



## Analytical Concept Paper on the Programme of the Greek OSCE Chairmanship 2009

### The Future of the OSCE viewed as Thesis and Antithesis in Harmony

#### SYMMETRY, SYNERGY, STRATEGY

Over the past 34 years, the CSCE/OSCE has shown an unparalleled ability to adapt swiftly to Europe's ever-changing geopolitical environment. More than any other regional security organization, the OSCE has reflected the trends and long-term perspectives of European security. In 2009, once again, European security is at a crossroads: the quest for security remains difficult, and the only constant in the international environment is the fluidity and complexity of the challenges we face. In this framework, the OSCE can and should live up to its full potential, serving as a pivot of stability for intra-state and inter-state relations, and a place where all of Europe's security actors can come together to work toward a brighter future .

The political principles guiding Greek foreign policy coincide fully with the OSCE's core principles and commitments: full respect for international law and the rules of multilateral diplomacy, seeking the best possible convergence and consensus, reliability and sincerity. With your help, the Greek Chairmanship will work tirelessly to promote the concept of indivisible, cross-dimensional and co-operative security throughout Europe, rooted in respect for international law and the implementation in good faith of all commitments undertaken in the OSCE framework.

Greece is convinced that there cannot be a lasting peace in the wider European region as long as we continue to view our relations through a zero-sum lens. Bearing this in mind, the first priority of the Greek Chairmanship will be to aim to build and strengthen consensus among the participating States. It is through the process of consensus-building that dialogue and better understanding are generated. Therefore, consensus should be considered not as a limitation but as the foundation on which cooperative security is based. Zero-sum approaches in a consensus-based framework undermine cooperative security and constitute a violation of commitments per se. The Greek Chairmanship is committed to striving for consensus solutions and will, in all cases, act as an honest broker to this end.

Greece assumes the Chairmanship of the OSCE following a year of intensive and sometimes serious crises in the OSCE area. These crises have brought to light the real potential of our Organization, but also its limitations. The crisis in Georgia proved that the OSCE remains an indispensable actor for the provision of early warning and the rapid reaction to crises in our region. However, it also shattered long-standing assumptions about security in the OSCE region, and laid bare the seriousness of the challenges that remain for the OSCE has to address, and it is these remaining challenges that matter most. The Greek Chairmanship will strive to strengthen the OSCE's early warning mechanisms, and its capacity to act effectively and quickly whenever those mechanisms indicate that a crisis might erupt.

Apart from crisis management and conflict resolution, the OSCE is the natural forum for examining the present challenges and the future prospects of our common, indivisible, co-operative and cross-dimensional security.



The Helsinki Ministerial Council provided a solid basis for an initial debate, which concluded “that dialogue is welcomed and that the OSCE is the right place for discussing European security in a substantial and comprehensive way”. The Greek Chairmanship intends to take this dialogue forward in order to maintain and improve existing structures, enhance cooperative security and achieve the maximum degree of implementation of existing commitments, including conflict resolution. Transparency and peer review remain the hallmark of our Organization, and where participating States have concerns about each other’s implementation of commitments in any of the three dimensions, they should be able to discuss and address those concerns openly.

The following elements should form the framework for such a discussion:

- The concept of cooperative security in the Euro-Atlantic area is the basis the post-Cold War European Security Architecture. It is not only a concept; it is a series of inter-related commitments undertaken by all 56 participating States in the framework of the OSCE, aiming at equal and indivisible security in all three dimensions.
- Our most effective tool is *bona fide* dialogue, which is the most basic and rudimental Confidence Building Measure. Dialogue must not degenerate into a series of practiced monologues - restoring trust and understanding is a precondition for co-operative security, and should be a priority for the OSCE community in 2009.
- The process should be addressed in a bottom-up approach, but with a clear upward swing. The particularly open discussions in Helsinki proved that sustained political-level involvement can give the necessary political impetus to this dialogue. The Greek Chairmanship remains ready and willing to organize a High Level Meeting, when the time is deemed appropriate, in order to give the participating States the possibility to focus on our common security without artificial timeframes and strict rules of procedure.

