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Spain and the OSCE

Spain's development in the international arena during the last 25 years is a result of its domestic stability. Without this domestic stability, a good foreign policy would not have been achievable. Before this, the fact that Spain did not take part in the two world wars of the past century and its forty-year dictatorship (1936-1975) had led to its quasi-isolation: Spain did not belong to either of the two major alliances - NATO and the Warsaw Pact -, the Western bloc condemned the regime and did not give Spain the chance to appear on the international stage.

During the 40 years of the Franco dictatorship, Spanish foreign policy had been concentrated on four areas: relations with Latin America, the Arab states and, through the Iberian Pact, with Portugal as well as relations with the US through the Partnership and Co-operation Agreement concluded in 1953 and renewed every ten years.

In the transition phase to the restoration of democracy in Spain, the newly established Spanish parties endeavoured to find a consensus on foreign policy. This was, on the one hand, due to the "inexperience" of the government in foreign policy affairs, and on the other, to Spain's desire to approach the Western bloc. Spain only joined the Western bloc when it had already been in existence for several years (accession to NATO in 1982 and to the EU in 1985). This is also the reason why Spain had to wait until 1990 - the fall of the Berlin Wall and the beginning of the new world order - before, due to its geostrategic importance and its capacity as a privileged dialogue partner in the Arab world, it could take on a major role.

The Helsinki Final Act (1975)

In 1969, Spain was invited to participate in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. This occurred in the form of a verbal note from the Hungarian Embassy sent to the Spanish Embassy in Paris on 13 September. The then Spanish Foreign Minister Gregorio López Bravo evaluated this positively in the following words: "Although we did not take part in the war, we have been invited to build peace." Spain was the first country that reacted enthusiastically to this invitation. Participation in the Conference meant a lot to Spain who had set escaping isolation, creating contacts at all levels and

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establishing relations with the communist countries of Eastern Europe as its goal.

In the second Budapest Memorandum of 28 September 1970, Spain accepted the West-East subject matter of the Conference and defined its own position as neutral. This meant that Spain would treat proposals which came from the Western side in the same manner as those that were made by the Eastern side. Because Spain did not belong to either bloc, but also because of its special situation, Spain counted as one of the "others" in the framework of the Conference.

Spain had been invited to the Conference, because as a European country, it was thought it should not be excluded. However, one expected Spain to limit itself to the observer role, as the topics dealt with did not affect it. However, Spain had from the very start strived to overcome its image as a small country and its isolation, which was not only due to the fact that Spain, which had been severed from European history, was not affected by the world wars and their territorial and humanitarian repercussions, but also to its own domestic policy. This was the reason that Spain, although it was a neutral and non-aligned country but nevertheless on an equal basis with other states, already co-operated in the preparations to the Conference extremely actively, imaginatively, openly and with a willingness for dialogue as well as often mediating between West and East. It is said that the expression "basket" for the three classic dimensions of the CSCE comes from a Spanish diplomat.

In the meetings to prepare the Helsinki Final Act, Spain suggested that the focus should clearly be on security in Europe, but that one should not lose sight of the conflict in the Middle East. In addition, Spain made proposals on the following areas: the importance of economic co-operation, above all with the Mediterranean countries, the intensification of cultural exchange, the emphasis on state sovereignty and non-intervention in internal affairs as well as peaceful settlement of disputes. In the text on "Co-operation in Humanitarian and Other Fields", at Spain's suggestion separate individual sections were included on co-operation in the areas of culture and education, and in addition to this, the creation of a database for cultural affairs, the facilitation of book trade, support for emigrants as well as promoting tourism were incorporated; the introduction of the term "regional cultures" in conjunction with national minorities also occurred at Spain's suggestion. Spain's interests also became clear with its proposal to link European security with the Mediterranean region as well as including the non-European Mediterranean countries in the Conference. The Spanish delegation pointed out the status quo in Gibraltar, but continually endeavoured to avoid a confrontation with Great Britain.

Furthermore, Spain was successful in having Spanish recognized as an official CSCE language. Initially, the Spanish delegation had accepted French, English and Russian as working languages. However, because Bonn stipulated that German become a working language too, Spain demanded the same right for the Spanish language and substantiated its argument by the fact that

although it is not very widespread in Europe, Spanish is one of the most common languages in the world and is also one of the official languages of the United Nations. In this manner, Spanish became one of the six official languages of the CSCE (the sixth official language is Italian).

The Belgrade Follow-up Meeting (1977-1978)

One should not forget that Spain's position at the follow-up meetings was initially determined by its domestic situation and only later by its new role within the international system. Despite everything, Spain continually spoke out as a middle power and attempted not to bring its domestic problems into foreign policy.

