

The OSCE and contemporary
security challenges:
A collection of essays

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Content

Preface	7
Ivana Jovanović	11
OSCE and the contemporary challenge of border management and security	11
Aleksandra Obradović	23
OSCE and contemporary security challenges	23
Luka Glušac	33
Foreign (terrorist) fighters	33
Danko Aleksic	49
OSCE and Modern Security Challenges: Environmental Security	49
Selena Tasić	61
OSCE and contemporary security challenges	61
Jelena Nikolić	71
Special emphasis on language as a means of integration of national minorities into social and public life in the Republic of Serbia	71
Jelena Mitić	85
OSCE and contemporary security challenges	85
Marija Žužek	95
OSCE and contemporary security challenges	95

Milan Andrić	109
OSCE and contemporary security challenges	109
Aleksandra Tomić	121
The OSCE and contemporary security challenges	121

Preface

Security has always been among the top agenda items in the human society, practically throughout its entire history.

However, speaking of contemporary times, few have expected that it would reemerge as the dominant issue precisely in the post-cold war period when it was presumed that the development and democracy building would finally push the security concerns to a less prominent place and create the conditions where basic security is almost taken almost for granted. Paradoxically, while in the seventies and eighties, in the twilight of the authoritarian regimes, primarily in eastern Europe, human rights and democratization were in the focus of East-West relations, in the period that followed after the fall of the Berlin wall and especially at the turn of the new century, after year 2000, security has gradually, but steadily risen to become the top preoccupation of democratic countries, both those in the established democracies and emerging ones. Instead of the past confrontation and the arms race between the superpowers and two military blocs, the main threat started to come from non-state actors, though not without certain states' support. These were the threats emerging from international terrorism, religious extremism, radicalism and state collapse in the volatile regions of the world, with regional but also global consequences.

Not surprisingly, as a result of these changes, the interest of the state institutions and state structures in charge of security, as well as of the researchers and academic community turned to analyzing and preventing these transnational threats. Security has become a frequent theme of political discourse and non-governmental engagement.

In Serbia, which is situated in a post-conflictual and not yet fully stabilized region, relatively close to the hotspots of most violent present day conflicts and exposed to its consequences, as the so-called migrant crisis has shown, the interest for addressing and studying security has visibly grown over the past years, including among the young academics and future practitioners.

It is not therefore surprising that Serbia as the 2015 OSCE Chairman in Office, following up on its predecessor Switzerland, has put the security issues as one of the priorities of its chairmanship. Both countries have been the initiators and the main supporters of the OSCE Declaration on Youth and Security which, albeit in a very brief form, adopted at the Belgrade Ministerial Council Meeting in December 2015.

Anticipating and preceding these trends, the OSCE Mission to Serbia has in the past years, in its activities connected with the security sector governance and reform, paid an increasing attention to sensitize youth for the security issues, approaching the theme not primarily as “hard security” or traditional security, but as an area closely connected to the security of an individual, and as an issue which cannot and should not be separated from human rights and general democratization of the society. In this context, the Democratization Department of the Mission has organized over the years numerous workshops and seminars, or study visits or lectures, encouraging the participation of youth or specifically focused on youth groups from different segments of society, including national minorities, or those who are already beginning their career in the state institutions dealing with defense or security.

The essays contained in this brochure are written by the Mission’s Alumni MA and PhD holders, whose academic studies were supported by the Mission. The topic offered was “OSCE and contemporary security challenges” and the ten essays presented in the publication have been selected as the best ones in a competition which included a number of contributions.

Within this general theme, the essays provide a useful insight how the young academics and practitioners in Serbia approach the issue of international security, what are their main concerns and suggestions for improvements in dealing with the rising security challenges or threats in contemporary society, in particular in transitional societies. Their selection of specific topics within this general theme shows, not surprisingly, that transnational terrorism and radicalization/extremism attract particular attention, but they do not ignore other issues or theoretical approaches to security, in particular the concept of human security which is explicitly or implicitly embraced as the most appropriate in practically all the essays. The importance of civil society in addressing security

threats and safeguarding at the same time human rights is also widely recognized. Among the more specific issues, the phenomenon of foreign fighters, including the influence of social media on their recruitment, is being discussed, while in another essay the issue of environmental security is addressed. The importance of regional security is also noticed by the many, and within that context some practical measures, like the improvement of border security are given due attention.

Of course, the role of the OSCE in the security field is an unavoidable subject, since the general theme is formulated in this way. The perception of the organization, which is based both on the analysis of its main documents, beginning with the Helsinki Final Act, and on the OSCE practical activities, is mostly positive or even laudatory, but not without some critical remarks or suggestions for an improvement. The democratic nature of the organization, which is enshrined in the rule of consensus, is recognized as the comparative advantage of the OSCE compared to some other international organizations, but also as a weakness which sometimes inhibits its more active role. The post-conflict rehabilitation and the organization's engagement on the ground, thorough its diverse field operations, is recognized as the particular quality of the OSCE. In this context, it is not unnoticed that the ability of the OSCE to agree and deploy the Special Monitoring Mission to Ukraine is regarded as its impressive achievement, considering the limited success of other international organizations, including the UN.

Among the critical observations regarding the OSCE, one of the authors cited its relatively low visibility in the international public, in particular compared to the UN, EU or NATO. This is regarded as undeserved, since the OSCE represents the largest regional security organizations in the world. Not unrelated to that comment, one could observe that none of the essays paid due attention to the OSCE Code of Conduct in Politico-Military Aspects of Security, which is possibly one of the most original documents of the OSCE, dating back to 1994, and which is reflecting a comprehensive and multi-dimensional approach to security. This in spite of the fact that in the two years in the row – 2014 and 2015 - two OSCE workshops on the Code were organized in Belgrade, with the assistance of the Mission. This omission is a clear message to those engaged in the organization to include more prominent youth participation in future workshops or seminars on the Code of Conduct, and to make this document better known to public, especially among young academics and practitioners.

On the whole, we believe that this collection of essays will be found as useful by its readers, both those who are doing research or are engaged in civic activism in the field of security, and those who are already within the state struc-

tures whose competence is directly or indirectly related to security functions. The essays, while naturally reflecting a different degree of analysis or depth, are on the whole quite mature and thought provoking, which in the abundance of texts dealing with security are the qualities that should not remain unnoticed, we are confident, by the potential readers.

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OSCE and the contemporary challenge of border management and security

Summary: Border management in Europe, especially in the neighboring regions that are in the process of post-conflict stabilization or preventive international monitoring, is an important challenge for European states and European regional arrangements and organizations dedicated to preserving peace. The European Union and the OSCE, as frameworks for regional action, and the European states through bilateral political, security, economic and technical co-operation, aim to improve the security of states and sovereign borders, as one of the most important preconditions for preserving and promoting the human dimension of security. Achievement of OSCE's goals within the third dimension of security–human security–requires a comprehensive approach to security challenges and threats, with cohesive and integrated action in the politico-military and economic fields of security.

Keywords: OSCE, European Union, EU, human security, borders, migration, conflict

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Introduction

As the marking of its fortieth anniversary of existence as a regional and international arrangement dedicated to the maintenance of peace at the regional and international levels is in full swing, the OSCE today has a very complex agenda. Evolving from the consultative and security forum (conference) of participating states, which then established the guidelines for democratic development and democratic consolidation on the divided European continent, to an organization comprising fifty-seven participating states on three continents, the OSCE has reaffirmed its identity and continuity of action through civilian and military engagements in different parts of the world. In the modern world, a multidimensional approach to security is the only valid, efficient and credible approach to addressing security challenges and threats, with a view to preserving international peace and stability, given the complexity of the threats and the consequences. At this point, we will mention the Astana Commemorative Declaration towards a Security Community which highlights the commitment of the OSCE to a comprehensive approach to security.² The goals and activities within the politico-military, economic and environmental and finally the human dimension are aimed at improving the situation of individuals in the broadest area, in various aspects of social, political and cultural life, including human rights, fundamental freedoms, democracy and free elections, rule of law, but also freedom of religion and fight against intolerance and discrimination.³

Border protection and management are a complex objective and task on more than one level, both for sovereign states and the states' regional security arrangements. Border protection and management is a security challenge for the OSCE as a regional organization that has its own resources intended for the implementation of objectives in this area. Furthermore, it is a challenge for bilateral relations of cooperation or conflict between the participating states, partner states, and third countries. Finally, it is a challenge that requires cooperation and partnership (sometimes in the form of inter-regional cooperation) between the OSCE and other organizations that share the same goals in international politics and are based on the same democratic principles, including the United Nations, the European Union, the Council of Europe, as well as other organizations that have a narrow and specialized field of operation but may

2 Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, *Astana Commemorative Declaration towards a Security Community*, SUM(10) Journal No. 2, Agenda item 4, Summit Meeting, Astana, 2010. Available at: <http://www.osce.org/cio/74985?download=true>.

3 Astana Commemorative Declaration towards a Security Community, pp. 2-3.

contribute to the achievement of goals in one of the three dimensions of security: the International Organization for Migration, the World Bank, the World Trade Organization, the United Nations Development Program, etc.

Border management and security is a complex objective that can be brought under the ambit of all three dimensions of security, namely it requires cooperation and coordinated action through all three dimensions. Referring back to the Astana Declaration, the OSCE participating states have agreed that the “conflict cycle”, which includes early warning, conflict prevention, crisis management and post-conflict rehabilitation, will remain one of OSCE’s key priorities in the future.⁴ Given the broad geographical distribution and international presence of missions in foci of crises across the globe, conclusion can be made that border management and security is an important technical and human element of the stabilization process in conflict regions. The outbreak of intrastate (Ukraine) or interstate conflicts increases the overall insecurity of a certain geographical area and in these conditions one of the main criteria and indicators of (in) stability and vulnerability is security and the manner of functioning of borders and cross-border circulation. Thus, in the case of intrastate or interstate conflicts, border management becomes one of the main priorities and conflict management instruments. In addition to the politico-military dimension, border management and control is also connected to the other two dimensions—economic and human. The economic dimension relates to border management and to uniform and complementary systems of border control through cooperation of the participating states, aimed at preventing illicit economic activities and illegal trade (in drugs and other illegal substances, cross-border crime, human trafficking). Finally, border management and control today is unavoidably linked to the human dimension of security, in terms of respect for and exercise of fundamental human rights. In a globalized world, mobility of persons, services, goods and capital is one of the most important achievements pertaining to human rights and freedoms that is progressively improved at the interstate and international level, both in technical sense (reduced scope of requirements that an individual must fulfill) and in the spatial sense (expansion of the free movement areas).

4 Ibidem. See also: Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, DECISION No. 3/11, Second day of the Eighteenth Meeting MC(18) Journal No. 2, Agenda item 8, Vilnius, 2011, p. Available at: <http://www.osce.org/mc/86621?download=true>

Border management and security

Facing numerous challenges affecting border security, that come from all three dimensions of security, the OSCE is committed to protecting and promoting the freedom of movement of people and goods across borders and to ensuring economic development and prosperity through facilitation and promotion of cross-border cooperation.⁵ This objective of the OSCE implies finding and achieving a balance through partnership with other organizations, between security as the primary objective of border management, on the one hand, and the goal of improving economic activity and regional well-being, on the other.⁶ Proceeding from the study authored by Herbert Salber and Alice Ackermann, we shall on this juncture present the basic elements of the OSCE's approach to border management and security. It is based on the 2005 document *The Border Security and Management Concept* (BSMC), which sets the framework for cooperation in this field.⁷ As stated by Salber and Ackermann, the BSMC brings four main novelties in the field of border management. First, it provides the OSCE with a mandate for promoting wide-ranging cross-border cooperation between border services, customs authorities, law enforcement and other competent national structures.⁸ Further, it allows for the various segments of the OSCE executive structures (the Secretariat, the field operations, and institutions) to work together and to assist and support the participating states in implementing this concept.⁹ The BSMC also indicates the importance of international cooperation with other international organizations and partners, which should be guided by complementary objectives and actions, comparative advantages and mutual interests. Finally, the BSMC provides a list of possible contributions that aim at making this concept operational and effective.¹⁰

The authors, Salber and Ackermann, indicate that the BSMC itself recognizes border management and security as a sensitive area of cooperation between the participating states. On the one hand, the border management mechanisms are a matter of the state's free decision, in accordance with its internal situation, ge-

5 Herbert Salber and Alice Ackermann, *The OSCE's Comprehensive Approach to Border Security and Management, OSCE Yearbook 2009 Yearbook on the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE)*, Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg / IFSH (ed.), Volume 15, 2009, pp.289-290.

6 Salber and Ackermann, p.290.

7 Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, *Border Security And Management Concept Framework For Co-Operation By The Osce Participating States*, MC(13) Journal No. 2, Agenda item 8, Ministerial Council, Ljubljana, 2005.

8 Salber and Ackermann, p.293.

9 Ibidem.

10 Ibidem.

ographical position, key national political, economic and social challenges, and the internal and external security strategy.¹¹ On the other hand, they are aware that the national and regional well-being can be significantly improved through cross-border activities and free movement, which indicates the need for bilateral, regional and multilateral cooperation.¹² The BSMC enumerates eight basic groups of aims that should be achieved through cross-border cooperation: promotion of free and secure movement of people, goods, services and investments; reducing the threat of terrorism, including by preventing the free movement of people, money and other things that have to do with terrorist and other criminal activities; prevention and fight against transnational cross-border crime, illegal migration, smuggling, corruption and trafficking in weapons, drugs and human beings; promotion of high standards in border services and competent national structures; promotion of dignified treatment of all individuals crossing borders, in conformity with relevant national legal frameworks, international law and the human rights principle, and relevant OSCE commitments; development of beneficial conditions for economic, social and cultural development in border areas; movement towards establishing common spaces of freedom, security and justice within in the OSCE and its participating states' area; ensuring the security of the international transport circuit for supply of commodities.¹³

In its separate part, this document also indicates the main contributions that the OSCE can offer to the states on the path to achieving the objectives in the field of border control and management based on the thus far implemented programs and activities in this field.¹⁴ The way in which the OSCE's can contribute is firstly facilitation (political dialogue between participating states, technical dialogue, confidence-building measures); further, listed as general forms of support are technical assistance in the development and implementation of national strategies and action plans and the development and implementation of training programs; specialized assistance in combating transnational organized crime, illegal immigration, illicit trade, terrorism, as well as trafficking in conventional, biological, chemical and nuclear weapons; contribution in the field of free and secure movement of persons (technical assistance and expert advice on entry and exit procedures, awareness-raising on the rights of immigrants and asylum seekers); activities related to economic and environmental issues, exchange of information and good practices, promotion and facilitation

11 Ibidem.

12 Ibidem.

13 Border Security and Management Concept Framework for Co-Operation by the Osce Participating States, pp. 2-3.

14 Border Security and Management Concept Framework for Co-Operation by the Osce Participating States, p.3.

of cross-border economic co-operation, facilitation of cross-border co-operation in case of natural disasters or state of emergency in border zones, etc.¹⁵

Given the strategic commitment of the OSCE to encourage and facilitate cooperation among the participating states in the field of border protection and security, it is important to stress the following: as a regional organization that has adequate resources and expertise, the OSCE can give the biggest contribution to the achievement of this goal by providing technical support (trainings, expert and technical assistance, national capacity building), as well as in the field of security, through direct involvement in cases of border disputes or conflict situations.

Migration and free movement of persons

This section will present the basic aspects of illegal migration as a complex security challenge and as a social phenomenon that is simultaneously connected with all three dimensions of security—politico-military, economic and human. A separate part of the chapter will address illegal immigration as a security challenge in terms of border protection and management.

It is firstly important to point out the distinction between illegal immigrants and legal immigration. In terms of protection of external borders and internal security, the states' security agendas, measures and activities are related to the fight against illegal immigration.

Migration is a complex demographic phenomenon with multiple socio-economic, political and cultural causes and consequences. As a demographic phenomenon, migration can be individual, group or mass. From the security viewpoint, group and mass immigrations, which most often have an element of being well-organized, are a special challenge, especially if the causes and the motive for migration are of military-security nature (internal, international conflicts, organized violence, etc.). Individual migrations usually do not pose a security challenge, unless they concern internationally known individuals whose activities are associated with criminal, terrorist and other illicit activities.

15 Ibid, pp. 5-7.

The causes and/or direct motives for migration can be of political, security, economic or cultural nature, or they may be an outcome of a combination of several of these factors. The political and security factors can be viewed as integrated and they refer to the existence of a high-risk political and security situation in the immigrants' country of origin that causes emigration, often in groups or en masse. This group of causes includes the state of war, various internal conflicts, unsustainable internal political situations, such as, for example, totalitarian governments or revolutionary or systemic political changes at the national level. In this case, migrations are most often in groups or, in extreme cases, en masse, and may firstly aim at the neighboring countries and the region, and then at developed countries, where they seek not only an existential shelter but also a possible permanent residence. Presently, at least when it comes to Europe as a destination, economic factors are prevalent for immigration, both illegal and legal, that aims at the European Union. This factor most frequently results in individual or group immigrations, but if a significant time continuity exists, then the number and mass character of immigration can be manifested. The cultural factor is usually linked with some of the aforementioned factors and in most cases is not an independent and only cause of immigration.

Migrations and immigration have a dual security aspect, both from the viewpoint of persons who are subjects and main agents of migration and from the viewpoint of the states that are involved in the process. In historical terms, the European continent, i.e. the European Union member states, have been a traditional immigration area for persons coming from other continents. This is a trend that has for decades already, with occasional deviations, kept the continuity of progression in number. When it comes to EU member states as countries of destination for immigrants, it is important to make several distinctions: first reception countries, transit member states, and countries of destination. From the security viewpoint, the first reception countries and the countries of final destination are faced with the most complex situation and the biggest challenge. When it comes to the first reception countries, border protection and management have particular importance for the security of such countries. This objective, at the same time, entails a controversial challenge, considering that border protection, safety and security is the basic component of national security and the states' sovereign right to manage their own borders. On the other hand, if a state border is conditionally threatened by group or mass influx of foreign population, the principles of the protection of human rights and especially adherence to the aims of human security call for the examination of the causes of these movements and for reaction in line with the principles of protection and preservation of human life. Countries of final destination of immigration are also facing certain security challenges, regardless of the cause or the main factor of emigration from the country of origin. Leaving aside the

economic and cultural aspects, these challenges become intensified especially if that country is involved in an armed conflict in the country of origin (e.g. conflicts in Iraq, Afghanistan, North and Central Africa).

Countries of the European continent, the EU Member States in particular, have been for decades already an important destination area for immigration from neighboring regions, former colonies, but also from crisis areas in other parts of the world. When it comes to neighboring regions, the causes of immigration and consequently the need for more efficient management and protection of external borders are an outcome of security and economic factors. Eastern Europe is the main area of origin and simultaneously an important area of transit to the European Union: Russia, Ukraine, Moldova and Belarus are countries of origin of a considerable number of illegal and legal immigrants and asylum seekers, and are the main transit point for migration waves from Asia. These Eastern European countries have a high emigration rate—it is believed that over the last several years a quarter of Moldova's total population have left the country. When it comes to migration waves outside the European continent, the Southern Mediterranean (North Africa and the Middle East) is a critical area as the area of origin and a transit point for migration waves toward Europe. The Middle East is the main transit area for immigration and asylum seekers from South Asia (Pakistan, Afghanistan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh) and East and sub-Saharan Africa (Sudan, Eritrea, Somalia, Ethiopia), who most frequently come to the European countries via Turkey. At the same time, Syria, Iraq, Iran, Palestine, Jordan and Lebanon are also the countries of origin of immigration. Immigration from the Asian continent is largely conditioned by intra-continental movements as well, but the most common countries of origin of Asian immigration are China, Afghanistan, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, the Philippines, and Vietnam.¹⁶

Illegal immigrations, in the conditions of globalized security, are a very serious and complex challenge. On the one hand, states have the sovereign right to exercise control over their borders and to define the conditions of entry to and exit from their territories, in accordance with the interests of national security, economic well-being, public morality and political stability. On the other hand, the principles of protection of human rights and fundamental norms and principles of humanitarian law impose an obligation to take into consideration the causes of mobility and immigration waves and to acceptably treat vulnerable

16 Statistics on immigration are available at the Eurostat website: <http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/population-demography-migration-projections/migration-and-citizenship-data> and <http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/asylum-and-managed-migration/data/main-tables>

persons seeking protection in more stable areas in their vicinity or in more distant surrounding areas. In this field, the OSCE as a regional organization that combines the experiences of participating states from three continents can give the biggest contribution through education programs, exchange of positive and negative practices, national technical and human capacity building, networking, and development of a joint bilateral or multilateral approach.