The aim of this dialogue should be guided by a triptych of S’s:

- |  |
|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• <b>Symmetry</b> of efforts in dealing with new “asymmetric threats” as well as older challenges.</li><li>• <b>Synergy</b> of all participating States in promoting our co-operative, indivisible and cross-dimensional security.</li><li>• <b>Strategy</b> on ways we can better achieve our common goal of guaranteeing indivisible stability, security and cooperation throughout the OSCE area.</li></ul> |
|--|

Over the past two decades, we have built a unique security architecture in Europe, which provides the framework for cooperative and indivisible security. However, our structures can be further improved and become more efficient, while confidence should be restored and cooperation enhanced. As far as the OSCE is concerned, this is also connected with the institutional evolution of our Organization and its legal personality. Participating States have agreed that there is a need to enhance the legal status of the OSCE, although there is no consensus on whether this could be better achieved by signing a Convention on the Organization’s status and the privileges and immunities of its staff, or by elaborating and adopting also a Charter for the Organization at the same time. Greece will continue the efforts of previous Chairmanships to find a mutually acceptable solution in this respect.

### Regional Questions

Promoting the peaceful resolution of long-standing conflicts in the OSCE area is one of the most serious responsibilities of any OSCE Chairmanship, and a priority for Greece. It is not only clear that the use of force in the resolution of conflicts runs counter to all OSCE commitments, but also that no “solution” to these conflicts based on the use of force can be sustained. Negotiations and genuine dialogue are the only way ahead. Greece intends to activate the existing negotiating formats, and to make use of any new formats that are agreed by all parties concerned and hold



the potential to advance the resolution of conflicts. Our aim will be to facilitate result-oriented negotiations in parallel with concrete steps toward confidence-building and tension reduction.

The crisis in Georgia requires the special attention of the OSCE, which has been pivotal in the international community's efforts to ensure the full implementation of the 6-Point Agreement of August 12<sup>th</sup>, 2008. This fact was clearly recognized in the subsequent implementation agreement of September 8<sup>th</sup>, 2008, and in the OSCE's co-chairmanship of the Geneva Discussions.

To our great regret, the tireless efforts of the Finnish Chairmanship to prolong of the mandate of the OSCE Mission to Georgia did not find consensus, and as of January 1<sup>st</sup>, the Mission finds itself in the phase of technical closure. It remains obvious, however, that the situation on the ground requires *more* and not *less* OSCE presence on both sides of the Administrative Border Line. Consequently, the Greek Chairmanship is intensifying its efforts to maintain a meaningful OSCE presence in the region. Greece is striving for a consensus solution, based on OSCE principles and commitments. The OSCE has a long tradition of adopting imaginative and viable solutions and at this juncture, there is a need for strong political will, imagination and pragmatism from all sides involved. The Greek Chairmanship is confident that all participating States will eventually show their good will and constructive spirit in allowing the OSCE to continue to make a significant positive contribution to the lives of all people in the region, irrespective of their ethnic origin.

On the Transdniestrian conflict, Greece will continue the active role assumed by the Finnish Chairmanship. Last year, a considerable number of meetings, in both 3+2 and informal 5+2 formats, took place. However, convening a formal 5+2 meeting remains a challenge and an important step for the Greek Chairmanship. The Special Representative of the Greek Chairmanship for the protracted conflicts has already established contacts with the parties and will organize *in situ* visits to the area in the near future. As OSCE CiO, Greece is ready to facilitate meetings of all parties concerned, especially for the promotion of Confidence-Building Measures. It will also encourage direct meetings between the parties, in preparation of a 5+2 formal meeting.

Concerning the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, Greece will work to ensure that the positive momentum of 2008 will continue during this year. The process so far shows that the framework of the Minsk Group Co-Chairs remains indispensable. Greece fully supports their efforts towards a peaceful settlement, on the basis of the Madrid Document. The role of the CiO Personal Representative, Ambassador Kasprzyk, to deal with potential crisis situations remains extremely important, and his long experience in the field is an added asset for the OSCE. The Greek Chairmanship will work to ensure that, in the course of the year, the peoples of the region can enjoy the fruits of a negotiated peaceful settlement.

The OSCE will continue its activities in Kosovo, according to its status-neutral approach. As the third pillar of UNMIK, the Mission shall continue to work with all its related bodies, while continuing the current co-operation and fruitful exchange of information with KFOR. Following the agreement reached for the EULEX deployment, which started on 9 December 2008, and which envisages, *inter alia*, that the EULEX will operate under the overall authority and within the status-neutral framework of the UN, the OSCE will also be able to establish co-operation with the EU Presence on the ground.

More broadly, we recognize the valuable contribution of the OSCE Field Operations to the efforts of their host countries to build strong democratic institutions and vibrant civil societies. Support for these efforts will continue to constitute one of our main tasks. This will require constant coordination between with host Governments and Heads of Missions, in order to reflect - at all times - the real needs of the host country.