At the time of the Belgrade Meeting, at which I had the honour to participate, Spain was occupied with its own problems and the re-establishment of democracy: the legalization of the political parties, the development of the 1978 Constitution, at that time one of the most modern in Europe, above all with regard to fundamental and civil rights, as well as preparing the first democratic elections that took place for the first time in 1978 after 40 years of dictatorship.

The eyes of the world were focused on Spain: those of the West to see whether democratic principles would be observed and those of the Soviets, who had an interest that the Communist Party would be given legal authorization and that Spain remain a non-aligned country. However, this did not stop Spain from taking an active role in the conference as a mediator.

While Helsinki was a synonym for détente, Belgrade marked the beginning of a new phase of tensions between East and West, in which each bloc was specifically interested in certain topics and was not prepared to accept the interests of the other side. In the middle of this confrontation, the non-aligned states acted as mediators (with the exception of Malta who was trying to play off the consensus rule against the other participating States to force them to include the Arab states in security policy issues and thus instead was causing further tensions). Spain, together with the other participating Mediterranean countries, took on a reconciliatory position towards Malta's stance and proposed a meeting in Valletta at which the Mediterranean issue was to be treated in detail so that the Belgrade Meeting could concentrate exclusively on the East-West problem and was not burdened with other issues. The Valletta Meeting of Experts took place in March 1979 and was, within the framework of the Mediterranean Chapter of the Final Act, to consider the possibilities and means of promoting mutually beneficial co-operation in the areas of economics, science and culture with the Mediterranean states not participating in the CSCE. Spain was very active at this meeting.

The Madrid Follow-up Meeting (1980-1983)

The Madrid Meeting was important for Spain, above all because Madrid for the first time hosted an international event of this kind. Furthermore, this offered the opportunity to discuss the security concept and to sensitize the Spanish public to this issue which was important inasmuch as at that time there was an intense and controversial discussion in Spain on whether it should join NATO or not.

The Helsinki process was going through hard times. There were fears that the Soviet violations of CSCE principles - the invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, the involvement in the civil war in Angola (through Cuba) as well as the violation of human rights in the communist bloc - would limit the effectivity of the process.

The preparations for the Madrid Meeting lasted, with interruptions and crises, a total of three years, and one often had the impression that the Helsinki process was coming to an end. Within the framework of the neutral and non-aligned states, Spain again acted as a mediator to prevent this. In doing so, it no longer even demanded that Mediterranean issues be dealt with and took on a very moderate position, which was even against its own interests.

During the Madrid Meeting in February 1981, there was an attempted coup in Spain, which put the young Spanish democracy in danger. However, this crisis was surmounted; the Spanish democracy proved that it was already adequately consolidated. In 1982, elections took place that led to the victory of the Socialist Party (PSOE) and to the formation of the first leftist government since the Civil War. This outcome has been regarded as the most important chapter in the democratic development of Spain.

In his concluding speech, the new Spanish Foreign Minister Fernando Morán set forth Spain's position: Spain offered its assistance in promoting the further easing of tensions between East and West. He expressed the hope that - starting from Madrid - a new direction in the East-West dialogue would be taken. He foresaw difficulties in the détente process in connection with the violations of human rights in the East and the breaches of the Helsinki Final Act. Spain laid its stakes on the work of the neutral and non-aligned states, which have continually acted as mediators between East and West, as well as progress in the military area. Regarding human rights, the Foreign Minister in his speech emphasized, in particular, the danger of terrorism and the necessity for co-operation between the states in combating it. He underlined that human rights were an essential instrument to achieving collective security. With respect to the Mediterranean region, peace, security and stability in the region were to be further promoted based on comprehensive co-operation between the Mediterranean countries. At the Madrid Meeting, the mandate for the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe (CDE, 1984-1986) was passed. This conference was so important because for the first time confidence-building meas-

ures were to cover the entire European territory, namely from the Atlantic to the Urals and from the North Sea to the Mediterranean. In addition, it was decided that two expert meetings be held on promoting human rights: the first in Ottawa in 1985 on human rights and fundamental freedoms and the second in Bern in 1986 on human contacts. Spain recommended a seminar on co-operation in the Mediterranean region, which took place in Venice in 1984.

The Vienna Follow-up Meeting (1986-1989)

At this follow-up meeting, Spain enjoyed a new position in the international system. Up to then, it had always played an active and independent role. Now, on the one hand, Spain's accession to NATO and the EU would enable political co-operation with Europe and adaptation to the principles of both organizations. On the other hand, Spain's options to introduce its own initiatives and its liberty of action now became much more limited. At the same time, however, two avenues were opened for Spain to represent its interests. Due to the Soviet Union's change in stance, attributable to Mikhail Gorbachev's policy, the Vienna Follow-up Meeting marked a new phase in the easing of tensions in East-West relations.

