

## **OSCE: Building a Europe Whole, Free and at Peace**

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### **Introduction**

Chairman Cardin, Co-Chairman Hastings, Senators and Congressmen: I am very pleased to be here to discuss the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and its role in advancing the interests and values of the United States. This hearing provides an important opportunity to consider the full range of issues in the politico-military, human, and economic and environmental dimensions of the OSCE in the lead-up to the Athens Ministerial in early December.

Since the 1975 Helsinki Final Act, the OSCE has played a unique and historic role in helping Europe to transition from a period of protracted, cold conflict to a time of increasing prosperity, freedom and stability. It has promoted cross-border cooperation in the southern Balkans, and offered objective observers for elections throughout Europe, including the OSCE Missions in Bosnia, Kosovo and Moldova. It has served as a mediator in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and has stood – for a brief time – as an agent of peace and stability on Georgia’s administrative boundary lines with Abkhazia and South Ossetia. As someone who cares a great deal about the security and freedom of the Transatlantic community, I have always valued the important role that the OSCE has played in promoting the vision of its founders in 1975.

In June 2009, the 56 participating States of the OSCE launched the “Corfu Process” under Greek leadership to review the state of play in European security and reinvigorate the mechanisms for addressing traditional and new challenges. The Corfu Process is a structured dialogue among all OSCE participating States on European security issues. There have been six Corfu Process sessions so far and several will follow prior to the Athens Ministerial in early December. Throughout the Corfu Process, the United States and its Allies have spoken with a unified voice, declaring that the current European security institutions remain sound, but that there is not a consistently high level of implementation of OSCE commitments by all participating States.

One important contribution of the Corfu Process is that it has reconfirmed that the OSCE remains the primary forum for dealing with all three dimensions of security in Europe. The OSCE has a uniquely broad-based membership and an encompassing view of security, including the human and economic and environmental dimensions. It retains a vital role in upholding U.S. security interests in Europe. My testimony today will focus on the political-military dimension of the OSCE; I will leave it to my colleagues to

address its other elements.

## **How the OSCE is addressing 21<sup>st</sup> century challenges**

The United States recognizes that many of the major security challenges we face today either did not exist or were less urgent when we concluded the Helsinki Final Act. But we believe that the OSCE, with its broad-based membership, remains an important forum that has and can continue to adapt to address these 21<sup>st</sup> century challenges. I'll begin by focusing on a few of the successes we have had to date.

### *UN Security Council Resolution 1540*

One of the gravest challenges we confront today is preventing the acquisition and use of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) by terrorist organizations. UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1540 addresses this threat by obliging all UN member States to adopt and enforce specific measures against the proliferation of WMD, their means of delivery, and related materials.

The OSCE plays an important role by helping Euro-Atlantic nations to develop national plans to meet their obligations under UNSCR 1540. With strong U.S. support, the OSCE developed and will publish a “Best Practice Guide on United Nations Security Council Resolution 1540 Export Controls and Transshipment” – a compendium of proven and effective means of implementing UNSCR 1540. In addition, the United States has proposed further work on UNSCR 1540 to give its implementation a stronger focus within the OSCE and will work with other participating States to make this a reality over the next year.

### *Small Arms and Light Weapons*

The OSCE continues to be a vital forum for Euro-Atlantic cooperation on the reduction of threats posed by the illicit transfer of small arms and light weapons (SALW) and their possession by sub-national groups. Beginning with the adoption of the OSCE Document on SALW in 1999, the OSCE has facilitated cooperation among participating States in reducing trafficking in small arms and light weapons, securing existing stocks, and eliminating excess SALW and related materials. Later work extended OSCE efforts to address the problems related to unsafe and unsecure stockpiles of conventional ammunition. Notable projects include the elimination of deteriorating liquid rocket fuel in Armenia and Georgia, reductions of surplus small arms and ammunition in Tajikistan and Belarus, and U.S.-led efforts in Cyprus to eliminate man-portable air-defense systems (MANPADS). In addition, participating States have developed a comprehensive set of Best Practice Guides related to SALW and other guidance on SALW that has been shared with the UN.

## *Mediterranean Security*

The Helsinki Final Act highlighted the importance of developing partnerships with the Mediterranean States to improve our mutual security. To this end, the OSCE agreed to focus the next Mediterranean Partners Conference on conflict prevention and resolution, and migration. The Conference will take place in Cairo in December 2009, and we look forward to fruitful discussions among our six Mediterranean Partners on these important topics.