Border management as a challenge for the future

The complexity of security in the modern world and the complexity of the security challenges faced by societies today require an integrated and holistic approach to managing the challenges and threats. International and internal armed conflicts as a form of violent politics produce various devastating consequences: forceful resettlement of the population as the consequence of forced mobility caused by violence; threat and pressure on the borders of neighboring countries; and regional instability in areas where the foci of conflicts are located. Over the past forty years, the OSCE encountered numerous crises and problems, but contributed to their resolution in various ways. Today, the OSCE is faced with one of the greatest contemporary crises, the Ukrainian crisis, whose development and resolution will affect the overall security situation in Europe and Eurasia. OSCE's engagement during this crisis has shown the organization's relevance in conflict management and mediation, primarily through the establishment and deployment of the Special Monitoring Mission to Ukraine.

For border security in Europe, stability of the former conflict areas, including among other the Western Balkans, is of particular importance. As Minister Dacic presented in 2014, on behalf of the Republic of Serbia's OSCE Chairmanship in 2015, when addressing the future Chairmanship's priorities, special attention would be paid to the Western Balkans region which had for many years faced wars, hostilities, sanctions, foreign interventions, and serious violations of human rights.¹⁷ This region today is no longer a conflict zone in terms of inter-state wars, but it is still arguable that there are certain frozen conflicts that

17 Priorities of Serbia's OSCE Chairmanship, as presented by Minister Dacic at the OSCE special meeting. Available at: <http://www.mfa.gov.rs/sr/index.php/o-ministarstvu/ministar/govori/13932-2014-07-15-11-03-27?lang=lat>

may pose a significant challenge to regional stability. As Mr. Dacic stated when addressing the Chairmanship's priorities, "particular attention would be given to reconciliation as part of the post-conflict rehabilitation phase as defined by OSCE documents and as a concept to be promoted by our two Chairmanships."¹⁸ The room for cooperation and engagement of the OSCE in this region includes not only the activities of particular missions in a particular area but also, given the improved situation in the region, the possibility for enhanced horizontal cooperation between the OSCE missions on the ground.¹⁹

For the stability of borders in Europe and the OSCE's role in managing this challenge, several points are important within the group of priorities of the Serbian Chairmanship. As Minister Dacic said, Serbia's priorities for 2015 include the continuation and support to all formats for resolving frozen conflicts, with special importance and role given to special representatives in specific regions and conflicts; furthermore, strengthening of the OSCE's capacities and mechanisms to actively respond in all phases of conflict, from early warning to post-conflict rehabilitation and reconciliation; continuation of the systematic efforts of the OSCE in strengthening mediation activities.²⁰ In these activities, the OSCE as an organization of regional cooperation in the field of security and human rights cooperates and improves cooperation with other similar organizations that share the same goals—the Council of Europe, European Union, United Nations, NATO, but also with partnership forums for the Mediterranean and Asian regions. Mr. Dacic mentioned among his priorities, as special areas of partnership cooperation, the topics pertaining to the second dimension, such as transport and economic migration, but also those in other fields of activity, such as the fight against corruption and money laundering.²¹

The safe and efficient border management in the future and the OSCE's contribution to this field must take into consideration some most important contemporary facts, through all stages of planning, implementation and evaluation of this process. On the one side there is the complexity of threats and challenges which have multi-dimensional character and consequences, and trans-nationally of threats, where security challenges, apart from being related to several dimensions, also have a trans-national character and origin. In such conditions, the comprehensive approach of the OSCE, which bases its activities on the values of human rights, democracy, rule of law and human freedom and dignity, has crucial importance for crisis and conflict management through provision

18 Ibidem.

19 Ibidem.

20 Ibidem.

21 Ibidem.

of assistance to participating or unstable states in response to challenges and threats. From technical assistance in various fields, to direct involvement within the military-political dimension (prevention, mediation, peace building and post-conflict stabilization) and participation in the strengthening of national institutional capacities and civil sector in the states, the OSCE contributes to the improvement of the overall security situation and to maintaining the conditions for border stability in Europe.

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Biography

Ivana Jovanović (born in 1985) is attending doctoral academic studies—International and European Studies—at the Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Belgrade. She completed her undergraduate studies at the Department of International Relations at the Faculty of Political Sciences, after which she completed her master studies at the Department for European Integration. The fields of her academic interests include multiculturalism, the rights of foreigners, immigration, internal security, and regional integration. She is the OSCE scholarship holder for doctoral studies in Serbia for the academic year 2014/2015.

OSCE and contemporary security challenges

Belgrade, April 2015

Instead of marking the fortieth anniversary of its existence, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) is facing the greatest crisis of European security since the end of the Cold War. The crisis in Ukraine is a big challenge and an opportunity for the OSCE to show its relevance for international security relations. Having lost the importance it had during the Cold War, the OSCE showed through active participation in resolving the Ukrainian crisis that it had an important role in the European security architecture as a platform for dialogue, confidence building and overcoming of divisions. In addition to the OSCE's role in resolving the Ukraine crisis, this essay will also tackle a series of transnational security challenges faced by the OSCE participating states, which demand a joint response in order to prevent a threat to international security. To maintain its importance for European security, the OSCE will have to use its mechanisms and respond efficiently both to the Ukraine crisis and to other security challenges.

The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) is the most comprehensive regional security organization, comprising 57 participating states spanning Europe, Eurasia and the Euro-Atlantic region. In August 1975, thirty-five countries established common principles for peaceful coexistence from Vancouver to Vladivostok. The organization was founded with the idea to ensure peace, stability and democracy for more than a billion people. With the adoption of the Helsinki Charter in 1975 and the creation of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), which was over time transformed into the organization (OSCE), a mechanism was created for dialogue and negotiations between the East and the West.¹ The CSCE served as a bridge between the East and the West and a confidence building mechanism during the Cold War. The Helsinki Final Act was the key agreement for stabilization in Europe during the Cold War, which paved the way for overcoming the divisions by introducing an innovative approach to security. One of the main values and comparative advantages of the organization is its comprehensive and cooperative approach to security that comprises three dimensions: politico-military (comprising arms control, the fight against terrorism, prevention and resolution of conflicts), the economic and environmental dimension (comprising economic growth and environmental protection) and the human dimension (comprising the protection of human rights, the rule of law, election monitoring).²

Another big advantage of the OSCE is that it comprises all countries of Europe, the former Soviet Union, as well as the USA and Canada. Although the OSCE lacks NATO's military capabilities and EU's economic resources, no other security organization has a mandate to act in such a broad geographical area. This makes OSCE the key actor in conflict prevention and resolution.

The OSCE after the Cold War

After the end of the Cold War, when the CSCE became the OSCE, the key mission was changed. The OSCE developed instruments that contribute to strengthening democracy, the rule of law, confidence building in the post-Soviet space. During the

1 Sinisa Tatalovic, *Globalna sigurnost i etnički sukobi (Global Security and Ethnic Conflicts)*, *Politička kultura (Political Culture)*, Zagreb, 2010, pp. 64-69.

2 Dragan R. Simic, *Nauka o bezbednosti – Savremeni pristupi bezbednosti (The Science of Security – Contemporary Approaches to Security)*, FRY Official Gazette, Faculty of Political Sciences, Belgrade, 2002, pp. 83-92.

nineties, the OSCE neglected its politico-military and economic dimensions and focused almost entirely on the promotion of human rights and democracy. Its activities were concentrated in the area east of Warsaw. Although the Helsinki Act was initiated by the Soviet Union and other members of the Warsaw Pact and was initially viewed as a victory of the Soviet Union over the West, it actually contributed to the spreading of Western values and interests to the area of Eastern Europe.

At the 1990 Ministerial Meeting in Paris, a prevailing position was that the era of confrontation and division in Europe was over. Unfortunately, the wars in Chechnya, the former Yugoslavia, and the Russian-Georgian conflict denied it. The OSCE failed to respond successfully to either of these crises.

During the 1990s, following the changes on the international scene after the end of the Cold War, the organization was significant enough to continue to exist, but not as significant as to play an important role in international relations. Russia and the West established relations through other organizations, Russia became a member of the Council of Europe and the G7, the NATO-Russia Council was founded, so it became less important for Russia to maintain its international relations through the OSCE. For all these reasons, the OSCE lost the importance it had had during the Cold War. Although there were attempts in the post-Cold War period to give the organization a more active role by deploying peacekeeping missions in the regions of the former Yugoslavia, Georgia, Moldova and other troublesome territories, the OSCE was unable to find its final role within European security.³ OSCE's missions were mostly taken over by NATO and the EU, with much more available funds.

OSCE's annual budget was reduced by 25% in the past 10 years, which significantly contributed to the marginalization of the organization.

In recent years, the OSCE has struggled to maintain its importance on the international scene. Since 2011, participating states have attempted to adjust the organization's activities to contemporary security challenges. At the 2012 Ministerial Council meeting in Dublin, the states agreed to carry out an institutional reform process, known as the "Helsinki +40 process."⁴ The aim of the process is for the participating states to recommit to a comprehensive and cooperative approach to security through all three dimensions: politico-military, economic and human, as a way of responding to contemporary challenges. However, the new emerging security circumstances have set this process aside.

3 Sinisa Tatalovic, *Globalna sigurnost i etnički sukobi (Global Security and Ethnic Conflicts)*, Politička kultura, Zagreb, 2010, pp. 64-69.

4 Javier Ruperez, *The Helsinki Final Act, is there life after 40?*, Policy Brief, The German Marshall Fund of the United States, Washington, D.C., November 2014, pp. 1-6

The OSCE and the Ukraine crisis

In early 2014, nobody even assumed that only a few months later European security would be significantly compromised.⁵ The Ukrainian crisis, which started with mass anti-government protests, led to the ousting of President Yanukovich and grew into a military confrontation, is the worst crisis not only of European but also of global security in the post-Cold War period. Since the escalation of the crisis and Russia's annexation of Crimea, the relations between Russia and the West have been at the lowest possible level. Russia has been openly designated as an adversary, leaving aside the need for economic cooperation because of Europe's dependence on Russian gas.

The OSCE was almost forgotten until the outbreak of the Ukrainian crisis. However, its response to the crisis has shown that it can play a constructive role in Ukraine and be a mediator between the East and the West.⁶ It turned out that the OSCE is the most adequate solution for overcoming the growing divisions. In many ways, the OSCE has become the least bad solution for solving the Ukrainian crisis. What is of crucial importance is that all stakeholders are members of the organization—Russia, Ukraine, the USA, EU participating states, as well as Canada and Turkey. No other international organization is an adequate solution for the Ukrainian crisis—the UN because of the Russian veto in the Security Council, the EU because of its direct involvement in the geopolitical struggle for Ukraine, and NATO due to its negative image in Russia. Thus, the current crisis has shown the OSCE's relevance for European security.

The Swiss Chairmanship of the OSCE greatly contributed to resolving the Ukrainian crisis. Switzerland's traditional neutrality was an important factor, just like a very active personal engagement of the Swiss Foreign Minister and OSCE Chairperson Didier Burkhalter. In his address to the UN Security Council in February already, he proposed some ideas, which soon came to pass. They included the establishment of a Special Monitoring Mission to Ukraine (SMM), the establishment of a Contact Group, to include both Ukraine and Russia, and the appointment of a special representative for Ukraine.⁷ During its chairmanship, Switzerland also initiated the establishment of the Panel of Eminent Persons on European Security, headed by German diplomat Wolfgang Ischinger. The panel

5 Wolfgang Ischinger, "The Ukraine crisis and European security", *Horizons*, winter 2015, issue 2, pp. 94-103

6 Wolfgang Ischinger, "The Ukraine crisis and European security", *Horizons*, winter 2015, issue 2, 94-103

7 Lamberto Zannier, "Ukraine and the crisis of European security", *Horizons*, winter 2015, issue 2, 44-58

should launch ideas and make recommendations on how to replace the existing policy of confrontation with the policy of cooperation and joint action.

The establishment of the observer mission in March 2014 was a major challenge for the OSCE. The OSCE then showed the ability to reach a consensus among the 57 participating states despite the deep divide existing among them. This was the first mission that the OSCE launched in over a decade. The mission has a broad mandate, covers the entire territory of Ukraine, acts as the eyes and ears of the international community on the ground and is the only objective source of information.⁸ After flight MH17 was shot down over the Ukrainian territory, the mission's mandate was extended by six months.

The next important step that the OSCE took in conflict resolution was the establishment of the observer mission on the Russian-Ukrainian border, at Russian checkpoints Gukovo and Donetsk, in July 2014. This modest confidence-building measure can also be expanded at a later stage.⁹

Also established was the Trilateral Contact Group (TCG), consisting of senior representatives of Ukraine, the Russian Federation and the OSCE representative, which provided the framework for the signing of both Minsk Agreements.¹⁰ The most important step in resolving the Ukrainian crisis is to comply with the ceasefire agreement that was reached then and to start withdrawing heavy weaponry. The crisis cannot be resolved using military force, there is no military solution to the conflict.¹¹

With a view to resolving the Ukrainian crisis, the OSCE primarily aims to prevent the spillover of the conflict across Ukraine's borders and to undertake activities towards preventing the situation in Eastern Ukraine from becoming another frozen conflict. In addition to these primary goals, OSCE's priorities should focus on monitoring the compliance with the ceasefire and the withdrawal of heavy weaponry, contribution to dialogue and assistance in the investigation of cases of violation of humanitarian law and human rights, because peacemaking starts with pragmatic solutions that enhance security and prevent the conflict from escalating and spilling over to neighboring countries.

8 Lamberto Zannier, 'Ukraine and the crisis of European security', *Horizons*, winter 2015, issue 2, 44-58

9 'Priorities of the 2014 Swiss Chairmanship of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE)' April 22, 2015 <http://www.osce.org/cio/109266?download=true>

10 'Priorities of the 2014 Swiss Chairmanship of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE)' April 22, 2015 <http://www.osce.org/cio/109266?download=true>

11 Wolfgang Ischinger, 'The Ukraine crisis and European security', *Horizons*, winter 2015, issue 2, 94-103

The Ukrainian crisis has put the OSCE into the focus of contemporary international relations. On the one hand, it is a major challenge especially due to the manifested divisions between the participating states, while on the other hand it is an opportunity for the organization to prove its relevance for the Euro-Atlantic security structure. This is particularly important in the context of the “Helsinki +40 process”, which aims to restore confidence between the participating states and enable progress in the implementation of the OSCE’s common principles.¹²

Furthermore, the Ukraine crisis has put the OSCE into a dilemma. The organization now has to decide whether to remain committed to its core values set forth in the Helsinki Final Act and reaffirmed in Paris and Astana in 1990 and 2010. The dilemma is also whether its goal will continue to be to achieve the vision of creating a security community based on Western values, such as democracy, rule of law and human rights, which carries the risk of antagonising Russia and other authoritarian states that may block the OSCE’s activities.¹³ The alternative would be for the OSCE to revitalize its Cold War aspirations to restore confidence and overcome the divisions and to serve as a forum for both democratic and authoritarian regimes. During the Cold War, owing to the CSCE, it was possible to discuss conflicting attitudes, build trust, establish common rules despite the total ideological division between the participating states. The CSCE was neither a community of values like the EU nor an alliance against a common enemy like NATO. On the contrary, it respected both the Western and the Eastern security concepts. Even today, the OSCE’s strength has remained in the fact that the states which have very different values, culture and history mutually cooperate, achieve political compromise and consensus and thus build rules of cohabitation.

The OSCE and contemporary security threats

At present, the OSCE is mainly focused on Ukraine. Yet, the preoccupation with Ukraine has sidelined other important topics. This is made particularly obvious by the example of the “Helsinki +40 process”, which is oriented towards reforming the organization in order to effectively cope with new security challenges.

12 Christian Nunnist and David Svarin, *Overcoming the East-West Divide: Perspectives on the Role of the OSCE in the Ukraine Crisis*, (Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich and foraus – Swiss Forum on Foreign Policy, Zurich, December, 2014), 16

13 *Ibidem*, 7

Other important activities of the OSCE have also been neglected, in particular those relating to the resolution of frozen conflicts in Moldova and the Southern Caucasus. The OSCE is mandated to resolve the existing conflicts in Transnistria, Nagorno-Karabakh, South Ossetia and Abkhazia, where much still remains to be done.¹⁴ In recent years there has been a halt in the 5 + 2 process for resolving the conflict in Pridnestrovye; official meetings in the 5 + 2 format need to be resumed for the conflict to be ended. The political process in Georgia is still at risk. Since the OSCE failed to play an effective role in resolving this conflict, its mission to Georgia was closed in late 2008 as a result of Moscow's refusal to renew its mandate. All these developments contribute to increased instability in the OSCE region, and its key role in maintaining peace and stability is feasible precisely through activities that are implementable in the areas hit by frozen conflicts.

The OSCE needs to efficiently respond not only to the Ukraine crisis but also to many other security challenges that its participating states are facing. Contemporary security challenges that have a transnational character, such as terrorism, organized crime, illegal migration, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, cyber threats, drug trafficking, arms trafficking, and human trafficking, are common threats that affect all OSCE participating states and that require a common response and unity in countering them. In today's globalized world, these threats easily cross borders. Tension and lack of trust between the states whose security and prosperity are intertwined leads to a "lose-lose situation". The influence of the OSCE ultimately depends on the political will and engagement of participating states. Given the security environment characterized by a growing distrust, it is very difficult to build a security community in the OSCE territory. One of the key tasks of the OSCE would be to continue to develop confidence-building measures aimed at preventing the escalation of conflicts. The OSCE could also be a relevant platform for discussion that would bring together Russia, NATO and the EU, around the same table, in order to find an efficient response to the growing global security threats. The OSCE could also be an effective tool in the contemporary security environment, responding to the whole spectrum of security challenges in the case where NATO or the EU are unable to act.

In addition to Ukraine, unresolved conflicts and instability in North Africa and the Middle East create a fertile ground for terrorism and significantly affect the security of the OSCE participating states. Increasingly intensive cooperation between criminal networks and ideologically motivated terrorists represents a new type of hybrid threat. Terrorism is a global threat and a common enemy for all. Terrorist attacks in Paris and Copenhagen have shown that Europe

14 Lamberto Zannier, "Ukraine and the crisis of European security", *Horizons*, winter 2015, issue 2, 44-58

cannot remain isolated from the developments in other parts of the world and underlined the need for joint efforts of the international community in the fight against terrorism. The OSCE closely cooperates with all UN organizations and bodies that are aimed at countering terrorism. One of the ways of countering terrorism is to fight extremism and radicalization, where the OSCE actively participates. The OSCE can significantly contribute to European security through its activities aimed at preventing the divisions within societies and fostering a culture of tolerance and non-discrimination.¹⁵

It should be borne in mind that contemporary, transnational security threats are not the same as when the OSCE was founded. The OSCE was created with the aim of preventing military conflicts between states and in the 21st century there is a growing number of conflicts within states. The OSCE should conform to contemporary security challenges and be a tool for peaceful change management. Therefore, it is necessary to strengthen the OSCE's capacities in areas such as conflict prevention and facilitation of the achievement of sustainable peace solutions, as well as in the areas of protection of human rights, including minority rights, promotion of free elections, the rule of law and the fight against terrorism.

