

## **Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe Budget Request for Fiscal Year 2006**

### **I. Budget Authority and Appropriation Request for FY 2006**

The Commission was created on June 3, 1976, pursuant to Public Law 94-304, codified as 22 U.S.C. ' 3001, et. seq. This statute authorizes and directs the Commission ". . . to monitor the acts of the signatories which reflect compliance with or violation of the articles of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, with particular regard to the provisions relating to human rights and Cooperation in Humanitarian Fields." The Helsinki Final Act was agreed to by thirty-five countries, including the United States, Canada, West and East European states, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The states which emerged after the break up of the USSR, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia independently signed the Final Act and subsequent commitments in the early 1990s.

As of January 1, 1995, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe was renamed the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). The participating States of the OSCE now number 55. Yugoslavia, suspended from participation in the Helsinki process beginning in 1992, was admitted as a new participating State in November 2000 and, in February 2003, was reconstituted under the name Serbia and Montenegro. Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Morocco and Tunisia are OSCE Mediterranean Partners for Cooperation while Afghanistan, Japan, Mongolia, the Republic of Korea and Thailand are Partners for Cooperation. See Appendix (C) for a list of OSCE participating States and Partners.

In addition to the numerical expansion of the OSCE from 35 to 55 participating States, the workload has significantly increased as most of the countries that joined the process in the 1990's lag far behind in their implementation of OSCE commitments on democracy, human rights, and the rule of law. The increase in the number of independent countries has likewise increased the competing domestic and foreign policy objectives in the region. Certainly the welcomed political changes in Georgia and Ukraine are indicative that the evolution toward greater respect for the rule of law and truly democratic institutions requires persistent vigilance. Protracted conflicts in the region, such as Transdnistria, Chechnya (where the most egregious violations of international humanitarian law in the OSCE region are occurring), and other unresolved conflicts in the Caucasus, have also presented ongoing challenges. Perhaps the greatest challenge has come from Central Asia, where strongman regimes have become entrenched and fundamental freedoms and basic human rights are routinely violated. After September 11, 2001 and the related intensification of ties between Central Asia and Washington, the region's leaders have become convinced of their own impunity. For the most part, the result has been further consolidation of power and the steady elimination of vestiges of genuine political opposition. At the same time, this intensified engagement provides an opening for possible change within societies which have lost the hope for transition to democratic governance, supported by the rule of law. Events in Kyrgyzstan in late February and early March, following flawed parliamentary elections, demonstrate that the political winds, begun in Georgia and continued in Ukraine, have now spread into Central Asia.

In accordance with section 3 of Public Law 99-7 (March 27, 1985), codified as title 22 U.S.C. ' 3007(a), there are authorized to be appropriated to the Commission for each fiscal year such sums as may be necessary to enable it to carry out its duties and functions. Appropriations to the Commission are authorized to remain available until expended.

For fiscal year 2006, the Commission requests an appropriation of \$2,030,000 for salaries and expenses.

## **II. Commission Membership**

The Commission is composed of twenty-one Commissioners, nine each from the United States Senate and the U.S. House of Representatives, appointed respectively by the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House. In addition, there are three Commissioners from the executive branch, one each from the Departments of State, Defense, and Commerce, appointed by the President of the United States.

At the beginning of each odd-numbered Congress, the President of the Senate designates a Senate Member as Chairman and the Speaker designates a House Member as Co-Chairman. At the beginning of each even-numbered Congress, the Speaker designates a House Member as Chairman and the President of the Senate designates a Senate Member as Co-Chairman. See Appendix (A) for the list of Commissioners in the 109<sup>th</sup> Congress.

## **III. Commission Personnel**

The Commission's staff presently consists of sixteen permanent staff positions. The responsibilities of each staff are noted in Appendix (B). Over the years, the Commission has benefited from the assignment of a Senior Foreign Service Officer, detailed from the Department of State on a full-time basis. The Government Printing Office also details a printing clerk to the Commission on a full-time basis.

Since its establishment, the Commission has maintained a small but highly motivated and exceptionally capable professional staff. In addition to their expert knowledge in the geographical areas of the OSCE and in the human rights, security, economic and legal dimensions of the Helsinki process, current staff members are proficient in languages such as Azerbaijani, French, German, Polish, Russian, Spanish, Ukrainian and Belarusian.

Moreover, due to the extensive service of the majority of the staff and their exclusive focus on OSCE issues, the Commission provides a continuity and unmatched reservoir of institutional knowledge within the U.S. Government, and helps contribute to the development of a consistent and principled policy in keeping with its statutory mandate. This institutional knowledge has been utilized by the Congress and U.S. Government agencies, most especially the Department of State in its preparation for, and participation in a wide variety of OSCE meetings, as well as by NGOs and private sector institutions and think tanks. The OSCE community has also recognized the Commission's unique leadership, knowledge and talent, consulting with Commission staff in preparation for meetings and the drafting of documents, and other OSCE-related initiatives.

#### **IV. Focus of Commission in the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress, 2<sup>nd</sup> Session**

The Commission has the responsibility, the international credibility, and the expertise to make a significant difference on issues that potentially threaten peace, security, and stability in the expansive OSCE region stretching from Vancouver to Vladivostok. Commission engagement at home and abroad offers a unique avenue for promoting U.S. national interests in the security, economic, and human dimensions. The Commission's unique composition allows it to affect both U.S. foreign policy and congressional support for specific policies, while its expert practice of public diplomacy vigorously advances American values, ideals, and principles.

Of the 55 OSCE participating States, the Commission pays particular attention to those countries and regions in which there is potential upheaval or where persistent violations of human rights or democratic norms occur.

##### **A. Democratic Revolutions and Threats**

The “Rose Revolution” in Georgia in November 2003 launched a democracy dynamic that has redefined state-society relations in the former USSR. After a series of rigged elections throughout the region, which had produced widespread apathy about the political process, Georgia’s opposition leaders mobilized popular opposition to another fraudulent vote in the parliamentary election that month. Their efforts not only succeeded in overturning the official results of the balloting but forced the resignation of President Eduard Shevardnadze and his government. Mikheil Saakashvili, who led the peaceful protests, was elected President of Georgia in January 2005 in a landslide.

Commission staff participated as OSCE observers in both the January presidential elections and the conclusion of the parliamentary elections in late March.

The Georgian example – the first successful campaign of peaceful mass resistance to election fraud in the former USSR – frightened entrenched ex-Soviet elites. Opposition politicians and civil society activists, on the other hand, were emboldened. About one year later, the stage was set for another victory for popular sovereignty: Viktor Yushchenko, former Prime Minister of Ukraine and candidate in the October 2004 presidential election, rallied hundreds of thousands of demonstrators to Kiev’s central square to protest vote fraud. The dramatic assemblies drew the rapt attention of the international community and resulted in new elections which Yushchenko won handily in December.

Commission staff participated as OSCE observers in the original November 21 run-off presidential elections as well as the December 26 re-vote.

The victory of Saakashvili and Yushchenko sent a chill down the spine of all presidents in the former Soviet Union and evoked a horrified reaction in Moscow. Russian policy toward its neighbors has traditionally been based on a system of alliances with repressive rulers, while characterizing criticism of authoritarianism by the United States and other Western countries as geopolitically motivated interference in Russia’s internal affairs. From Moscow’s perspective, the Rose

and Orange Revolutions in Georgia and Ukraine were not only unwelcome achievements of democracy but marked a new, historic “invasion” of Western influence into regions Moscow has considered within its own sphere of influence. Russia has responded by trying to undermine the democracy commitments that have helped define the OSCE since 1990.

As the 2005 parliamentary elections in Kyrgyzstan approached, opposition hopes rose. Against the background of Georgia’s Rose Revolution in 2003 and Ukraine’s Orange Revolution in 2004, it seemed plausible that something similar might happen in Kyrgyzstan. A key reason was that President Askar Akaev -- after 15 years in office -- was the only Central Asian leader who promised to step down when his term was slated to expire in October 2005. The February 27 parliamentary election was seen as a foretaste of the October presidential contest, and Commission staff served as an OSCE election observer. According to OSCE observers, the election “fell short of OSCE commitments and other international standards for democratic elections in a number of important areas.” Once the March 13 runoffs were held and the Central Election Commission announced that pro-Akaev forces had won about 90 percent of the vote and that some of the best-known opposition figures had failed to win a seat, protests began in the south. By March 24, the protests had spread to the north and Akaev had fled the country. Nobody expected his regime to collapse so quickly.

## **B. Combating Anti-Semitism, Racism and Xenophobia in the OSCE Region**

In 2004, the Commission maintained a high level of activity focused on anti-Semitism, as well as racism and xenophobia, in the OSCE region. Particularly noteworthy was the designation of Chairman Rep. Christopher H. Smith as Vice-Chairman of the U.S. Delegation to the April 2004 Berlin OSCE Conference on Anti-Semitism, which was led by former New York Mayor Ed Koch. Ranking Member Rep. Benjamin L. Cardin and Commissioner Alcee L. Hastings also played active roles in the conference. Secretary of State Colin Powell attended the conference and delivered the statement on behalf of the United States.

In response to the significant rise in anti-Semitism and related violence that broke out in 2002 in much of the OSCE region, but especially in Western Europe, Commissioners and staff played a leading role in building support for the convening of the Berlin Conference, an historic OSCE meeting focused on anti-Semitism in the onetime capital of Nazi Germany. The conference addressed the importance of elected leaders speaking out against anti-Semitic violence, the need for effective law enforcement, the role of media, the importance of education in combating anti-Semitism, and the value of collection of accurate data on anti-Semitic incidents. The Berlin Conference was highlighted by the issuing of the Berlin Declaration in which participating States committed to “collect and maintain reliable information and statistics about anti-Semitic crimes” and report such information periodically to the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) for compilation.

The Brussels OSCE Conference on Tolerance and the Fight against Racism, Xenophobia and Discrimination, was convened in September. Commissioner Hastings attended in his capacity as President of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly and Commission staff served on the U.S. Delegation. The Brussels Conference reiterated the call for participating States to “collect and maintain reliable information and statistics about anti-Semitic crimes” and to report such information

periodically to the OSCE ODIHR for compilation.

In the run up to the Berlin Conference, Ranking Member Cardin met with the ODIHR director in Warsaw to discuss that office's plans for data collection. (In Krakow, meetings were held with members of the Jewish Community and academia, in conjunction with a visit to Auschwitz-Birkenau.) Commissioners have also stressed the importance of timely submissions with governmental representatives and elected leaders from other OSCE participating States. The Commission held a hearing on anti-Semitism in the OSCE region and governmental responses to assess efforts to combat anti-Semitism and to consider additional measures.

Concerns over the rise in anti-Semitism and intolerance have also been raised with interested NGOs and government representatives from countries including the Russian Federation, the Netherlands, Germany, Belgium, and France. The Commission will continue to closely monitor related developments in the OSCE region, including implementation of relevant commitments by the participating States. In May 2004, the Commission held a hearing entitled "Human Rights in Putin's Russia," which included testimony by the Research and Advocacy Director of the Union of Councils for Jews in the Former Soviet Union on the issue of anti-Semitism and xenophobia in Russia.

