

# SPAIN'S LEADERSHIP OF THE OSCE

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## HEARING BEFORE THE COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE ONE HUNDRED TENTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

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OCTOBER 29, 2007

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# SPAIN'S LEADERSHIP OF THE OSCE

OCTOBER 29, 2007

## COMMISSIONER

	Page
Hon. Louise McIntosh Slaughter, Commissioner, Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe .....	1

## WITNESS

H.E. Miguel Ángel Moratinos, Foreign Minister of Spain, Chairman-in-Office, Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe .....	2
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## APPENDICES

Prepared statement of Hon. Alcee L. Hastings, Chairman, Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe .....	14
Prepared statement of Hon. Benjamin L. Cardin, Co-Chairman, Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe .....	16
Prepared statement of Hon. Christopher H. Smith, Ranking Member, Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe .....	17

(III)



## SPAIN'S LEADERSHIP OF THE OSCE

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October 29, 2007

COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE  
WASHINGTON, DC

The hearing was held at 4:02 p.m. in room 211 Cannon House Office Building, Washington, DC, Hon. Louise McIntosh Slaughter, Commissioner, Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, presiding.

*Commissioner present:* Hon. Louise McIntosh Slaughter, Commissioner, Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

*Witness present:* H.E. Miguel Angel Moratinos, Spanish Foreign Minister.

### **HON. LOUISE McINTOSH SLAUGHTER, COMMISSIONER, COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE**

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Good afternoon. The hearing on Spain's leadership of the OSCE will please come to order.

I want to say at the outset, Mr. Minister, how much we appreciate your being here today, and it's a very interesting time, of course, as you prepare to host the OSCE Ministerial Meeting next month in Madrid.

I'm sorry that our Chairman, Mr. Hastings, is not able to be here, but his plane was canceled this morning. Those of us who depend on airplanes know that this is really the chance we all take in trying to get where we need to go on time.

As a longstanding member of the Commission, I'm certainly pleased to welcome you on behalf of my colleagues.

Certainly, we at the Helsinki Commission are unique in our focus on development in the OSCE from the parliamentary perspective.

I appreciate your prepared remarks that recognize the distinctive contributions of parliamentarians to the Helsinki process. My personal involvement in that aspect of OSCE dates back to 1993, when Finland hosted the Annual Session of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly.

And over the years, I have appreciated the opportunity to work closely with fellow parliamentarians from throughout the OSCE region, from Vancouver to Vladivostok. The OSCE PA has provided important leadership on issues from human trafficking and combating anti-Semitism and other forms of intolerance to promoting projects aimed at protecting the environment and advancing security among the participating States, now numbering 56.

Gender equality, as you point out, must be a priority, an issue I have pressed in the context of the Parliamentary Assembly, along with Tone Tingsgård of Sweden, the Special Representative on Gender Issues.

I also noted your reference to Afghanistan, the OSCE's newest Partner for Cooperation. Last week, I had the privilege of meeting with President Karzai in London and talked again about the movement of women and the benefits that he and his country would have from educating young Afghan girls.

When I first flagged the concerns regarding the problems in Afghanistan in the OSCE context, some people said "that isn't our concern, it's outside the OSCE region." Well, one of the lessons of September 11 is that events in seemingly faraway lands do matter for the people there and ultimately for our own security.

Mr. Minister, I know you have an ambitious agenda for the Madrid meeting and the Russians and others may complicate your work given the OSCE rule requiring consensus.

Thank you for being here to update us on these and other developments in the OSCE arena and we will be pleased to hear from you.

**H.E. MIGUEL ÁNGEL MORATINOS, FOREIGN MINISTER OF SPAIN, CHAIRMAN-IN-OFFICE, ORGANIZATION FOR SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE**

Min. MORATINOS. Thank you. Thank you, Madam Chair.

Let me first start by conveying to my good friend, Congressman Hastings, not being here, my friendship and recognition and, at the same time, thank you for this opportunity to speak before the U.S. Helsinki Commission.

I know that the Helsinki Commission plays a unique role as a forum for debate on the burning issues of the day facing the OSCE and the region. In so doing, this Commission pays unique tribute to the longstanding and continued engagement by the United States with the OSCE and the values that underpin it.

The OSCE can only work with the full engagement of the participating States, the governments, the parliaments and the societies.

The United States, of course, has a special role to play. For that, it is an excellent moment to share with you some of the priorities and activities of the OSCE under the Spanish presidency, as we approach the Ministerial Council in Madrid at the end of November.

Let me start by saying that the Spanish chairmanship of the OSCE has been very supportive in an effort to find a just and lasting formula that will contribute to the stability of the Balkans.

We have managed over the years to maintain a neutral and unbiased position in regard to the status of Kosovo and the communities recognize this effort of OSCE.

While the OSCE is not directly involved in the status negotiation, we are, as OSCE, contributing to the process of creating the necessary conditions on the ground for the implementation of the status settlement.