I can give you a good example of how our work with Mediterranean Partners on SALW has created engagement opportunities for the international community's nonproliferation efforts. In October 2008, the United States and other OSCE participating States organized a seminar for the Partner states on the threats posed by MANPADS, raising awareness and developing a foundation for cooperation. Subsequently, in response to a request by Morocco, the United States and Partner states organized a seminar in Rabat in April 2009 to address concerns over the flow of conventional weapons from conflict zones into the Mediterranean region. Participants included border control agencies from the OSCE and Africa, including Spain, France, Morocco, Tunisia, Burkina Faso, Chad, Libya, Mali and Senegal. Experts from these governments discussed regional cooperation and focused on building domestic capabilities to detect and stop the illicit flow of conventional arms. As a result of the Morocco Seminar, participants have shown interest in follow-up discussion on the implementation of regional security capabilities.

## *Cyber-Security*

Information technology and computer networks are vital to the functioning of the global economy. Our society has grown increasingly dependent on the availability, reliability, and security of computer networks. Protecting against the deliberate disruption and destruction of these networks has become a matter of national security and international concern. As we saw recently in Estonia and in Georgia, cyber attacks can threaten the critical infrastructure of our increasingly networked world, and present a destabilizing weapon to adversaries.

The OSCE began its work to address this challenge by holding a highly successful workshop on enhancing cyber-security. The workshop was broadly attended, with more than 200 participants from participating States, Partner states and international organizations, including Egypt, Japan, the Arab League and NATO. Participants discussed ways to enhance cooperation and improve defenses against cyber attacks worldwide. At the workshop, the United States proposed, and received strong support for, a national self-survey that would identify capacities as well as deficiencies in national cyber-security capacities. This proposal is moving forward and demonstrates strong U.S. leadership in an area vital to our interests.

## *Afghanistan*

One area where the United States hopes the OSCE can do more is in Afghanistan. The Government of Afghanistan, an OSCE Partner Country (along with Japan, Mongolia, the Republic of Korea, and Thailand), made an urgent request for support in 2007.

Responding to this request, the OSCE Secretariat has proposed sixteen separate projects to enhance Afghan border security, including a welcome emphasis on building Afghan capacity – especially training facilities. These projects are designed to support the Afghanistan National Development Strategy.

So far, only a few projects have been implemented. Within the OSCE, we have not reached a consensus on two projects that the United States regards as particularly critical: a proposed Training Facility at Shir Khan Bandar, and a mentoring and monitoring project at border-crossing points in northern Afghanistan. We remain hopeful that these two projects will soon engender the full support of OSCE member states.

### **The Need to Fully Implement Existing Measures**

Although the OSCE has done an excellent job at adapting to the new set of emerging post-Cold War threats, more work can be done to strengthen its valuable role. As I said in my introduction, the state of the OSCE is strong. It has played, and continues to play, a critical role in maintaining the peace and security of Europe in all its dimensions.

As we address emerging challenges, it is vital that we continue to remain vigilant about the threat posed by traditional international conflict among sovereign states. This threat has not disappeared with the end of the Cold War.

## *Georgia*

The outbreak of hostilities last year between Russia and Georgia underscores the need to reconsider the implementation of these security mechanisms – both individually and across the Euro-Atlantic area – to deal with crises. None of us can afford to be complacent in the face of this ongoing dispute between OSCE participating States, nor can we continue to allow Cold War legacies and unresolved conflicts to remain unaddressed in the Caucasus, the Balkans or Transnistria.

As this Committee's co-chairs stated in August 2008, Russia's invasion of Georgia represented "a clear violation of Georgia's territorial integrity and Principle Four of the Helsinki Final Act." We regret deeply the end of the OSCE and UN missions in Georgia and the lack of access to the separatist regions. Russia's blocking of consensus at the OSCE on a status-neutral proposal to extend the mandate of the OSCE Mission to Georgia and its veto of a UN Security Council resolution extending the mandate of UNOMIG were unfortunate. Russia's refusal to allow these valuable missions to

continue is inconsistent with the spirit of Russia's commitments signed after the conflict. We continue to advocate for allowing humanitarian assistance as well as a return to pre-conflict positions, as Russia committed to doing as part of the August 8, 2008 ceasefire agreement.