President Bush signed into law the Global Anti-Semitism Review Act in October 2004, legislation introduced by Chairman Smith, which mandated a one-time global report on anti-Semitism and strengthened the annual reporting on the subject in the International Religious Freedom Report and the Country Reports on Human Rights Practices. The Commission was also supportive of the United States-France hosted seminar on methodologies for teach the Holocaust in multicultural societies, which was conducted at the October 2004 OSCE Human Dimension Meeting in Warsaw.

### **C. Combating the Trafficking of Humans**

The Commission continued to be deeply engaged in addressing the worldwide phenomenon of trafficking of human beings into slavery-like conditions of forced labor or commercial sexual servitude.

Throughout the year, Commissioners and/or Commission staff met with international visitors, government officials, and representatives of NGOs from the throughout the OSCE region and beyond to share expertise regarding the most effective means for combating human trafficking. Members of the Commission also frequently engaged representatives of foreign governments – particularly those whose insufficient efforts to combat trafficking resulted in the country's placement in the Tier 2 Watch List or in Tier 3 of the U.S. Department of State's annual *Trafficking in Persons Report* – to step up their efforts to prevent trafficking, prosecute trafficking crimes and provide assistance to victims.

In 2004, the Commission's Chairman Smith was appointed by the President of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly to serve as the OSCE PA's Special Representative on Human Trafficking Issues in order to ensure the continued attention of the Parliamentary Assembly to this issue and to motivate legislative actions against trafficking and oversight by national parliaments of governmental

responses to trafficking. In this capacity, the Chairman engaged in direct dialogue with parliamentarians, authored a paper on *Trafficking in Human Beings in the OSCE and Mediterranean Regions* which was published in a collection of articles addressing Mediterranean issues, served as a key liaison for the United States and the OSCE PA to the OSCE's Special Representative on Human Trafficking, and collaborated with a Belgian Parliamentarian on a Resolution on Combating Trafficking in Human Beings which was adopted by the OSCE PA at its Annual Session held in Edinburgh. In February, Chairman Smith was joined by Rep. Cardin in meetings with Greek Government officials in Athens as well as non-governmental organizations in which trafficking was a major topic of concern.

Commission staff participated on the U.S. Delegation to an OSCE Conference on "Ensuring Human Rights Protection in Countries of Destination: Breaking the Cycle of Trafficking" held in Helsinki Finland, as well as to an OSCE PA conference on trafficking in human beings, held in Rhodes, Greece. Commission staff gave presentations on human trafficking in numerous fora, including at the U.S. Military Academy.

The Commission also continued its leadership in pressing the U.S. Department of Defense (DoD) to address the military's role in creating a demand for women trafficked into prostitution in South Korea, the Balkans, and other places worldwide where the U.S. military has a large presence. The Commission's focus on this issue led to the publication of two reports by the DoD Inspector General. In January 2004, the Deputy Secretary of Defense established an anti-trafficking policy for the Department and in September, the Secretary of Defense issued an additional memorandum indicating that DoD must address both sex and labor trafficking. Also in September, the Commission and the House Armed Services Committee held a joint Issue Forum which examined DoD's implementation of these policies. Concerns about military personnel, contractors and peacekeepers contributing to the demand side of the trafficking cycle in trafficking, or engaging in or facilitating trafficking in human beings, are indicative that further changes in U.S. law are necessary to combat this practice.

The Commission also continued to press multinational organizations, specifically the OSCE, NATO, and the UN, to implement zero-tolerance policies for personnel participating in peacekeeping operations under their auspices. Commissioners and staff led efforts to define international counter-trafficking agreements and training strategies for these organizations and to effectively publicize the growing dangers of peacekeeper involvement in activities that could encourage human trafficking. Commissioners traveled to Brussels in February 2004 to reinforce their commitment on counter-trafficking to members of the North Atlantic Council. At the Commission's suggestion, the United States proposed that the OSCE Ministerial Council adopt a decision that would have committed participating States to ensure that military forces stationed abroad on peacekeeping do not engage in trafficking in human being. The decision was agreed to by 54 OSCE countries, but was blocked along with other proposals by the Russian Federation. Commission staff also helped design international meetings in Brussels, Geneva, Oberammergau, Germany and Helsinki to develop implementation strategies for anti-trafficking agreements.

Commission staff also worked with the newly-created OSCE Anti-Trafficking Assistance Unit and the OSCE Special Representative on Combating Trafficking to influence the direction and scope of their work. The Commission has pressed for an annual meeting of high-level officials

responsible for anti-trafficking policies from all OSCE States. Commission staff participated in OSCE negotiations on standards for States to use in providing protection and assistance for child trafficking victims.

#### **D. Religious Freedom**

The Commission continued to closely monitor developments affecting the rights of individuals to freely profess and practice their religion or belief. In this regards, the situation in Central Asia remains particularly poor. Instances of government authorities arresting or harassing individuals for religious activities persist in Uzbekistan. The Uzbek Government continues to interfere with certain Muslim groups, especially those operating independent of direct government control. While authorities have instituted some reforms, the Uzbek Government continues to incarcerate roughly 5,500 individuals for their religious affiliations or beliefs. Commissioners wrote President Karimov's advisor on religious affairs about these specific problems, presenting lists of individuals imprisoned for their beliefs and religious organizations seeking registration.

The Commission has enjoyed moderate success in urging the Government of Turkmenistan to make some reforms. Commissioners wrote President Niyazov and in response the government amended its repressive religion law, registered four minority religious communities and released six conscientious objectors from prison. Elsewhere, problems continue to arise in Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Kazakhstan. Commissioners wrote and met with the Kazakh ambassador to express concern about the draft law on extremism and its potential effects on the free practice of religion.

In both Belgium and France, efforts were initiated to ban young women from wearing the Muslim headscarf in public schools. Commissioners wrote the President of the French National Assembly to express their concerns about the ban. Similar intrusive policies were practiced in several countries through specialized government agencies such as Turkey's Directorate of Religious Affairs and Office of Foundations, Azerbaijan's State Committee on Religious Associations and the Muslim Board of the Caucasus, Armenia's Council on Religious Affairs, and Kazakhstan's Muslim Spiritual Association. These entities often exert a troubling degree of control in determining which religious communities are permitted to exist legally. Commissioners also wrote the leaders and government officials of Sweden, Tajikistan, and Turkey, raising concerns about the ability of citizens to freely practice freedom of religion or belief.

In addition, Commissioners engaged officials from Slovakia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro, Kosovo, and Romania to express concerns about existing or draft religion laws. The Commission will continue to urge elected leaders and government officials to amend portions that are inconsistent with OSCE norms. Commission staff authored legal critiques of draft religion laws in Serbia and Montenegro and Kosovo, highlighting provisions that did not fulfill OSCE commitments. Commissioners also wrote to the Minister of Culture of Slovakia, urging a reduction in the registration threshold of 20,000 individuals. Commission staff met with Macedonian officials over problems experienced by Serbian Orthodox in that country.

Registration issues in the Russian Federation have generally improved for minority faith groups, despite the concern over the re-registration campaign in 2000. Government efforts in 2002

to cancel entry visas to several Protestant and Catholic religious workers have largely subsided. While religious freedom is generally protected at the federal level, many unregistered religious groups throughout the Russian Federation must regularly overcome obstacles at the local level to enjoy the free practice of religion. Seemingly uncoordinated, problems faced by these communities range from acts of violence to prohibitions on public meetings. Commissioners have raised concerns about unregistered Baptists in a region near Moscow, who have experienced serious problems, as local officials prevented them from meeting on private property, vandals burned their house church to the ground, and authorities have threatened legal action if the facility is rebuilt. The Jehovah's Witnesses were also deregistered by a Moscow city court in March 2004, placing the adherents of that community in a vulnerable position whenever they exercise the fundamental right to meet collectively. Concerns continue to exist about random violent acts against Jewish cemeteries and cultural sites occurring throughout Russia.

Religious freedom concerns were raised by Commissioners and Commission staff, in meetings with officials in Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, France, Kazakhstan, Macedonia, Serbia and Montenegro, Slovakia, Slovenia, Sweden, Tajikistan, Turkey, and Uzbekistan as well as with NGOs and government representatives from Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Germany, Georgia, Hungary, Kazakhstan, the Netherlands, Romania, Russian Federation, Serbia and Montenegro, Turkey, Turkmenistan, the United Kingdom, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan.

The Commission will continue to monitor the unfolding legal situation in the OSCE region regarding religious freedom, as well as the broader societal manifestations of intolerance toward minority religious groups. Commission staff is currently serving as one of the two U.S. members on the OSCE/ODIHR Panel of Experts on Freedom of Religion. Ancillary issues, such as restrictions on speech relating to religion and registration requirements tailored to limit religious association, will also be followed closely.

#### **E. US-OSCE Policy and Engagement with OSCE Leadership**

During 2004, the Commission continued to focus attention on the relationship between U.S. foreign policy, human rights, and the OSCE. Senior Department of State officials testified at hearings on the OSCE, while other hearings and briefings examined observance of OSCE commitments in various participating States.

In early 2004, Commissioner Frank R. Wolf addressed a gathering of U.S. ambassadors to the OSCE participating States, at a State Department meeting, underscoring the essential nature of human rights as an integral part of U.S. foreign policy. Commissioner Wolf emphasized the responsibility of chiefs of mission to raise human rights issues and cases, sharing past instances in which such advocacy had made an impact.

The Commission's hearing in September on "Advancing U.S. Interests Through the OSCE" featured Assistant Secretary for Europe and Eurasia A. Elizabeth Jones, Assistant Secretary for Arms Control, Stephen G. Rademaker and Acting Assistant Secretary for Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, Michael Kozak. These officials reviewed U.S. goals with respect to human rights and security

concerns in the OSCE region and how the organization can advance those goals and address human rights violations. While U.S. policy can point to some successes, it was acknowledged that stagnation or regression characterized certain regions of the OSCE space, especially Central Asia.

At a hearing in February, Solomon Passy, Foreign Minister of Bulgaria and OSCE Chairman-in-Office (CIO) for 2004, testified about efforts to promote security, stability and human rights in Europe and Eurasia. He noted the uniqueness of the OSCE as the only organization providing a comprehensive security model founded on the values of respect for human rights and promotion of democratic institutions. The CIO reviewed the OSCE's efforts to end conflicts such as in Transdnistria and rebuild war-torn societies in the Balkans, counterterrorism initiatives, policing, combating anti-Semitism, racism and xenophobia, trafficking in human beings, and issues regarding elections in Georgia, Belarus and Ukraine, including free media. He ended his testimony by calling for a stronger OSCE focus on Central Asia and the Caucasus and reaching out to countries beyond the OSCE's membership such as Afghanistan and Iraq.