We are ready to stay in Kosovo in order to focus on monitoring protection of the rights of communities, particularly regarding the centralization and the protection of cultural and religious sites.

On Afghanistan, I do refer to that. The situation in Afghanistan continues to have a substantial impact on security in Central Asia. In this respect, the OSCE is considering a serious border management project, particularly in Tajikistan. We hope to encourage counterparts in Afghanistan in these border related activities.

Even more, we are proposing to have informal discussion at the ministerial level at the lunch that we have in Madrid to address the issue of how OSCE can be useful for the stability and the future of Afghanistan.

On Kazakhstan, as you know well, Kazakhstan has announced its aim to chair the OSCE. This bid has been welcomed by all members of the Organization and we hope and we are sure that this is an excellent opportunity to Kazakhstan, Central Asia, and the OSCE as a whole.

For now, there is not a final consensus regarding the date of the chairmanship by Kazakhstan, but as Chairman-in-Office, Spain is actively seeking to build a consensus to amongst all OSCE states on this important decision for the Organization.

In Georgia, in recent months, we have witnessed serious incidents both in Abkhazia and the zone of the Georgian-Ossetian conflict. These incidents are a cause for concern and stress the need for further efforts in promoting trust and cooperation.

In relation to the missile incident on the sixth of August, the Spanish chairmanship has adopted a forward-looking approach and put forward a proposal for complete preventive measures to avoid similar incidents in the future, which constitute a priority for the Spanish chairmanship.

On Moldova, the OSCE continues to work to facilitate a settlement on the Transnistrian issue in Moldova, through participation in the "five-plus-two" format of negotiation. Along with a mediators from the Russian Federation and Ukraine and the observers from the United States and the European Union, we have tried throughout our chairmanship to convince the sides to return to negotiations as we share the conviction with other OSCE states that negotiations in this format are the appropriate means to achieve a sustainable and lasting settlement, one that will give Moldova an excellent chance to develop and prosper.

Regarding the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, the continued mediation efforts throughout the year by the Co-Chairs and the OSCE Minsk Group, with the active support of my Personal Representative, have not resulted in a breakthrough in the settlement process. Nevertheless, the parties remain committed to continuing the negotiations.

Let me address now the CFE, the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe. The Spanish OSCE chairmanship notes with deep concern the uncertainties concerning the continued implementation of the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe, CFE.

We cannot afford to put at risk the hard won gains in this field. The OSCE chairmanship calls on all States Parties to renew their efforts to display the necessary flexibility toward resolving outstanding Treaty-related issues in a spirit of openness, transparency and mutual cooperation. The Ministerial Council in Madrid will be an opportunity to move the process forward.

On terrorism, the Spanish chairmanship has placed anti-terrorism as a top priority on the OSCE agenda and has therefore organized four major conferences and a set of decisions are to be adopted at the Madrid Ministerial Meeting.

On the economic and environmental dimension, the second basket of OSCE, we have promoted a full-fledged discussion, with a particular focus on the problems of land degradation and water management. The OSCE can act as a platform for dialogue and a network for cooperation on environmental security. Given the OSCE's comprehensive concept of security, it is only natural that the OSCE develop a profile on a question of such vital importance to all of us.

On the human dimension, Spain has also placed the challenge of integrating diversity in pluralistic societies high on the OSCE agenda. This issue is one that goes to the heart of our pledge to build democratic states and societies. Diversity is today a fact for all of our societies—the challenge we face is to ensure strong participation by all individuals in our societies and within our democracies. In this respect, the U.N. Alliance of Civilizations is a useful instrument to address diversity in different areas such as youth, education, media or migration.

The OSCE chairmanship Conference on Intolerance and Discrimination against Muslims, held in Cordoba the ninth and tenth of October, was a major initiative for our chairmanship and reflected our conviction that tolerance and non-discrimination should stand at the top national and international priorities.

I will add this conference followed the OSCE Conference on Anti-Semitism, another form of intolerance, held in 2005, also in Cordoba, as well as the Bucharest Ministerial Meeting on Tolerance and Non-discrimination held earlier this year.

Promotion of gender equality and freedom of the media and the fight against trafficking in human beings have been among our priorities. A long list of activities and seminars testify to it.

Let me address the election observation and the role of ODIHR. Over the years, the Office of Democratic Institutions and Human Rights [ODIHR] has earned an international reputation for its leadership, professionalism and excellence in the critical area of election observation.

The ODIHR's mission is much broader encompassing a wide range of democratization activities aimed at closing the gap between the commitments on paper and the reality on the ground in the participating States. ODIHR's role is fundamental in OSCE. We have consistently supported its activities throughout our chairmanship.

All OSCE countries have made commitments to democratic elections and supporting a process that leads to democratic governance, including those related to international observation of elections.

