

Terrorism: a Priority for the Future of OSCE

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Resumo

Segundo o autor, no que diz respeito ao futuro da OSCE, este passará por grandes reformas na organização. O facto da UE e da NATO estarem a passar por processos de alargamento, poderá vir a ter um impacto negativo sobre o interesse dos estados-membros da OSCE na organização. No entanto esta pode contribuir para a luta contra os novos desafios que se põem agora à segurança internacional, pela vantagem que dispõe em relação às outras instituições ou seja, a sua experiência e presença no terreno, a sua flexibilidade e sobretudo a sua forte base em valores partilhados por a maioria dos Estados. Uma das ideias chave da Carta de Paris adoptada pela OSCE, em 1990, era a de que a segurança era indivisível. Os atentados do 11 de Setembro reforçaram o reconhecimento desse conceito. Esta tomada de consciência pode dar novo alento aos esforços da OSCE para se tornar útil no combate ao terrorismo. As actividades da OSCE na prevenção e combate ao terrorismo têm-se desenvolvido em torno de três áreas: medidas a curto e médio prazo, que permitam aos Estados participantes um combate mais eficiente contra o terrorismo e desafios decorrentes desta ameaça; prevenção de conflitos e resolução de crises e a criação de instituições democráticas em países participantes.

Abstract

According to the author, in what regards the future of the OSCE, this will require major reforms. The fact both the EU and NATO are going through processes of enlargement may have a negative impact over the interest of OSCE member states in the organization. Nevertheless the OSCE may positively contribute to the fight against new challenges to international security, by its advantages as compared to other institutions that is: its presence in conflict scenarios, its flexibility and above all by the values shared by the majority of its member states.

One of the key ideas of the Chart of Paris adopted, by the OSCE, in 1990 was that security was indivisible. The events of September 11 reinforced this concept and gave a new meaning to the efforts of the OSCE in the fight on terrorism. The activities of the OSCE in that field have been developing in three major areas: short and medium term measures which will allow States a efficient action against terrorism; conflict prevention and crisis resolution and the promotion of democratic institutions among the member states.

The Future of the OSCE

To have a clearer idea about the future of the OSCE it would be useful to look back for a second. How the organization evolved from a conference to an almost fully-fledged international organization? It is a development from conflict to conflict.

First, it deployed two small missions, the Mission of Long Duration in FRY and the Spill over Monitor Mission in Macedonia. Then it deployed the Mission in Georgia when the Ossetian and Abkhazian crises broke out. And the OSCE really started to grow, when it deployed a larger mission. Then it gradually received more political support and more resources. First, in Bosnia-Herzegovina, at the end of 1995, to implement Dayton Accord, then in Croatia in 1996. It grew further when it deployed fifteen hundred unarmed observers in Kosovo in 1999, the famous "Kosovo Verification Mission", which was followed by another large mission, six hundred fifty internationals, the OSCE's mission in Kosovo. Then it enlarged its activities in the Caucasus. It deployed missions to every country of the Southern Caucasus and then in Central Asia. Now it has missions in all five Central Asian countries. So, as a result of its involvement in these conflicts, or in areas to be stabilized, or to assist transition and democratic institution building, the OSCE gradually grew as an organization, got more support and more resources.

Recently quite significant changes have taken place and these changes cannot but influence the activities and the future of OSCE. And I can mention just a couple of them. NATO has enlarged and it will further enlarge in Prague. Of course, many of the OSCE member countries will become members. The EU enlargement expected in 2004 will again include a number of OSCE participating States. These countries are of course gradually losing interest in the OSCE in many respects or change their status within the OSCE.

Then, very important, is the coming of age of the European Union's crisis management capability. It was very visible in Southern Serbia, and then it is even more visible in Kosovo and Macedonia.

Then the growing strategic importance, after September eleven last year, of the countries in the Caucasus and Central Asia, and the new relationship between Russia and NATO. These changes of course influence the role of the OSCE, its space of activity. So the OSCE has no other choice than to adapt. Earlier the main task of the organization was early warning, conflict prevention, crisis management and post-conflict rehabilitation, with a very heavy emphasis on the human dimension: human rights, democratization. This was the reason for the major missions to get operationally involved in a crisis situation or in a post-crisis situation and try to stabilize it. And it often demanded large number of people,

a large mission in Bosnia, a large mission in Croatia, and a huge mission in Kosovo. But these are the kind of missions less needed. The situation has been gradually stabilized and on the Balkans, where the OSCE has the largest operations, 80% of its personnel, the European Union is gradually taking over and the EU-NATO enlargement process is simply taking over the role of the OSCE.