While working with the 2004 CIO, the Commission also initiated contacts with Slovenian and Belgian officials in light of their countries' assumption of the chairmanship in 2005 and 2006 respectively. In March, Chairman Smith and Ranking Member Cardin met in Washington with Slovenian Foreign Minister Rupel to inform him of the Commission's activity. In December, Chairman Smith also met with the Slovenian Ambassador to the United States, Samuel Zbogor, to discuss priorities for the 2005 chairmanship. Belgian officials met with Commissioners and staff in Washington, Brussels and Vienna to begin developing their leadership strategy for the organization for 2006.

The Secretary of State submitted to the Commission its report on April 7, 2004, focusing on U.S. policy objectives with respect to OSCE participating States where there are particular concerns relating to the implementation of OSCE commitments or where an OSCE presence exists. In addition, the report discusses U.S. policy objectives that are advanced by the OSCE and its institutions and activities.

In direct consultations with U.S. and OSCE officials as well as representatives of other participating States, the Commission contributes substantially to the OSCE process by providing regional expertise and information and specific recommendations on how best to advance U.S. interests. Similarly, the Commission provided expert advice in the formulation of U.S.-sponsored resolutions for the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly's annual sessions.

Building on the OSCE strategy to address threats to security and stability in the 21st century, at the December 2004 Sofia OSCE Ministerial Council meeting, ministers strengthened their commitment to use the organization to fight terrorism, taking several decisions that make it more difficult for terrorists to operate in the region. These strategies are examples of the OSCE responding to new economic and political-military security challenges. At the same time, the OSCE has promoted practical cooperation to assist participating states in combating terrorism, improving police and border management, controlling the availability of small arms and light weapons, and coping with the task of securing or destroying excess stockpiles of weapons and ammunition, as well as MANPADS.

The United States has worked to have the OSCE fill niches in the international community's response to terrorism, including working on bringing all 55 participating States towards compliance with UN counter-terrorism commitments and terrorism conventions, as well as on a U.S. initiative to bring the OSCE States into compliance with recommendations of the OECD Financial Action Task Force to combat money-laundering and terrorist financing. The OSCE's seminar on Travel Document Security was a success in increasing awareness on assistance available to help participating States meet the deadlines for implementing stricter issuance procedures for travel documents and for converting to machine-readable passports. The organization also established a clearing house for coordinating counter-terrorism activities among the 55 States and pledged to establish uniform standards for shipping containers by the end of 2005.

#### **F. Developments in Central Asia**

The Commission continued to pay particular attention to the human rights situation in Central Asia, where "strongman" regimes have become entrenched. In none of the five states did the human rights situation improve in 2004. With respect to the international arena, the region's leaders have become convinced of their own impunity as they cooperate with the United States against international terrorism. At the same time, regional leaders were aghast at the prospect of a Georgia-style outburst of public protest so they consistently sought to control the political sphere by eliminating potential alternatives and limiting freedom of speech.

In Kazakhstan, where President Nazarbaev is involved in a corruption probe by the U.S. Department of Justice, political opponent Galimzhan Zhekiyanov remains in jail. Sergei Duvanov, the country's best-known independent journalist who had written about the corruption investigation and participated in the 2002 OSCE Human Dimension Review Meeting in Warsaw, was released in January, but media remains under tight controls.

Opposition political activity in Kazakhstan has become more difficult with the passage of legislation requiring 50,000 signatures to register a party. Nevertheless, some opposition parties were registered in anticipation of the September 2004 parliamentary election. But while opposition party Ak Zhol won one seat according to the official results party leaders rejected the seat to protest election fraud. As a result, no opposition parties currently have parliamentary representation. In December, the authorities signaled their intention to ban the opposition party Democratic Choice of Kazakhstan (DVK), which supposedly "posed a threat to national security."

In Uzbekistan -- where the United States has a military base -- no systemic liberalization took place. In April 2003, the UN's Rapporteur on Torture examined Uzbekistan's penal institutions and concluded that torture was "systemic." The issue of torture in Uzbekistan, as well as the general lack of democratization, was discussed in detail at a hearing in June 2004.

Opposition political parties have not been able to function since 1992-93. The Commission sent letters to President Karimov urging their registration before the December parliamentary election, but Tashkent failed to do so. Moreover, Uzbek authorities even refused to let individual members of opposition parties participate in the election -- despite promises to do so at the OSCE

## Human Dimension Implementation Meeting in Warsaw in October.

The number of spontaneous demonstrations has been steadily growing in Uzbekistan, signaling increasing popular discontent. Fearful of the echoes of Georgia's Rose Revolution, Uzbekistan's Government continued to suppress civil society, clamping down on domestic NGOs. Several independent human rights groups remain unregistered. Moreover, Tashkent targeted an international NGO, the Open Society Institute (OSI), and warned other U.S.-based NGOs to avoid contact with the political opposition.

In Kyrgyzstan, a new and improved electoral code still fell short of international standards. Local elections held in October were somewhat more transparent than previous elections. But Kyrgyz President Askar Akaev is the only Central Asian leader who has pledged to step down when his term expires. With Georgia in mind, and considering that a countrywide protest movement in 2002 almost ousted the government, Kyrgyz authorities worked to control the political environment in advance of much more important electoral events: the scheduled parliamentary (February 2005) and presidential (October 2005) contests.

A new law on public assembly sought to restrict freedom of assembly; in a positive sign, the Constitutional Court in October struck down some provisions considered vague and too restrictive. However, Felix Kulov whom many human rights groups consider a political prisoner remains in jail despite criticism and pleas from many sources and foreign capitals. Media harassment continued and the state maintained its tight grip on TV and radio.

Tajikistan, where scores of thousands were killed in a civil war in the 1990s, remains the only country in Central Asia where the government was forced to come to terms with opposition parties as part of a peace settlement. Tajikistan is also the only country in the region where an Islamic party functions legally. But President Imomali Rakhmonov in 2003 copied his regional counterparts by effectively eliminating term limits: the referendum he orchestrated in June could allow him to stay in power until 2020. In anticipation of parliamentary elections scheduled for February 2005, Rakhmonov and his Democratic Party have sought to dominate the political arena. Two opposition political parties have been denied registration and media freedom is restricted.

Turkmenistan – the only remaining one-party state in the former Soviet bloc – saw some improvements in freedom of conscience, with the registration of several previously unregistered religious groups. Moreover, the government repealed the exit visa requirement. Nevertheless, Turkmenistan, under the dictatorial rule of Saparmurat Niyazov – whose *Rukhnama* “holy book” pervaded in 2004 ever more deeply into citizens' lives – is the least politically liberalized state in the entire OSCE space. Almost no political or civil freedoms are observed. No opposition is permitted and media – operating under Soviet-era constraints – concentrate on glorifying Niyazov.

Niyazov exploited an alleged assassination attempt in November 2002 to decapitate real and imagined opposition, arresting and torturing them and many others in the process. About 60 have been convicted in closed trials; eight received life sentences and at least one has died in jail. Many defendants were reportedly tortured to force them to confess or to incriminate others. Turkmen authorities refuse to grant representatives of foreign governments or international organizations,

including the Red Cross, access to individuals jailed in connection with those events. Moreover, their relatives have been persecuted. Letters of concern sent by Members of the Commission to President Niyazov have gone unanswered. A public briefing, Religious Freedom in Turkmenistan, held in May documented the stifling and oppressive treatment of all religious believers and groups.

In December 2002, the Commission spearheaded the initiative by the U.S. Delegation to the OSCE to have a group of participating States invoke the Moscow Mechanism to investigate the wave of repression launched after the alleged assassination attempt. The Mechanism is designed to allow impartial examination of human rights, including reports of torture of the accused and their family members. But Niyazov brazenly refused to cooperate with the OSCE, denying a visa to the designated rapporteur, who wrote a damning report anyway.

The all-powerful Niyazov is Turkmenistan's "president for life." Parliamentary "elections" in December 2004 were farcical, even though some seats were contested. Ashgabat did not invite foreign observers and the OSCE did not attempt to monitor the voting.

### **G. Developments in Southeastern Europe**

Countries of southeastern Europe formerly part of the former Yugoslavia – Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia and Serbia-Montenegro as well as U.N.-administered Kosovo – continued their slow but steady progress in recovering from a decade of conflict which caused major human rights violations, economic collapse and fragile transitions to democracy. Commission activities in 2004 sought to encourage further progress, with a concentration on particular areas of concern: 1) efforts to combat trafficking in persons; 2) laws and practices regarding religious freedom; 3) encouraging the return of displaced persons, especially those comprising ethnic minorities; 4) cooperating in the prosecution of those responsible for war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide; and 5) undertaking reforms needed for European integration, especially NATO membership. Some of these issues were also raised by the Commission regarding other countries in the region as relevant, including Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Romania and Slovenia.

In addition to specific actions noted below, these issues came up regularly in meetings and correspondence with high-level officials and prominent persons from these countries, which in 2004 included the President of Serbia, the Deputy Prime Minister of Montenegro, the foreign ministers of Croatia and Serbia and Montenegro, parliamentarians from Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, the Serbian Orthodox Bishop based in Kosovo, numerous ambassadors and others. Commission participation in U.S. planning for OSCE meetings, in particular the annual Human Dimension Implementation Meeting, as well as interaction with U.S. officials, ensured these issues were raised by the U.S. Government representatives as well.

The violence that erupted in Kosovo on March 17, 2004, was perhaps the most noteworthy and tragic regional event of the year. Instigated by rumors of specific incidents involving Serbs and Albanians, the violence nevertheless spread in a manner which gave clear indications of being organized with the purpose of ethnically cleansing Kosovo of minority populations, forcing the international community to relinquish authority and accept Kosovo's independence, or, most likely, some combination of the two. Clashes left 20 persons dead, 600 others injured, and over 4,000 Serbs

and other minorities added to those already displaced since 1999. At least 500 homes belonging to Serbs, Ashkali, and other minorities were looted or burned, and 30 churches and monasteries belonging to the Serbian Orthodox Church were attacked and in some cases destroyed. In retaliation, demonstrators attacked mosques or Islamic centers in three Serbian cities, although Serbian authorities were quick to stop the rampage. In Kosovo, however, the international community that had grown too confident and complacent regarding its policies and Kosovo's prospects was clearly unprepared. While some contingents of the NATO-led peacekeeping force known as KFOR, in particular U.S. forces, were able to halt the spread of violence and protect vulnerable sites, others had no clear rules for engagement and simply watched the violence unfold. Some European countries deployed additional military personnel to help restore order.

In immediate response to these events, Chairman Smith introduced House Resolution 587, cosponsored by Commissioners Cardin, Pitts, Hastings and Aderholt. The resolution strongly condemned the violence and called on all sides to refrain from encouraging or engaging in any further violence. The resolution urged that those who can be identified as responsible for acts of violence should be brought to justice. H.Res. 587 further expressed concern that the United States and the international community as a whole should maintain an active and effective presence in Kosovo, not only until violence subsides but until there is significant progress in meeting U.N. standards, including the return of displaced persons and greater freedom of movement for all persons throughout Kosovo.