Conclusion

This year the OSCE marks the fortieth anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki Final Act. Back in 1975, the leaders of the states that were deeply divided ideologically managed to sit at the same table, leaving aside the zero-sum¹⁶ approach, and to start a dialogue in order to prevent new conflicts. The same approach is necessary today in order to reduce tensions and restore the spirit of cooperation, with a view to achieving security, stability and prosperity in the OSCE region. In the coming years, the OSCE will definitely deal with the consequences of the geopolitical earthquake that broke out in Ukraine in 2014. Forty years after its establishment, the OSCE is facing a serious challenge to its vision of creating a security community from Vancouver to Vladivostok.

15 <http://www.osce.org/what/terrorism> April 28, 2015

16 Zero-sum approach is a situation in which the goals of two sides are so conflicting that a gain for one side entails a corresponding loss for the other side.

Through its role in resolving the Ukrainian crisis, the OSCE has shown that it is a significant international security organization. However, in order to remain important for European security it must respond effectively not only to the Ukrainian crisis but also to other security challenges. Likewise, there is a need for funding, in line with the new requirements of the modern states' security environment; participating states should invest more in the organization and thus contribute to a more secure international order.

It is of vital importance for the future of the OSCE to reaffirm the Helsinki principles and re-develop trust between the East and the West. It is encouraging that Germany and Austria will chair the organization in 2016 and 2017, as these countries are able to constructively shape the solutions for the benefit of all participating states. The current OSCE chair is Serbia, which continues to pursue the policy committed to reconciliation measures as part of post-conflict consolidation, which was also pursued by Switzerland during its chairmanship.

It should be borne in mind that in order to create a stable and functional European security architecture, it is necessary to integrate Russia into it. Otherwise, the divisions and conflicts will deepen and continue. What cannot be expected is that a shield be built on Russia's borders, that Georgia and Ukraine join NATO, and that Russia simultaneously cooperate with the West in respect of other transnational security threats.

All participating states have agreed that progress needs to be made towards the creation of the Euro-Atlantic, Euro-Asian security community, but bearing in mind the new circumstances, this goal will be very difficult to achieve. The policy of confrontation, division and mistrust between the East and the West jeopardizes not only this goal and the cooperative approach to security but also significantly jeopardizes international security. Strong cooperation and firm political will be required to ensure peace, stability and prosperity in the entire OSCE area.

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Foreign (terrorist) fighters

Summary: The Arab Spring has made the problem of European countries' nationals who fight on the battlefields across the Middle East highly topical. The states perceive as a threat their own nationals who, guided primarily by religious reasons, join foreign fighting, as a rule on the side of non-state actors in armed conflicts, following the call to jihad. Foreign (terrorist) fighters go abroad because they see a distant conflict as a threat to the common transnational identity group. The paper first presents the foreign fighters phenomenon, through its definition and brief historical perspective and main features, then indicates its importance for the international community and finally provides an outline of the role and comparative advantages of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) in countering this security problem.

Introduction

The armed conflicts in Syria and re-escalation of the conflict in Iraq caused by the invasion of ISIL (Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant), have made topical the issue of European countries' national who are fighting on the battlefields throughout the Middle East, blazing after the Arab Spring. Western states perceive as a threat their own nationals who, guided primarily by religious reasons, join the fighting, as a rule on the side of non-state actors in armed conflicts, following the call to jihad. Most of the states announced, and a good part already adopted updates of their mostly criminal legislation, incriminating warfare on behalf of foreign armed formations in a foreign country. The international community has also taken measures to counter this security challenge, for which reason the UN Security Council adopted two resolutions addressing this challenge, which were followed by an adequate reaction and support of regional mechanisms, primarily the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

This paper is intended first to present the phenomenon of foreign fighters and indicate its importance for the international community, and then to outline the role, importance and comparative advantages of the OSCE in countering this security problem. In doing so, we are aware that the phenomenon of foreign fighters is transnational by its nature, but also that the scope to which the international community is countering this problem is limited, and that the main thrust of the struggle is on individual states.

It should be pointed out at the outset that the scientific literature actually provides a very small number of theoretical works addressing this topic and thus, as one of the leading experts on foreign fighters, David Mallet notes, an established term for the phenomenon¹ does not even exist in the political science literature. This type of war activism remains largely understudied. There are descriptions of foreign fighter involvement in individual conflicts, but almost no cross-case analyses² or theoretically informed attempts at explaining their appearance.³

1 David Malet, "Why Foreign Fighters? Historical Perspectives and Solutions," *Orbis: A Journal of World Affairs*, 54/1(2010): 106.

2 A rare exception is Malet's book *Foreign Fighters: Transnational Identity in Civic Conflicts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), which is the only one that examines this phenomenon more comprehensively.

3 Thomas Hegghammer, "The Rise of Muslim Foreign Fighters: Islam and the Globalization of Jihad," *International Security*, 35/3 (2010): p. 54.

A brief historical perspective on the phenomenon and its salient feature

Foreign fighters are a phenomenon that is neither new nor a uniquely Islamic specificum, which is best evidenced by the significant presence of foreign warriors in the conflict in Ukraine. Conflicts of different causes and motives have attracted foreign volunteers throughout modern history. Examples of involvement of foreign fighters range from the Greek War of Independence during the 1820s, the civil war in Mexico during the 1830s, through the Texas Revolution in the 1840s, the Spanish Civil War almost a hundred years later and the Israeli War of Independence in the first post-war years, and the war in Afghanistan in the 1980s, the conflicts in Chechnya and Iraq, to the current conflicts in the Middle East and Ukraine. Precisely the Spanish Civil War, the Arab-Israeli wars and the war in Afghanistan are the most scrutinized historical examples of significant involvement of foreign fighters. The ongoing conflicts have clearly brought this problem into the focus of the public eye.

What all these conflicts in which this phenomenon is present have in common is that insurgents consistently recruited foreign fighters by framing the local war as one that threatened a shared transnational identity group and necessitated a defensive mobilization.⁴ Precisely the insertion of conflict into the matrix of threat to a common identity is the key to understanding the problem of foreign fighters, because external assistance in the form of manpower is attracted by stressing the existential threats to a particular identity group, regardless of what underlies it: ideology, religion, language, etc. The mission is to deliver the message in such a way as to affect this “sense of identity” of geographically distant individuals and thus trigger their involvement. Thus, theoretically, this phenomenon can be inserted into the matrix of the so called societal securitization.⁵

4 Malet, “Why Foreign Fighters?”, p. 97.

5 See more on societal securitization in: Barry Buzan, Ole Waever, Jaap de Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis* (London: Lynne Rienner, 1998).

Who are foreign fighters?

Thus far, researchers have used different terminology for essentially the same phenomenon, depending on the viewpoint which they took. According to Hegghammer, the cause is in the fact that foreign fighters constitute an intermediate (indirect) actor category lost between local rebels, on one hand, and international terrorists, on the other.⁶

Notions about foreign fighters are shaped by our state-centric perspective. When we speak about “foreign”, we refer to nationality: A volunteer is foreign if he holds the citizenship of a country external to conflict. Mendelsohn correctly notes that this ontology often fails to correspond to the foreign fighter’s sense of identity.⁷ Moreover, we tend to treat “foreign” and “non-foreign” (domestic) fighters as a dichotomy, ignoring the different levels of “foreignness”. In some places, simply traveling to the next village makes one a foreigner. Different identity markers – province of origin, ethnic group, tribe, sub-clan or any other – can determine one’s level of “foreignness”.⁸ Nevertheless, citizenship remains a major attribute for differentiating domestic from foreign fighters, both in theoretical works and in the discourse of the international community.

David Malet defines foreign fighters as “non-citizens of conflict states who join insurgencies during civil conflict”.⁹ Building on this formulation, Hegghammer defines a foreign fighter as an agent who (1) has joined, and operates within the confines of, an insurgency, (2) lacks citizenship of the conflict state or kinship links to its warring factions, (3) lacks affiliation to an official military organization, and (4) is unpaid.¹⁰

These four criteria set foreign fighters apart from other types of violent actors who cross borders. Criterion (4) excludes mercenaries, who are paid and follow the highest bidder. Criterion (3) excludes soldiers, who are usually salaried

6 Hegghammer, “The Rise of Muslim Foreign Fighters”, p. 55.

7 Namely, a Pashtun volunteer from Pakistan is likely to feel greater identification with fellow Pashtuns from Afghanistan than he would with a fellow Pakistani from Punjab. Yet, according to the methodology used not only by researchers but also by the states and the international community, the Punjabi fighting with government forces in the tribal areas is considered local, while a Pakistani Taliban fighting alongside his co-ethnics in Afghanistan is a foreign fighter. Barak Mendelsohn, “Foreign Fighters—Recent Trends,” *Orbis: A Journal of World Affairs*, 55/2 (2011), p. 192.

8 Ibid.

9 David Malet, “Foreign Fighters: Transnational Identity in Civil Conflicts” (PhD diss., George Washington University, 2008), p. 9.

10 Hegghammer, “The Rise of Muslim Foreign Fighters”, pp. 57-8.

and go where their generals send them. Criterion (2) excludes returning diaspora members or exiled rebels, who have a preexisting stake in the conflict. This distinction, which disappears in Idean Salehyan's term "transnational insurgent"¹¹ or John Mackinlay's "global insurgent"¹², matters because ethnic or kinship links to insurgents presumably facilitate mobilization considerably.¹³ Finally, criterion (1) distinguishes foreign fighters from international terrorists, who specialize in out-of-area violence against noncombatants. This distinction is rarely made; most works on militant Islamism use generic terms such as "jihadists" or "Salafi jihadists" to describe any transnational violent Islamist, whether he or she undertakes suicide bombings in a Western capital or mortar attacks in a war zone. In reality, most foreign fighters never engaged in out-of-area operations, but in one combat area at the time.¹⁴

In this paper, we use the Hegghammer's definition. We emphasize that the term used in the Serbian language—"foreign fighters"—does not prejudge their international legal status.¹⁵

The importance of recruitment

The nature of the relationship between the insurgents – shared ethnicity or some other tie such as religion – is irrelevant to the logic of transnational recruitment. Recruitment messaging emphasizes the necessity of a defensive action to preserve the existence of the community rather than the opportunity for individual gains. Most recruits do not see themselves as mercenaries. They genuinely believe that they are fighting in a defensive war.¹⁶ Malet notes that the historical data indicates that the recruitment of foreign fighters—from locating potential recruits to framing the conflict—is essentially equivalent across cases, regardless of the issue of contention of the conflict.¹⁷

11 Idean Salehyan, *Rebels without Borders: Transnational Insurgencies in World Politics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009).

12 John Mackinlay, *Globalization and Insurgency*. Adelphi Papers No. 352 (London: International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2002).

13 Hegghammer, "The Rise of Muslim Foreign Fighters", p. 58.

14 Ibid.

15 For an excellent overview of the status of foreign fighters in the international law, see: Sandra Kraehenmann, *Foreign Fighters under International Law*, Academy Briefing No. 7 (Geneva: Geneva Academy of International Humanitarian Law and Human Rights, 2014).

16 Malet, "Why Foreign Fighters?", p. 97.

17 Ibid, p. 109.

Although the evolution in the roles and significance of foreign fighters is affected by diverse factors, no element has generated more debate than the impact of the Internet on the nature of the jihadi threat and its influence on the foreign fighters' problem. According to some, the Internet has become the instrument of choice (or necessity) for recruitment.¹⁸ Without the Internet, some potential recruits would probably not be aware of events outside their small universe and of the opportunities to get involved in a conflict.¹⁹

Why mostly Islamic foreign fighters?

It should be noted that despite the absolutely prevailing number of Islamic foreign fighters, compared to non-Islamic fighters, the available data do not indicate a single particular feature of Islamic communities. In ideological terms, the ubiquity of the Islamic foreign fighters in all conflicts after Afghanistan in 1980s coincides with the spreading of teachings of Abdullah Azzam, whose movement was dedicated to defending Muslims wherever they are. Over the years, segments of this movement shifted their orientation from simply defending Arab lands "under occupation" to a more ambitious program calling for the establishment of a Caliphate governed by the shari'ah law throughout the Muslim world and beyond.²⁰ Thus, they imbed the call for mobilization into the matrix of the Muslim nation's (ummah) facing an existential external threat.

The problem of returnee fighters

The foreign fighters' phenomenon is about more than their contribution on their first battlefield; it encompasses a life cycle that starts when an individual begins to consider joining a fight in a country that is not his, continues through

18 Mendelsohn, "Foreign Fighters - Recent Trends", pp. 199-200.

19 Ibid, p. 200.

20 Ibid, p. 191.

his involvement in the conflict, and ends with his actions once he leaves that arena.²¹ Stephanie Kaplan notes that the “foreign fighter problem is actually several problems”, that it needs to be disaggregated for the sake of better understanding and development of effective policies. She suggests that the life cycle of foreign warriors be divided into three phases: the pre-war mobilization phase, the war phase and the post-war phase.²²

The current worries about foreign fighters seem to center around the threat of „bleed out“²³ as jihadi veterans, equipped with new knowledge of tactics, training, recruitment, media, and technical skills in building bombs, take their skills elsewhere—potentially facilitating the initiation or escalation of terrorism in their home country or in other arenas, and enhancing the power of insurgencies and terrorist groups.²⁴

The key question is what happens to these fighters when they leave, particularly how the earlier phases shape their future trajectory. While some foreign fighters return home and reintegrate into society, many do not. Their experience is often a constitutive event that shapes who they are and what they do. Many find it hard to return to daily lives. They seek the company of people like them, and in many places their reputation in their community is tied to their identity as fighters. In some cases, Mendelsohn notes, even when a former fighter tries to leave his past behind, his state continues to identify him as a threat, thus pushing him back to the underground life and into the arms of comrades who face the same problem. Some of these individuals go on to form the infrastructure for the next generation of foreign fighters.²⁵

The problem from the perspective of the international community

The most basic assumption that existing scholarship makes about “outsiders” is that they strengthen the domestic insurgents. As Bakke points out, from the

21 Ibid, p. 190.

22 Tally Helfont, “The Foreign Fighters Problem, Recent Trends and Case Studies,” in *The Foreign Fighters Problem, Recent Trends and Case Studies: Selected Essays*, ed. Michael P. Noonan, (Philadelphia: Foreign Policy Research Institute. 2011), p. 3.

23 There is no adequate Serbian translation of this concept.

24 Mendelsohn, “Foreign Fighters - Recent Trends”, p. 199.

25 Ibid, p. 194.

perspective of the international community, however, the worry about foreign fighters (namely “transnational insurgents,” as she calls them) is fourfold.²⁶

First, transnational insurgents might prolong a civil war by introducing more actors to the theater and complicating attempts at ending the war through intervention or negotiations (e.g. Syria). Second, many of today’s transnational insurgents are Islamists, so there is reasonable fear in Washington and European capitals that these actors transform the struggle which they join (e.g. Mali). Third, if transnational insurgents strengthen local insurgents or prolong the war, they can considerably impact the creation of a failed state or a safe haven and training ground for terrorists (like in Afghanistan, Iraq, Pakistan and Somalia). Finally, Western governments fear that by involvement in wars abroad, transnational insurgents acquire skills which they can use in their home country.

In the opinion of the British MI5 about foreign fighters, “the skills, contacts and status acquired overseas can make these individuals a much greater threat when they return to the UK, even if they have not been tasked directly to carry out an attack on their return”.²⁷

Response of the international community

Activities of the United Nations

The United Nations responded to the foreign fighter problem by adopting two resolutions (2170 and 2178) under Chapter VII of the Charter, which seeks to strengthen international cooperation, update the national legislations and create a common approach to countering this growing threat.

Resolution 2170 (2014), aimed primarily at suppressing ISIL’s actions, was the first to recognize the importance of foreign fighters. The Security Council demanded that all foreign terrorist fighters withdrew from the war zones, condemned their recruitment that contributed to violent radicalization and the spread of conflict and urged the Member States to intensify efforts to prevent

26 Kristin Bakke, „Help Wanted?: The Mixed Record of Foreign Fighters in Domestic Insurgencies,” *International Security*, 38/4 (2014): p. 150.

27 MI5 Security Service, “Foreign Fighters,” last modified April 28, 2015, <https://www.mi5.gov.uk/home/about-us/what-we-do/the-threats/terrorism/international-terrorism/international-terrorism-and-the-uk/foreign-fighters.html>.

at the national level, through various legal and practical measures, the recruitment and deployment to the battlefields in the Middle East.

In late September 2014, the Security Council adopted the thus far most comprehensive resolution dealing with the problem of foreign fighters. By its Resolution 2178, adopted on the basis of Chapter VII of the Charter, the Security Council condemns the violent extremism, which can be conducive to terrorism and demands that all foreign fighters disarm and cease all terrorist acts and participation in armed conflicts. The key positions of the resolution are related to the decision that Member States should prevent and suppress the recruiting, organizing, transporting or equipping of individuals who travel to a State other than their States of residence or nationality for the purpose of the perpetration, planning, or preparation of, or participating in, terrorist acts or the providing or receiving of terrorist training, and the financing of their travel and of their activities. The Security Council especially underlines the importance of engaging relevant local communities and non-governmental actors in developing strategies to counter violent extremism. The Security Council also emphasizes the importance of Member States' efforts to develop non-violent avenues for conflict prevention in order to decrease the risk of radicalization to terrorism, and underscores the role education can play in countering terrorist narratives.

OSCE in countering foreign fighters “Normative” regulations

The key OSCE document on terrorism is the Consolidated Framework for the Fights against Terrorism (Decision No. 1063) adopted in late 2012, which highlights operational principles and identifies the strategic focus of the OSCE's counter-terrorism role to guide future activities. It aims at enhancing the profile and added value of the OSCE's contribution to the global efforts to eradicate terrorism and at facilitating communication and strengthening co-operation with key partners and organizations.²⁸

28 For overview of the OSCE documents relating to countering terrorism, see: <http://www.osce.org/node/26365?download=true>, last modified April 28, 2015.