Spain followed a moderate policy during the entire meeting. Its goals were to condemn terrorism and to promote international co-operation to combat it as well as maintaining the Spanish role as a privileged dialogue partner in relations with the Arabian states. Spain suggested that a meeting on co-operation in the Mediterranean region be held in Palma de Mallorca that explicitly would not address any military questions at all but concentrate on the following topics: protection of Mediterranean ecosystems, new forms of economic co-operation with the non-participating Mediterranean States, freedom of the press and better working conditions for journalists.

Palma de Mallorca (1990)

At the Meeting on the Mediterranean in Palma de Mallorca in October 1990, Spain intended to further promote co-operation with Algeria, Egypt, Morocco and Tunisia through an opinion and information exchange in which Spain was to place special emphasis on human rights and support the political dialogue related to this.

At the meeting in Mallorca an ambitious Spanish-Italian project was created: the Conference on Security and Co-operation in the Mediterranean (CSCM), which was aimed at applying the concepts of the CSCE throughout the entire Mediterranean region. This proposal was an expression of Spain's will to find new forms of co-operation with the non-European Mediterranean countries with which Spain showed complete solidarity.

The Charter of Paris (1990)

The Charter of Paris of November 1990 symbolized the end of the Cold War and ideological confrontation. It contains a code of conduct for all states that places the principles of democracy, freedom, the rule of law and respect for human rights at the centre of attention.

With the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, the collapse of the USSR, the fall of the Berlin Wall and the Gulf War, the Mediterranean region gained importance. The indivisibility of European security from that of the Mediterranean, its strategic importance and the prevailing instability as a direct threat to European security came more prominently to the fore. With the end of the East-West conflict, the North-South problem became apparent, and with it, economic stability and cultural co-operation as aspects of security and as essential instruments to ensure security.

The Parliamentary Assembly in Madrid (1991)

Upon the invitation of the Spanish Parliament, the founding session of the CSCE Parliamentary Assembly took place in Madrid in 1991 where delegates of all participating States met to promote inter-parliamentary dialogue and democracy in the entire CSCE area. The outcome of this was the Madrid Document, which defined the rules of procedure, the working methods, the responsibilities, the distribution of seats and the voting modalities of the Parliamentary Assembly that in the future was to meet once a year.

The Helsinki Summit Meeting (1992)

The Helsinki Summit Meeting was characterized by the emergence of local intra-state conflicts in Europe, which had emerged through extreme nationalism. These conflicts presented the new challenge to international law to create a balance between the right to self-determination of peoples, on the one hand, and the territorial integrity of states, on the other, so that ethnic conflict that could escalate into war would be prevented. The map of Europe changed fundamentally with the formation of 18 new and independent states. The wars in Yugoslavia were haunting examples that extreme nationalism cannot be brought into harmony with fundamental rights. Due to these conflicts, all international organizations recognized the necessity for more intensive co-operation.

In their verbal contribution, the Spanish Delegation emphasized the need for closer co-operation between the CSCE and other international organizations so that common goals could be better implemented. With this, primarily security and human rights issues were underlined as the supporting pillars of

common interests. For Spain, it was a special concern that the Mediterranean region be given specific attention. This region as a southern border is important inasmuch as it is a region that can only be stabilized through closer co-operation and solidarity with neighbouring countries.

The Budapest Summit Meeting (1994)

At the Budapest Summit Meeting, the then Spanish Prime Minister Felipe González emphasized common values as the most important guideline for relations between states. As common values he described primarily democracy and respect for human rights as well as protecting minorities and minority rights. The OSCE was to be transformed into a system of co-operative security. This was to be achieved through close co-operation with other international organizations and through applying an all-encompassing security concept. Crisis management and conflict prevention were of special importance here.

With respect to the Mediterranean, González emphasized the necessity of strengthening dialogue, co-operation in general as well as developmental co-operation with the Mediterranean countries. He said this was an essential element for security and for good relations between states. He mentioned the Euro-Mediterranean Conference as a positive example for this, where the EU member states and the Mediterranean countries participated and which took place in 1995 in Barcelona. Here, Spain committed itself to monitoring the activities of and taking action against extremist Islamic groups in Europe.

The Spanish EU Presidency (1995)

During the Spanish EU Presidency in the year 1995, an OSCE Ministerial Council Meeting took place on 7 and 8 December in Budapest. There, Spain played an important role in co-ordinating EU positions. The Spanish Presidency welcomed the Dayton Accords and the participation of the OSCE in the peace process in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The OSCE committed itself to contributing to the respect of human rights and building democratic societies, also and in particular in the areas of freedom of opinion, confidence-building measures and arms control. The new states of ex-Yugoslavia were acknowledged and in Croatia a mission of long duration was set up.