The Commission also remained engaged in ensuring cooperation with the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) remained a priority in U.S. relations with countries in the region. At a March hearing of the House International Relations Subcommittee on Europe focusing on Serbia, Chairman Smith and Ranking Member Cardin both made statements on the issue in anticipation of a March 31 deadline for State Department certification that Belgrade is cooperating with the ICTY. United States assistance to Serbia beyond that date had by law been conditioned on such certification. Understandably, Belgrade's unwillingness to take the necessary measures led to the suspension of assistance for the remainder of the year. Smith and Cardin advocated the maintenance of conditionality in the appropriations for the next fiscal year.

Religious freedom continued to be a concern in the region. Most noteworthy in this regard was the continued appearance of draft laws which permitted authorities to restrict religious practices in violation of OSCE commitments. In particular, these laws all contained numerical thresholds which believers needed to reach in order for their group to be recognized by authorities. In March, Chairman Smith and other Commissioners wrote to the new Prime Minister of Croatia, asking him to initiate a change in that country's law, which set a bad precedent that others in the region seemed to be following and could lead to problem cases in Croatia itself in the future. Similar urgings were relayed to Bosnian parliamentarians regarding a draft law under consideration in Sarajevo. Later in the year, the appearance of restrictive drafts in Serbia and in Kosovo prompted Commission action urging corrections to be made. Meanwhile, in Macedonia, breakaway elements of the Macedonian Orthodox Church, which is largely unrecognized by other Orthodox churches, sought to reestablish a Serbian Orthodox presence in the country in a confrontational way that prompted Macedonian authorities to intervene, with possible repercussions for religious freedom in that country.

During the course of 2004, a spate of incidents in the Vojvodina region of Serbia in which members of the Hungarian and other minorities were targeted raised Commission concerns. Chairman Smith raised these concerns with Serbian officials, noting the need for strong condemnation of such acts as well as additional efforts by police to deter their recurrence.

The Helsinki Commission also sought to focus greater attention on the situation in Albania, a country with close ties to the United States but plagued by organized crime, official corruption and polarizing political figures to the detriment of a full democratic transition. In July, the Commission held a hearing on “Advancing Democracy in Albania,” featuring the head of the OSCE Presence in the country, the Albanian Ambassador to the United States and a panel of experts that included analysts, an opposition figure and civic activists. The intent of the hearing was largely to encourage the action needed to have parliamentary elections scheduled for 2005 meet OSCE standards, and to encourage greater adherence to the rule of law as well as attention to the views of Albanian citizens who continue to languish in extremely poor economic conditions. The hearing received considerable attention in Albania, and concerns of possible repercussions Albanian activists might face prompted Chairman Smith and Commissioner Wolf to raise the issue in a follow-up letter to the Albanian Ambassador.

## **H. The Evolving Russian Threat to Existing OSCE Commitments**

Moscow’s particular target has been OSCE’s election-related commitments. For some time, the Russian Federation has accused the OSCE’s Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) of applying a “double standard” to election observers’ critiques between those elections held “west of Vienna” and those held in the former Soviet space; of failing to require balanced east-west geographic representation within observation missions; and, of failing to appoint election observation heads-of-mission with “balanced” perspectives. In fact, Russian-led Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) observer teams in the former Soviet space have consistently evaluated as legitimate elections that the ODIHR and other western election observation organizations have criticized as failing to be “free and fair,” and falling short of internationally accepted standards.

Just prior to the July 2004 OSCE Supplemental Human Dimension Meeting (SHDM) on Electoral Standards and Commitments, in a statement before the OSCE Permanent Council broadly critical of the OSCE, Russia called for the “introduction of standard criteria for the assessment of election practices on the part of the ODIHR and OSCE observer missions” and was looking forward to beginning movement in that direction at the SHDM. This was interpreted as a call to reopen the Copenhagen Document, which contains the key election commitments of the OSCE, for renegotiation --essentially, the creation of a “Copenhagen Two.” U.S. policy has been averse to such a development, especially since the primary movers for such change fail to comply with their existing commitments. The result of the SHDM upheld the U.S. position. While a few of Russia’s (CIS) allies made interventions supporting the initial Russian effort toward change, opinion throughout the rest of the OSCE was that the current commitments were comprehensive and needed no amendment. In fact, at the end of the SHDM Russia failed to make a final statement.

While this appeared to close this chapter on Russian maneuvering, Moscow renewed its effort at the Sofia Ministerial in December, after breaking its own precedent of routinely sanctioning elections in CIS states: while the OSCE found December's re-run of Ukraine's presidential election "brought Ukraine substantially closer to meeting OSCE election commitments and Council of Europe and other European standards," CIS observers took a more negative line.

Moscow's assault on the OSCE has continued in 2005. Not only is Russia pushing for radical changes in election commitments, but is now calling for linked changes in the OSCE's budget and scales of assessment. Essentially, Moscow has threatened to shut down the OSCE if it does not get its way on "reworking" long-established election-related language.

The Commission has played a key role in the initiatives required to confront the Russian agenda through providing policy guidance to the U.S. Mission to the OSCE in Vienna and the U.S. Department of State. The Commission continues to provide leadership and serve as a key resource to continued U.S. efforts in this matter. Chairman Smith published an op-ed in the *Washington Times* in January 2005, urging strong U.S. support for existing OSCE election-related commitments and resistance to Russian machinations.

In February 2004, the Russian newspaper *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* published an article by Chairman Smith and Co-Chairman Campbell calling upon the Russian Federation to employ the OSCE in a positive manner to resolve international problems. This call was occasioned by continuing attempts by the Russian Government to undermine the democratic content of the OSCE and to impede the critically important election monitoring activities of that organization.

On July 21, 2004, the Chairman, Co-Chairman and Ranking Members of the Commission sent letters to the nine presidents of the group known as the Commonwealth of Independent States. They were the presidents of Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, the Russian Federation, Tajikistan, Ukraine and Uzbekistan. The detailed letters were in response to a Declaration the group had signed and presented earlier in the month to the OSCE Permanent Council, courtesy of Russia's Ambassador to the OSCE. The Commissioners agreed about the importance of the Vienna-based OSCE and that its ability to adapt was essential to its continued relevance. The CIS signatories had criticized the OSCE for "failing to implement in an appropriate manner" the fundamental documents of the organization, stating that the OSCE is not observing an allegedly agreed Helsinki principle of non-interference in internal affairs. Refuting the assertion that the OSCE was failing to implement its principles, the Commission leaders pointed out that the participating States, not the organization, are responsible for such implementation: "We should look to capitals when failures in implementation arise, not Vienna." On the matter of "internal affairs," the leadership reminded the presidents that this issue was definitively decided in the politically-binding concluding document to the 1991 Moscow Human Dimension meeting, which states: "They [the participating States] categorically and irrevocably declare that the commitments undertaken in the field of the human dimension ... are matters of direct and legitimate concern to all participating States and do not belong exclusively to the internal affairs of the State concerned."

## **I. OSCE Partners for Cooperation and Mediterranean Partners**

The 55-nation OSCE now has 11 Partners for Co-operation, including the six Mediterranean Partners and five other Partners in Asia – Afghanistan, Japan, Mongolia, South Korea and Thailand. The partners, while not participating in regular political negotiating fora of the OSCE, nevertheless maintain close relations and hold frequent seminars to explore ways to strengthen co-operation on issues of mutual interest and meet OSCE principles, goals and values. The Partners of the OSCE were active throughout the year sending representatives to all major meetings and Seminars.

The Mediterranean dimension of the OSCE was reformulated in the mid-90s as “Mediterranean Partners for Cooperation” to include Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Morocco and Tunisia. It should be noted that such “partner” status does not require commitment to Helsinki principles by these countries. In 1998, Jordan was accepted as a Mediterranean Partner, and Afghanistan, which many consider to lie within the broader Middle East region and which borders the Central Asian states of the OSCE, was accepted as a Partner for Cooperation in 2003.

In an effort to broaden and intensify this Mediterranean relationship, the OSCE, including the Parliamentary Assembly, has convened numerous seminars, conferences and forums emphasizing the issues of the Mediterranean and allowing full participation of Partner countries from the region. Additionally, a contact group exists within the OSCE to provide an ongoing opportunity for participating States and the six Mediterranean Partners to maintain dialogue on pertinent Mediterranean issues. Periodic meetings of the group are typically held at the ambassadorial level.

The Helsinki Commission held a hearing June 15, 2004, addressing possible roles of the OSCE in the Middle East, and, more importantly, examining the applicability of the Helsinki model writ large in the region. Witnesses included Ambassador Max Kampelman, former Ambassador to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe; Natan Sharansky, Israeli Minister of Diaspora Affairs; Dr. Peter Jones, Research Associate at the Munk Center for International Studies, University of Toronto, and project leader of the Middle East Security and Arms Control Project at the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute; and, Ambassador Craig Dunkerley (ret.), Distinguished Visiting Professor; and Professor Michael Yaffe, both of the Near East-South Asia Center for Strategic Studies, National Defense University. The objectives of the hearing were to examine the wide range of ideas concerning the OSCE and the broader Middle East region and to seek ideas for processes whereby the states of the Middle East could create an indigenous Helsinki process, to include the human dimension. The hearing also considered what role the West should play, especially the United States.

The October 1 Parliamentary Forum, led by OSCE PA President and U.S. Helsinki Commissioner Alcee L. Hastings (D-FL), focused primarily on combating terrorism in the Mediterranean, although economic security, trade and co-operation in the region were discussed by some speakers. Speakers included: Special Representative for the Mediterranean and recent-past OSCE PA President Bruce George, M.P.; OSCE Secretary General Jan Kubis, and Chairman of the OSCE Mediterranean Contact Group Janez Lenarcic. Particularly poignant remarks were delivered by Dr. Thanos P. Dokos, Director of Studies at the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy, Athens, and Mr. Sotiris Roussos, Lecturer, Institute of International Relations, Panteion

University of Athens. Both discussed the role of Islam in the region, Dokos from the historic perspective, Roussos the economic. In both cases, cause for concern about radical Islam was shown to be well founded, yet Islamic States were shown, in the long term, to be necessary and acceptable. Each believed democracy was the road these states need to follow in the future. While some important points were presented, the seminar would have benefited by the broader participation of representatives of Mediterranean Partners.

The OSCE Mediterranean Seminar was held in Sharm El Sheikh, Egypt, November 18-19. Several participating States, including the United States, supported the proposal from the Algerian delegation that the OSCE provide election observers for the January 9, 2005, Palestinian elections. Subsequently, on November 27, the Palestinian Central Elections Commission formally invited the OSCE to observe the elections, citing, in part, the OSCE's "wealth of experience in electoral observation." While a full-fledged observation mission was not sent due to the crush of end-of-year activity, especially the Ukrainian elections, the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) was represented by a smaller election delegation. The Council of Europe and the European Union, as well as other international NGOs, also sent teams of observers. The Palestinian Authority has also requested OSCE Partner status. There is no consensus on this issue, with some participating States questioning whether the Palestinian Authority constitutes a state.