Based on this Consolidated Framework, a number of its earlier related acts and the mentioned positions of the United Nations, the OSCE Ministerial Summit in Basel, in December 2014, adopted the “Declaration on the OSCE Role in Countering the Phenomenon of Foreign Terrorist Fighters in the Context of the Implementation of the UN Security Council Resolutions 2170 (2014) and 2178 (2014)”. The Declaration calls upon the participating States to co-operate fully in countering the phenomenon of foreign terrorist fighters, through exchange of information, prevention of movement (through effective border controls and controls on the issuance of identity papers and travel documents), enhanced international co-operation in monitoring the use of the Internet for the purposes of inciting violent extremism and radicalization²⁹, and to further promote partnerships with civil society, the media and private companies in countering terrorism.³⁰

The Declaration calls upon the OSCE executive structures to facilitate thematic discussions in the OSCE, in a manner complementary to the ongoing efforts at the UN, focused on the phenomenon of foreign terrorist fighters, in order to improve the understanding of the phenomenon, to exchange experiences and good practices, etc. The OSCE should also offer assistance in capacity-building activities to the requesting States and organize appropriate events to identify potential weaknesses in the existing international legal and operational co-operation mechanisms. According to the Declaration, it is necessary to continue to promote OSCE efforts to counter violent extremism and radicalization that lead to terrorism, including through community policing approaches to preventing terrorism, in particular at the local level. Finally, the OSCE should develop, in close cooperation with partner organizations, such as the UN, a coherent approach to help individual countries, guided by the principle of local ownership, taking into account The Hague - Marrakech Memorandum on Good Practices for a More Effective Response to the FTF (Foreign Terrorist Fighters) Phenomenon, adopted by the Global Counterterrorism Forum (GCTF).³¹

In addition, the Serbian chairmanship of the OSCE in 2015 announced that it would devote special attention to the phenomenon of foreign terrorist fighters, and also to violent extremism and radicalization that lead to terrorism, particularly radicalization of youth. Ivica Dacic, the OSCE Chairperson-in-Office, announced a large OSCE conference on this issue in summer, 2015.³²

29 See also: Ministerial Council Decision No. 7/06 on Countering the Use of the Internet for Terrorist Purposes.

30 In accordance with: Ministerial Council Decision No. 10/08.

31 The Hague – Marrakech Memorandum on Good Practices for a More Effective Response to the FTF Phenomenon. Includes 19 good practice examples divided into thematic units.

32 Statement by H.E. Mr. Ivica Dačić Chairperson-in-Office of the OSCE, Briefing to the UN Security Council, New York, 24 February 2015, <http://www.un.int/serbia/sites/www.un.int/files/Serbia/214.pdf>.

Comparative advantages of the OSCE

The OSCE has a comparative advantage over other international organizations (universal and regional) when it comes to dealing with the phenomenon of foreign terrorist fighters. As Trapara notes, “the lack of legal status and absence of legal bindingness of OSCE’s decisions have actually proved to be an advantage, because this highlighted the informal moment of decision-making and action, which made this organization very flexible in meeting the tasks”.³³ This is manifested here because not all states have the same vision for solving this problem, which makes the quest for a common denominator easier.

This phenomenon is permeated by a number of important thematic priorities for the OSCE that were recently reaffirmed by participating States. “Countering violent extremism and radicalization that lead to terrorism, following a multidimensional approach” and “promoting and protecting human rights and fundamental freedoms in the context of counter-terrorism measures” are two areas identified as the OSCE strategic focus in the field of anti-terrorist activities, as stated by the OSCE Consolidated Framework for the Fight Against Terrorism. The best approach to countering this phenomenon is at the intersection of these two priorities, but also of two out of three OSCE dimensions (defense policy and human).

Since radicalization and recruitment of foreign fighters are rooted on the call for defensive mobilization for the purpose of preserving the identity group, the action at the local level is of crucial importance. Empowerment of primary social groups and relationships between the majority and minority populations in combination with solving socio-economic problems is of utmost importance in order to reduce the possibility of movement of individuals to distant battlefields.

By adopting the Bucharest Plan of Action for Combating Terrorism, the OSCE emphasized the need to review the “various social, economic, political and other factors, including violent separatism and extremism, which engender conditions in which terrorist organizations are able to recruit and win support”.³⁴ Very similar conditions are decisive also for mobilization of foreign fighters. Therefore, it is particularly important for the strategy against radicalization and mobilization of individuals for participation in armed conflicts abroad to

33 Vladimir Trapara, “Uloga OEBS operacija na terenu u zemljama u tranziciji” (“The Role of OSCE Field Operations in Transition Countries”) *Međunarodna politika (International Politics)*, 8/1 (2011): p. 100.

34 Ministerial Council, “The Bucharest Plan of Action for Combating Terrorism”, 4 December 2001, <http://www.osce.org/atu/42524>.

include as many local actors as possible, because they have a crucial influence on the relationship between individuals and primary community groups and the general connection between the individual and the local community. Therefore, the approach applied by the OSCE in preventing terrorism and countering violent extremism and radicalization that lead to terrorism (VERLT) is particularly useful. By their joint efforts, the OSCE Secretariat Transnational Threats Department (TNTD) and its Action against Terrorism and Strategic Police Matters units, and the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR), which has a special program for human rights in the fight against terrorism, have developed a guide: “Preventing Terrorism and Countering Violent Extremism and Radicalization that Lead to Terrorism: A Community-Policing Approach.” This project, as the authors point out, “illustrates how the OSCE lives up to its trademark—a comprehensive and co-operative approach to security, drawing on its multidimensional expertise and networks to provide guidance on one of the most sensitive, yet crucial, challenges faced by its participating States: Prevention of Terrorism”.³⁵

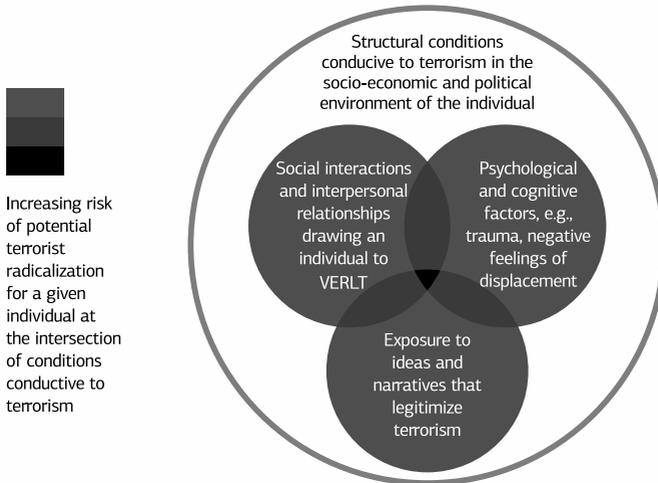


Figure 1 - Conditions conducive to terrorist radicalization in individual cases³⁶

35 OSCE, *Preventing Terrorism And Countering Violent Extremism And Radicalization That Lead To Terrorism: A Community-Policing Approach* (Vienna: OSCE, 2014): p. 20.

36 *Ibid.*, p. 41

Mobilization for fighting abroad and terrorist radicalization have the same central characteristic. It is a dynamic process whereby an individual comes to accept (terrorist) violence as a possible, perhaps even legitimate, course of action. “Possible drivers of terrorist radicalization are varied and complex and combine in a unique way in each case.”³⁷ Yet, it is possible to map the basic conditions, at the intersection of which radicalization can occur. (Figure 1)

In order to systemically approach the fight against the phenomenon of foreign terrorist fighters, following this guide, it is necessary to develop a similar target document, which could serve to the states as a guideline and a collection of good practices. The OSCE is well positioned to lead this process, especially after 2012 and the formation of the said OSCE Secretariat’s Transnational Threats Department (TNTD).³⁸ Using also the expertise of the ODIHR, diverse professional resources of the organization, that other organizations lack, can be brought together and incorporated into a comprehensive, coherent and human rights-based strategy to counter foreign fighters in all their forms and manifestations and to understand the conditions that lead to their radicalization and mobilization.

TNTD can especially contribute to countering the use of the Internet for recruiting foreign fighters, by organizing thematic events and disseminating good practice examples, in accordance with the Ministerial Council Decision No. 7/06 on Countering the Use of the Internet for Terrorist Purposes.

One of the key comparative advantages of the OSCE relative to some other security arrangements is its presence on the ground. The OSCE’s main instruments for that are field operations. OSCE’s wide thematic coverage and flexibility in the choice of priorities for each individual operation enable it to incorporate preventive action against the recruitment of foreign fighters as one of the tasks. By its expertise, the OSCE could considerably help local authorities.

37 Ibid, p. 23

38 Ministerial Council Decision No. 9/11 on Strengthening Co-Ordination and Coherence in the OSCE’s Efforts to Address Transnational Threats

Conclusion

Even though criminal measures are a necessary element in countering the threat of foreign fighters, they must in no way be the only means. If jihadists recruit foreign fighters by persuading them that they are faced with a potentially existential threat as members of a particular group, then further threat by punitive measures will hardly deter them from mobilization. In fact, criminal prosecution will further encourage the existence-threatening discourse and make it seem that the fight is even more necessary for survival. A more efficient approach would be to focus on the prevention of recruitment, in which the OSCE can participate in many ways.

The ultimate solution to foreign fighter recruitments is to diminish the salience of the transnational groups through which recruitment is conducted. Identities are built through the structures of social transactions. Foreign fighter recruiters tend to be active in sub-culture groups, to which immigrants often turn, because they do not establish strong enough links with the majority population, not even with their own local, among other religious, community. More contact through alternative social channels strengthens particular identities and connections with other members. The result is willingness to fight for them, because “they identify more closely with other members abroad than they do with fellow citizens of the state in which they reside”.³⁹ Therefore, a part of the solution is to intensify the process of integrating immigrants into domicile societies, which is a complex process into which all three OSCE dimensions are interwoven.

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OSCE and Modern Security Challenges: Environmental Security

Resume: The scope and consequences of negative impacts on the environment, which have at the global level in recent decades become ever more pronounced, have made the issue of environmental security highly topical and embedded it in the international political agenda. As a major regional organization dealing with security issues, which in addition to European states also includes Canada and the United States, the OSCE has been significantly involved in environmental security issues. In addition to the strategic commitments set out in its relevant documents, the OSCE also conducts significant activities in the environmental security area. Certainly the most prominent among them is the partnership in the *ENVSEC Initiative*, to which the OSCE, with its broad mandate in the field of security and numerous missions and field presence, has provided significant political support.

Introduction

The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), with its 57 participating states, is the world's largest regional security organization and aims to secure peace, democracy and stability. The OSCE conducts its activities in three "dimensions of security": politico-military, economic-environmental, and the human dimension. The very concept of security can be viewed from a number of different angles, and can therefore be understood in different ways. This became particularly manifested in the post-cold war period, with the expansion (inclusion of non-military issues), deepening (abandonment of the idea that the state is the only object that needs to be protected), and enrichment (transfer of knowledge from other disciplines) of the security concept.¹

It is necessary here to mention what particular security sectors are recognized by the contemporary literature. Buzan distinguishes five sectors² within which security can be analyzed/studied/defined, namely:

1. The Military Sector—deals with offensive and defensive capabilities of states, as well as their mutual relations,
2. The Political Sector—deals with the organizational stability of states and their systems of government,
3. The Economic Sector—deals with access to resources, finance and markets,
4. The Societal Sector—deals with the sustainability of language, culture, religion, and other elements of national identity,
5. The Environmental Sector—deals with the issues of environmental conditions necessary for survival.

Buzan states that distinctive patterns of interaction may be defined within each individual sector, but that they (sectors) are an inseparable part of the concept of security as a whole.

This paper will address the issue of environmental security—its definition, significance on the international political agenda, and the OSCE's activities in this specific area. Before we start, it would be important to highlight a (possible) linguistic dilemma. Namely, the term used in the English language is *environ-*

1 For more details on the expansion and deepening of the security concept, see: Ejduš F., *Međunarodna bezbednost: teorije, sektori i nivoi (International Security: Theories, Sectors and Levels)*, (Public Enterprise "Official Gazette", Belgrade Centre for Security Policy, Belgrade, 2012), 31-34.

2 Buzan B. et al., *Security – a New Framework for Analysis* (Lynne Rinner Publishers, Inc., Boulder, Colorado, 1998), 7-8.

mental security. It is translated into Serbian more often as *ekološka bezbednost* (*ecological security*) than as *bezbednost životne sredine* (*environmental security*) –which alternative the author considers correct. *Ecology* (*ekologija*) and *environment* (*životna sredina*) are not synonymous, although they are often used as such in everyday speech. It is also important to briefly review the meaning of terms that are inevitable in any security-related discussion, such as challenge, risk and threat. Ejodus³ provides definitions of these terms and indicates their mutual differences as follows:

- a) Challenge—a situation which puts someone or something to the test, and which may have a positive or a negative outcome;
- b) Risk—a possibility of loss, injury, creation of an uncomfortable situation or destruction; generally has a negative connotation and always exists, except for the smaller or greater likelihood;
- c) Threat—a distinct intention to harm, destroy or punish.

These expressions, too, are often confused in the public discourse, partly due to the lack of knowledge of the subject matter and partly because of linguistic dilemmas in translation.

Environmental security – definition and relevance on the international agenda

Several decades ago, when environmental issues and problems became topical, the environmental movement was primarily tackling problems at the local level—inadequate waste disposal, supply of drinking water for the local population, air pollution in urban areas, etc. No doubt, these problems continue to be topical, especially in developing countries. However, a significant change occurred in the meantime—the extent and consequences of the negative impacts on the environment on a global scale have become too obvious to be sidelined from the political agenda. Climate changes (scientifically verified, threaten a large number of people and have very diverse negative effects), soil erosion (soil is an indispensable agricultural resource which takes a disproportionately long time

3 Ejodus F, *Međunarodna bezbednost: teorije, sektori i nivoi* (*International Security: Theories, Sectors and Levels*), (Public Enterprise "Official Gazette", Belgrade Centre for Security Policy, Belgrade, 2012), pp. 36-37.

to regenerate), ozone layer depletion (impacts all life forms on the Planet), desertification (mainly on account of arable land), ocean pollution and depletion of fish stocks, destruction of large forest areas (which contributes to climate change), extermination of plant and animal species (forever, thus impoverishing the Planet's gene bank), depletion of non-renewable resources (their use contributes to pollution and climate changes), etc, are all issues that pose a new kind of threat to humanity at large. Considering the nature and the extent of the stated problems (they have global effects, their consequences do not recognize any political state borders, and they may also lead to regional political tensions and even violence), their resolution, or at least the reduction of their negative consequences to the minimum, requires international cooperation. Individual states are often powerless in this respect, mainly because the "cause" of the problem and its "consequence" may be geographically very far apart. This is precisely why security issues and environmental issues in the modern world have been intertwined like never before and considering the dynamics of the global developments and the evolution of mankind at large, it can be argued that this trend will continue, maybe even with a greater intensity, in the future.

The fact that the concept of security itself can be viewed from a number of angles leads to the absence of a universal and comprehensive definition of security. One definition that is widely used (mainly because it encompasses both subjective and objective aspects of threat) is the definition given by Arnold Wolfers, which reads: "*Security, in an objective sense, measures the absence of threats to acquired values, in a subjective sense, the absence of fear that such values will be attacked*"⁴. This definition is significant because it includes both subjective and objective aspects. The definition of the concept of security has been approached differently by other authors. Thus, David Baldwin⁵ asks seven questions relating to conceptual specification:

1. Security for whom?
2. Security for which values?
3. How much security?
4. Security from what threats?
5. Security by what means?
6. Security at what cost?
7. Security in what time period?

4 Baylis J, Smith S., Owens P, *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations* (Oxford University Press, 2008), 229.

5 Baldwin D., *The Concept of Security* (Review of International Studies, no. 23, 1997), 12.-17.

Explaining the significance of these questions, Baldwin highlights several important aspects. First, he says that it is essential to define the referent object, i.e. what is being protected, and that absolute security is unattainable. Then, he emphasizes the importance of the security “costs”, because something else must always be sacrificed so that the resources can be devoted to security. Moreover, he emphasizes the importance of the time period in which security is contemplated, explaining that long-run and short-run security goals may differ greatly and sometimes even be in conflict. A similar logic permeates the four so-called *Terriff’s questions* that can be found in literature⁶ and that need to be answered in order to more accurately indicate the nature and key points of the particular approach to exploring security. These questions are:

- Who or what is the object of security?
- What is the nature of the threat?
- Who is responsible for security?
- What procedures, ways and means are used to achieve, keep and improve security?

Like it is the case with the concept of security itself, environmental security can also be defined in several ways. According to one of the possible definitions⁷, environmental security is the maintenance of the local and the planetary biosphere as the essential support system on which all other human enterprises depend. According to the definition used by NATO⁸, environmental security means addressing security challenges emanating from the physical and natural environment. These challenges include extreme weather conditions, depletion of natural resources, pollution and so on—factors that can ultimately lead to disasters, regional tensions and violence.

It will be useful for further discussion to mention some other specific features of the environmental security sector. According to Buzan⁹, one of the most striking features of this sector is the existence of two different agendas¹⁰: a scientific agenda and a political agenda. The scientific agenda aims to provide an authoritative assessment of threat, while the political agenda is about shaping awareness in the public sphere on how to deal with the issues that have

6 Simić, D., *Nauka o bezbednosti: Savremeni pristupi bezbednosti (The Science of Security: Contemporary Approaches to Security)*, (FRY Official Journal, Faculty of Political Sciences, Belgrade, 2002), 22.

7 Buzan B. et al., *Security – a New Framework for Analysis* (Lynne Rinner Publishers, Inc., Boulder, Colorado, 1998), 8.

8 http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_91048.htm, accessed on 15 September 2015.

9 Buzan B. et al., *Security – a New Framework for Analysis* (Lynne Rinner Publishers, Inc., Boulder, Colorado, 1998), 71.

10 It is open to discussion whether “agenda” is the most appropriate term in the Serbian language. The author believes that, as a widely used internationalism, it is. Serbian terms such as “dnevni red” (English: agenda), “program rada” (work programme), etc., would surely be less suitable and somewhat confusing.

been raised. Buzan emphasizes that despite a very obvious overlap and interdependence between them, the two agenda follow completely different cycles: the scientific agenda must meet certain academic standards, while the political agenda can be shaped by governmental, media, and public standards, which are influenced much more by short-term events. Another feature of this sector is its complexity¹¹, resulting from a large number of topics that it tackles: ecosystem disturbances, energy related problems, population problems, food problems, economy problems, civil unrest. Ecosystem disturbances are problems which mostly concern basic ecology. All other above mentioned topics largely overlap with topics from other security sectors, except that in this case they are viewed through an ecological prism.

Buzan emphasizes the environmental security paradox: the only way to secure societies from environmental threats is to change them.¹² Here the author expresses partial disagreement with Buzan. Changing the society, or rather changing the patterns of behavior and the attitude towards the environment, is the best way to minimize environmental threats. However, this certainly cannot be seen as the only way for a very simple reason—there are threats coming from the environment itself (the best example being volcanic eruptions) are they cannot be influenced. Further discussion leads to the question: what is the referent object in the environmental security sector? Buzan cites two referent objects: the environment itself and the nexus of civilization and environment.

The next very important question is: should environmental security be viewed on the global, regional or local scale? According to the conclusions emanating from the work of the *Copenhagen School*^{13,14} although contemporary environmental topics are usually viewed on a global scale, awareness of these topics has emerged from the discovery of global consequences of seemingly harmless individual and local practices/procedures. Causes and effects in the environmental sector may be found on different levels and in different regions. Moreover, whether the cause or the effect is being “securitized” makes a difference in perception.

At this juncture, before looking into the role of the OSCE, it would be useful to provide a few facts in support of the aforementioned claims about the rele-

11 Buzan B. et al., *Security – a New Framework for Analysis* (Lynne Rinner Publishers, Inc., Boulder, Colorado, 1998), 75.