We have paid close attention to electoral observation during the Spanish chairmanship. In this respect, as the elections to the Duma are approaching we are still waiting for a Russian invitation to ODIHR to observe them in a way which will allow us to maintain our common high standards on election observation.

If there is a danger in the debate of election observation, it is that some participating States, to a certain extent, would like to

shift the discourse away from commitments and the fulfillment, or lack of fulfillment. We find it unhelpful to call into question the well established OSCE practice on election observation, which so far has proved most fruitful.

In this respect, it is our concern that the announcement made by the Russian representative in Vienna indicating that the invitation to observe the Duma election would be “a la carte.”

Let me address the role of Parliamentary Assembly in this process. I’m very pleased that President Lennmarker testified before the Helsinki Commission on 18 October 2007.

As a Member of Parliament myself, I can only stress that the political expertise of parliamentarians, along with the responsibility incumbent of elected officials for ensuring transparency, accountability, and public confidence, provides a rich experience to complement the broad range of electoral expertise represented in election observation activities, such as that taken by the ODIHR.

I am pleased to say that the OSCE chairmanship, together with the leadership of the Parliamentary Assembly, has ensured the constructive nature of the debate on electoral issues without trying to change the fundamental nature of the OSCE as an inter-governmental organization or that of the ODIHR as a key institution mandated with election observation.

The OSCE chairmanship has invested efforts to establish good cooperation, which has produced a solid record in the OSCE region. We would seek to maintain this at all cost. It is vital for the values to which we have subscribed. It is vital also as the flagship activity of the Organization.

The relationship between the ODIHR and the Parliamentary Assembly must necessarily be of a special nature it’s a relationship of partnership and respect for each other’s contributions—not of competition.

Let me address now the Partners for Cooperation and the Mediterranean Partners. Advancing the relationship of the OSCE with Partners for Cooperation has been, as well, at the top of the Spanish chairmanship agenda.

Setting up a partnership fund has been one of the main goals within the contract group. We are confident that the remaining difficulties will be overcome, allowing the OSCE participation in projects with the partners.

Difficulties have also encountered to convene this year a seminar with the Mediterranean Partners. We think that holding this seminar in Israel for the first time should provide a unique opportunity for institutional work with the Mediterranean.

We consider our chairmanship initiatives, such as the Cordoba Conference earlier last October, have contributed to attract interest of the Partners in OSCE activities. In this light, there is a need to recall that the Mediterranean continues to be a relevant chapter of OSCE’s work and importance of its contribution to security of the OSCE area.

Let me finalize by addressing the Ministerial Council and the respective Madrid Ministerial Meeting. The OSCE “to do” list is expanding. It is only natural that our agenda for the OSCE Ministerial Council in Madrid at the end of this month is ambitious.

Over the remaining time, the Spanish chairmanship will be seeking actively to garner consensus on vital decisions, including future chairmanships, the role of OSCE in environmental security, the convention of legal personality of OSCE, strengthening pluralistic societies, deepening cooperation in counterterrorism, and the fight against trafficking of human beings.

Protracted conflict will be on the ministerial agenda, as well as OSCE missions in the field. It is clear that the ambitious goals that the participating States have set collectively for the OSCE must be matched by the requested resources.

I might be frank here. Insisting on reducing resources while increasing mandates doesn't serve the values that rightly underpin the OSCE.

There is nothing quite like the OSCE, neither a military alliance nor an economic union. This Organization brings together, on a permanent basis, 56 countries, as you mentioned, Chairperson, from Vancouver to Vladivostok, around this shared vision.

This vision was born in Helsinki. It was to strengthen in Paris and Istanbul. Certainly, the work of the U.S. Helsinki Commission is a vital part of the pursuit of this vision.

I thank you for your support and dedication. Thank you.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Thank you very much. We appreciate that report.

Obviously, the meeting in Madrid is critical to the survival of OSCE and I wanted to ask you some questions about that.

As you know, the Russian official in charge of the elections to the State Duma announced today that he would allow 400 outside observers. Since OSCE had more than 400 at the last election and given the fact that Russia has made statements, along with, I believe, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and several others, that they think we spend too much time on elections and human rights, I'd love to have your assessment of that, particularly since they want reform.

I think there might be some pitfalls ahead with OSCE if we were to go ahead with that.

Min. MORATINOS. Well, I think our role in the observation process in all the 56 members, OSCE has to be serious, has to be credible, and has to be effective. That has been the responsibility of the chairmanship of Spain in the OSCE.

We have had a good experience in all the electoral processes from Albania, where we had started with a very difficult situation of local elections, through what has been the last Ukraine election, that all of them have gone through a very well, I would say, performance of the ODIHR and Parliamentary Assembly work.

We have some misunderstanding of Parliamentary Assembly and ODIHR in Serbia, even if the elections were quite positive, and, after that, we have been very much involved in order to get successful outcome of the electoral processes.