Mongolia was granted partner for co-operation status on December 2, 2004, following a letter received from the Foreign Minister of Mongolia dated November 19 requesting that Mongolia be granted the status of Partner for Co-operation. The Permanent Council noted that Mongolia has supported OSCE principles and objectives since the beginning of the Helsinki process in 1973, shares the OSCE's comprehensive and co-operative approach to security and related issues of economic and human development and common borders with the OSCE. The status of partner means that Mongolia will be invited to OSCE Summit meetings and sittings of its Ministerial Council, as well to participate in more regular activities on economic, human dimension and security matters.

## **V. Scope of the Commission's Mandate**

### **A. Monitoring the Various Dimensions of the OSCE**

#### **1. Basket I - Principles and Military Security**

The Commission monitors implementation of the fundamental commitments of the Helsinki Final Act, including those provisions in the field of military security. The underlying principle of security in the OSCE region is that true stability is based on upholding the human rights and freedoms of the individual. Besides human rights, the principles encompass key aspects of relations between states which have gained new urgency in the post-Cold War period: refraining from the threat or use of force; inviolability of frontiers; territorial integrity of states; peaceful settlement of disputes; non-intervention in internal affairs; equal rights and self-determination of peoples; cooperation among states; fulfillment in good faith of obligations under international law. Traditionally the OSCE has worked to develop agreements that increase confidence and cooperation between states, forming a web of mutual interests that is not easily broken.

Commission activity regarding the Security Dimension of the OSCE was shaped largely by the need to address current or potential conflicts in the OSCE region. Of greatest concern is the conflict in Chechnya, where the Russian military's brutal conduct continued despite criticism by major international organizations as well as numerous human rights NGOs. In a March letter to Secretary of State Colin L. Powell, for example, Commission Chairman Smith, Co-Chairman Campbell and three other Commissioners urged the United States to press for the adoption of a strong resolution at the United Nations Human Rights Commission on the ongoing conflict in Chechnya. In May, the Commission Co-Chairs and Ranking Member Cardin also wrote to President George W. Bush, urging him to raise egregious violations of international humanitarian law in Chechnya with Russian President Vladimir Putin during the G8 Summit which took place in Sea Island, Georgia. A June Commission briefing featured representatives of the "Committees of Soldiers' Mothers" a leading Russian umbrella organization that publicizes and combats human rights violations in the Russian armed forces, such as hazing or abusive treatment. The Committees of Soldiers' Mothers have opposed the Kremlin's conduct of the war in Chechnya and have accused the Russian Government of consistently under-reporting the number of Russian military casualties. In raising concern about Russia's record, the Commission has consistently condemned terrorist acts committed by Chechens in Russia, including the September 1 seizure of a school in the North Ossetian city of Beslan, Russia and held over 1,000 children, teachers, school employees and parents hostage under inhuman conditions for more than two days. In the ensuing armed confrontation with authorities, terrorists opened fire on their hostages, resulting in the loss of more than 300 lives, approximately half of them children.

The Helsinki Commission also placed additional emphasis in 2004 to deal with the instability created in Georgia and Moldova by Russia's lingering military presence in those two OSCE participating States. In conjunction with the signing of the Agreement on Adaptation of the Treaty on Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) in 1999, taking into account realities associated with the break-up of the Warsaw Pact and the demise of the Soviet Union, Russia made parallel commitments to withdraw Treaty-Limited Equipment and military forces from Moldova, and to withdraw or destroy excess equipment, to close two bases and to negotiate the future of remaining Russian bases and facilities in Georgia. To date, these commitments remain unfulfilled, making it impossible for the NATO allies to ratify the Agreement on Adaptation so that it may come into force. This issue was particularly prominent at the Commission's hearing on "Advancing U.S. Interests Through the OSCE" in September 2004, which included the Assistant Secretary for Arms Control, Stephen G. Rademaker on the panel of State Department witnesses. The Commission joined Secretary Powell and others criticizing Russia's year-end refusal to extend the mandate of the OSCE Border Monitoring Operation in Georgia. Commission staff also met with the Head of the OSCE mission to Moldova in regard to the unresolved situation with the secessionist Transdniestria region in that country.

The Helsinki Commission also remained engaged in OSCE's broader security work. In February, the Commission organized a public briefing on "OSCE's Contribution to European Security", which featured James H. Cox, the Chief U.S. Arms Control Delegate to the OSCE. Cox highlighted the recent achievements which took place during the U.S. chairmanship of the OSCE's Forum for Security Cooperation, including efforts to curb the proliferation of arms, control of man-portable air defense systems (MANPADS), and civil-military emergency preparedness. Later in

2004, the OSCE adopted principles for export controls of MANPADS, giving wider applicability to the work already done in the context of the Wassenaar Arrangement.

In June, Commission staff participated on the U.S. Delegation to the OSCE's second Annual Security Review Conference. Participants examined a wide range of security issues, including new and emerging threats, and concluded that terrorism still posed the greatest security threat in the OSCE area. As a result of the discussions, several areas for further OSCE work were outlined: container security; chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear materials; the role of the media; cyber-crime and related matters. The need to respect human rights while countering terrorism was also stressed. Special attention was given to border security and management.

A security-related field in which the OSCE has developed expertise and the Helsinki Commission follows with interest is civilian policing. In that context, the Helsinki Commission held a hearing in March 2004 to examine the extent of police reform in Northern Ireland. In addition to a senior State Department witness and representatives of several NGOs focused on the issue, the hearing featured the testimony of the Police Ombudsman for Northern Ireland, whose critical work in investigating complaints against the Police Service of Northern Ireland has contributed to improvements in policing there. Policing was also a topic of discussion at the Annual Security Review Conference, with U.S. representatives leading a movement to increase the OSCE's reach in this area.

## **2. Basket II - Cooperation in the Field of Economics**

The Commission has been instrumental in advancing U.S. initiatives within the OSCE to strengthen efforts to combat corruption and organized crime and to suppress terrorist financing in the region. These issues will continue to be a focus of the Commission's work for 2005 and 2006, particularly their impact on stability and economic development in Central Asia and the Caucasus.

Members of the Commission, working with the Department of State and through the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly, will continue to support implementation of the OSCE Strategy Document for the Economic and Environmental Dimension, adopted by the Ministerial Council in Maastricht in December 2003. That document, the first major elaboration of economic and environmental commitments for OSCE States since the adoption of the Bonn document in 1990, calls *inter alia* for development of a comprehensive and long-term OSCE anti-corruption strategy, implementation and enforcement of legislation and regulations on combating money laundering and corruption, criminalizing the financing of terrorism, ratification and implementation of international conventions on combating corruption, in particular those developed by the Council of Europe and the OECD, promoting small business and investment, and formulating strategies for sustainable development.

Following his election as Chair of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly Committee on Economic Affairs, Science, Technology and Environment in July 2003, Ranking Member Rep. Cardin engaged the Vice-Chair and Rapporteur of the Committee to focus their work on promoting rule of law and transparency, combating corruption and money laundering, and promoting entrepreneurship, particularly by supporting women and minority-owned small businesses. This strategy supported the work of the OSCE, which was negotiating the new Economic and

Environmental Strategy Document. In addition, the theme set for the Twelfth Annual Meeting of the OSCE Economic Forum held in June was “New Challenges for Building up Institutional and Human Capacity for Economic development and Cooperation.”

During the Winter Meeting of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly in Vienna, Austria February 19-20, 2004, Ranking Member Cardin convened a panel discussion in his Economic and Environmental Committee to examine the impact of corruption on the “Revolution of the Roses” which occurred in Georgia in December 2003. Panelists included OSCE PA Assembly Vice-President and former acting President of Georgia, Mrs. Nino Burjanadze, and Ambassador Roy Reeve, Head of the OSCE Mission in that country.

Mrs. Burjanadze, Speaker of the Georgian Parliament, noted that the reason the peaceful revolution had to occur in her country was because corruption was so pervasive and overwhelming that it was a threat to Georgia’s national security. Speaker Burjanadze described the challenges she faced as acting President in marshalling resources to undertake another round of transparent and effective elections and to run the country. This process was substantially and effectively aided by the OSCE through its mission in Tbilisi. Ambassador Reeve described events leading up to the successful elections as well as OSCE strategies to assist Georgia in strengthening democratic institutions and the rule of law, and in combating corruption.

Clearly, the peaceful revolution in Georgia in December 2003 and the “Orange Revolution” one year later in Ukraine, as well as the perhaps less noticed victory of reformist Mayor of Bucharest, Traian Basescu, over Prime Minister Adrian Nastase in the Romanian Presidential elections in December 2004, were fueled by the citizens’ desire to remove corrupt regimes. These events indicate the need for expanded OSCE and Commission efforts to support transparency and the rule of law throughout the region.

Under Commissioner Cardin’s direction, the resolution of the Economic and Environmental Committee adopted during the Annual Meeting of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly in Edinburgh, Scotland, July 5-9, 2004, included language supporting the implementation of the Maastricht Strategy Document, particularly a call for the participating States to convene a meeting of Ministers of Justice and the Interior to initiate the development of a comprehensive and long-term anti-corruption strategy. In late 2004, the U.S. State Department agreed that an OSCE anti-corruption strategy should be developed for adoption during the annual Ministerial Meeting in Ljubljana, Slovenia in December 2005. Commission staff is working closely with the State Department in developing this proposal.

The Committee and the Assembly in Edinburgh also adopted a resolution calling on the participating States to support economic development and cooperation among the OSCE Mediterranean Partners for Cooperation which include Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Morocco, and Tunisia. How to achieve this goal was the subject of discussion during the annual fall Seminar of the OSCE PA held in Rhodes, Greece, attended by Commissioner and President of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly, Alcee L. Hastings, and Commission staff. Engaging the OSCE Mediterranean partners in examining the potential usefulness of the Helsinki process in support of peace in the Middle East has been a long-term interest of Members of the Commission, and was the

subject of a Commission hearing, “The Middle East: Would the Helsinki Process Apply?,” June 15, 2004.

During the Annual Session in Edinburgh, Ranking Member Cardin was re-elected to a second one-year term as Chair of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly’s Committee on Economic Affairs, Science, Technology, and the Environment. Commissioner Alcee L. Hastings was elected President of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly by an overwhelming margin.

The Twelfth Annual Meeting of the OSCE Economic Forum convened in Prague, The Czech Republic, May 31 – June 4, 2004. Under the broad theme “New Challenges for Building Up Institutional and Human Capacity for Economic Development and Cooperation,” the Forum participants, representing 50 of the OSCE participating States, focused their discussion and recommendations primarily on three subjects: supporting the development of small and medium-sized enterprises; stimulating foreign and domestic investment; and human capacity building – improving the professional skills needed for developing a market economy through education, dialogue and public-private partnerships.