12 Ibid. 76.

13 Ibid. 21.-23.

14 *The Copenhagen School* was created within the Copenhagen Peace Research Institute (COPRI), which was founded in 1985 by the decision of the Parliament of the Kingdom of Denmark. In 2003, the Institute was incorporated into the Danish Institute for International Studies (DIIS). The School's theoretical opinion was developed based on three main ideas: the securitization theory, sectoral approach to security, and the regional security complex theory. The most eminent authors emanating from the School are Barry Buzan, Ole Waever and Jaap de Wilde.

vance of environmental issues in international politics and security. The 1987 report entitled *Our Common Future*¹⁵, also known as the *Brundtland Commission Report*, states that the concept of security must be expanded to include the growing impacts of environmental stress¹⁶ at the local, regional, national and global levels. Principle 25 of the 1992 *Rio Declaration on Environment and Development*¹⁷ stated that peace, development and environmental protection are interdependent and indivisible. The 2007 Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) and the US politician Al Gore for their efforts to disseminate knowledge about climate changes and stopping them. Despite the occasional challenging of the Nobel Peace Prize itself that can be heard from different sides, the decision from 2007 can still be taken as a proof that one environmental issue, which climate change certainly is, is considered relevant for global peace and security. Another illustrative example is the Kyoto Protocol, which was signed as a supplement to the *UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC)*. Although it is aimed at reducing emissions of greenhouse gases (which should be a goal acceptable to all states), it still causes huge disagreements between the Global North and the Global South, the rich and the poor countries, the developed and the underdeveloped ones, which only confirms that environmental issues are difficult to separate from international politics. Another illustrative example is that of NATO—which is primarily a military alliance but has started to increasingly deal with non-military threats to security. Within NATO there is a Science for Peace and Security Committee (SPS), which, among other, deals with security and environmental issues. Moreover, within the Alliance there is also the Emerging Security Challenges Division (ESCD), founded in 2010, which is yet another confirmation of the growing importance given to non-traditional security challenges as a topic to be dealt with by NATO in the future. The importance of environmental challenges, which is faced by the entire international community, was recognized by NATO back in 1969, when the Committee on the Challenges of Modern Society (CCMS) was founded within the Alliance. Throughout the period until its integration with the aforementioned Science for Peace and Security Committee, the Committee on the Challenges of Modern Society had been a unique forum where NATO member states and partner states exchanged know-how on social, health and environmental issues, both in the civilian and in the military sphere. Over the years, several groups have

15 Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development: *Our Common Future*; <http://www.un-documents.net/our-common-future.pdf>, accessed on 15 September 2015.

16 The Report uses the term "environmental stress". The author chose the word "poremećaj" ("disturbance") as the most adequate Serbian translation of this term. (*Translator's note: This footnote is irrelevant for the English translation of the text*)

17 1992 Rio Declaration on Environment and Development; <http://www.jus.uio.no/lm/environmental.development.rio.declaration.1992/portrait.a4.pdf>, accessed on 15 September 2015.

been established within NATO to address environmental challenges from various angles.¹⁸ It is noteworthy that the European Council held in Thessaloniki in 2003 launched an initiative entitled Green Diplomacy Network, aimed at integrating environmental issues into EU external relations issues, whereby the Union confirmed the importance it attaches to these issues and their relevance.

The OSCE and environmental security issues

As a large regional organization dealing with security issues, which in addition to European states also comprises Canada and the United States, the OSCE is significantly engaged in environmental security issues. It should be emphasized that one of the three “security dimensions” within which the OSCE conducts its activities is the Economic and Environmental Dimension. Environment was mentioned back in the *Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe Final Act*¹⁹. Namely, this document, considered to be the founding document of the OSCE, includes a chapter entitled “*Co-operation in the Field of Economics, of Science and Technology and of the Environment*”. Subchapter 5 within this chapter is entitled “Environment”. It sets out the aims and fields of cooperation, as well as its forms and methods. Although it does not mention environmental security per se, if we consider the time (1975) and the circumstances in which the document was adopted, the subchapter itself was rather ambitiously conceived and formulated. Another important OSCE document that mentions the issue of environment is the 1990 *Document of the Bonn Conference*²⁰. Neither this document refers to environmental security per se, but it does highlight the importance of the issues and problems relating to this area. Given that the document was adopted only a year after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of the Cold War, it is not surprising that the environment is mentioned only in general, with emphasis on its importance in economic cooperation. The OSCE Ministerial Council held in Maastricht in December 2003, adopted the *OSCE Strategy Document for the Economic and Environmental Dimension*²¹. Chapter 1, entitled *Challenges and threats in the economic and environmental dimension*, expresses a growing concern for the state of the environment. It also states that

18 http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_91048.htm, accessed on 15 September 2015.

19 <https://www.osce.org/mc/39501?download=true>, accessed on 15 September 2015.

20 <http://www.osce.org/eea/14081?download=true>, accessed on 15 September 2015.

21 <http://www.osce.org/eea/20705?download=true>, accessed on 15 September 2015.

environmental degradation, unsustainable use of natural resources and mismanagement in the processing and disposal of waste have a substantial impact on human health, stability and security of states and can upset ecological systems. These factors, together with problems of access to resources and negative effects of pollution, can cause tensions between countries. It is also stated that ecological disasters resulting from natural causes, economic activities or terrorist acts may also pose a serious threat to stability and security. The document also provides a list of “responses and action” (Chapter 2) that the OSCE will take in accordance with its capabilities and mandate. In November 2007, the meeting of the OSCE Ministerial Council was held in Madrid. The outcome of this session was the document entitled *Madrid Declaration on Environment and Security*²², which did not mention the environment in general terms as had previously been the case, but linked it directly to security. The conclusions presented in the Document specify, among other, that the OSCE, within its mandate, financial and human resources and capacity has a potential for widening and deepening its co-operation with other international organizations working in the area of environment and thereby making contributions to deal with future relevant risks and challenges in the OSCE region. It is also stated that the OSCE could raise awareness on the potential impact on security of environmental challenges, by using its forum for dialogue and exchange of experiences and best practices and also by integrating these considerations into its activities.

In addition to the strategic orientations set out in the said documents, the OSCE also conducts significant activities in the field of environmental security. Certainly the most prominent of these is the partnership in the *ENVSEC Initiative*. *The Environment and Security Initiative (ENVSEC)* was launched at *The Fifth Environment for Europe Ministerial Conference*, held in Kiev in May 2003. It was a joint initiative of the OSCE, the UNEP (*United Nations Environment Program*) and the UNDP (*United Nations Development Program*). A year later, the Initiative was joined by three other organizations: NATO, the UNECE (*United Nations Economic Commission for Europe*) and REC (*The Regional Environment Centre for Central and Eastern Europe*). Each of the abovementioned partner organizations brought its own specificities and expertise to the ENVSEC initiative. The approach used within the Initiative consists of four basic steps:

1. In-depth vulnerability assessments of environmental and security risks—also includes identification of hotspots for rising tensions over environmental issues,

22 <http://www.osce.org/mc/29550?download=true>, accessed on 25 April 2015.

2. Strengthening of policies, awareness and participation in decision-making—building of capacities and frameworks to prevent and address environmental and security problems,
3. Joint management of environmental and security risks—support for coordination and concrete actions at country and regional level,
4. Solutions for safe environment and sustainable development—mobilization of financial support and technical expertise for environmental clean-up and remediation.

The OSCE itself, with its broad mandate in the field of security and numerous missions and presence on the ground, has secured significant political support for the Initiative.

Concluding observations

Given the population trends of the modern world, as well as the dynamics and intensity of technological development, we can reasonably conclude that the importance of environmental security will continue to grow in the future. As a large regional security organization, the OSCE will play an important role in dealing with environmental security challenges. Especially noteworthy is the role that the OSCE can play in conflict prevention and in post-conflict reconstruction, which will be briefly explained.

Namely, if we see the OSCE as a forum for high-level political dialogue on a number of security-related issues, then the environmental issues can be used through it as a means of conflict prevention. Given its presence on the ground, as well as its previous experience within the ENVSEC Initiative, the OSCE can play an important role in identifying potential hotspots where environmental problems threaten to lead to a conflict. The issue can then be raised at a high political level, from which political pressure would be exerted towards resolving the problem at an adequate lower level—through cooperation between states or local communities. Common environmental problems can connect people and communities in a very positive way, whereas joint efforts toward solving these problems create mutual trust and a sense of togetherness. Moreover, a peaceful approach to solving the identified problems is promoted. Cooperation in the field of environment can therefore be a very powerful tool for preventing conflict, building mutual confidence, and promoting good neighborly relations,

all of which are patterns that can later be used for cooperation in other areas where there are disagreements or disputes.

Environmental security issues, but also the field of environment per se, can be used as an excellent ground for initial steps in post-conflict cooperation. Namely, unlike the issues of territory, history, linguistic, ethnic and religious identity, etc., issues relating to the environment are characterized by a very low level of political “sensitivity” and controversy. That is why they are suitable for taking the initial steps in the reconciliation, confidence-building and post-conflict stabilization initiatives, which can be successfully used in unstable regions such as the Western Balkans, the Caucasus, and some parts of Central Asia, where the OSCE is present on the ground. The OSCE is also an adequate forum for the exchange of experiences and can thus significantly contribute to improving governance in its participating states’ environmental sectors.

OSCE and contemporary security challenges

Summary: After the Cold War, a comprehensive approach to managing security challenges was anchored in numerous strategic documents of leading international organizations applying a geographical and geopolitical approach. The main advantage of the OSCE, as an organization that basis its activities on a geographical approach, is its focus on human security through presence on the ground. Precisely this concept is the main comparative advantage of the OSCE vis-à-vis other international organizations of the same nature, because in the world of new challenges, risks and threats to human and national security, conflicts that do not dwell on the military component alone, “hybrid” conflicts, both international and interstate, the OSCE bases its approach on dialogue, cooperation and international approach—using local expertise and information from the ground. Most importantly, the OSCE has a longstanding practice of inclusive security management, with numerous examples from the ground, through the inclusion of all stakeholders in the said process: state actors that use force, state actors that do not use force, as well as non-state actors that use force and non-state actors that do not use force.

Introduction

The OSCE (Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe), as an international organization dealing with issues of cooperation and security at a global level since 1975, comprises most of the countries of the West and the East and therefore has one of the most significant roles in building politico-military, environmental, economic and human security¹ at the global level.² After the multilateral forum for dialogue and negotiation between the East and the West, i.e. the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), grew into today's Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe in 1994, the OSCE became the irreplaceable partner to governments at the global level in resolving the issues of conflict prevention, development of early warning systems, crisis management and post-conflict rehabilitation.³

The fall of the Berlin Wall and the disintegration of the Soviet Union changed the Cold War security paradigm and led to the awakening of the need for an expanded understanding of the security concept within the states themselves, which no longer implied only a militaristic approach to security. The establishment of a new concept of understanding the notion of security for the post-Cold War context meant the acceptance and implementation of new principles at the institutional level. The concept of democratic governance of the security sector also implied a new way of managing "new" threats, which could not be resolved by a military approach alone.⁴ This has led to the inclusion of political, economic, social and environmental aspects of threats into the understanding and setting of the broader concept of security (for more details, see: Buzan, 1991).

Although the role and the position of international organizations such as the EU and NATO were strengthened at that time, the OSCE and UN academic and expert circles had seen security for some time already as a necessity and the right of every citizen. Through cooperation with all levels of society in countries in which it operates, as defined in the mandate of its operations, the OSCE

1 More on OSCE dimensions in: Ghebali, 2007

2 The history of the OSCE, namely the activity and organization of the CSCE, and the adoption of the Helsinki Act are linked to a completely different context of international relations. From today's perspective, it is important to emphasize the disregarded role of the then "neutral" and "non-aligned" policy of the former Yugoslavia, namely the cooperation between its leader Josip Broz Tito and the Finnish President Urho Kekkonen in this stage of establishment of a neutral institution such as the CSCE for the purposes of the dialogue during the Cold War and the crisis of détente (for more details, see: Bilandžić, Dahlmann and Kosanovic 2012; Kullaa 2012; Vasiljević 2013, 18-19).

3 For more detail, see official OSCE website: <http://www.osce.org/secretariat/conflict-prevention>

4 For more details on democratic governance of the security sector, see: Tasic, 2014

clearly recognizes and implements a comprehensive approach to managing security challenges.

This essay will analyze the role of the OSCE in the context of contemporary challenges, risks and threats to national and human security, with special emphasis on the aspect of human rights on a global level and in the Western Balkans region, where the largest number of active missions are deployed. The essay will separately analyze the role of non-state actors in managing security challenges, establishing regional cooperation and institutionalizing the rule of law—processes that were largely encouraged precisely by the OSCE's activities in countries with post-conflict and post-authoritarian heritage. Finally, the essay will present the conclusions and potential recommendations for the OSCE's further mandate in the region and the world when it comes to risks and threats faced by humanity today.

The role and importance of the OSCE in confronting contemporary risks and threats

The number of armed conflicts on a global scale, the growing need for military response to the growing violence and threats to fundamental human rights around the globe in the early 21st century lead to the key question that experts and academics keep raising on daily basis: where was the mistake made? Several years after the Cold War, consolidated democracies seemingly found a solution for the establishment of the international legal framework, guided by the key principles of Kant's concept of Perpetual Peace. The developed West, with emerging democracies of the former Eastern bloc, mostly focused on strengthening the institutions of international character whose primary tasks were to establish cooperation and interconnection between developed democracies, to establish the conditions for safe life in all parts of the planet, "democratization" of weak states, strengthening of global economy and exchange, as well as the protection of legal orders of individual states through international law.

With the disappearance of the bipolar world order, conditions were created for the growth and development of the global free market, new technologies, science and economy, pooling of capacities for the protection of human rights but also environmental protection, strengthening of all levels of society with a view to further improving individual and collective freedoms. All these priorities received their formal legal framework under the auspices of the United Nations,

European Union, NATO, the OSCE, and other international organizations whose basic mandate is to maintain peace and protect the international legal order.

However, the beginning of the new millennium seriously disrupted the global security paradigm with the terrorist attack on the United States in 2001. NATO as a military and political alliance regained its importance and the international postulates applied in the early 1990s in the war in the former Yugoslavia were reactivated. In terms of security, technological advances and the West's insistence on democratization of weak states without prior consideration of the context brought a series of challenges, so-called "new threats" that required different approaches to resolving them.

After September 2001, the priorities of security sector governance in strong states have been more and more based on continuous introduction of reforms and innovations in the functioning of the security system. These reforms, as already mentioned, are mainly focused "on the need to act outside state territory—new generations of peacekeeping missions and new forms of civil-military cooperation in and outside the country" (Stojanović 2009, 86).

The priorities of dealing with "new" threats to national and international security include, among other, the fight against organized crime, cyber-terrorism, terrorism, global warming, chemical weapons, human trafficking, etc. In the globalized world of the XXI century, it is the most developed and powerful states that bear the biggest consequences of the "new" threats and challenges to security, given that their influence at the global security level is considered to be the biggest threat to security of other states. In this very segment the power of individual states proved to be very successful in triggering the so-called security dilemma⁵, ultimately leading to a potential escalation of the conflict, which is reflected today in the relations between the U.S., Russia, Iran, Israel, etc. In this vacuum, when the "hard" and the "soft" power of state governments prove to be ineffective, a wide space opens for strengthening the role of organizations that act solely through the framework of protection of international law, respect for rights and freedoms, fostering of cooperation between countries and insistence on democratic ways of dealing with crisis situations.

5 "The view that war is a constant historical feature of international politics and is unlikely to disappear is based on the notion that states face what has been described as a security dilemma from which is largely impossible to escape. The idea of a security dilemma was first clearly articulated in 1950 by John Hertz. It was, he said: "a structural notion in which the self-help attempts of states to look after their security needs tend, regardless of intention, to lead to rising insecurity for others as each interprets its own measures as defensive and measures of others as potentially threatening" to their own security (M.H.), John Baylis, *International and Global Security*, in: *The Globalization of World Politics*, second edition, John Baylis & Steve Smith (eds), Oxford University Press, UK, 2001, p. 257 (taken from Hadžić, 2005)

In that regard, the OSCE proved to be a crucial partner in managing security challenges and inducing the security sector reform process (hereinafter referred to as SSR) in states with post-conflict legacy. The SSR as a concept has a strong dimension of conflict prevention, which is an important part of the OSCE's work. The 1994 Code on Politico-Military Aspects of Security contains a series of key concepts and principles relevant to SSR (OSCE, 1994). As an organization that, unlike the EU, has a geopolitical approach (for more details, see: Ghebali 2007), the OSCE is a patent cohesive factor for the Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian dimensions. Through the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly, the organization has access to 57 national parliaments of the participating States on three continents (North America, Europe and Asia), including their defense committees, and therefore plays an important role in capacity building for parliamentary oversight (details: Galbreath 2007). The OSCE also implements a wide range of SSR-related activities on the ground, including the post-conflict context, where issues such as disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR), control of small arms and light weapons (SALW), border management and rule of law are some of the key priorities of activity.⁶ Examples of activity of OSCE missions in the SSR process include Bosnia and Herzegovina, Albania, Croatia, FYROM, Kosovo, Kyrgyzstan, Montenegro and Serbia, as well as the specially developed assistance programs in Armenia, Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan, and as of 2014, Ukraine. In this regard it is noteworthy that most likely none of the individual OSCE participating States would in any diplomatic form be accepted at the local level, especially by the defense system, in a way in which in these cases an international organization with a clear mandate based on prevention and dialogue was accepted. This is clearly manifested in the case of Ukraine, where cooperation of the Government was and remained continuous and focused on resolving the crisis (for further information, see: OSCE 2014).

Cooperation with non-state actors that do not use force

Inclusion of local non-state actors that do not use force in the reform process, especially when it comes to the security sector, largely depends on the conditions set by the international community as an external actor of the reform.

6 For more details on OSCE lessons learnt on the ground, see: Zannier, 2006.

Namely, if one of the most important foreign policy goals of the government of a particular country is reintegration into the international community, as in the case of Western Balkan countries is their EU integration, then the process of meeting the conditions for such membership by the government is so much more efficient. Unlike, for instance, the controversial and problematic perception of NATO in the Western Balkans, especially in Serbia as one of the main guarantors of (in) security in the region⁷, the OSCE has, through its missions' activities, proved that for a successful fulfillment of the basic functions of its existence,⁸ it was necessary to have a long-term local presence and cooperation with all actors of the reform on the ground. As pointed out in the Resolution on Co-operation with Civil Society and Non-Governmental Organizations, adopted at the Annual Meeting of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly in Brussels in 2006, all OSCE participating States have an obligation to recognize that "a strong and independent civil society free from interference of government contributes essentially to the promotion of human rights, democracy and the rule of law" (OSCE PA 2013). Therefore, each mission undertaken by the OSCE in a particular country implies continuous cooperation with local civil society, precisely because their roles are essentially similar and their cooperation is natural. Namely, the main function of civil society is reflected in the oversight of the work of institutions and the democratic control of processes and activities of security structures, through independent monitoring, development of studies and analyses, research and debate. Civil society organizations (CSOs) perform their oversight role by constantly raising awareness about the topics of importance for the security of citizens, by calling representatives of the system to account and by monitoring the implementation of action plans and agendas⁹. Civil society also has a crucial role in providing civilian expertise in the development of a normative framework. In addition to this type of expertise provision, CSOs can significantly contribute to staff capacity building in the security sector,¹⁰ both through trainings and through direct co-organization of events. Drafting of publications for citizens on the work of institutions, including the security services, also significantly contributes to the transparency of accountability of a collapsed system. The field of communications with the general public is one of the main comparative advantages of civil society vis-à-vis the state.