Of course, the Russian Federation elections are extremely important and we've been in close contact with the Russian authorities in order that we can play and assume our responsibility.

I can assure you that we will continue to give to the Russian authorities, as you know, the sense that for the good responsibility and credibility and the legitimacy of the results of the election, we need that OSCE will be involved through the Parliamentary As-

sembly and through ODIHR and we are in close contact the Russian authorities to get, as you know, positive and effective involvement in order to have a fair and free election in Russia.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. That's certainly what we strive for. At the conclusion of the Belgian chairmanship last year, your predecessor spoke of holding this Organization [OSCE] together, a notion I think held by others, perhaps including the Fins, who will succeed you in January.

Is this the low point for OSCE and what do you attribute that to?

Min. MORATINOS. Well, Madam Chair, I think the Organization, paradoxically, is facing the most exciting and challenging time after many years—

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Well put.

Min. MORATINOS [continuing]. Many years, many years of being a quite established organization, that there was no great debate, no great polemics. But at this stage, we are starting the new century. I think all countries and this family spirit of the OSCE understand that we are in a situation that this is the only organization where not only Europeans, the United States, what we call the Western world, but also the new countries of the [inaudible] and Central Asia share the same principles and the same values and the same objectives.

In this new situation I think is the only poorer where in the sense of responsibility there is some divergent point of view and what we have is to really announce this esprit of familia that have to put into force in the near future.

My intention, as I informed the member states, is that I would like to start to reflect on the need for a future summit of OSCE. It's been a long time since the Heads of State or Government last met together.

Of course, we are very proud to be Foreign Minister, and myself, we are very strong personalities and we can solve many issues, but when we are at the crossroad of the future of the Organization, it is high time, after Istanbul, I think 11 years, 10 years, more or less, 10 years, it's high time for the Heads of State or Governments to gather together and to think if this organization has been useful for security and cooperation for the whole region of Vancouver to Vladivostok.

It's a quite, I would say, challenging task and I think in this world, we need sometimes the Heads of State or Government to really reflect on the challenge and the priorities in terms of security and cooperation.

So I will try to get in my conclusion in the Ministerial Meeting in Madrid to give the parties and the member states the mandate to start to explore the possibility for this summit meeting.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Do you think that some of the member states are threatened by the fact that we push for pluralistic democracies? Is that a serious problem or something we can deal with?

Min. MORATINOS. Well, democracy, everybody [inaudible] to. Democracy is a permanent, I will say, exercise. Of course, we have been a longstanding member state with very strong, sound [inaudible] on democracy, institution building, rule of law, but there have been many countries that are now full members of OSCE that are

coming from authoritarian regimes, with a very difficult economic and social structure, that, of course, are aiming and working for consolidating their democratization processes.

So I can assure you that in my trips and my tour to some of these countries, many in Central Asia, I found in all of them this eagerness for consolidating their democratic processes.

But, also, we have the sense of a tremendous challenge in terms of lack of democratic culture. There has not been a political party. There has not been freedom of expression, freedom of speech. It doesn't mean that they have not fulfilled all criteria and principles of respect of human rights and all kinds of engagements and principles that the OSCE can provide them, but also they are very much satisfied with the projects and programs that OSCE can provide to all of them.

For me, it was a great experience for Spain being a full member of the Helsinki process from 1975. If you were to ask any public, Spanish people to say something about OSCE, nobody understands what this organization is. I have my people deal with our media to say that it's important to be——

Ms. SLAUGHTER. I think we have the same thing.

Min. MORATINOS [continuing]. The chairman, enough is OSCE. So the paradox is when you go to Turkmenistan or Uzbekistan or to Azerbaijan, you are the king. The Chairman-in-Office of OSCE is more important than a head of state. And so they are very much committed and very much hopeful that they can be supported by this Organization [OSCE] in terms of institution building, how you can promote women's gender in the institution, the NGOs, this civil society that is taking shape.

So the role of OSCE is tremendous, but sometimes, as Westerners, we are too much demanding, you have to do B, C, and D in 24 hours, and 24 hours for this is not so easy.

So I think we should try to get them involved, to get part of this new West, that we can call it, for the defending of democracy and human rights and all the legacy of the Western world, but at the same time, understanding the challenge that they have a tremendous economic and social difficulty, that they have to get something back.

For that reason, the Spanish presidency is very much in favor of giving Kazakhstan the chairmanship of the OSCE, because that will, for the first time, not be either the European Union member states as chairman, that for the first time, we will have the sense of partnership that all member states are member states that can have this responsibility to lead the organization.

So that is a tremendous challenge we have to face together and I'm hopeful that together we will succeed to get a positive answer to Kazakhstan's request to have the presidency of the OSCE.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Well, I want to thank you for your chairmanship. You've had some critical issues. I, too, have been very proud of my own involvement in OSCE and we did wonderful work during the Cold War, I think, and I'm very grateful for the opportunity.