In the months leading up to the annual Economic Forum, three preparatory seminars which developed the themes for the Prague Meeting. The first, held in Yerevan, Armenia, reviewed strategies to support the development of small and medium-sized enterprises. The second focused on stimulating foreign and domestic investment at a gathering in Dublin, Ireland, and the third preparatory seminar, held in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan, examined what professional skills are needed for developing a market economy. Commission staff participated, as part of the U.S. Delegation, in both the Yerevan and Dublin seminars.

The Commission was also actively engaged with the Department of State in seeking public members for the delegation to the Twelfth Economic Forum and three individuals recommended by the Commission were selected. Led by U.S. Ambassador to the OSCE Stephan M. Minikes, the delegation included Rebecca Rannich, President and CEO of MedRespond; Stuart Gilman, President of the Ethics Resource Center in Washington, D.C.; and Michael Rattie, Senior Program Manager with The Institute for Entrepreneurial Excellence of the University of Pittsburgh, as well as State Department and Commission staff.

In addition to four concurrent working groups focused on specific sub-themes during the course of the Economic Forum, one plenary session was devoted to review of the implementation of OSCE commitments in the economic and environmental dimension. A special session was held on partnership with the business community, and the closing plenary addressed the integration processes in the OSCE. During the week, special side events were held on Promoting Entrepreneurship and Opportunities for Economic Development for Roma and Sinti; Public-Private Cooperation in the Prevention of Trafficking in Human Beings; and Promoting Cooperation with the Mediterranean Partners.

Members of the U.S. delegation participated fully in all aspects of the Forum by chairing working groups, actively engaging in discussions regarding small business development, foreign investment and promoting transparency in both the public and private sectors, and by networking

with business representatives and government officials from the participating States.

In all, more than sixty specific recommendations – ranging from improving economic and investment laws, regulatory reform, establishing codes of ethics and promoting investigative journalism to promoting internship and exchange programs, encouraging the development of independent business associations and chambers of commerce, and working with individual communities to create local strategies for sustainable development – emerged from the working groups and the plenary sessions in Prague.

Some proposals, such as expanding the OSCE's Youth Entrepreneurship Seminars and related programs, and enhancing the economic work of the OSCE field missions, particularly regarding business development, can be undertaken by OSCE institutions. Ultimately, responsibility for implementing these recommendations, and those contained in the Maastricht Economic Strategy document, rests with the participating States themselves. The Commission, working with the State Department, the U.S. Delegation to the OSCE, and the Parliamentary Assembly, will continue to support this process.

Economic Decisions adopted by the Foreign Ministers of the OSCE participating States during their Annual Meeting in Sofia, Bulgaria, December 6-7, 2004 include improving the effectiveness of the Economic Forum and Combating Corruption, specifically by ratification and implementation of the United Nations Convention against Corruption.

Commission staff participated in the U.S. delegation to the first preparatory seminar for the Thirteenth Economic Forum held in Trieste, Italy, November 8-9, 2004, which focused on "Demographic Prospects in the OSCE Region: Economic and Security Implications." Commission staff also participated in an inter-parliamentary seminar on Combating Organized Crime in Southeast Europe in Sofia, Bulgaria, November 11-12, 2004. Organized jointly by the OSCE PA, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe and the European Parliament, this gathering engaged parliamentarians from the region on issues ranging from enacting effective legislation to implement the U.N. Convention against Corruption to law enforcement and judicial reform.

### **3. Basket III - Protection of Human Rights**

The Commission is mandated to monitor participating States' compliance with provisions of the Helsinki Final Act and subsequent OSCE agreements, with particular attention to human rights. These human rights commitments encompass a broad array of issues, including the freedoms of speech, press, assembly, association and movement; religious liberties; and the treatment of ethnic, religious, and linguistic minorities. Although many of the abuses associated with the communist era have diminished, many OSCE participating States continue to flaunt their OSCE human dimension commitments. Accordingly, the Commission continues to focus particular attention on those states where fundamental human rights violations are the most egregious, particularly the states in Central Asia where authoritarian governments prevail. The Commission also monitors trends in Central and Eastern Europe, where significant progress with respect to human rights has been made, but where democracy is still fragile and the rule of law does not yet have strong roots. Increasingly, the Commission has followed human rights developments in Western Europe, focusing largely on

protection of the freedom of religion and significant manifestations of anti-Semitism, racism, and intolerance.

The Commission pursues this mandate in a variety of ways. First, specific instances of human rights abuses or shortcomings are raised with the violating country. Members of the Commission intercede directly with that country's officials and representatives (at home and abroad), and through correspondence; and Commissioners offer relevant legislation, resolutions and *Congressional Record* statements. Over the past year, concerns have been communicated to senior officials in Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Georgia, Greece, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Poland, Romania, the Russian Federation, Serbia-Montenegro, Slovak Republic, Turkey, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan. When warranted by improvements in the human rights situation, Commissioners drew positive attention to these developments as well.

Members of the Commission communicate their views to the Department of State and other relevant U.S. Government agencies, and, when necessary, seek to raise or improve the level of official U.S. engagement with specific countries, cases or issues, or on OSCE policies. Ongoing staff contact with the U.S. Mission to the OSCE, the State Department country desk officers and human rights officers at U.S. Embassies abroad – posts with noticeably high turnover – helps ensure that these offices are kept informed of issues of concern. This, in turn, facilitates full reporting in human rights reports issued by the Department of State. Significantly, the work of the Commission has resulted in considerable success in helping to resolve individual cases of human rights violations, and in ameliorating specific problems in this fashion.

Hearings and briefings offer the most public forum to highlight violations of human rights. At times, Administration officials have testified on U.S. Government policies, and Commissioners have also utilized these hearings to press the Executive Branch to take more resolute actions where necessary. These hearings find an audience among other U.S. Government agencies, non-governmental organizations, the media, the general public, and among the embassies and other officials of OSCE participating States. Moreover, as a tool for applying international pressure on their own officials, the records of these public hearings are highly valued by human rights activists in countries which violate human rights. In 2004, the Commission held numerous public hearings and briefings on human rights abuses in countries and regions, including Albania, Northern Ireland, the Russian Federation, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, Uzbekistan, the Caucasus and the Middle East. Hearings and briefings often focus on specific issues, such as the treatment of Russian Army enlistees in the Chechen war, press freedom and judicial reform in Russia, OSCE police-related activities, internally-displaced persons, Romani human rights, religious liberty, property restitution, anti-Semitism, and freedom of speech and the media.

In 2004, the Commission held two hearings on the human rights situation in Northern Ireland. The first focused primarily on efforts to reform and improve the performance of the Police Service of Northern Ireland (PSNI), including through the work of an Ombudsman to investigate complaints of unprofessional police behavior and violating the rights of citizens. Given the history of the PSNI's predecessor, the Royal Ulster Constabulary, this reform is critical to the protection of human rights in Northern Ireland. The second hearing focused on helping to find reconciliation in

Northern Ireland by having public inquiries into five of six prominent murder cases where former Canadian Supreme Court justice Peter Cory found evidence of collusion on the part of either Irish or British security personnel. Both Dublin and Ireland have agreed to Cory's recommendations, except for the British Government's delay in opening a public inquiry regarding the murder of lawyer Patrick Finucane despite an earlier commitment to abide by Cory's recommendations. Complete follow-up to Justice Cory's recommendations is viewed as an important step in building public confidence in the peace process in Northern Ireland.

Other vehicles used to raise concerns regarding human rights and democracy-building are the Commission's authoritative implementation reports, statements by Commissioners printed in the *Congressional Record*, and public appearances by individual Commissioners and staff, as well as Commission staff input to U.S. statements made in the OSCE Permanent Council in Vienna and in other OSCE meetings.

The Commission also fulfills its monitoring mandate through on-the-ground assessments. These official visits permit frank face-to-face discussions on specific problems with the leaders of these countries and are invaluable in communicating the need for improved human rights performance by the particular OSCE State, in keeping with their Helsinki commitments.

The Commission diligently interacts with non-governmental organizations and relies on information and expertise provided by the NGOs. At the same time, the Commission, through its events, contacts, reports, initiatives, statements and other means, brings appropriate issues before NGOs and the public, and provides interested experts and leaders from outside the government the opportunity to comment upon, discuss and recommend courses of action. The Commission also provides a valuable platform for NGOs to express their concerns. In turn, the Commission is uniquely positioned to bring the OSCE-related concerns of private citizens and groups to the attention of U.S. officials, the Congress, and especially representatives of other OSCE participating States.

Commission staff, through its interaction with OSCE institutions and as members of U.S. delegations to various OSCE meetings, has ensured that human rights concerns of NGOs are raised and reviewed, and have found expression in OSCE agreements. The Commission has worked consistently – and, to a great extent, successfully – to facilitate access by NGOs to OSCE meetings and follow-up activities, and to maximize their ability to participate in the OSCE process.

## **B. Providing Leadership at the 2004 Human Dimension Implementation Meeting**

From October 4-15, 2004, the OSCE participating States met in Warsaw, Poland, for the Human Dimension Implementation Meeting (HDIM). Each year, the OSCE convenes a forum to discuss the compliance by the participating States with the full range of their OSCE human rights commitments.

The U.S. Delegation was headed by Larry C. Napper, former Ambassador to Kazakhstan and Latvia. He was joined by Ambassador Stephan M. Minikes, Head of the U.S. Mission to the OSCE; Ambassador Michael G. Kozak, Acting Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights

and Labor; Ambassador Edward O'Donnell, Department of State Special Envoy for Holocaust Issues; J. Kelly Ryan, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Population, Refugees and Migration; and Matthew Waxman, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Detainee Affairs. Members of the staff of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe also participated in the delegation.

In the tradition of engaging accomplished individuals from the private sector with human rights expertise, the U.S. Delegation included several public members: Gavin Helf and Catherine Fitzpatrick, both experts on the countries of the former Soviet Union; Frederick M. Lawrence, Anti-Defamation League; and Mark B. Levin, Executive Director, NCSJ: Advocates on behalf of Jews in Russia, Ukraine, the Baltic States & Eurasia.

The need to protect human rights while countering terrorism was a strong theme throughout this year's meeting. In addition, the deteriorating situation for human rights defenders in much of the former Soviet region, concern about the elections in Belarus and Ukraine, the failure to implement meaningful reforms in Uzbekistan, and the plight of refugees and internally displaced persons, including Roma from Kosovo, were other key issues raised. In the second week session devoted to tolerance, the United States encouraged the Chair-in-Office to appoint two personal representatives to address the problems of anti-Semitism as well as racism, xenophobia, and discrimination.