7 More on the issue of NATO in Serbia in: Ejodus, 2011

8 Security dialogue, setting of standards and monitoring of the implementation of commitments assumed by institutions, as well as the process of democratization and prevention of renewed conflict. For more information, see: OSCE 2014, 1

9 For more details about capabilities for the oversight role of CSOs over the security sector, see: Stojanovic 2009

10 For example, the UN Women Programme Office in Serbia has invested significant resources in the training of members of the security sector for cooperation with civil society, engendering of the security sector, etc. For more details about the projects of the UN Women Programme Office, see: <http://rs.one.un.org/index.php?org=18&lang=en&page=44&type=2&id=167>

To be able to perform these activities smoothly, the civil society, in addition to institutional support in the form of a formal legal framework allowing it to act, also needs strong international support, especially in countries with post-authoritarian and post-conflict legacy. In this regard, the OSCE is one of the few international organizations that have not fallen into the trap of “form without reform”. Namely, with inadequate coordination of donor assistance, insufficiently specified system of evaluation of implemented initiatives and failure to include the pluralism of goals that are directly connected with the local needs of the particular area, most of the donors in the Western Balkans have fallen into a trap of “financing their own goals”, and creating a civil society that is dependent on donor assistance. This has happened precisely because of lack of presence on the ground. Contemporary challenges and threats to human and national security are transnational, but very contextually conditioned from country to country. For the activities of international organizations to be meaningful and effective, a big local support and a continuous source of information from the ground are required. This is yet another of immeasurable benefits of an organization such as the OSCE, which establishes missions and field operations in agreement with the governments of the countries concerned. Examples of this are numerous and include a wide range of goals and activities that enhance the human security component. For example, one of the long-term activities of the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities aimed at strengthening the integration of the Moldovan society is a project launched in 2005, focused on language training for civil servants in areas with minority population, within which in the period of 7 years 2,900 civil servants learned the language. Also, one of the most successful stories when it comes to the security sector reform in the Western Balkans is certainly the long-term involvement of the OSCE missions and operations in Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo in the field of police reform¹¹. A similar situation also applies to the projects aimed at strengthening media freedom. The introduction of the permanent OSCE Representative on Freedom of the Media, who even has a local experience, has greatly improved the monitoring of Governments in the OSCE region when it comes to ensuring freedom of expression in individual countries. Also, the OSCE mission to Serbia has regular cooperation with academic institutions and provides support both to the teaching staff of universities, schools and educational institutions and to students through scholarships and training. Moreover, some of the most effective civil society projects were supported pre-

11 For more information on examples of projects and accomplishments of the OSCE missions and operations, see: <http://www.osce.org/stories?page=10>, as well as the OSCE's magazine Security Community: <http://www.osce.org/magazine>

cisely by the OSCE's departments for media, democratization, gender equality, etc. within the missions in Western Balkan states¹².

Lessons learned and advantages of the OSCE

Under its basic mandate, which is based on a comprehensive approach to security management through cooperation, the OSCE has since the 1990s played a pivotal role in the international arena in terms of the three main fields of activity: conflict prevention, the politico-military dimension of security, and the human security dimension.

The OSCE is the only regional security organization in which the West and Russia sit at the same table under the same conditions. In the current constellation of international relations, this is perhaps the biggest advantage of the OSCE, because this institution as an organization without military capabilities advocates solution through dialogue. This is demonstrated the best by the set of methods used to prevent the escalation of conflict in Ukraine. First, the OSCE Special Monitoring Mission (SMM) was established on 21 March 2014, following the decision of the Permanent Council reached by consensus of all 57 OSCE participating States. Since then, the mission has achieved concrete results in terms of provision of reliable information from the ground through independent reports from ten regions in Ukraine, including the problematic territories of Lugansk and Donetsk. According to the group of authors of the OSCE Network of Think Tanks and Academic Institutions, the OSCE today is repositioning itself through "... field operations whose mandate includes institutional inclusiveness, regional experience and the ability to respond rapidly". (For more details, see: OSCE 2014). They further base their case on the fact that the OSCE field missions are aimed at "the process of providing resources and expertise in situations of crisis, transition or state-building" (*ibid.*). More importantly, these missions cannot be established or closed without the consent of the host state.

12 Some of the NGO projects with concrete results in particular areas: 1. Serbia's OSCE Chairmanship and the role of youth: <http://www.koms.rs/poziv-trening-projekat-predsedavanje-srbije-oeps-om-2015-i-uloga-mladih/>
2. Young people in Kosovo: <http://www.osce.org/kosovo/74240?download=true> 3. Young Roma and education in Montenegro: <http://www.mladiromi.me/projekti/2013/121-obrazovanjem-do-integracije>

In terms of comprehensiveness of approach to maintaining security, cooperation and the rule of law, the OSCE is surely, in addition to the UN agencies, the only international organization that has developed mechanisms for cooperation with non-state actors in society, such as NGOs, the academic community and the media, through focused dialogue, coordination of donor assistance, presence on the ground, constant monitoring of results and continuous monitoring of media and civil society representatives.

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Special emphasis on language as a means of integration of national minorities into social and public life in the Republic of Serbia

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Summary: The essay points to a comprehensive security concept developed within the OSCE system, which in addition to the state security also includes the human security aspect. Within the human dimension of security, the essay will present the mandate of the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities and his role in countering the threats that may emerge from the societal sector which the essay underlines in particular. Further highlighted is the issue of language as a means for integration of national minorities and, in that respect, a means for maintaining the stability of the state's political system. Finally, an overview is given of the OSCE's role in improving the learning of the official language of the state in primary and secondary education as a means for successful integration of national minorities in the Republic of Serbia.

The concept of security and contemporary security challenges

After the end of the Cold War and the end of the bipolar structure of international relations, the concept of security in contemporary security studies and in international relations theory was redefined. The notion of security no longer applies only to military threats and national security but becomes expanded when the agenda of international security starts to also include non-military threats such as internal conflicts, terrorism, organized crime, climate change consequences, etc. The concept also becomes deepened because security is transferred from the state level to individual persons, social groups, the region and the entire international order in terms of global security. Representatives of the Copenhagen School of Security Studies, Barry Buzan and Ole Waever developed a sectoral approach to security and provided a new analytical framework for such a security dynamics. According to this approach, there are five security sectors: military, political, societal, economic and environmental. Each of these sectors has its own referent object, characteristic relations and threats.

The military security sector as a traditional starting point of security studies implies the dynamics between the political units, in which there is a threat or the use of military force. Despite changes in the international order, territorial integrity and sovereignty of the state continue to be the key referent object, and threats in this sector may come from other states but also from non-state actors.¹

The referent object for the political sector is organizational stability within a particular political community. Given that the state is a dominant form of political organization, the referent object of contemporary security dynamics in this sector is the organizational stability of the state, i.e. the legitimacy of its institutions before the citizens. Threats in this case would include all those that would cause instability and threaten the political order, coming both from internal non-state actors such as, for example, instigation of secessionism, and external actors if recognition of one state is contested by other states.²

The societal sector is characterized by the relations of power between collective identities, and the identity of a political community is a referent object. According to Waever, societal security is the ability of a society to persist in its essential

1 Ejodus 2012, 125-143

2 Ejodus 2012, 146- 151

character under changing conditions and possible or actual threats, namely the ability to defend its identity from the observed threats.³ Social groups may appear in the security dynamics independently from the state, in which case they attempt to protect their collective identity which may be manifested through language, religion, culture and lifestyle. If we, for example, talk about persons belonging to national minority groups, a security threat could be posed by the state in which they live if it in any way jeopardizes their collective identity.

The referent object in the economic sector depends on the level of analysis. If we talk about the individual level, that would be the individual well-being. At the state level, the referent object would imply the overall economic welfare, i.e. the attained level of economic development. Finally, the referent object at the international level is the international liberal order which states seek to maintain.

Finally, the environmental sector implies relationships between man and nature, and the referent object would be civilization, or the biosphere.⁴ It is therefore difficult to define a referent object at an individual or state level because threats to environmental security affect the international society at large in the long run.

It should be borne in mind that this is an ideal typical division of the sector and that security threats often spill over from one sector to another. The same threats may reflect on different referent objects and at the same time cause instabilities in several sectors. This analytical framework reflects a comprehensive understanding of security from the perspective of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

The OSCE and the three dimensions of security

The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe is an intergovernmental organization committed to maintaining peace and security on European soil. It was established during the Cold War period as a manifestation of strivings of the East and the West towards finding common values that would overbridge

3 Ejđus 2012, 115

4 Ejđus 2012, 116

the multiyear absence of cooperation between the two sides. Throughout history, the war torn European soil posed a threat to stability in international relations and thus carried a need to establish an organization that would deal with maintenance of security precisely in that part of the world.

The OSCE as a regional organization with its 57 participating states covers the entire territory of Europe, the Euro-Atlantic and Euro-Asian regions. Established as a forum for dialogue between the East and the West in the Cold War period, as the then Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe, by the 1975 Helsinki Final Act, it develops a comprehensive concept of security which encompasses both state security level and human security level. In the working session of the Conference, which lasted from 1973 to 1975, the issues discussed were divided into three baskets: security and confidence-building measures, cooperation on economic, scientific, technological and environmental protection issues, and finally, issues of human rights and movement of people, ideas and goods across borders, later known as the three dimensions of security (political-military, economic and environmental, and human).⁵ The inclusion of such a broad range of issues reflects a comprehensive approach to security, which remains one of the greatest contributions of the OSCE. All three dimensions were developed over time through a series of documents that broadened the scope of obligations that the participating countries accepted.

Following the signature of the Helsinki Final Act, when the participating states assumed commitments arising from several provisions relating to human rights, a series of other documents were adopted under the auspices of the CSCE, of relevance for human rights. Over the years, the human dimension developed into a detailed catalogue of rights including mechanisms that are helpful to participating states when it comes to implementation. The human dimension is crucial in the OSCE's peace-building efforts. Independent OSCE institutions—the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR), the High Commissioner on National Minorities (HCNM) and the Representative on Freedom of the Media (RFOM) are key instruments for ensuring the respect of human rights, democracy and the rule of law.⁶

The mandate of the High Commissioner on National Minorities, seated in The Hague, is to focus on the interests and rights of national minorities in the territory of the OSCE participating states. In its Helsinki Decisions of July 1992, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe established this institution

5 <http://react.usip.org/downloads/module1.pdf>

6 OSCE Handbook 2000, 91

as “an instrument of conflict prevention at the earliest possible stage”.⁷ This mandate was created largely in reaction to the situation in the former Yugoslavia which some feared could be repeated elsewhere in Europe, especially among the countries in transition to democracy, and could undermine the promise of peace and prosperity on which the organization is based. The High Commissioner has no mandate to actively intervene in the area where the conflict already erupted, his key role is prevention. If there are indicators for the outbreak of crisis in a particular area that can spill over into violence, he provides early warning and informs the OSCE Chairperson accordingly. The High Commissioner is independent in his work and there is no need for approval of the Permanent Council.⁸ Also, he may visit the states and areas inhabited by national minorities, if there is such a need, without permission or notification to the official authorities. Actions of the High Commissioner preclude involvement in matters of individual members of a national minority. He monitors and reports on the rights of persons belonging to national minorities in the territory of participating states. Within his mandate, he issues recommendations and guidelines for the exercise of national minority rights. The recommendations that serve as a basis for research in this essay include The Hague Recommendations Regarding the Education Rights of Minorities of 1996 and the Ljubljana Guidelines on Integration of Diverse Societies of 2012. Also, within his mandate, the High Commissioner on National Minorities undertakes small-scale projects that may improve the status of national minority rights in the OSCE participating states. A special emphasis placed on the role of this institution in the protection of the right to education of persons belonging to national minorities in the Republic of Serbia will be presented in the following pages of this essay.

Although the obligations assumed within the OSCE are not legally binding, they have political weight that ensures the fulfillment of these obligations by participating states. These three dimensions provide the ability to cope with the security challenges that may arise from all five aforementioned security sectors. Threats do not always appear in isolation and do not affect the referent object in one sector only. Most often there are spillovers and thus uncertainties emerging in the societal sector may easily spill over into the political sector and thereby cause instability of the state's political system, which can often result in spillover into the military sector. The human dimension of security is significant in that regard because the proclaimed principles of democracy, rule of law, human rights, good governance and strong democratic institutions affect the ensurance

7 The Hague Recommendations Regarding the Education Rights of National Minorities, OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities, 1996, p. 1.

8 OSCE Handbook 2000, 32

of strengthening state institutions and reduction of the risk of internal tensions that may be caused by social discontent and human rights violations.

This essay will, because of its scope, focus only on the societal sector and the OSCE's role in countering the threats arising from this sector. The threat to survival of collective identity as the referent object in this sector is a security threat for persons belonging to a particular national minority. This can further be a factor of instability within a particular political community, i.e. the state in which the national minority lives. Integration of a particular national minority into social and public life of the state is a precondition for stability of the political system. Namely, in the following pages the essay will analyze the issue of the role of language in the integration of national minorities in Serbia as a precondition for stability of the political system and the OSCE's role in dealing with this challenge.

Language as a means of integration—the role of the OSCE

Considering that language is a key characteristic of national identity, its role is of crucial importance for the respect and enjoyment of minority rights. The right to use their mother tongue is envisaged by the Framework Council of Europe's Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, which stipulates that "every person belonging to a national minority has the right to use freely and without interference his or her minority language, in private and in public, orally or in writing"⁹, while the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages defines the principles and objectives upon which the states develop their policies, legislation and practice relating to regional or minority languages used within their territories.

Also, the right, as well as the duty of persons belonging to national minorities to participate in the social integration process is foreseen by a number of inter-

9 Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, Article 10

national documents.¹⁰ The Ljubljana Guidelines on Integration of Diverse Societies of the OSCE High Commissioner for National Minorities (HCNM) states that “Integration policies should include measures that encourage cross-community dialogue and interaction based on tolerance and mutual respect. This covers a broad range of initiatives in various fields, including education, media and language policy”¹¹. In addition, it is stated that “States have the obligation to protect and promote minority languages and the right of persons belonging to minorities to learn and use them, minorities share with the majorities the responsibility to participate in the cultural, social and economic life and the public affairs [...] This participation implies that persons belonging to minorities should acquire adequate knowledge of the State or official language(s)”¹².

Insufficient knowledge of the official language of the state leads to reduced opportunities for participation of persons belonging to national minorities in education in the official language of the state, in professional training, then in employment and, finally, to their reduced participation in the decision-making process and in the broader social life.

Given that knowledge of the official language is a factor of social integration, the state should harmonize efforts related to the learning of minority and official languages, especially in areas where the instruction is in a minority language and where the opportunities for learning the official language are largely related to the educational system, as is the case in areas where persons belonging to a minority are a majority population. According to the Ljubljana Guidelines, states’ policies should balance the need for one or more shared language(s) as a common basis for the integration and functioning of society with the obligation to safeguard and promote linguistic diversity, including by protecting the linguistic rights of minorities. Governments should provide accessible opportunities to learn the State language.¹³ Further, The Hague Recommendations declare that minorities have not only have the right to maintain their identity through the medium of their mother tongue but that they also have the right to integrate into and participate in the wider national society by learning the State language. The explanation of recommendations 11-14, relating to primary and secondary schooling of minorities, states that submersion-type ap-

10 The Hague Recommendations Regarding the Education Rights of National Minorities and Explanatory Note; High Commissioner on National Minorities, Recommendation No. 1; Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, Explanatory Report to Article 14; Ljubljana Guidelines on Integration of Diverse Societies, OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities, 2012, Guideline 42

11 Ibid, guideline No. 11.

12 Ibid, explanatory note, guideline No. 42

13 The Ljubljana Guidelines on Integration of Diverse Societies a, OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities (HCNM), 2012, Guideline 42

proaches whereby the curriculum is taught exclusively through the medium of the State language and minority children are entirely integrated into classes with children of the majority are not in line with international standards. Likewise, this applies to segregated schools in which the entire curriculum is taught exclusively through the medium of the minority mother tongue, throughout the entire educational process and where the majority language is not taught at all or only to a minimal extent.¹⁴

A closer clarification will be given of the legal framework in Serbia that regulates the issue of relationship between the exercise of the right to education in the mother tongue and the learning of the official State language. According to the Law on the Foundations of the Education System, education and pedagogy work is delivered in the Serbian language. For persons belonging to national minorities, the educational and pedagogical work is delivered in their mother tongue and may exceptionally be delivered bilingually or in the Serbian language.¹⁵ According to the Law on Primary Education, when the curriculum is implemented also in a native minority language, the students shall master the Serbian curriculum as well.¹⁶ Also, it is envisaged that when educational and pedagogical work is implemented in the language and script of the national minority, the school is obliged to organize teaching of the Serbian language.¹⁷ The issue of the right to use the language for persons belonging to national minorities is regulated by the same law that envisages that when the instruction is given in the Serbian language, the instruction for minority students is given in the minority language with elements of national culture as an optional subject.¹⁸

Awareness about the poor knowledge of the Serbian language among persons belonging to the Albanian national minority comes from the civil society, institutions, experts, participants of various initiatives, programs and projects, as well as from individuals from the Albanian community. The unsatisfactory level of knowledge of the official language of the Republic of Serbia is brought into direct connection with considerably reduced chances for persons belonging to the Albanian national minority to use the opportunities related to their education in the official language of the Republic of Serbia, to apply for employment (especially in the public administration), to be more involved in the deci-

14 The Hague Recommendations Regarding the Education Rights of National Minorities and Explanatory Note; OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities, 1996, Explanatory Note, Recommendations No. 11, 12, 13, 14

15 The Law on the Foundations of the Education System (*The RS Official Gazette*, No. 55/2013), Art. 9, paragraph 2.

16 The Law on Primary Education (*The RS Official Gazette*, No. 55/2013), Art. 5, paragraph 2.

17 *Ibid*, Art.12 paragraph 4

18 *Ibid*, Art.12 paragraph 5

sion-making process.¹⁹ Also, it was noted that young Albanians from South Serbia, due to lack of proficiency of the Serbian language, decide to study in Tirana, Skopje, Tetovo or Pristina, and that precisely because of their poor knowledge of the Serbian language they are not able to study at the universities in Serbia, or later on, to seek employment in Serbia, i.e. outside their local communities. All this leads to difficulties in the integration of persons belonging to the Albanian minority in the social and public life in the Republic of Serbia. This also applies to persons belonging to other national minorities whose mother tongue is not close to the Serbian language, such as Hungarian, for example.

Within the effort to deal with these problems, the OSCE Mission to Serbia implemented in 2013 the project “The Improvement of Language Skills of the Minority Population in South Serbia” in the “Sezai Surroi” secondary School in Bujanovac. The aim was to improve the opportunities and the framework for integration of persons belonging to the Albanian and Roma national minorities through the improvement of the teaching of Serbian as non-mother tongue in secondary school. The project had two dimensions, the first of which entailed working with pupils in the secondary school, while the other dimension was focused on preparing persons belonging to the Albanian and Roma national minorities for the Serbian language studies at the University of Nis.

The idea of the project concerned the hiring of teaching assistants for Serbian as non-mother tongue. Selected assistants were recent graduates of the Serbian language and literature who were offered the opportunity to acquire their first work experience by participating in teaching in a multi-ethnic environment. Five teaching assistants, who had recently graduated the Serbian language and literature, and the sixth assistant who had graduated the Albanian language and literature and was teaching Albanian to other assistants in parallel, were selected.²⁰ The initial idea to work on improving the teaching of Serbian language as a non-mother tongue was based on the experiences of students of the Bujanovac branch of the Subotica Faculty of Economics, who had difficulties in studying because of poor knowledge of the Serbian language, as well as experiences of selected candidates for the Centre for Basic Police Training in Sremska Kamenica who did not manage to pass the Serbian language proficiency test, for which reason they could not undergo the necessary training and meet the requirements for working in the police.²¹ Given that there is a legal framework

19 Study on the Possibilities for Improving the Teaching and Learning of the Serbian Language as a Non-Mother Tongue in the Municipalities of Presevo, Bujanovac and Medvedja, Government of Serbia Coordination Body for the Municipalities of Presevo, Bujanovac and Medvedja, 2014, p. 9

20 Ibid, p. 180

21 Ibid, p. 181

prescribing a mandatory teaching of the Serbian language to persons belonging to national minorities who attend education in their mother tongues, the OSCE Mission implemented a project within the educational institution. The instruction was given by assistants with the support of two full professors who acted as mentors. The instruction with the help of assistants was a novelty that facilitated the work of teachers and made the classes interesting for students, enabling them to adopt the language more easily with the help of new creative methods.