In this respect, we believe that additional attention should be given to the development of the Organization's presence and contribution in Central Asia. Of course, this must be done in a balanced way, without jeopardizing our on-going work in South Eastern Europe, where the role of OSCE Field Operations has been pivotal in promoting democratic institution-building, promoting stability and prosperity across the entire region.

The Chairperson-in-Office, Foreign Minister Mrs. Dora Bakoyannis, intends to visit all the above mentioned Missions in the course of the year and to play an active role in coordinating the OSCE's activities and initiatives with all parties concerned. Her Special Envoy and her Special Representatives will also be actively engaged in promoting conflict resolution.

## **POLITICO-MILITARY ISSUES AND NON-MILITARY SECURITY**

The OSCE *acquis* in the Pol-Mil dimension is an important cornerstone of cooperative security. It is based on openness, transparency and predictability, and aims to create a climate of confidence and trust. This *acquis* is most important in times of change and increased tensions, when predictability cannot be taken for granted. In these challenging times, it is important to recall that the basic OSCE documents in the Pol-Mil dimension were elaborated and adopted during the Cold War, in times certainly no less challenging than our own. Their adoption was pivotal for the re-unification of our continent. In the Pol-Mil area, **the three Ss - Symmetry, Synergy, Strategy** - will act as guidelines for the Greek Chairmanship. Consensus-building among all pS will be our main goal, in our effort to deepen the security dialogue in the OSCE.

As a member of the FSC Troika later this year, and as OSCE Chairmanship, Greece will actively support the FSC Chairs' efforts to promote the implementation of existing commitments, the adoption of measures related to new security challenges and the implementation of projects in this field according to the requirements of the pS.

The Helsinki Ministerial Council provides a clear mandate on the issues of the Pol-Mil Dimension. The work done in the field of the Small Arms and Light Weapons, Stockpiles of Conventional Ammunition and the Code of Conduct should be enhanced. Ongoing work on new threats, such as cyber-security, should continue. The Vienna Document remains the most comprehensive confidence- and security-building measure worldwide, and the high degree of its implementation by the pS testifies to its usefulness. Improving its implementation and enhancing its efficiency should remain among the priorities of the OSCE.

The **future of the CFE Treaty**, though not directly an OSCE Chairmanship issue, attracts the special attention of the Greek Chairmanship, due to its potential implications for the overall political atmosphere in the OSCE area. The CFE Treaty has been considered, and very rightly so, an anchor for stability, a cornerstone of the European security and the most important CSBM in the OSCE area. Greece, as both OSCE Chairmanship and a State Party to the CFE Treaty, will do its utmost to facilitate an exit from the current crisis.

During its Chairmanship, Greece shall continue the practice of previous Chairs to enhance the **coordination between the Permanent Council and the FSC**, by organizing Joint Meetings on topics of common interest and by considering joint decision-making when appropriate. Especially in cases of crisis management and conflict resolution, the distinction between political and military aspects is not always clear. The Bucharest Ministerial Decision has set out the terms of the coordination between the PC and the FSC, providing for concerted action of the OSCE's decision-making bodies, especially in times of crisis.

The OSCE is uniquely placed to contribute to international efforts to **combat terrorism** in all its manifestations, due to its broad participation and its cross-dimensional approach to security. For



this reason, we re-affirm our intention to promote the implementation of existing OSCE anti-terrorism commitments and maintain relevant activities among the priorities of the Organization. In pursuing this goal, we will continue the efforts of the Finnish Chairmanship to assure that the fight against terrorism is conducted with respect for the rule of law and human rights.

We firmly believe that the promotion of carefully monitored and secure borders in the OSCE area constitutes one of the most important goals of this Organization and to this end, we will continue to support all efforts for the implementation of the OSCE commitments in **border security and management**, as well as policing. It is, after all, clear that these are areas in which the Organization's institutional capacity and experience provide added value to the overall international effort to combat terrorism, as well as trafficking in small arms and light weapons, illegal drugs and human beings.

In this framework, the **OSCE's engagement with Afghanistan** should remain among the priorities of the Organization provided that the necessary consensus will be secured. The Greek CiO will work hard to this end. It is our firm conviction that the OSCE should be ready to rise to the challenge of contributing to international efforts aimed at enhancing stability and security in the wider Central Asia region. In our view, this should include limited, clearly defined efforts *within* Afghanistan, in response to the clearly stated need of the Afghan authorities.