And as you say, hardly anyone, except those of us who are members, know what good work has been done over the years. But one

thing, and I know you mentioned this in your statement, the August 6 missile incident between Russia and Georgia.

We had an OSCE Border Monitoring Mission there until a couple of years ago. Do you feel that [missile incident] would have happened had the border mission still been there? And should it be re-instituted?

Min. MORATINOS. When the incident took place, immediately we moved forward to get both sides, first, to investigate and to try to have objective analysis of what has happened.

And then, second, to appoint a special representative of myself in order to produce a kind of confidence building between the Russians and Georgians.

I visited Russia, I went to Moscow the day after I went to Georgia and I can assure you that both sides, I think, after our talks and discussions, they are much more concerned and much more convinced that they have to look to the future, as you say, to avoid new incidents.

So I think the role of OSCE is to create the atmosphere and the framework for confidence building measures. OSCE is the appropriator for supporting—we have military observes in the region. We can have reinforced observers on the borders. We can even think about some early warning system for the future, at the same time, encouraging the two sides to really engage in a serious discussion, because as I told both the Russians and the Georgians, they are neighbors.

So neighbors have to live together, have to respect each other. So borders are not going to disappear. So if they want to have security and stability and good relationships for the future, they have to understand each other.

So I think with our actions, we relax and we cool down the tension. We have still our representative in case it's needed to maintain contacts and discussion and I hope that during the Ministerial Meeting in Madrid, we can overcome even to create a better atmosphere of the situation.

I have to thank, also, the role of the U.S. diplomacy in this issue. I know that the State Department is very much involved to create the conditions for better understanding between Russia and Georgia, and I think, all together, with our modest contribution, we can really facilitate a better relationship between Georgia and Russia.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. That would be wonderful. If Kosovo unilaterally declared independence, how would that impact the ability of the OSCE to continue to function there, because its existing mandate is going to expire at the end of the year and to have it renewed, it has to be subject to consensus by all the participating States, including Russia and Serbia?

What do you think the chances are for that?

Min. MORATINOS. Well, of course, as you know, we are not part of OSCE involvement—we are not involved in the negotiation of final status of Kosovo. I mean, for the moment, we don't know. We should not judge what will be the final outcome.

Of course, we have to be prepared. OSCE is the larger organization deploying in Kosovo, is the organization that really got the root of understanding the reconciliation and confidence building measures, because we are in the different localities, municipalities,

and we know our people are involved on a daily basis and know how to handle the whole security in the different areas and local municipalities in Kosovo.

So it's very important that OSCE maintain its engagement in Kosovo, whatever is going to be the future status.

We have said that, of course, we need a new mandate, as you mentioned, because at the end of the year, the mandate of our deployment in Kosovo will be over. We hope that the parties will be in close contact with Serbia and other actors in order to get their understanding that OSCE is an objective partner that is doing positive work for all communities.

And I hope that during the Ministerial Meeting in Madrid, we can get some understanding of that in order that we can have innovation of a mandate without any precondition of what is going to be the final status of Kosovo.

Of course, if everything goes through Security Council resolution of U.N., it will be [inaudible] on the draft of the Security Council U.N. resolution, there was already a paragraph about the need for renewing the mandate of OSCE in Kosovo, but there is no U.N. Security Council resolution, you should try to get it through other means.

So we are aware of that. We are conscious of that and we would work in order that our mandate in Kosovo that, as I told you, is 1,100 people already deployed there. So the U.N. is one of the most important presence, international presence in Kosovo, can maintain their work and their contribution to the stability and prosperity of the people of the region.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Just one or two more questions, if I may. It's so good to have you here.

Min. MORATINOS. I'm here, I'm very happy.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. I want to talk about Lebanon for a moment. I was privileged to travel to the Middle East with Speaker Pelosi in April and of the five countries we visited, Lebanon was the saddest.

The President at that time was afraid to leave the parliament building. Parliament itself had not met for some time. We're very concerned about Hezbollah. We're concerned about the insurgents crossing the Lebanese border, going after our soldiers in Iraq.

Do you see any developments in that country that would lead it to be able to join the [OSCE] Mediterranean Partners any time in the future? Did you get some sense of hope?

Min. MORATINOS. I am cautiously optimistic on Lebanon. I made a trip with my colleague, the French Foreign Minister, Mr. Kouchner, and the Italian Foreign Minister, Mr. D'Alema, and myself, and it was not what we expected.

We found Lebanese political forces extremely eager to overcome this kind of fatalism. Lebanon, as you mentioned, is a country that has so much suffered throughout history and it has suffered through the conflicts and, I will say, the interference of others, that they feel for once that they have to really try to overcome the differences among themselves and look for the future.

In this sense, there has been a much more clear commitment of all political forces, mainly among the Christian community, because, as you know, the next president has to be, through the Taif

Accord, has to be Maronite, a Christian, of the sense of historical responsibility.

