formally set up in March 2002. It recently moved from Brussels to The Hague. It is a roundtable of 15 members today; in about six months there will be 25. The number of cases has increased by 100 % over the past year. In its annual report Eurojust presents problems and obstacles faced when giving help.

Denmark invited to the next meeting, which will be held in Copenhagen in June or late September 2004.

FIVE YEARS WITH ANNA LINDH

Fridays are usually busy days in downtown Stockholm. We have to fight our way in and out of Strömsborg with a constant traffic flow on Vasabron, which is further aggravated by the ongoing renovation work of the bridge. Friday the 19th of September 2003 was an exception. No cars, just a few pedestrians on our bridge. The whole of Stockholm – actually the whole of Sweden – stopped to say goodbye to Anna Lindh. Friends and colleagues from all corners of the world had gathered at the Stadshuset and the Foreign Ministry to honour the memory of a highly respected Foreign Minister of Sweden.

On our wall in Strömsborg there is an old map of the Baltic Sea region. At the back of this map is a signature and a date: “Anna Lindh 20.10.1998”. The map was the present of the new Foreign Minister – appointed just a few weeks before – to the CBSS Secretariat at the inauguration of our office. The celebration of the fifth anniversary of the Secretariat on

20 October 2003 will be overshadowed by the absence of Anna Lindh. We can only thank her sincerely for her unwavering support to the CBSS and the Baltic Sea cooperation during these five years we had the fortune to walk together.

The Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Baltic Sea Parliamentary Conference (BSPC) Outi Ojala in her speech at the annual Conference in Oulu in September 2003 “noted with satisfaction the good cooperation between the CBSS and the BSPC”, describing the CBSS as “our main counterpart”. She then pointed out that the parliamentary cooperation in the Baltic Sea area was at the crossroads: “*The EU enlargement and its impacts on our region and the increasing role of the CBSS concerning the development of the Northern Dimension make it necessary to discuss the role of BSPC and how to organise our parliamentary cooperation in the future. The parliamentarians wish to strengthen and develop the structures and organization of our cooperation in the direction of a parliamen-*



Hannu Halinen

tary dimension to the CBSS”. CBSS is an intergovernmental organization. The role of civil society is increasingly important in our work, (as manifested, e.g. by the CBSS NGO Forum, which has now become an annual event). Parliaments, both local and national, play an indispensable role in building up the Baltic Sea region. The efforts by the CBSS in strengthening the cooperation with, and between, regional and local authorities will be greatly improved by working closer together with parliamentarians, NGO’s and other sectors of civil society.

Baltic Sea Calendar

OCTOBER

5–7 Riga, LATVIA

Baltic Development Forum (BDF) 5th Annual Summit Meeting

9 Tallinn, ESTONIA

Meeting of Chairmen of CBSS economic co-operation bodies

9 Petrozavodsk, RUSSIA

CBSS Commissioner Seminar on Good Lawmaking

9–11 St. Petersburg, RUSSIA

20th Conference of the Europe of Regions

15–16 Klaipeda, LITHUANIA

CBSS Committee of Senior Officials (CSO) meeting

16–17 Copenhagen, DENMARK

CBSS Working Group for Cooperation on Children at Risk (WGCC) meeting

17 Klaipeda, LITHUANIA

3rd Coordination meeting of Heads of Baltic Sea Regional organisations

17–19 Klaipeda, LITHUANIA

7th General Conference of the Union of the Baltic Cities (UBC)

20 Stockholm, SWEDEN

5th Anniversary of the Official Inauguration of the CBSS Secretariat

20 Vilnius, LITHUANIA

CBSS Senior Officials for Information Society (SOIS) meeting

20–21 St. Petersburg, RUSSIA

27th Meeting of the Ars Baltica Organisation Committee

23–24 Riga, LATVIA

5th Baltic Sea Customs Conference (BSCC) meeting

23–24 Stralsund, GERMANY

Baltic 21 Senior Officials Group (SOG) meeting

23–24 Tallinn, ESTONIA

CBSS Working Group on Nuclear Radiation Safety (WGNRS) meeting

23–25 St. Petersburg, RUSSIA

11th Conference of the Baltic Sea States Subregional Cooperation (BSSSC)

27–28 Oslo, NORWAY

Ministerial meeting on the Northern Dimension in Public Health and Social Wellbeing

Edited by the CBSS Secretariat • Ambassador Hannu Halinen, Director • Ambassador Alar Olljum, Deputy Director

Useful CBSS addresses

Chairman of the CBSS Committee of Senior Officials (CSO): Mr. Tiit Naber, Ambassador-at-large, Ministry for Foreign Affairs,

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