## **ECONOMIC AND ENVIRONMENTAL DIMENSION**

The Greek Chairmanship will spare no effort to further promote the intrinsic values of comprehensiveness and co-operation established at the Helsinki Final Act and subsequent documents. Comprehensive security has constituted a central and integral element of the OSCE philosophy and action since the Organization's inception in 1975. Co-operation is a sine-qua-non element; otherwise our common goals cannot be fully acted upon or implemented. The serious economic and environmental challenges and threats faced by the Participating States, cannot be addressed effectively if these two elements are not in place.

Migration was already included as a component of its comprehensive security approach in the Helsinki Final Act (1975). In a number of follow-up documents, including those adopted at the Ministerial Councils of Maastricht in 2003 and Sofia in 2004, the OSCE participating States reaffirmed migration as a comprehensive security issue.

The theme for the 17<sup>th</sup> Economic and Environmental Forum *"Improving migration management and its linkages with economic, social and environmental policies to the benefit of stability and security in the OSCE region"* contributes towards ensuring more consistency, continuity and coherence in the Organization's work in the Second Dimension and meets the concerns of Participating States towards this complex phenomenon.

The theme builds upon the relevant recommendations of previous Economic and Environmental Fora and in particular the 13<sup>th</sup> Economic Forum in 2005, under the Slovenian Chairmanship, as well as on the follow-up work developed in connection with the recommendations of these fora.

The Economic and Environmental Forum will be organized in two parts. The first part will be held in Vienna on 19-20 January 2009 and the second part in Athens on 18-20 May 2009. The Vienna Forum was preceded by a Preparatory Conference held in Prague on 16-17 October 2008. Another Conference to prepare the Athens Forum will be organized in Tirana on 2-3 March 2009. The 56 OSCE Participating States, the Asian and Mediterranean Partners for Co-operation, international Organizations, as well as representatives of civil society, the business and scientific communities, have been invited to the Forum.



The review of the implementation of commitments on migration will be considered by the 17<sup>th</sup> Economic and Environmental Forum, taking into account OSCE documents which are directly related to the Economic and Environmental Dimension.

Environmental challenges and threats, such as desertification, water scarcity, soil contamination, environmental degradation and climate change, will be monitored closely by the Greek Chairmanship. Regular dialogue and possible activities will be further promoted. Raising awareness on these issues is one of our important goals.

**Climate change** represents the most serious environmental threat to our region and beyond. Although the issue is being addressed within the United Nations system as the primary and appropriate Forum, we also envisage an important complementary role for the OSCE in examining the *security* implications of this complex phenomenon. We intend to initiate a comprehensive dialogue on the issue, while avoiding overlapping duplication with other efforts currently underway - the OSCE's role will be to strengthen and support the UN effectiveness. We intend to apply the same approach to examining questions of the security of **energy supplies** throughout our region and as appropriate given OSCE commitments in this respect.

In addition, the OSCE needs to ensure that the ramifications of the current **global financial crisis** do not create a spillover effect for the stability and security in the OSCE region. We need to continue to raise awareness of perceived security threats which we anticipate as a result of the financial crisis, and to examine these trends focused on the existing mandate of the Organization. We also need to ensure that the crisis does not undermine the capacity of the participating States to provide the Organization with resources sufficient to implement the mandates they have set.

## **HUMAN DIMENSION**

The Greek Chairmanship will lay emphasis on the Rule of Law, which is interlinked and mutually reinforcing with Human Rights and Democracy. The Rule of Law stands at the core of all Human Dimension commitments. Greece will also focus on gender equality, and particularly on issues relating to women and security, and violence against women, while stressing the need for substantive progress in the implementation of the Action Plan for the Promotion of Gender Equality. The Chairmanship will also pay special attention to particular aspects of the tolerance and non-discrimination agenda, namely the situation of the Roma and Sinti and the implementation of legislation on hate crimes.

Greece emphasizes the significance of the implementation of commitments assumed by the participating States on elections and election observation. The Chairmanship will encourage the continuation of dialogue on election-related issues, promoting discussion on topics such as the implementation of recommendations based on elections' observation, financing of electoral campaigns and voters' registration, as well as exploring the possibility of assuming new commitments. The Chairmanship considers the close cooperation between the ODIHR and the Parliamentary Assembly of the OSCE as an essential element of the proper functioning of OSCE election observation activities.