### *The Medvedev Proposal*

Russian President Dmitry Medvedev has called for a new, legally-binding security arrangement to improve trust between governments, reduce the risks of internal ruptures, and fortify the international community's ability to prevent or respond to crises. We have continued our dialogue with Russia in the OSCE about its ideas for a new European security architecture. However, in the Administration's view, the OSCE's existing mechanisms – working within the current, broader Euro-Atlantic security architecture – are still relevant and effective for reducing both the possibility and scope of conflicts in Europe. Full implementation of these existing security mechanisms would address many of the concerns expressed by Russia and other OSCE countries. However, we will continue to engage with Russia because, as last August's events show, we need to make existing mechanisms more effective in preventing conflicts.

### *Nagorno-Karabakh*

We also look forward to continuing our close cooperation with Russia and our other fellow Minsk Group co-chair, France, to support the leaders of Armenia and Azerbaijan as they finalize the Basic Principles for settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. We continue to urge the Presidents of Armenia and Azerbaijan to resolve the differences remaining between them and finalize their agreement on these Basic Principles, which will provide the formula for a comprehensive settlement.

### *The Conventional Armed Forces in Europe Treaty (CFE)*

The Administration is concerned that, since December 12, 2007, Russia has continued the unilateral "suspension" of its legal obligations under the CFE Treaty. In the context of Russia's massive restructuring of its military, the verifiable exchange of military information provided for in the CFE – coupled with its intrusive inspection regime and legally-binding limitations on the concentrations of heavy forces – is particularly important in reassuring Russia's OSCE neighbors. The United States is committed to cooperative security and fulfillment of international agreements, as well as the importance of the confidence that results from military transparency and predictability. Because of this, the United States continues to fully implement the CFE Treaty. The United States continues to urge Russia to work cooperatively with us and other concerned CFE States Parties to reach agreement so that together we can preserve the benefits of a landmark regime.

## *The Vienna Document 1999*

The Vienna Document 1999, which includes all OSCE participating States, offers important contributions to the European security framework, complementing the legally binding CFE Treaty. The Vienna Document is a politically binding agreement designed to build confidence and provide transparency about military forces, both in garrison and during deployments and exercises. We applaud the continued successful implementation of this vital confidence- and security-building measures regime, and we hope that recent practices do not indicate a trend away from the transparency that remains its core principle. We urge all OSCE members to make maximum use of the opportunities provided by the Vienna Document not only for observation of military activities, but also to promote transparency and understanding regarding defense budgets and the full range of defense planning issues. The United States hopes that all Parties can continue to work together in Vienna to preserve this important element of peace and security in Europe.

## *Open Skies Treaty*

The Open Skies Treaty continues to function well, moving past 2008's milestone of the 500th Treaty flight. The Treaty gives each State Party the right to conduct, and the obligation to accept, observation flights over every part of their territory – a truly historic and unprecedented step in transparency by all 34 States Parties. Implementation has not been without problems, however, including instances of decreased transparency on the part of some Parties, limiting the freedom of skies which is a fundamental part of the Treaty. In addition, significant challenges lie ahead, including adapting to digital technology, fully implementing Treaty-allowed sensors, and determining the future of the aging airframes that most countries currently use. These issues need to be addressed, soon, in order to fully realize the benefits of this landmark Treaty.

## **Conclusion**

More than 35 years ago, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) embarked on a series of negotiations to end the Cold War in Europe and create the foundation for a safe, secure, prosperous and free continent, with its crowning achievement of the Helsinki Act of 1975. The peaceful conclusion of the Cold War twenty years ago and the triumph of Helsinki principles represent a remarkable achievement. The Helsinki process, aided by your commission – including your continued work with the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly – remains the most extraordinary example of the exercise of the collective will to prevent war.

The 56 participating States of the OSCE can be rightfully proud of their achievements. However, in the decades since the end of the Cold War, we have not fully secured the foundations of peace and security in Europe, nor have we fully realized our vision of transparency, openness and predictability in military affairs. These ideals are shared by

most of us, and we must insist upon their full exercise as a minimum standard for the conduct of all participating States. We look forward to working with our partners in the OSCE to realize the full potential of this organization and realize the goal of a Europe whole, free and at peace.