It is important to note that the experience gained during the running of this project was important for state institutions in their further addressing of the issue of improving the teaching of Serbian as non-mother tongue. The most important conclusions arising from the implementation of the project were the need to involve state institutions²² that would recognize the outcomes of this project as an example of good practice, the need to define a multi-annual plan for the improvement of language teaching, to do staff planning so that the use of teaching assistants becomes constant practice, the learning of Albanian (i.e. of the minority language in which the instruction is given) by teachers whose mother tongue is not Albanian, but who teach persons belonging to the Albanian national minority.²³ In addition, it was stated that it was necessary to improve and supplement the current textbooks, as well as to adjust the existing curriculum for the subject of Serbian as non-mother tongue. Such an initiative attempted to indicate different solutions and that changes within the system were possible.

Mentioned further is an example of support of the OSCE High Commissioner for National Minorities in resolving this issue. Namely, the Office of the High Commissioner provided technical and financial support to the Office of the Coordination Body of the Government of Serbia for the Municipalities of Presevo, Bujanovac and Medvedja for developing the “Study on the Possibilities for Improving the Teaching and Learning of the Serbian Language as a Non-Mother Tongue in the Municipalities of Presevo, Bujanovac and Medvedja”, which was carried out in 2014. This study also draws on the experience gained during the implementation of the said project of the OSCE Mission to Serbia. The study analyzed the situation, problems and outcomes of teaching Serbian as non-mother tongue in primary schools in Presevo, Bujanovac and Medvedja. The analyses covered the curriculum, teaching methods and textbooks for the

22 The key partners identified were: the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development, the Office of the Coordination Body for the Municipalities of Presevo, Bujanovac and Medvedja, the Institute for Evaluation of Quality of Education. See: Study on the Possibilities for Improving the Teaching and Learning of the Serbian Language as a Non-Mother Tongue in the Municipalities of Presevo, Bujanovac and Medvedja; Office of the Coordination Body of the Government of the Republic of Serbia for the Municipalities of Presevo, Bujanovac and Medvedja, 2014, p. 184.

23 *Ibid.*, p. 185

subject of Serbian as non-mother tongue for primary school. Finally, based on the analysis, as well as on the attitudes and opinions of interested parties regarding the teaching of Serbian as non-mother tongue, the study provided a number of short-term, medium-term and long-term recommendations for the improvement of teaching. In that regard, the Office of the High Commissioner has also put in place the project for implementing certain recommendations presented in this study. Based on the previous experience of the OSCE Mission and the recommendations from the study, the Office of the Coordination Body, supported by the High Commissioner, has been implementing the project of hiring teaching assistants in primary and secondary schools in the municipalities in South Serbia. The total of 16 schools in three municipalities will get teaching assistants on this subject in the school year 2015/2016.²⁴ Also, within this project, and as part of the efforts of the Office of the High Commissioner for National Minorities to implement a part of recommendations from the study, underway is the work on the Albanian-Serbian, Serbian-Albanian dictionary as part of the improvement of resources for conduct of the instruction.

As a further systemic solution and based on the identified deficiencies and recommendations resulting from the project conducted by the OSCE Mission to Serbia, as well as from the studies conducted by the Coordination Body, the process has started of amending the curriculum for the subject of Serbian as non-mother tongue for all three cycles of primary and secondary education. The OSCE Mission to Serbia has identified the need to improve the curriculum and textbooks for this subject. As a necessary activity prior to the achievement of these objectives, the OSCE Mission has, in cooperation with the Institute for Evaluation of Quality of Education, indicated the need and facilitated the organization of a two-day meeting entitled “The Analysis of the Status of Teaching of Serbian as Non-Mother Tongue as Part of the Preparation for the Development of General Standards of Achievements for Serbian as Non-Mother Tongue”.²⁵ The meeting was attended by teachers who teach Serbian as non-mother tongue in schools where Hungarian, Croatian, Albanian, Ruthenian, Slovak, Bosnian, Bulgarian and Romanian are taught as mother tongues, as well as by representatives of the national councils of national minorities, representatives of the OSCE Mission, the Coordination Body and the Pedagogical Institute of Vojvodina. Analyzed were the teaching and learning of Serbian as non-mother tongue within several topics, including the curricula for primary and secondary school, motivation of students in various schools, problems of teaching and the necessary know-how relating to Serbian as non-mother tongue. Based on the conclu-

24 See: <http://www.kt.gov.rs/sr/news/arhiva-vesti/srpski-kao-nematemji-jezik.html>, accessed on 27 September 2015

25 See: <http://www.kt.gov.rs/sr/news/arhiva-vesti/srpski-kao-nematemji-jezik.html>, accessed on 27 September 2015

sions of this meeting, the OSCE Mission facilitated and supported the formation of the Working Group for the development of general standards of learning achievements for Serbian as non-mother tongue for the end of the first, second and third educational cycles.²⁶ The standards are being developed within the Institute for Evaluation of Quality of Education with the support of the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development and the OSCE Mission to Serbia.²⁷ The Working Group has been envisaged to develop the standards by the end of 2015, after which a national testing of standards and the procedure of the adoption of standards by the Ministry and the National Education Council are envisaged to follow. Only after the standards are completed and introduced into schools, it will be possible to launch the work to amend the curricula, after which the amendment of textbooks for this subject will finally be possible.

The finalization of this process will contribute to the improvement of teaching of the Serbian language for all persons belonging to national minorities who attend classes in their mother tongues. The development of standards and work on amending the curriculum should contribute to improving the conditions for learning the Serbian language, especially for persons belonging to national minorities whose mother tongue is not close to Serbian language. Poor knowledge of the official language of the State is a particular obstacle for the integration of persons belonging to national minorities into the social and public life in the Republic of Serbia. The OSCE's support and efforts to overcome these obstacles represent an attempt to facilitate the integration of minorities and in this connection to contribute to the overall stability of the state.

Conclusion

This essay presented the evolution of the perception of security threats in the Post-Cold War period, following the collapse of the bipolar structure of international relations. Three dimensions of security that reflect the extended security concept were presented. Special emphasis was placed on the human dimension and institutions within the OSCE system which have a key role in the implementation of the principles of this dimension.

26 See: <http://www.osce.org/serbia/132211> accessed on 28 September 2015

27 See: <http://www.mpn.gov.rs/srpski-kao-nematernji-jezik-skup-nasta/>, accessed on 27 September 2015

An overview was given of the role of the OSCE in the improvement of learning of the official language of the state as a means for successful integration of national minorities. The experiences gained from the project implemented by the OSCE Mission in South Serbia indicated the needs and deficiencies that need to be tackled. Experiences of teaching assistants involved in this project, as well as the outcomes of the study have shown that there is great interest among pupils and students, as well as their parents, to learn the Serbian language. This indicates that the problem is not the motivation of persons belonging to national minorities for learning the official language but that systemic changes are required in order to improve the teaching of Serbian as non-mother tongue. Also observed was the need for professional development and training of teachers who teach this subject. As an initial activity in tackling this problem, the study conducted by the Office of the Coordination Body for Presevo, Bujanovac and Medvedja has shown that only five percent of respondents (pupils of primary schools in the three municipalities) have satisfactory knowledge, functional ability for effective written and oral communication in the Serbian language. The outcomes of the study have also shown that most of these pupils have acquired their knowledge of Serbian outside the school, in direct contact with persons belonging to the majority nation, or through the mass media²⁸. Therefore, the knowledge was not acquired in the classroom. The essay gave an overview of the necessary changes in the education system of national minorities and of the role that the OSCE Mission to Serbia and the High Commissioner on National Minorities have had so far in the efforts to address these issues, as an opportunity to facilitate further integration of national minorities into social and public life in Serbia.

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28 See: http://www.rtv.rs/sr_lat/drustvo/mladi-albanci-nedovoljno-poznaju-srpski-jezik_514706.html, accessed on 28 September 2015

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OSCE and contemporary security challenges

Summary: The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), as the largest regional security organization in the world, covers a wide range of activities in the field of security. Preventive diplomacy, which it uses most frequently as an instrument of its activities, includes arms control, building confidence among states, monitoring of observance of human and minority rights, election monitoring, measures against human trafficking, fight against terrorism, monitoring of economic and environmental relations. The OSCE also supports governments in the region in the promotion of regional cooperation, especially in the fight against organized crime, given that organized crime is not only a contemporary security challenge but also a very important social issue. Organized crime has become the main threat to national, regional and international security; it directly jeopardizes and undermines the authority of states, thereby hindering their development. For Serbia, the OSCE is a very important strategic partner in the consolidation of peace, democracy and security in the region. One of the priorities of the OSCE Mission to Serbia is the fight against organized crime. Within the program areas on which the activities of the OSCE Mission to Serbia–Rule of Law and Human Rights– are focused, fight against organized crime is an important part.

Keywords: OSCE, contemporary security challenges, organized crime, fight against organized crime, OSCE Mission to Serbia, the Republic of Serbia, and organized crime.

Even though it is the successor to, namely it emerged from the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) held in Helsinki in 1975, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) is essentially a new international institution. At the Budapest Summit, held on 5 and 6 December 1994, the CSCE changed its name to OSCE at the proposal of the United States and on 1 January 1995 the decision became final. The scope and methods of work of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, its position and role in European relations today differ substantially from the previous, Helsinki CSCE. First of all, when it comes to its essential function today, it is no longer promotion of the process of détente in Europe (which has been achieved) but rather the guiding and managing of the process of democratic transformation of former East and Southeast European socialist societies and regional stabilization.¹ Although the main decision-making centers on the international scene are the European Union, NATO and the UN Security Council, the OSCE is an important factor in the post-Cold War era of international relations. The OSCE's instrumental and operational aspect, i.e. its practical usability, is its dominant feature that has a tendency to develop further.

The modern world is characterized not only by the deepening of the old, but also by the emergence of new challenges, risks and threats that have affected both the internal and international relations. These challenges are manifested in different forms, depending on the political, economic and cultural development of particular countries and regions. The development of modern society has led to the emergence of new security challenges, risks and threats, whereas the old ones acquired new forms and new dimensions. In the contemporary security environment, the attention of political decision-makers has shifted from military to non-military threats. States are making great efforts in the very identification of security challenges, risks and threats and are endeavoring to list them in strategic and normative documents, such as national security strategies and defense strategies. The European Security Strategy singles out five key threats to the security of the European Union. These are terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, regional conflicts, state failure, and organized crime.

Organized crime has become the main threat to national, regional and international security. This type of crime directly jeopardizes and undermines the authority of states, thus hindering their development, threatening the society and its values. Organized crime has taken on a transnational dimension; it does not recognize borders between states and does not differentiate them by the

1 Acimovic Ljubivoje, "OEBS na početku XXI veka" (*OSCE in Early 21st Century*), MP 1, (2013): 7-23, downloaded on 12 April, 2015, doi: 10.2298 / MEDJP1301007A.

level of their economic development. It destabilizes governments, undermines parliamentarism, destroys public trust in state and legal institutions, and denies legality and social morality. As one of the contemporary security challenges, organized crime challenges security, not only individual but also collective, national and international. The fight against contemporary security challenges and threats, such as organized crime, requires the use of special mechanisms for their prevention, detection and suppression, as well as the mechanisms for the development of strategies to combat them.

The plurality of definitions of organized crime that can be found in literature is indicative of a multitude of its manifestations, the importance and the need to research into this phenomenon. Thus, for example, Schulte-Bockholt defines organized crime as a group generally operating under some form of concealment with a structure reflective of the cultural and social stipulations of the societies that generate it; and which has the primary objective to obtain access to wealth and power through the participation in economic activities prohibited by state law. Organized crime is a form of crude accumulation of power based on the use of threat of physical violence, which emerges—and has emerged—in different socioeconomic formations across time and place, and is generated, by the specific conditions of that time and place (Schulte-Bockholt, 2001:238). Professor Goran Boskovic more elaborately defines organized crime as property (profit) oriented continuous criminal activity, carried out by criminal organizations in different areas suitable for “criminal exploitation” and characterized by a high degree of interaction between members of the organization, differentiation of tasks and organized models adapting to the needs of operation on the criminal market and the use of criminal methods (violence, intimidation and corruption) and non-criminal methods (activity within the sphere of legal economic flows) through which connections are established, influence is exerted on holders of executive offices and criminal goals are achieved.² As for the concept of organized crime in the Serbian legislation, its status in the domain of normative definition of the notion was changed in 2009. Thus, the concept of organized crime is now uniformly defined in the Criminal Procedure Code and the Law on the Organization and Jurisdiction of Government Authorities in Suppression of Organized Crime, Corruption and Other Severe Criminal Offences. Such normative definition of organized crime in Serbia is almost identical to the Council of Europe’s definition contained in the 2001 Recommendation concerning guiding principles on the fight against organized crime. According to these provisions, organized crime implies criminal offenses committed by organized crime

2 Bošković, G. (2014) “Organizovani kriminal” (*Organized Crime*), The Academy of Criminalistic and Police Studies, Belgrade, p. 8

groups or their members. An organized crime group means a group of three or more persons, existing for a period of time and acting in concert with the aim of committing one or more serious crimes, punishable by imprisonment of four years or a more serious penalty, in order to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or material benefit.³

The most important strategic document in the field of protection of national interests and security of the Republic of Serbia is the National Security Strategy of the Republic of Serbia. When it comes to challenges, risks and threats, but also the security interests of the Republic of Serbia, there is a great similarity within the Southeast Europe region. One of the reasons for that is certainly the fact that many of them were related and spilled over from one state in the region to another, in the not so distant past. The National Security Strategy of the Republic of Serbia, however, pays less attention to security aspects of organized crime; it rather views it as a criminological problem. The political ambitions of organized crime and the tendency of organized crime structures to influence political decision-making and public opinion pose a particular threat to security of a country. Organized crime structures often corrupt political factors in a state, the media and other institutions and individuals and thus establish control over the political developments in the state, which reflects negatively on the development of democracy and leads to a totalitarian regime. Particularly dangerous is the linkage between organized crime and terrorist organizations, because they often engage in criminal activities in order to generate funds for their activities aimed at achieving political goals, whereas organized crime groups aim at generating illegal profits to be used for further criminal activity. Organized crime has a particular weight in the Balkan region and threatens its stability and integration into the European Union. In the Republic of Serbia, based on the experience thus far, this type of crime occurs in the form of violent crime, illegal drug trafficking, motor vehicle trafficking and human trafficking, as well as in the sphere of financial crime, money laundering, and other financial transactions supported by corruption. Key actors of organized crime have a flexible structure and modus operandi. They are quick in changing their field of work and are integrated into the European and global organized crime flows. Corruption can also be viewed in the framework of organized crime. It threatens the fundamental values of society and has an extremely negative effect on social development and integration processes, which ultimately results in the destabilization of internal situations in the region.⁴ The fight against organized crime should be the main priority in

³ *Ibidem*

⁴ Dragisic, Z. (2010). "Strategija nacionalne bezbednosti Republike Srbije kao strategijska bezbednosna procena" (*The National Security Strategy of the Republic of Serbia as a Strategic Security Assessment*), Yearbook of the Faculty of Security, Belgrade, p. 103, 106, 114, 115

all countries in transition to democracy. These countries are a favorable soil for the development of organized criminal activities because they lack police capacities, legal instruments and often the political will to counter organized crime. Organized crime moves into them from other, more regulated and stable states, because it has better conditions for development. That is why organized crime flourishes in these countries today.

Some of the distinct features of organized crime in Serbia can be extracted from the content analysis of the document of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Serbia published in 2001, entitled *Criminal Groups and Individuals Engaged in Organized Crime in the Territory of the Republic of Serbia*. Criminal groups are generally formed based on the territorial principle, but their *radius operandi* is mainly the whole territory of Serbia, but also Montenegro and other neighboring countries. Through the commission of this crime, criminal groups have generated huge capital, which they most frequently legalized through the purchase of real estate and various investments, such as oil trade and procurement of production machines. One could claim that organized crime, in all its manifestations and its growing scope, emerged in Serbia as late as in the early 1990s. The breakup of socialist Yugoslavia, economic sanctions, the beginning of civil wars starting from 1991, efforts of the new authoritarian regime to evade the sanctions and to preserve power, led to the flourishing of organized crime. During this period, which lasted for more than ten years, not only was organized crime not prosecuted and suppressed but it was knowingly and deliberately encouraged. Many authors call this period the golden age of organized crime in Serbia. In that period, not a single conviction for organized crime was passed, not a single regulation of domestic law was adopted, and not a single international agreement on combating this type of crime was signed. Article 231 introduced the criminal offence under that name into the Criminal Code of Serbia only in 2005. After the assassination of Prime Minister Zoran Djindjic on 12 March 2003, the fight against organized crime became a priority over all other aspects of police reform in Serbia and Montenegro. Bottom of FormThe threat of organized crime in Serbia started to be perceived more clearly at that time. The assassination was a high price that Serbia had to pay in order to initiate a more serious fight against organized crime. The very nature of organized crime is such that it constantly changes its forms and that its scope and consequences exceed country borders. Organized crime in Serbia thus becomes a problem of the entire region and the international community at large. The initial step in combating organized crime was made by the development of the National Strategy for Fight against Organized Crime, which the Government of the Republic of Serbia adopted on 29 March 2009. By adopting of the Strategy, Serbia made a big headway in rounding up the so-called “first generation of reform” of the security sector and fulfilled one of the conditions for rapprochement to the European

Union. The Strategy particularly underlines that an efficient fight against organized crime requires the establishment of cooperation and confidence-building between state authorities, the private sector and civil society.

The OSCE supports governments in the region in the promotion of regional cooperation and especially in the fight against organized crime, considering that organized crime is not only a matter of security but also a social issue. It could be stated that Serbia has largely finalized one “era” in foreign policy relations, based not only on rejoining the existing international and regional organizations but also on joining new ones. For Serbia, the OSCE is a very important strategic partner in consolidation of peace, democracy and security in the region and countering organized crime. The OSCE Mission has been present in Serbia for fifteen years already, with the view to backing democratic reforms by maintaining good relations with all ministries and assisting in the institution building process. The OSCE Mission to Serbia is engaged in a wide range of activities, where the fight against organized crime is a very important part, in addition to police reform, democratization and media development, within the program area on which Mission’s activities are focused, namely the rule of law and human rights.

An important headway in the fight against organized crime was made on 3 April 2003, when the OSCE Mission to the then State Union of Serbia and Montenegro (SCG) hosted a coordination meeting of representatives of the international community, the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Justice. This meeting enabled the OSCE and the said ministries to establish the framework for the Strategy for the Fight against Organized Crime and confirmed the role of the OSCE as a coordinator of international support to police and judiciary reform programs. Police reform plays a pivotal role in the stabilization process of a country. That is why the introduction of democratic principles in the work of the police is extremely important for the development of a democratic society. A special place belongs also to the combating of organized crime and rebuilding of relations between the police and the public. The fight against organized crime has always been one of the priorities of the OSCE Mission to Serbia. The OSCE Mission has actively supported police trainings and one of the first programs since the establishment of the mission was precisely in that area. The Mission and the Ministry of Interior are working on the training reform and modernization of police education. An important task of every state and the international community is to counter organized crime on the legal, judicial and criminology levels. In that fight, the police and judicial authorities are the most important specialized authorities. Through the implementation of its projects in the field of security and cooperation, the OSCE Mission to Serbia significantly contributes to capacity building in all areas of social life, within the programs concerning democratization, rule of law, human rights, and the

media, while paying particular attention also to the provision of assistance in the implementation of police reform projects.