The OSCE is not needed any more when a country signs a stabilization and association agreement with the European Union, and the European Union takes care of its stabilization issues, be it economic stabilization or development of its democratic institutions, like the pillar two issues. So OSCE has to find new areas where its activities are still needed or needed even more. And this is mostly institution building. Assisting its member States in building democratic institutions, the judiciary, the police, the border guards, ensure fair and free elections, freedom of the media, help to develop the civil society, political parties, etc. And these activities are still very much needed particularly in the Caucasus and Central Asia, but for these tasks the OSCE needs to reform.

Those of you who do not know how the OSCE has operated in the last ten years, to describe it very briefly, it worked with seconded personnel, experts, seconded by its participating States. These persons were deployed in crisis areas and they tried to implement the mandate of their missions. This mode of operation was very useful in cases like Kosovo, where it very quickly needed large number of personal. That was the fastest way: to get seconded personnel. It was cheap and it is still cheap.

OSCE pays only *per diem*, unlike the United Nations or other international organizations or the European Union, which offer a proper contract and therefore can recruit high quality professionals. OSCE uses seconded personnel but this cannot be continued. For institution building you need high quality professionals, lawyers, election experts, media experts, etc., who can stay in the host countries for three/four years and engage in long-term institution building programmes. And you cannot do it with personnel, which changes practically every year. The OSCE in certain ways has tried to improve professionalism. Take the Mission in Kosovo. OSCE realized that it could not get good enough administrators, accountants, security guards, and then it switched to a system of contracts. It offers very generous contracts to administrative personnel and there are a great number of those in Kosovo. But still offers modest *per diem* for the highly trained lawyers and democratization experts, media experts, human rights experts, who work for the organization. This is a perverted situation: the highest trained professionals are offered a six month contract with *per diem* only, and the organization offers eighty plus, persons very generous permanent contracts to maintain its warehouses or its car fleet. This cannot

be continued if the OSCE wants to become a serious player in institution building. It needs to reform its system of involvement in the field. And the same is true for the backstopping of the OSCE missions.

The OSCE institutions, the Office of Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, the High Commissioner of National Minorities, the Representative on the Freedom of the Media, the Economic and Environmental Adviser, should be able to provide systematic and professional support to the missions, to enable them to offer a professional and high quality assistance to its participating States. Things are moving in that direction but very slowly. Some of these institutions do not have sufficient expertise to support field operations and sometimes this expertise is scattered around in the OSCE.

I give you one example. To provide proper assistance in their fight against terrorism, the OSCE needs to help its participating States in building up their law enforcement systems. This is key in the fight against terrorism. The OSCE in principle could offer an integrated programme on law enforcement assistance, including legislative reform, training of judges, training of police, training of border guards, training of prison guards, etc. The expertise is scattered partly in Warsaw, in the ODIHR, and partly in Vienna, in the Secretariat with any coordination or synergy. Under these conditions, it is not possible to offer coherent and highly professional assistance to the missions. And, of course, in the long run this needs to be improved, otherwise the quality of the services of the organization suffers.

Also, there should be more attention paid to project implementation. The OSCE in recent years has started to implement projects and this is very important. These projects are financed by Member States on a voluntary basis, and this is an important addition to the regular budget of the organization.

The OSCE cannot remain largely insensitive to the wishes of its participating States, hosting missions. It has deployed missions to twenty countries, but I am afraid often failed to listen to the wishes and needs of these States.

The organization is not in a position anymore to force upon its clients, the countries which host the missions, the rigid interpretation of mandates which, had been adopted several years ago. It will have to listen to the wishes of the countries of the Caucasus, Central Asia and Balkans. And these countries' voice is getting louder and louder because of there newly organized strategic importance – Central Asia and the Caucasus – in the fight against terrorism.

So OSCE should be able to establish better balance among its programmes in the different dimensions of security. It should continue paying attention to the human

dimension (democratization, rule of law, etc.) but it should pay much more attention to the economic and environmental dimension and also it should revitalize the political-military dimension. Things like security sector reform or assistance in small arms and light weapons related issues.