In an effort to respond to concerns about detainee abuse, the United States organized a meeting on detainee issues. Deputy Assistant Secretary Matthew Waxman, head of a newly created DOD office for detainee affairs, discussed steps taken by the United States to address the abuse of detainees at Abu Ghraib and elsewhere and to prevent such incidents from reoccurring. The event was open to all participants at the HDIM and included a question and answer session.

Azerbaijani officials prevented one human rights defender and religious freedom activist from attending the Warsaw meeting. On October 6, authorities at the Baku airport blocked Imam Ilgar Ibrahimoglu from boarding his Warsaw-bound flight. Ibrahimoglu was set to attend the HDIM session on religious freedom and speak out against the forcible seizure of his congregation's mosque earlier this year. On a more positive note, the meeting may have contributed to a favorable decision by the Armenian Government to approve a long-standing application by Jehovah's Witnesses to be officially registered as a religious organization. During the meeting, the U.S. House of Representatives and the United States Senate passed the Belarus Democracy Act (on October 4 and 7, 2004, respectively).

At the closing session of the HDIM, 106 human rights advocates from 16 countries presented a declaration countering the criticism made by several former Soviet states concerning the OSCE's human rights work. (On July 3, 2004, nine OSCE countries – Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russian Federation, Tajikistan, Ukraine and Uzbekistan – issued a statement criticizing the human dimension activities of the OSCE. A subsequent document signed in Astana, Kazakhstan by eight of the above signatories claimed that there are double standards in fulfillment of OSCE commitments concerning democracy and human rights.)

The HDIM is the only multinational human rights meeting in Europe where non-governmental organization representatives and government representatives have equal access to the

speakers' list. The implementation review meetings are intended to serve as the participating States' principal venues for public diplomacy and are important vehicles both for identifying continued areas of poor human rights performance and for shaping the OSCE decision-making process with respect to human dimension concerns.

As at past meetings, the Commission's preparations for, contributions to, and participation in the HDIM was substantial. In advance of this meeting, the Commission staff met with Department of State officials regarding the U.S. approach to the meeting, suggested specific human rights questions to be raised, recommended prospective public members, and provided draft U.S. interventions. In doing so, the Commission was able to draw on its institutional memory of the Helsinki process, its regional expertise, and its specialization in human rights matters to advance U.S. interests. At the meeting itself, Commission staff participated in all aspects of the U.S. Delegation's work, including the delivery of U.S. interventions, bilateral meetings with other countries' delegations held to raise specific human rights concerns, meetings with NGO representatives, and consultations on the overall direction of OSCE human dimension activities.

### **C. Active Player in Multilateral Diplomacy through Participation on U.S. Delegations to OSCE Meetings**

Commissioners or Commission staff members have served as members of every U.S. Delegation to every major OSCE meeting since the Commission was established, a fact which strengthens the Commission's institutional knowledge. The multilateral context affords the Commission an important venue for advancing its mandate to monitor and promote compliance by OSCE participating States with their freely undertaken commitments. In particular, within the context of OSCE fora, specific violations of commitments are consistently raised directly with the States concerned.

At OSCE meetings, Commission staff participates as full members of the official U.S. delegation and have regular contact with delegations from other OSCE participating States. They convey the concerns of the United States in presentations at the formal, multilateral OSCE meetings, as well as in bilateral meetings on the margins of the larger gatherings. Participation in these meetings uniquely enables the Commission to contribute to the process of standard-setting and establishing priorities and goals to advance implementation of the OSCE commitments.

Although an independent agency of the U.S. Government with Commissioners from both the executive and legislative branches, the Commission's leadership rests in the Congress and its membership is primarily provided by the Congress. This structure reinforces an understanding in foreign capitals that the Congress and the American people attach high priority to respect for individual human rights. The Commission's bipartisan and bicameral nature, its tenure, and its relentless efforts reaffirm that respect for such rights is a matter of basic principle for Americans. Equally importantly, the Commission's work facilitates an understanding by foreign governments of the singular involvement of the U.S. Congress in foreign affairs, an aspect of American politics that is often not well understood overseas. (In fact, no other legislature of any other OSCE country has a body analogous to the Commission.)

Chairman Rep. Smith, Ranking Member Rep. Cardin, and Commissioner Rep. Hastings joined Secretary of State Colin L. Powell at the OSCE Conference on Anti-Semitism, convened in Berlin in late April. The U.S. Delegation was headed by former New York City Mayor Ed Koch, and Chairman Smith again served as Vice Chairman, as he did for the first OSCE Conference on Anti-Semitism, held in Vienna in 2003. Commissioner Hastings also participated in the Sofia Ministerial Meeting, December 6-7, in his capacity as President of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly.

The Commission's Staff Advisor to the U.S. Mission to the OSCE in Vienna, Austria, participated in the weekly meetings of the Permanent Council (the OSCE's main decision-making body) as well as its working groups. She also participated in the annual Human Dimension Implementation Meeting in Warsaw, the annual OSCE Parliamentary Assembly meeting in Edinburgh, Supplementary Human Dimension Meetings as well as the Sofia Ministerial. Her presence in Vienna affords the Commission a unique opportunity to provide input into the daily work of the U.S. Mission to the OSCE.

In February, Chairman Smith, Commissioners Cardin and Hastings participated in the Winter Meeting of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly, held in Vienna. Former Commission Chairman Rep. Steny H. Hoyer (D-MD) also attended. At the meeting, OSCE PA President Bruce George appointed Chairman Smith as his Special Representative on Human Trafficking Issues. Smith will serve as the Assembly's point person for collecting information on human trafficking in the OSCE region; promoting dialogue within the OSCE on how to combat human trafficking; and, advising the Assembly on the development of new anti-trafficking policies.

In July, Commissioners participated in the Annual Session of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly (an institution in which the Commission has played a substantive role since the Assembly's inception in the early 1990s). The 2004 meeting, held in Edinburgh, Scotland, was attended by a 13-Member delegation led by Chairman Smith. In cooperation with the House International Relations Committee, the Commission provided significant substantive staff support for the delegation's work in pressing human rights concerns and other matters of particular interest to the United States, and in preparing for bilateral meetings with other delegations. Members of the U.S. Delegation were active in the work of the Assembly's three committees and were successful in securing adoption of several supplementary items and amendments. In the wake of revelations of abuse in Abu Ghraib, Chairman Smith won unanimous approval of a measure condemning governments' use of torture and related abuses. Chairman Smith also succeeded in advancing a supplementary item on combating human trafficking. Commissioner Hastings won handily a one-year term as OSCE PA President, prevailing over candidates from France and Finland in a first-round victory. Commissioner Cardin was re-elected to serve as Chair of the General Committee on Economic Affairs, Science, Technology and Environment.

At the second OSCE Conference on Tolerance and the Fight against Racism, Xenophobia and Discrimination, convened in Brussels, Belgium, September 13-14, Commissioner Hastings participated in his capacity as President of the Parliamentary Assembly.

Commission staff participated in the OSCE's three 2004 Supplementary Human Dimension Meetings, held in Vienna to increase the Permanent Council's consideration of human dimension issues: "Human Rights Education and Training," March 25-26 ; "Electoral Standards and Commitments Vienna," July 15-16 ; Internally Displaced Persons," November 4-5. In addition, staff participated in a special meeting convened in Paris on June 16 and 17 on "the Relationship between Racist, Xenophobic and Anti-Semitic Propaganda on the Internet and Hate Crimes."

Other OSCE meetings attended by the Commission staff included the annual meeting of the OSCE Economic Forum (Prague, May 31-June 4), the Annual Security Review Conference (Vienna, June 23-24), the Conference on Racism, Xenophobia and Discrimination (Brussels, September 13-14), a conference on Ensuring Human Rights Protection in Countries of Destination: Breaking the Cycle of Trafficking (Helsinki, Finland, September 23-34), an OSCE Parliamentary Assembly conference on trafficking in human beings (Rhodes, Greece, September 29-30), the 2<sup>nd</sup> Parliamentary Forum on the Mediterranean (Rhodes, Greece, October 1) and the 2004 Mediterranean Seminar on Addressing Threats to Security in the Twenty-first Century: Interaction between the OSCE and the Mediterranean Partners for Co-operation (Sharm El Sheikh, Egypt, November 18-19).

## **VI. Role of Commission in Public Diplomacy**

The Commission continues to be an active and highly effective proponent of public diplomacy, reaching out to the private sector, think tanks, media, public groups and individuals to explain and promote the principles of the Helsinki commitments. Members and staff attended public fora, participated in panel discussions, made media appearances in both the domestic and foreign press in an effort to heighten public awareness of the Helsinki process and of issues involving specific OSCE participating States, and engaged both organizations and individuals in the promotion of democracy, human rights, and the rule of law as essential components of European security and cooperation. Again, these activities reinforce in the public mind the leadership of the Congress on individual rights issues the American people care about very deeply.

The Commission has been particularly instrumental in introducing private citizens directly into the activities of the OSCE by supporting the inclusion of public members on U.S. delegations to OSCE meetings, seminars and specialized events. Under the guidance and assistance of Commission staff, these individuals have made an important contribution to these meetings and have acquired for themselves a unique awareness of the value and mission of the OSCE. The Commission has also been the single most active voice for ensuring that the meetings and processes of the OSCE are as transparent as possible, and that NGOs can have full participation in appropriate OSCE activities.

The Commission's reconstructed Internet web site <[www.csce.gov](http://www.csce.gov)> has been a portal for public diplomacy, a fundamental component of the Commission's mission, serving as an important distribution point for the Commission's message at home and abroad.

Technology has enabled the integration of publications by issue- and country-specific topics including hearing and briefing transcripts, periodic *CSCE Digest* articles and press releases. The cross-referencing feature allows individuals to view a more thorough display of the Commission's work and access an extensive archive of materials on the Helsinki process.

An increasing number of individuals and officials around the globe have subscribed to receive Commission materials via the Internet. The Commission continues its outreach to U.S. Government employees, foreign government officials, NGOs, scholars and other individuals monitoring the countries and issues central to the Commission's mandate.

The Commission has bolstered its utilization of information technology to enhance its automated e-mail distribution system with the aim of offering a more effective, user-friendly message delivery system. The subscriber base has expanded significantly as a result of these initiatives. The Commission is continuing its top-down review of its public diplomacy efforts which is contributing to a more well-rounded communications plan.

According to statistical data, press releases, hearing witness statements, *Congressional Record* statements and *CSCE Digest* articles have been among the most viewed pages on the Commission's web site. Data collection reveals a diverse audience for Commission materials extending well beyond the OSCE region.