The Lisbon Summit Meeting (1996)

After the Spanish parliamentary elections of March 1996, a conservative government under Prime Minister José María Aznar was formed, which, how-

ever, maintained the foreign policy line pursued up to that point in time. Essentially, this meant taking over responsibility on the basis of common principles and values with the goal of creating a common space of military, economic and social security.

In his speech at the Lisbon Summit Meeting, Aznar emphasized that the OSCE was an essential instrument for conflict resolution, indeed above all through its mechanisms for crisis management, conflict prevention and peace support.

The participants at the Meeting again condemned terrorism and underscored the reconstruction of Bosnia and Herzegovina and building democracy through elections. With its military presence there, Spain took and still takes part actively in the peace process in Bosnia.

The Copenhagen Ministerial Council (1997)

At the Ministerial Council Meeting held in Copenhagen on 18 and 19 December 1997, emphasis was placed on the importance of the OSCE in building a democratic and secure Europe, and at the same time, above all, the role of field missions was underlined. The United Nations Security Council had already pointed out Spain's good work in Albania earlier. The elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina were acknowledged as an important step towards the reconstruction of the country.

The Ministers praised the contributions of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly during the elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina and underlined in particular the role of the President of the Parliamentary Assembly, the Spanish Parliamentarian Javier Rupérez.

Contact with the Mediterranean partners for co-operation was maintained through the "5+5" Contact Group. Spain considered the integration of the Mediterranean partners in OSCE institutions as particularly important. Furthermore, it was a significant matter to Spain that OSCE principles would enter into the future Charter for European Security. The OSCE was to become especially engaged as a regional arrangement under Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations and as an instrument for conflict prevention.

The Oslo Ministerial Council (1998)

At the Oslo Ministerial Council, important decisions were passed on crisis management in Croatia. Furthermore, measures on building a democratic and multi-ethnic society in Bosnia and Herzegovina were agreed. Spain is involved in all the missions mentioned above.

The Istanbul Summit Meeting (1999)

The Spanish Prime Minister again condemned terrorism in his speech. He underlined Russia's territorial integrity and declared Spain's willingness to contribute to solving the Chechnya problem. He emphasized respect for human rights and democracy as fundamental principles of states under the rule of law. He said the goal was to create open and democratic societies in which human rights are respected independent of nationality, ethnic affiliation and religion.

He stated that in Kosovo, it was the task of the OSCE to establish multi-ethnic and democratic institutions. The Platform for Co-operative Security and the CFE Treaty were given special emphasis as fundamental instruments for European security. Spain again stressed that European security was inseparable from that of the Mediterranean.

The Vienna Ministerial Council (2000)

Spanish Foreign Minister Josep Piqué took part in this Ministerial Council Meeting. Spain was particularly active and contributed decisively to the establishment of the REACT mechanism. The Spanish Delegation welcomed the adoption of the Document on Small Arms and Light Weapons as an important step towards preventing the use of these weapons by terrorists.

The Bucharest Ministerial Council (2001)

Piqué also took part at the Bucharest Ministerial Council Meeting. In the wake of the tragedy of September 11, the participating States strengthened their willingness to combat terrorism by all necessary means. Terrorism was condemned most resolutely in all its forms and manifestations as it is a massive threat to security, stability and human rights. A Plan of Action for Combating Terrorism was adopted. A few weeks later, under the Portuguese Chairmanship, a road map was drafted on preventing and combating terrorism.

In Bucharest, the Spanish Delegation again emphasized the importance of the mechanisms of conflict prevention and the necessity to co-operate with other institutions in the spirit of the Platform for Co-operative Security.

As it is decisive that the OSCE receive adequate funding for this, Spain has increased its contribution by five per cent. This increase is to be seen as a sign of Spain's interest in and high regard of the OSCE.

Spain and the OSCE in the Year 2002

During the Spanish EU Presidency in the first half of 2002, Spain for the first time organized a meeting between the EU Troika, the OSCE Chairman-in-Office and the OSCE Secretary General in Brussels. This initiative not only shows Spain's good will in taking responsibility as a member state of the EU and NATO but also shows that Spain views the OSCE as a cornerstone of the new security architecture. Spain, in particular, values OSCE endeavours with respect to small arms and light weapons as well as the entry into force of the Open Skies Treaty.

Spain contributes regularly to the work of the Prague Economic Forum and hosted a preparatory seminar that took place in Zamora in February 2002.