There should also be a much closer coordination with the partner organizations. With the UN, first of all, then with the European Union and NATO. The organizations have reasonably good coordination at the field level. Field personnel in the various countries meet quite regularly, and they compare notes, and they run programmes together. OSCE runs quite a lot of programmes with the UNDP, UNHCR, the European Union but there is hardly any strategic coordination among these organizations at headquarters level. No real strategic issues are discussed at HQ level meetings. If this cooperation should get more substantial, there is a need for a more serious exchange and coordination among these organizations.

It is very important for the OSCE to make progress on these issues because it will be judged by its contribution to the key-challenges to the security of the 21st century, as mentioned already many times during this meeting: terrorism, organized crime, trafficking in human beings, arms and drugs smuggling, illegal and irregular migration and so on.

The OSCE has a great potential to contribute to the fight against these new challenges. It has a potential because it has a strong basis of shared values, it has flexibility, it is not very bureaucratic, and it has a large field presence, much bigger than the European Union or the UN or anybody else. It has one thousand international personnel in the field. It has an inclusive membership, fifty-five, compared to other regional organizations. It has a know-how, how to get involved in its region, but it needs reform and it needs reform badly. It should have a realistic assessment of the new situation, its relation with its main partners, with the main competitors, if you please, and come up with a viable and pragmatic reform programme.

Fight against Terrorism

We are in the middle of the Portuguese Chairmanship of the OSCE. It is extremely useful for all of us, for practitioners and academics alike, to step back and think a little bit about what have been doing in the last six months and also to think about the road ahead. The topics of this morning are extremely important for the OSCE.

In November 1990 the OSCE adopted the Charter of Paris. One of the key ideas of this important document was that security was indivisible. One part of Europe cannot be secure if the other part of Europe is unstable and conflicts are erupting there. But this remained mostly on paper. In the early nineties the Balkan wars were ranging in Bosnia, Serbia and Croatia and the rest of Europe was still seen as a pretty safe place. A couple of refugees appeared in Western Europe but basically no one believed that security was really indivisible.

But after what happened in New York last September, every citizen of Western Europe and North America understood that decisions affecting his or her security are very often made not in Brussels but in the Pankisi Valley of Georgia in the Fergana Valley of Central Asia. I hope this recognition results in a serious rethinking of the concept of security. This might give a boost to the OSCE's efforts to be useful in the fight against terrorism.

The activities of the OSCE in the fight against terrorism or activities preventing terrorism can be divided into three main areas. One is short and medium term measure, enabling its participating States to fight better, more effectively against terrorism and a number of related challenges. The other area, where OSCE has been active for a long period of time is conflict prevention and crisis management. This is relevant too, because conflict areas are the most ideal breeding grounds for terrorism. And the third area is the institution building: addressing the root causes of terrorism and related scourges. Let me quickly go through all these areas.

The short and medium term issues. Many of the OSCE participating States have weak democratic institutions and particularly weak law enforcement structures. Not only the army, but also the police, the border guards, the intelligence services, the customs are badly organised and inefficient. And, of course, a major tool against in the fight against terrorism is a properly functioning law enforcement system: a modern, democratic police force, a well-trained judiciary, a truly democratic legal system. These are the very areas where OSCE is offering and providing important assistance to its participating States. It offers assistance in creating a proper legal background. OSCE States took an obligation that they will sign and ratify all twelve conventions and documents of the United Nations relating to terrorism. But for this of course they need preparation. They would need to change their internal legislation. And OSCE is providing assistance to its participating States, how to prepare and pass all the legislation, which is necessary for the ratification of these conventions. But ratifying documents is not enough. You need properly functioning security apparatus. And OSCE is providing widely needed support and training to the police.

It started in Croatia. The OSCE has been monitoring the police for already four years. OSCE has trained about six thousand policemen in Kosovo. OSCE is training one thousand two hundred police in Macedonia, in Southern Serbia, and it is now just launching a large programme in Central Asia, training the police there in modern police techniques and all related issues. The same is true for border guards. OSCE is offering training for border guards. For example, OSCE is just finishing setting up a model border station between Uzbekistan and Afghanistan, with all the modern technical equipment and training which is necessary to discover the smuggling of small arms, light weapons or drugs. The same is with custom officers and with other areas of law enforcement, like prison guards. But a functioning police is not enough. You need a properly functioning judiciary and OSCE has in the last ten years been training judges. And it is offering now an enlarged, extended programme to its participating States to improve their legal system, to train judges and make them an efficient tool in the fight against terrorism.

Also, the OSCE is providing assistance to its participating States in anti-trafficking issues. It has a centre for anti-trafficking efforts and a number of related issues.