I am feeling that they're moving forward. They are aware of the tremendous consequences that they will have to suffer if there is no agreement before the 25th of November and, for that reason, all parties are working in order to make some compromise, in order to get a candidate that can have the support of all political parties.

I think as the international community, we have only one responsibility at this stage and that's to give them a sense of freedom to work among themselves and try to get an agreement among themselves, not to try to identify one part and one other.

I think our message should be encouragement, a sense of responsibility, and, of course, support. And I hope that things that have been developed are going to the right direction and finally we can get a president of Lebanon that will get the consensus of all parties, including, of course, the main party, the majority now as of the 14th of March. That means the political parties that are now in the majority in the last elections.

Also, I hope that all together, they can get this candidate to be the man of consensus and then will follow for the stability and the better security of liberty.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Did you have any discussions with the ability to have the U.N. investigate the Hariri assassination?

Min. MORATINOS. Well, we had a discussion, of course, with Nabil Berri and Saad Hariri himself. I met with all the principal leaders of Lebanon.

For Spain, I'm talking now as the Spanish Foreign Minister and not OSCE [Chairman-in-Office], because OSCE has no mandate on Lebanon. We are in favor of the tribunal.

Personally, I was a very close friend of Rafik Hariri. I have my personal experience with Rafik Hariri. Three days before he was assassinated, I had a phone call with him and I have been very much involved, defending his ideals and his principles.

I'm very much involved in what has happened and what we need is to have clarity and finally justice to be applied for this very outrageous assassination.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. If Mr. Berri won't call the parliament together, it would be pretty unlikely to ask for the tribunal.

Did you discuss that with him at all? Because we did and I have to tell you it made no impact on him.

Min. MORATINOS. Before the parliament?

Ms. SLAUGHTER. And the speaker. Yes. They've not met in some months.

Min. MORATINOS. Of course not. I mean, they are in a very difficult situation. They've been through a very tough situation.

I met some MPs that they're afraid for their life and—

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Yes, they are, with good cause.

Min. MORATINOS [continuing]. Living in a hotel. In a Finnish hotel, I went to pay tribute to their courage. I went to see them and what we have is to overcome that, that they can live without any concern for their life and security.

So we are working to guarantee that. Lebanon is very, very promised in democracy in the Middle East and we should work for that.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. If I could stray again from not an OSCE member, but you know Iran is a major concern for the United States and for the EU. How does Spain view that current situation? Do you see any common ground between the EU and the United States on Iran?

Min. MORATINOS. Well, to say it's not—

Ms. SLAUGHTER. I saved the best one for last.

Min. MORATINOS. I can talk as the Spanish Foreign Minister on Iran, not OSCE [Chairman-in-Office].

Ms. SLAUGHTER. But I'd love to hear the Spanish perspective on Iran.

Min. MORATINOS. Yes, of course. It's a perspective that's very similar of the United States and others. We are very much concerned about the situation in Iran and the situation of the lack of response of Security Council resolution of the U.N.

And, you know, I have two words of our policy towards Iran. No. 1 is full implementation of Security Council resolution and, No. 2—three words, I will say—full implementation of Security Council resolution; number two, unity of international community to give this strong message to Iran; and, third, a dialogue in the sense that we need to really explore and exhaust all dialogue in order that we get some results.

That is the way we are conducting our policy. We have been in close contact with the United States, the High Representative for Common Foreign Security Policy, Javier Solana, is the one who has been in charge by not only the European Union, but the United States to engage with the Iranians in order to find a diplomatic and political solution.

We are supporting these missions, but we are not holding out anything. If the mission doesn't produce results, we said that we are ready, as the European Union, to study new measures against Iran, but let's first concentrate in the efforts of our envoy, our common envoy, Javier Solano as envoy of the United States, the Russian Federation and the European Union in order to get some results.

The most important thing is that, for the moment, we have to keep the unity of the main international actors. We are sending a very strong message to Iran to comply with the Security Council resolution and that's what we are trying to do.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. I know you have a great influence on them and I hope very much that that works.

Are there any other comments you'd care to make before adjournment?

Min. MORATINOS. Well, only in terms of OSCE, I mentioned in my—I think it was the last paragraph, I know that always when we are in the Congress, the next day we—Congress is very influential on the budget.

So we heard some rumors that there are some difficulties by the U.S. administration to reduce its contribution to OSCE and what we are asking only United States to really be positive.

I mean, if you want, as we all want, a much more credible and efficient OSCE, with a larger mandate, because the situation now is not only to deal with electoral processes, but we are also taking

care of Afghanistan, of Central Asia, of the Caucasus, on the environmental issues, on democracy, on unresolved conflicts.