The Chairmanship considers that the recent Ministerial Decision 7/08 on "Further Strengthening the Rule of Law in the OSCE Area" may prove a useful platform for discussing important rule of law topics, including by taking into account a cross-dimensional character of the Rule of Law. The Greek Chairmanship will examine how the follow-up to Decision 7/08 can be closely linked with the priority the Chairmanship attributes to the rule of law.

The Greek Chairmanship will encourage and support the exchange of experiences and best practices in the field of promoting the equal role of women and men as beneficiaries and contributing factors in conflict prevention and peace reconstruction processes. This constitutes a



priority for the OSCE, as confirmed by several OSCE commitments, including the 2004 OSCE Action Plan for the Promotion of Gender Equality and the OSCE Ministerial Council Decision 14/05 "Women in Conflict Prevention, Crisis Management, and Post-Conflict Rehabilitation".

As regards the prevention of violence against women, Greece will seek to promote the identification of main challenges and achievements in the implementation of the provisions of Ministerial Decision 15/05 on "Preventing and Combating Violence against Women". This should enable the participating States and the OSCE Institutions and Field Operations to review progress made and the challenges facing the relevant national legislative and executive authorities in this regard.

In the area of tolerance and non-discrimination, Greece highlights the Roma and Sinti children's lack of early education, basic skills and abilities required at school -- a situation that deprives them the chance to have an equal start in education. Sharing experiences and outcomes of existing practices on promoting and supporting participation of Roma and Sinti children in an early education process, as a follow-up to the 2008 Ministerial Council Decision 6/08 on "Enhancing OSCE efforts to implement the Action Plan on Improving the Situation of Roma and Sinti within the OSCE Area", should help in addressing the long-existing gap between Roma and other children in the OSCE region.

Furthermore, Greece emphasizes the need to examine the implementation of legislation on combating hate crime, following Ministerial Council Decision 4/03, and will support the convening of the second annual meeting of the National Focal Points on hate crime.

The Greek Chairmanship will guide and work closely with the mechanism of the three Personal Representatives for promoting tolerance and combating racism, xenophobia, with a view to achieving a balanced focus on all forms of discrimination and to dealing with them in all geographical areas of the OSCE region.

The Greek Chairmanship also highlights the relevance of other themes of the Human Dimension agenda, such as human rights education, freedom of religion or belief, and freedom of the media. Greece stresses the importance of raising awareness of OSCE participating States and civil society on existing commitments in the area of human rights education, exchanging good practices and discussing the ways to address the current challenges that hamper the development of a quality human rights education.

The Chairmanship will also stress the need to remain focused on implementation of legislation and existing commitments related to freedom of religion or belief and related issues. The Greek Chairmanship also stresses the importance of freedom of expression, as well as free media and access to information. Following in the footsteps of its predecessor, Greece strongly encourages participating States to extend to the OSCE Representative on Freedom of the Media a standing invitation and to step up the implementation of relevant commitments in this area.

With regard to combating trafficking in human beings, Greece stresses the importance of redoubling efforts to implement relevant commitments, including the Action Plan to Combat Trafficking in Human Beings and fully supports the efforts and initiatives of the Special Representative.



## Concluding Remarks on Structures and Partners

In performing its duties, the Greek Chairmanship-in-Office highly values the assistance of the preceding and succeeding Chairmanships-in-Office, operating together as a Troika, and of the Secretary General. The Chairmanship-in-Office intends also to draw upon the valuable support of the Secretariat and the OSCE Institutions, in order to ensure the continuity and effectiveness of the work of the Organization.

The Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR), the High Commissioner on National Minorities (HCNM) and the Representative on the Freedom of the Media (RFOM) constitute a valuable capital for the OSCE. The Greek Chairmanship will strive to further enhance the ability of these Institutions to carry out their mandates with the autonomy necessary to do so.

The Parliamentary Assembly supports and complements the activities of the Organization, with special focus on topical issues pertaining to good governance based on parliamentary democracy and the full respect of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the participating States.

Enhanced cooperation with the OSCE Mediterranean and Asian Partners for Co-operation will be among the priorities of the Greek Chairmanship. Greece will strive to further deepen the active involvement of Partners in jointly addressing global security challenges through effective democratic dialogue and practical cooperation.

Finally, the Greek CiO will promote and develop the co-operation of the OSCE with other international organizations and institutions, which include in addition to the UN, also the Council of Europe, the EU and NATO, as well as other regional organizations, on a case-by-case basis.

\*\*\*\*\*