OSCE is just creating the necessary institutional backing for these activities. An Office of the Senior Police Advisor in the Secretariat has been set up last year and this year we are very close of finishing the setting up of an Anti-Terrorism Unit in the Secretariat, which will co-ordinate these activities. Also, OSCE has a project web site for the projects implemented by its missions. This project web site, since last May, has a special part on terrorism related projects. OSCE has already forty projects related to anti-terrorism activities. So the OSCE is gearing up to provide badly needed support to its participating States to fight against terrorism and other related issues, like organised crime, trafficking in human beings, irregular migration, illegal migration, trafficking in drugs, trafficking in small arms and light weapons and so on. Just speaking of small arms and light weapons. OSCE has conducting a series of workshops for the police, the intelligence services and border guards and custom's officers in Central Asia. This programme has been going on for two years to assist them to better control this problem. These are the short and medium efforts to enable the participating States to better handle security related issues.

The other area is early warning, conflict prevention and crisis management. A conflict area is probably the most ideal breeding ground for organised crime, terrorism, trafficking and all these related cluster of problems. Of course, there is no proper law enforcement in crisis areas, the borders are practically open, there is no tax collection, no functioning institutions. The routes through which drugs, small arms and illegal migrants enter Western Europe go through the conflict areas, starting on the Afghan border through

Central Asia then the Caucasus and then they go up to the Balkans. Without creating proper stability in these areas, it will be very difficult to fight these scourges effectively. So OSCE's very important task is to fully stabilise these areas, prevent the recurrence of conflicts, help to solve the so called frozen conflicts in Moldova, Georgia and the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and prevent the deterioration of the situation in the potential conflict areas like the Fergana Valley. Needless to say how important this last one is. The relations between Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Kyrgistan have not been very good recently. Thanks to the stabilisation of Afghanistan these relations are manageable now but an eventual breakdown of these relations as spill over from a possible deterioration of the situation in Afghanistan, could have disastrous consequences. So conflict prevention crisis management and post-conflicts stabilisation is very important to create conditions where terrorist threat is controllable and manageable.

And now I come to the last area, where OSCE tries to prevent, with long-term efforts, terrorism. And this is what we call treating the root causes of terrorism. These are basically: state failure, poverty, non-functioning state institutions, like a proper education system, and so on, lack of rule of law and so on. In many countries of the OSCE region the economic situation is disastrous. There is a high degree of poverty in many countries of the OSCE region. Many participating States have no properly functioning democratic institutions. The judges and the police are corrupt. The legal system is disastrous, mostly inherited from the pre-1990 period. There is very little rule of law, there is no good governance, the State institutions are functioning very poorly, the health and education system is in shambles and elections are not very free or fair. Sometimes there are lifetime presidents ruling these countries. All that creates a situation when all doors for the young generation are closed. No education, no jobs, no democratic way of airing their dissatisfaction or working for a change and very often when all doors are closed there is only one door open: religious extremism as we have seen unfortunately in some OSCE countries.

So the OSCE is engaging more and more effectively in long-term institution-building efforts. It helps these countries create reasonably well-functioning democratic institutions, to have really free elections, to have free press which is a *sine qua non* pre-condition of a democratic structure, to have a well-functioning judiciary, to have a democratic police force and so on. To help the opposition parties to be a constructive part of the political system, to create a proper civil society, which is very important for a functioning democracy. So OSCE is doing a lot of work here. And also there is a growing demand that OSCE engages also into the economic and environmental area. In some countries, a big part of the population lives on one or two dollars per day: it is quite difficult to create a well-functioning

society and democratic society at this level of poverty. The economic stabilisation of this part has proven to be the most difficult task after the economic decline, which happened after the collapse of the Soviet Union. OSCE has to work together with a number of international organisations, the UN, the European Union and UNDP and bilateral donors to create a degree of economic stability.

OSCE, as an Organisation itself, will have to change to better address this huge task of rooting out these new scourges of the XXI century, terrorism and related challenges. I think the Organisation is making a great effort to gear up and create proper structures and change its field operations to be more useful, to provide more professional assistance to its participating States in this area. And I would say the future of the Organisation depends on the success of this effort. If the OSCE can become a useful and an efficient provider of assistance to its participating States in the fight against terrorism, it will have an important place in the family of institutions in Europe. If it fails, I am afraid it means that it will have to fade away. So, this is the biggest challenge for the present and the future Chairmanships of the OSCE but I trust that OSCE, which is a vigorous, young and flexible Organisation, will be able to meet this challenge.