## **VII. Hearings, Briefings, Digest Articles and Congressional Delegations in 108<sup>th</sup> Congress, 2<sup>nd</sup> Session**

### **A. Hearings**

Joint Issue Forum with the House Committee on Armed Services: Enforcing U.S. Policies against Trafficking in Persons: How is the U.S. Military Doing? (September 21, 2004)  
Advancing U.S. Interests Through the OSCE (September 15, 2004)  
Advancing Democracy in Albania (July 20, 2004)  
Uzbekistan: Stifled Democracy, Human Rights in Decline (June 24, 2004)  
Government Actions to Combat Anti-Semitism in the OSCE Region (June 16, 2004)  
The Middle East: Would the Helsinki Process Apply? (June 15, 2004)  
Human Rights in Putin's Russia (May 20, 2004)  
Northern Ireland Update: Implementation of the Cory Reports and Impact on Good Friday Agreement (May 5, 2004)  
Human Rights and Police Reform in Northern Ireland (March 16, 2004)  
The Bulgarian Leadership of the OSCE (February 26, 2004)

### **B. Briefings**

Ukraine's Presidential Election: The Turning Point? (November 16, 2004)  
Roma in Russia (September 23, 2004)  
Religious Freedom in the Caucasus (July 21, 2004)  
The War in Chechnya and Russian Civil Society (June 17, 2004)  
Russia: Are Rights in Retreat? (June 7, 2004)  
Religious Freedom in Turkmenistan (May 11, 2004)  
OSCE's Contribution to European Security (February 11, 2004)

### **C. CSCE Digest Articles and Reports**

Helsinki Commission, House Armed Services Committee Examine Trafficking in Persons (December 15, 2004)

Europe's Largest Annual Human Dimension Meeting Closes with Appeal from NGOs (November 10, 2004)

Helsinki Commission Staff Observe Farcical Belarus Elections (November 9, 2004)

Briefing Surveys Human Rights of Russia's Roma Population (October 15, 2004)

OSCE Conference Focuses on Racism, Xenophobia and Discrimination (October 5, 2004)

Helsinki Commission Holds Hearing on Advancing Democracy in Albania (October 4, 2004)

OSCE Economic Forum Focuses on Investment and Small Business Development (August 31, 2004)

Helsinki Commission Briefing Examines Religious Freedom in the Caucasus (August 12, 2004)

U.S. Delegation Makes Major Contributions to OSCE PA Annual Session in Edinburgh (August 6, 2004)

Helsinki Commission Leadership Engage Heads of Nine CIS Countries (July 28, 2004)

OSCE Election Commitments Reaffirmed (July 23, 2004)

Government Actions to Combat Anti-Semitism in the OSCE Region (July 16, 2004)

Uzbekistan's Human Rights Record Spurs State Department De-Certification (July 16, 2004)

Commission Hearing Surveys Human Rights in Putin's Russia (July 2, 2004)

Activists Brief Commission on the War in Chechnya, Civil Society and Military Reform in Russia (July 1, 2004)

Report on Azerbaijan's Presidential Elections (July 2004)

Georgia's Rose Revolution (July 2004)

OSCE Meeting Examines Hate Crimes and Racist, Xenophobic and Anti-Semitic Internet Propaganda (June 30, 2004)

Helsinki Commission Briefing Sheds Light on Russia's Human Rights Situation (June 30, 2004)

Uncovering Collusion, Reforming Northern Ireland Police Focus of Helsinki Commission Hearings (May 28, 2004)

Helsinki Commissioners Active at Parliamentary Assembly Winter Meeting (April 20, 2004)

OSCE Chair-in-Office Bulgarian Foreign Minister Passy Testifies before Commission (April 8, 2004)

Helsinki Commission Briefing Highlights OSCE's Military Dimension of Security (March 23, 2004)

Strong Substance, Potent Politics Mark Historic Maastricht OSCE Ministerial Council (January 16, 2004)

### **D. Congressional Delegations (authorized by the Commission)**

Commissioner Hastings participated in the OSCE PA Conference on Parliamentary Oversight of the Armed Forces, Vienna, Austria, May 23-26, 2004.

Commissioners Smith, Cardin and Hastings participated in the OSCE Conference on Anti-Semitism, Berlin, Germany, April 26-30, 2004.

Commissioner Hastings held meetings, Vilnius, Lithuania, April 25-27, 2004.

Ranking Member Cardin held meetings, Warsaw and Krakow, Poland, April 24-26, 2004.

Chairman Smith held meetings in Republic of Ireland, April 23-27, 2004.

Commissioners Cardin and Hastings participated in the Expanded Bureau Meeting of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly, Copenhagen, Denmark, April 21-25, 2004.

Commissioners Smith and Cardin met with NATO officials in Brussels, Belgium, and held meetings in Athens, Greece, February 20-23, 2004.

Commissioners Smith, Cardin and Hastings participated in the Winter Meeting of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly, Vienna, Austria, February 18-20, 2004.

## Appendix (A)

### Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe

#### 109<sup>th</sup> Congress

##### *Legislative Branch Commissioners*

###### United States Senate

Sam Brownback, Kansas  
Chairman

Gordon Smith, Oregon

Kay Bailey Hutchison, Texas

Saxby Chambliss, Georgia

*Vacant*

Christopher J. Dodd, Connecticut

Russell D. Feingold, Wisconsin

Hillary Rodham Clinton, New York

*Vacant*

###### U.S. House of Representatives

Christopher H. Smith, New Jersey  
Co-Chairman

Frank R. Wolf, Virginia

Joseph R. Pitts, Pennsylvania

Robert B. Aderholt, Alabama

Mike Pence, Indiana

Benjamin L. Cardin, Maryland

Louise McIntosh Slaughter, New York

Alcee L. Hastings, Florida

Mike McIntyre, North Carolina

##### *Executive Branch Commissioners*

*Vacant*, Department of State

*Vacant*, Department of Defense

William Henry Lash III, Department of Commerce

## Appendix (B)

### COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

#### STAFF MEMBERS

|                    |  |
|--------------------|--|
| Orest Deychakiwsky | Staff Advisor<br>Belarus, Bulgaria, Ukraine<br>Security Officer  |
| John Finerty       | Staff Advisor<br>Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Russian Federation   |
| Quena D. Gonzalez  | Staff Assistant/Systems Administrator<br>Website Manager<br>Budget Officer   |
| Chadwick R. Gore   | Staff Advisor<br>International Media Issues<br>Mediterranean Partner States<br>Cyprus, Greece, Turkey<br>Secretary, U.S. Delegation to OSCE Parliamentary Assembly |
| Robert Hand        | Staff Advisor<br>Albania, Bosnia, Croatia, Macedonia, Serbia and Montenegro,<br>Slovenia<br>Security Issues  |
| Janice Helwig      | Staff Advisor<br>U.S. Delegation to the OSCE<br>OSCE Structure   |
| Justin Johnson     | Staff Assistant/Hearings and Travel Coordinator  |
| Marlene Kaufmann   | Counsel<br>Basket II - Economics, Trade, Technology, Environment<br>Romania<br>OSCE Parliamentary Assembly   |
| Ronald J. McNamara | International Policy Director  |
| Michael Ochs       | Staff Advisor<br>Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan,<br>Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan   |

|                      |   |
|----------------------|---|
| Elizabeth Pryor      | Senior Advisor  |
| Erika Schlager       | Counsel for International Law<br>International War Crimes Tribunal<br>Czech Republic, Poland, Slovakia<br>Roma Issues<br>OSCE Structure |
| Dorothy Douglas Taft | Deputy Chief of Staff   |
| H. Knox Thames       | Counsel<br>Religious Liberty<br>Migration and Refugee Issues<br>Hungary   |
| Maureen Walsh        | General Counsel<br>Domestic Violence, Trafficking in Humans,<br>Equality of Opportunity for Women and Men                               |
| Sean Woo             | Chief of Staff  |
| <i>vacant</i>        | Communications Director<br><i>CSCE Digest</i> Editor  |

## Appendix (C)

### OSCE Participating States as of January 2006

|                        |   |
|------------------------|---|
| Albania                | Observer as of June 1990; admitted as new, fully participating State June 19, 1991  |
| Andorra                | admitted as new participating State April 25, 1996  |
| Armenia                | admitted as new, fully participating State January 30, 1992   |
| Austria                | original participating State  |
| Azerbaijan             | admitted as new, fully participating State January 30, 1992   |
| Belarus                | admitted as new, fully participating State January 30, 1992   |
| Belgium                | original participating State  |
| Bosnia-<br>Herzegovina | admitted as new, fully participating State April 30, 1992   |
| Bulgaria               | original participating State  |
| Canada                 | original participating State  |
| Croatia                | Observer as of January 1992; admitted as new, fully participating State March 24, 1992  |
| Cyprus                 | original participating State  |
| Czech Republic         | as Czechoslovakia, original participating State; Czech Republic admitted as new, fully participating State January 1, 1993  |
| Denmark                | original participating State  |
| Estonia                | admitted as new, fully participating State September 10, 1991   |
| Finland                | original participating State  |
| France                 | original participating State  |
| Georgia                | admitted as new, fully participating State March 24, 1992   |
| Germany                | originally participated as Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic; participation as single country began with German unification on October 3, 1990 |
| Greece                 | original participating State  |
| The Holy See           | original participating State  |
| Hungary                | original participating State  |
| Iceland                | original participating State  |
| Ireland                | original participating State  |
| Italy                  | original participating State  |
| Kazakhstan             | admitted as new, fully participating State January 30, 1992   |
| Kyrgyzstan             | admitted as new, fully participating State January 30, 1992   |
| Latvia                 | admitted as new, fully participating State September 10, 1991   |
| Liechtenstein          | original participating State  |
| Lithuania              | admitted as new, fully participating State September 10, 1991   |
| Luxembourg             | original participating State  |
| Malta                  | original participating State  |
| Macedonia              | Observer as of April 1993; admitted as new, fully participating State October 12, 1995  |

|                          |  |
|--------------------------|--|
| Moldova                  | admitted as new, fully participating State January 30, 1992  |
| Monaco                   | original participating State   |
| Netherlands              | original participating State   |
| Norway                   | original participating State   |
| Poland                   | original participating State   |
| Portugal                 | original participating State   |
| Romania                  | original participating State   |
| Russia                   | succeeded Soviet Union (original participating State)  |
| San Marino               | original participating State   |
| Serbia and<br>Montenegro | as Yugoslavia, admitted as new, fully participating State November 10,<br>2000; renamed Serbia and Montenegro February 4, 2003     |
| Slovak Republic          | as Czechoslovakia, original participating State; as Slovak Republic, admitted<br>as new, fully participating State January 1, 1993 |
| Slovenia                 | Observer as of January 1992; admitted as new, fully participating State March<br>24, 1992  |
| Spain                    | original participating State   |
| Sweden                   | original participating State   |
| Switzerland              | original participating State   |
| Tajikistan               | admitted as new, fully participating State January 30, 1992  |
| United Kingdom           | original participating State   |
| United States            | original participating State   |
| Uzbekistan               | admitted as new, fully participating State January 30, 1992  |

### **OSCE Mediterranean Partners for Cooperation**

Algeria  
Egypt  
Israel  
Jordan  
Morocco  
Tunisia

### **OSCE Partners for Cooperation**

Afghanistan  
Japan  
Mongolia  
Republic of Korea  
Thailand