What is a bureaucracy? We know that a bureaucracy always makes some concern of U.S. administration, but really we should also have the sense of responsibility and have the financial support of the United States.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Chairman Hastings and I certainly agree with you. \$12 billion a month for war, of all borrowed money, I think we've neglected an awful lot of things.

I was just at a conference in London a week ago, over the weekend, an international global conference on maternal mortality. The United States pulled out, would not sponsor it, because they would not do a panel on abstinence only and the Speaker thought it was not a good thing for the United States of America to be absent.

So she sent five Members of the House over so that we would present. We're very much aware of that and want to meet our responsibility.

I certainly appreciate your being here today and I learned a great deal and look forward to seeing you at the OSCE meeting.

I need to say the statements of Chairman Hastings, Co-Chair Cardin, Ranking Member Smith will be included in the record of this hearing.

The unofficial transcript of today's hearing, as well as all of the statements will be posted on the Commission's Web site, <<[www.csce.gov](http://www.csce.gov)>>.

Thank you all very much and the hearing is now adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 4:40 p.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

## APPENDICES

### PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. ALCEE L. HASTINGS, CHAIRMAN, COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

Minister Moratinos, I am pleased to welcome you to the Helsinki Commission as you prepare for the Madrid OSCE Ministerial late next month, capping off Spain's chairmanship of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. From the outset, Spain has pursued an ambitious agenda for this largest regional organization stretching from Vancouver to Vladivostok. Besides the now 56 participating States, the OSCE also maintains a relationship with the current six Mediterranean Partners, including Israel and Jordan as well as five Partners in Asia, among them Afghanistan.

In your inaugural address to the OSCE's Permanent Council, in January, you noted the complicated stage the organization and its members are passing through. That passage continues, fraught with potential pitfalls, especially given the divergent views among the participating States over fundamental aspects of the organization and its future course.

While the participating States may share a common view of Europe on paper, translating that vision into reality is another matter altogether. While all OSCE commitments have been agreed to by all of the countries, the fact is that there are human rights commitments that have been on the books for many years that would not be agreed to by some today. Indeed, the OSCE, and its precursor, the CSCE, have served as barometers for relations among the participating States. Frankly, the current barometric pressure is low, signaling a likely impending storm.

The Human Dimension rightly remains at the heart of the OSCE. Democratic development has seemingly stalled in several participating States, while civil society, human rights defenders and independent media are coming under intensified pressure as a result of their work. We welcome your efforts to draw attention to these areas of concern as well as ongoing work to combat intolerance and xenophobia, human trafficking in all of its forms, and to promote cooperation among participating States to stem the sexual exploitation of children.

Mr. Minister, I also appreciate the fact that you have crisscrossed the OSCE region in search of resolutions to longstanding crises even while trying to prevent the outbreak of new ones elsewhere. Similarly, I welcome the concerted effort you have made to engage with leaders in Central Asia, including Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. I also welcome the attention paid by the Spanish chairmanship to the economic and environmental dimension. Let me point out that the urgent issue of energy security should be high on the OSCE agenda.

As the OSCE PA's Special Representative on Mediterranean Affairs, I am especially appreciative of your work to strengthen the relationship between OSCE and the Partners for Cooperation from that region and look forward to the Mediterranean Seminar on Combating Intolerance and Discrimination and Promoting Mutual

Respect and Understanding, scheduled to be held in mid-December, in Israel.

Looming on the horizon are pressing issues including simmering tensions with Russia in the lead up to critical parliamentary and presidential elections; a possible expanded role for the OSCE in Kosovo; prospects for OSCE involvement in Afghanistan; and engagement with the countries of Central Asia, including Kazakhstan's aspiration to chair the organization in the future.

As President Emeritus of the OSCE PA, I would note the unique role Spain played in the elaboration of another key dimension of the Helsinki Process, the parliamentary dimension. Madrid was where the founding document of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly was agreed in 1991, with close collaboration between Dante Fascell and Steny Hoyer and their colleagues from Spain and elsewhere. An integral aspect of the OSCE, the Parliamentary Assembly has provided vital leadership in such important fields as election observation and on issues ranging from combating anti-Semitism and other forms of intolerance to human trafficking.

Mr. Minister, your appearance before the Helsinki Commission today, like that of each of your predecessors since 2001, is a vital aspect of the link between parliamentarians and the OSCE.

I understand that it is a longstanding Spanish tradition to consume 12 grapes as you ring in the New Year. My hope, Mr. Minister, is that those grapes will be the sweetest the vine can produce for you and for the organization you have helped lead in 2007.

**PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. BENJAMIN L. CARDIN,  
CO-CHAIRMAN, COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION  
IN EUROPE**

Mr. Chairman, I welcome this hearing, the latest in a series of Commission sessions with OSCE chairmen. I dare say that there is no other governmental entity in the OSCE region with the depth of experience and engagement in the Helsinki process as this Commission. Engagement like this between the highest executive authority of the organization and parliamentarians is most useful and appropriate.

As a Vice President of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly, I am pleased to welcome you here today, Mr. Minister. This hearing follows on the heels of a similar meeting held earlier this month with OSCE PA President Göran Lennmarker. Additionally, the Commission regularly holds hearings with senior State Department officials responsible for U.S. policy toward OSCE.

Spain's active role in the Helsinki process dates back over two decades, when Madrid served as the venue for the follow-up meeting from 1980–83. As Chairman Hastings has already noted, the Spanish parliament played a leading role in the establishment of the Parliamentary Assembly. Over the years we have maintained excellent working relations with Javier Ruperez and others.

Spain's national experience is particularly relevant to many of the challenges facing the OSCE and the participating States, from the transition to democracy and the threats posed by terrorism to the Mediterranean security and the importance of tolerance in a multicultural and multiethnic state.

I commend the Government of Spain for organizing the 2005 Córdoba Conference on Anti-Semitism and on Other Forms of Intolerance. This Commission has been particularly active in the face of the spike of anti-Semitism and related violence in the OSCE region. We appreciate your efforts to keep this important issue on the OSCE agenda with the reappointment of the personal representative on different aspects of tolerance as well as the related conferences convened this year in Bucharest and Córdoba.

Mr. Minister, I appreciate your efforts to move the Helsinki process forward and advance our common work to translate lofty principles into meaningful policies and practices. Leadership of an organization with the geographical, political and cultural diversity of OSCE can be a thankless job. Perhaps the Jewish rabbi, physician and philosopher Maimonides, from your home town, put it best when he said, "The risk of a wrong decision is preferable to the terror of indecision." Mr. Minister, thank you for willingness to accept that challenge.

**PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. CHRISTOPHER H. SMITH,  
RANKING MEMBER, COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND  
COOPERATION IN EUROPE**

Mr. Chairman, I welcome this opportunity to hear from Minister Moratinos in his capacity as Chairman-in-Office of the OSCE. His appearance is particularly timely in light of next month's ministerial meeting to be convened in Madrid. The road to Madrid could well prove to be a rocky one, especially given Russian rhetoric and the fact that the meeting takes place on the eve of Russia's parliamentary elections, which will be followed by presidential elections in March. Russia and like-minded countries, including Belarus and Kazakhstan, are joining forces in an attempt to gut OSCE election observation. Their actions are a testament to the efficacy of OSCE's democracy promotion activities, which they and others perceive as a threat to prevailing political structures firmly in the grips of authoritarian government determined to avoid or manipulate free elections. Those of us who in the past have defended the principles enshrined in the Helsinki Final Act against Communist states must maintain our resolve to defend them against post-communist authoritarian states.

The OSCE has made important contributions in other areas of the Human Dimension. As the principle sponsor of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act and reauthorization, I am particularly pleased that the issue of human trafficking remains high on the OSCE agenda. Priority attention must be paid to prevention strategies to stem the tide of trafficking, including in areas touched by conflict and humanitarian crises in which indigenous populations face a heightened vulnerability to violence. It is also important to aggressively prosecute traffickers responsible for this form of modern slavery. Additionally, appropriate protection and assistance must also be accorded to the victims of their heinous crimes. I will continue to promote these issues here in our own country and encourage others, including parliamentarians in the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly, to combat human trafficking and its root causes.

I appreciate efforts over the past year to further enhance cooperation among the participating States in combating the sexual exploitation of children, building upon the ministerial decision adopted a year ago in Brussels on this important issue. I remain deeply concerned over the proliferation of child pornography and the perpetration of other crimes against children through trafficking, prostitution and sex tourism. The OSCE provides an excellent framework for advancing our joint efforts to protect children from such abuse.

Finally, I commend ongoing efforts to combat anti-Semitism and related violence throughout the expansive OSCE region. The phenomenon of anti-Semitism requires particular vigilance given the evils perpetrated against European Jewry, particularly during the 20th century. And I remain deeply concerned about the rising tide of intolerance toward Christian faith, which not a new phenomenon in Europe. I note that the Foreign Minister was in Rome yesterday for the beatification of 498 martyrs, Catholic priests, nuns, and lay persons slain for their heroic witness to their faith in one of the darkest hours of Spanish history.

Mr. Minister, the strength of the Helsinki process remains the core values and principles enshrined in the Helsinki Final Act, and Charter of Paris and other OSCE document. The power of ideas remains a meaningful force today as witnessed by the drama being played out in the arena of the OSCE between those committed to pluralistic democracy and those pursuing authoritarianism, euphemistically termed managed democracy, and dictatorship, as in Belarus and others. Compromising on core values or watering down longstanding commitments is not the solution to the current impasse. Rather, our responsibility is to remain steadfast to these values and principles to which all participating States—including those now recalcitrant—have promised to uphold in word and deed.

Thank you Mr. Chairman.





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