After the assassination of Prime Minister Djindjic, the activities of the OSCE Mission, carried out in close cooperation with the Government of the then Serbia and Montenegro, were aimed at establishing a strategy to support the Serbian authorities in the fight against organized crime. The Mission has up till now assisted the Serbian Ministry of Interior (MoI) in the drafting of projects related to the development of anti-corruption initiatives and police accountability and supported the MoI Directorate for Combating Organized Crime. As the main partner of the Ministry of Interior in the implementation of the police reform process, the OSCE Mission to Serbia has assisted the police in the field of education and training, accountability and internal control programs, local community policing. It undoubtedly provides a lot of support to Member States in the fight against organized crime by paying a lot of attention to raising public awareness about the fight against organized crime. Moreover, the OSCE Mission to Serbia cooperates with the Prosecutor's Office for Organized Crime by providing assistance related to the classification of collected data and functioning of the information exchange system.

In order to meet its obligations related to political, security, economic, environmental and human rights issues, the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly brings together 57 countries from Europe, Central Asia and North America. The OSCE Parliamentary Assembly was established with a view to promoting greater involvement of national parliaments and facilitating inter-parliamentary dialogue and cooperation in developing democracies. The Assembly provides a forum for parliamentary diplomacy, monitors elections and strengthens international cooperation. At the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly session in Belgrade in 2011, twenty-five resolutions that were included in the Belgrade Declaration of the Parliamentary Assembly were approved. The adoption of these resolutions greatly contributed to the shaping of policy of the OSCE and the national legislation. Among other, the Serbian delegation submitted a draft resolution entitled Combating Illicit Trade in Human Organs, as an organized crime-related area.

In the course of 2013, the OSCE Mission to Serbia launched the project "Strengthening the Capacity of the Prosecutor's Office for Organized Crime of Serbia for Conducting Efficient Investigations and Promoting Regional Cooperation", with the aim of helping the Prosecutor's Office for Organized Crime of Serbia to achieve maximum benefit from the donation of software of the Italian Ministry of Justice intended for case management and increased exchange of data and evidence.

In 2014, as a follow-up to its activities in the fight against organized crime, the OSCE Mission to Serbia launched a project at Mt. Zlatibor for strengthening the police capacity of Serbia, Macedonia and Montenegro in the fight against organized crime. This OSCE project was aimed at improving the knowledge and skills of crime analysts from the said countries' ministries of interior for gathering and analyzing trends in the fight against organized crime. The OSCE thus provides assistance in the development of police capacity to assess serious and organized crime threats in accordance to EUROPOL standards. The project was entitled "Enhancing Capacities for Strategic Analysis and Strategic Assessment in the Criminal Investigation Directorates of the Serbian, Montenegrin and FYROM Ministries of Interior". International forms of organized crime increasingly require international networking of police institutions in order to enable the implementation of joint defense strategies and appropriate multipolar measures that will bring the desired results.

In the Republic of Serbia, as the country chairing the OSCE in 2015, the Annual Police Experts Meeting was held in May in Belgrade. Following the trends of contemporary security threats, Serbia focused on cyber security. The main topic of the meeting was the linkage between organized crime, human trafficking and irregular migration, as well as the management and reform of the security sector. The main priority of the Serbian Chairmanship is surely to support all efforts toward a peaceful democratization process, to use its own past experiences, while understanding the important role that the OSCE has played in supporting the post-conflict transition and reform processes across the Western Balkans.

Conclusion

From the former Helsinki CSCE, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe has gone far in transforming itself into a new international institution that has nowadays become the largest regional security organization in the world. Preventive diplomacy, which it most frequently uses as an instrument of its activities, includes support to governments of the region in the promotion of regional cooperation, and especially in the fight against organized crime, considering that organized crime is not only a matter of security but also a social issue. The modern world is characterized not only by the deepening of the old but also the emergence of new security challenges that have affected both internal and international relations. One of the contemporary security challenges

is organized crime, which directly jeopardizes and undermines the authority of states, thereby hampering their development. For Serbia, the OSCE is a very important strategic partner in the consolidation of peace, democracy and security in the region and the fight against organized crime. The OSCE Mission has been present in Serbia for fifteen years already and the fight against organized crime has always been one of its priorities. The threat of organized crime in Serbia started to be perceived more clearly after the assassination of Prime Minister Zoran Djindjic. The fight against organized crime then became a priority over all other aspects of police reform in Serbia and Montenegro. As the OSCE is the main partner of the Ministry of Interior of the Republic of Serbia in the implementation of the police reform process and the fight against organized crime, its activities are of great importance for the maintenance of political stability and peace not only in Serbia but in the Western Balkans region as well. The OSCE is an important international institution with its values and objectives by which the foreign policy strategic priorities of the Republic of Serbia abide. The OSCE Mission to Serbia not only played an important role in the aftermath of the 2003 events but even today has a role in supporting the course and intensity of the fight against organized crime, thus contributing to the strengthening of institutions in combating this type of crime and to the establishment and maintenance of peace and security that facilitate full individual freedom.

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OSCE and contemporary security challenges

Summary: Security threats of the contemporary world, by their morphology, increasingly more deviate from traditional forms of disrupting peace and stability. In that respect, terrorism, energy, cybercrime and the participation of foreign fighters in the war hotbeds of other states determine the main directions of contemporary security challenges. Their common denominator is that they represent transnational threats. This is precisely the key to countering them, a new approach in resolving them is primarily based on preventive action based on regional cooperation and intensified international networking as a sine qua non condition for global peace and stability. Taking into account the core mission, vision and goals of the OSCE contained in the achievement of modern democratic values through the development of institutions and processes, as well as the results achieved, conclusion can be made that the OSCE is a successful international organization, especially when it comes to post-conflict activities. Although this international organization is an important cohesive factor of cooperation and stability in Europe—it is still facing certain challenges.

The OSCE and contemporary security challenges

The beginning of the new millennium was marked by specificities contained in the fact that the modern world is, increasingly more and with more frequency, facing new security challenges, which by their morphology significantly depart from traditional, conventional, well-known models of security problems.¹ Precisely the change of their morphology directly implies that—due to their unpredictability—they become challenges.²

One of the big novelties was also the manner in which organized groups of the same or similar orientation or background achieved their goals by using modern technologies outside the territory that was the object of their activities with the basic premise of achieving political goals.³

In that respect, terrorism, energy, cybercrime and the participation of foreign fighters on some battlefields in the classic sense of warfare, determine the basic directions of modern security challenges.

The attack against the towers in New York triggered a broad range of debates on terrorism as a contemporary phenomenon.⁴ The aforementioned is based on the fact that, according to all elements (selection of targets, goals to be achieved, membership in a group for/against, sophistication of actions, etc.), it is a striking example of the new forms of terrorist attacks. In that respect, the use of cutting edge technologies and equipment, efficient organization of com-

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plex operations against multiple targets and locations, coordination of activities and the skills applied, as well as the willingness to sacrifice their own lives, largely exceed all previous experiences when terrorist attacks are concerned.

Considering that the said event took place in the territory of the United States, which has the most advanced security services,⁵ but which were neither able to foresee such terrorist acts nor had an adequate response to what happened,⁶ the conclusion is made that the new security challenges, by their nature, require a new approach—which must necessarily be different from the traditional one.

The fact that these attacks were committed by trained people, educated and specialized to use computers⁷ and weapons, while at the same time willing to consciously sacrifice their own lives, was also a sociological shock that was not recognized on time.⁸ In that respect, the reactions that targeted particular groups could not solve such a problem but rather opened a new dimension of preventive work.⁹

The situation is similar in the Balkans, or more precisely, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where there is an evident difficulty when it comes to controlling the so-called “sleepers”. Namely, they are citizens who live a normal life, are often educated and respectable in their communities, who in no way cause suspicion about their activities. Such groups are usually well organized and have clearly defined functional and hierarchical structures, are ideologically motivated and closed for communication. Also indicative is that in addition to homogeneity, such groups of people are financially very stable, which gives a special tone to possibilities for their active engagement.

The experience gained up till now and the working methods of security services were unable to respond to this challenge given the complexity of the new modes of terrorist activity, which required urgency in finding a new approach to this phenomenon. The new methodology required a more complex approach, which primarily included monitoring of the activities of potential members of

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such groups, but not in the physical sense but rather by modern methods of controlling the flow of funds and questionable transactions, infiltration within the group, the use of electronic data flow control, propaganda work, etc. The aforementioned is the only way to essentially understand the motives and reasons for their possible terrorist activity, with primary aim of prevention.¹⁰

In countering this type of security challenges, in addition to the aforementioned, an extremely important role is also played by the broader social community, civil society institutions, the intellectual elite, together with the politicians, with a view to better understanding the political discontent that could result in terrorist attacks as a method of achieving political goals—their actions can sometimes play even a crucial role. In other words, coordinated joint activity of civil society, the political establishment and security services may have a decisive role in preventing a terrorist act, namely their actions may sometimes act decisively preventively in order to prevent a terrorist act.

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Another dimension of long-term contemporary security challenges tackled in the essay is energy (energy sources, security of energy infrastructure, etc.). The fact that the issue of energy supply has become increasingly topical in recent years is, no doubt, a mode of political trade and a type of pressure upon countries that are in any way dependent on others. The countries that possess or monopolize energy sources use that fact in a direct or indirect manner for predominantly political purposes. The same argument is often used by countries that are transit zones.

One of the most specific examples of energy as a contemporary security challenge is Ukraine. Namely, Ukraine is at the same time an energy-dependent country and a transit zone. The beginning of destabilization of the situation in Ukraine some years ago caused the energy supply crisis not only in that country's territory but also in a good part of European countries. Such a situation more considerably affects the countries that are financially less developed, given their inability to be supplied by alternative energy sources.

Energy dependence of countries is directly related to their political stability. On the other hand, this type of dependence is often an instrument of political influence of big powers aimed at achieving their interests in the energy-dependent

¹⁰ Very often, the aforementioned implies close cooperation with members of these groups who are nationals of countries that are potential targets of terrorist attacks and who are often themselves perpetrators of terrorist acts.

countries. The same applies to countries that have energy sources or a surplus of energy sources.

In that respect, the strong engagement and insistence of the United States and the European Union on diversification of supply in energy sources with a view to making sure that countries are less dependent on a single supplier, is not incidental. This is the case with the Western Balkans, which is traditionally supplied with energy sources imported from Russia, but with emerging alternative options such as liquid gas from Kuwait, gas from Azerbaijan, shale oil from the United States, etc.

However, the projects that would provide for alternative ways of supply and alternative types of energy sources require enormous sums of money which leave financially less developed countries with no possibility of choice and in the sphere of further dependency and possibility of being exposed to pressures.

Although great efforts are invested at the international level towards finding a trade-off solution, based on the aforementioned, as well as on the fact that energy dependence is but a part of economic dependence, creation of a “vicious circle” in this sphere opens up yet another security challenge for the coming period, to which an adequate response still does not exist.

* * *

Cybercrime is a topic that certainly preoccupies the security services the most and to which it is simply impossible to find an adequate and effective preventive response, and practice has shown that action can mostly be taken only *post festum*. It is astonishing that it is no longer a question whether “successful” attacks on large and costly information systems such as, for instance, defence systems—of some of the most developed countries of the world—are possible, but rather whether someone is targeting them.

In that regard, a serious security challenge is posed by hacker attacks aiming at political or even terrorist activity.

Detection of hacking attacks while they are in progress does not necessarily imply the possibility of preventing them while they last or preventing their duration. In addition, an insight into the range of consequences has been considerably challenged because it implies the detection of perpetrators, their location, their motives and aims and the like.

Considering the aforementioned, even if all of the said is identified, the basic issue raised is whether there is a possibility of any action against the cyber attacker who is located outside any legal and any other jurisdiction of the country that is targeted by the attack.

The current efforts in networking and cooperation of countries at the regional and broader international level are visible in that regard. However, the main obstacle is the lack of harmonization between national regulations of individual countries, relating primarily to the functional jurisdiction of certain security services. Namely, some Southeast European countries still do not have appropriate centers at the national level (Center for Emergency Response Team–CERT). This deficiency considerably hinders the developed countries' struggle with this phenomenon as well, given the absence of borders for this type of crime, i.e. of real functioning models of cooperation in this field.¹¹

On the other hand, the need for cooperation and joint fight against cybercrime has caused another problem in less developed countries that further complicates the establishment of an adequate methodology for the fight against, and cooperation in this field. Namely, in their strong commitment to dealing with this problem, a large number of countries adopted legal regulations of “umbrella type”,¹² i.e. regulations without adequate by-laws or adequate mechanisms to allow the identification of criminal offenses, prosecution of perpetrators and their punishment.

Another problem is the mutual difference between individual national legal systems and, in that connection, lack of possibility to establish a unified and harmonized legal framework for responding to such situations at the international, i.e. global level.

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The participation of foreign fighters in certain hotbeds is also one of the burning contemporary security challenges. Namely, in addition to the problem of existing hotspots, the bilateral and multilateral relations among countries are further complicated by the increasingly active participation of citizens of one state in the war zones of other states.

11 That is why it often happens that during the attack hackers are located in the territory of a country that does not have a developed mechanism of prevention, detection, response, suppression and punishment for these activities.

12 The Balkan countries, to be specific.

The capacities of legal systems of countries faced with such phenomena, as well as the possibility to prevent them and adequately punish the responsible persons who opt for such an engagement remains questionable. Namely, the imposition of sanctions on these countries is not an adequate way for solving the problem of foreign fighters, considering that they abolish the states which the fighters come from from every liability.

In order to solve this problem, it is necessary to have a coordinated action from the countries where foreign fighters come from and countries where they fight, which implies alignment of the legal framework with international conventions, which would allow for joint action. In that regard, it is also necessary to intensify diplomatic efforts and to direct them toward a common course of action with a view to countering this contemporary security challenge.

Not so rare cases of participation of nationals of certain countries of the region, specifically of Southeast Europe, in the war zones of other countries, have led to confrontation with the fact that legal regulation and prosecution of persons directly involved in combat operations and persons who facilitate the departure to the war affected locations must necessarily be carried out in cooperation with other countries in the region.¹³

In that respect, a large number of legally binding regulations with draconian penal provisions has been adopted in the Southeast European region, but the full effect of their implementation remains to be seen.

What is significant is that the problem has been identified, but nevertheless, at the international level it remains a security challenge for the future.

* * *

The common denominator for contemporary security challenges highlighted by this essay, including terrorism, energy, cybercrime and participation of foreign fighters in certain war hotspots, is that they represent transnational threats.

In that respect, confrontation with the new security challenges and one of the key factors in preventive action should be contained in the new approach which is based on a more intense international networking and regional cooperation.

13 Almost as a rule, persons who are or were directly involved in combat operations and persons engaged in facilitating the departure to the warring location, hide in the territories of neighboring states.

The inability of any, even the most developed country, to independently prevent or remediate the consequences of transnational threats, i.e. security phenomena, implies that the aforementioned tighter linkage of countries and their cooperation—through international organizations or regional initiatives—is a condition *sine qua non* of global peace and stability.

Tighter linkage and cooperation of countries through, and based on, the catalytic function of international organizations would facilitate the creation of adequate conditions for the defining the joint action strategies including the definition of potential threats, development of long-term action plans and closer cooperation of all relevant stakeholders, both within countries and internationally. Given that international, regional and sub-regional organizations (and initiatives) are focused on specific fields of operation, this would enable a synergy of their action and coordination of activities, which would greatly contribute to the advancement of the prevention concept.

No doubt, the aforementioned mode and model of tighter linkage would significantly contribute to confrontation and adequate fight against contemporary security challenges. In addition, it would enable the creation of conditions to more easily overcome the problems of Euro-Atlantic integration flows of less developed countries and contribute to the creation of a platform for dialogue and realistic and practical cooperation.

International organizations that deal with security issues today are based on these principles and, with the consensus of their member states, have the capacity to provide the preconditions for achieving the planned goals in that direction.

One of the challenges, however, is posed by different political aspirations and interests of countries, as well as by their positions when it comes to security threats, which directly influences the manner of adoption, but also the outcome of political decisions themselves.

Practice has shown that, very often, due to the lack of coordination between all agencies dealing with security, omissions occur. The next respective challenge is reflected in the consolidation of political decisions in this field and their implementation. Apart from the collision of functional competences of security services, financial support is often the main problem in the implementation of plans, which may often result in postponement of action or failure.

On the other hand, another extremely important role of international organizations is action in the post-conflict period—in the form of monitoring peace process or ceasefire, strengthening confidence and dialogue, removing the con-

sequences and causes of the conflict with a view to building durable peace. In that sense, if a peace agreement so stipulates, control of arms and military forces is an important segment of this role.

Taking into account the core mission, vision and goals of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) contained in the achievement of modern democratic values through the development of institutions and processes, as well as the results achieved, conclusion can be made that the OSCE is a successful international organization, especially when it comes to post-conflict action. In that regard, this international organization is a key cohesive factor of cooperation and stability.

After the Cold War ended, and before the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia, there was an opinion that the OSCE had lost its essential and practical role. The events that followed showed just the opposite. The few claims were refuted and it became evident that the role of the OSCE in some conflicts was irreplaceable. This confirmed that the organization, despite the many challenges, had brought concrete results and justified its existence.

Although it has no possibility to act during conflicts, by its post-conflict action missions in the former Yugoslavia, the frozen conflicts in Nagorno-Karabakh, Transnistria, Abkhazia and South Ossetia, as well as its monitoring mission in Ukraine, the OSCE has undoubtedly made an outstanding contribution to building confidence and dialogue as a key prerequisite for a durable peaceful solution in these crisis areas.

Acknowledging the fact about the complexity of the OSCE Mission in the former Yugoslavia, as well as the complexity of the post-war period, its role in institution and capacity building in Bosnia and Herzegovina was very effective in some segments.

Article IV of the Dayton Peace Agreement is a unique example in the world of establishing confidence and cooperation between the warring parties relating to control of weapons and military assets after the end of the war conflict. The realistic indicator of the confidence built in that respect and the crown of invested efforts is the transformation of this Process into regional frameworks in late 2014. Although upon the request of the countries signatories of this Agreement, the OSCE has remained a part of this Process, the signatory countries will continue the management independently. In that connection, an idea was launched that such a successful mission can and should, by its experiences, provide a service for the purpose of transfer of knowledge also to other regions such as, for instance, the Eastern Partnership countries (European Union) or North Africa.

The above directly indicates the importance and vitality of the OSCE's role, with a concrete contribution to the OSCE's core mission—regional cooperation and confidence building regarding security.

On the other hand, frozen conflicts are by their nature a constant threat to regional security. They are very non-specific and require constant communication with the conflicting parties, a clear understanding and sensibility of action. Although the results achieved thus far have shown success in respect of halting further conflicts, further work is required with a view to finding durable solutions with the agreement of all conflicting parties and other relevant factors.

The Ukraine crisis has shown all the complexity of relations in the region and escalated into an armed conflict that threatened to spread to other regions.

However, even without the possibility to fully prevent this conflict, the OSCE has showed the importance of its role immediately upon the signing of the ceasefire, having taken on the role of chief observer and defined the three areas of future action: transnational threats, border security and arms control.¹⁴

Especially important is the fact that the OSCE was the only organization that got consent of all stakeholders for its mission.

The above becomes even more important in light of the fact that the United Nations (UN), which by nature should have assumed this role, was not ready, due to the specificities of the region and the conflict on the one hand, and the fact that Russia as a permanent member of the Security Council would have quite expectedly used its veto, on the other hand.

Likewise, NATO, which had the capabilities and the willingness to be actively involved, could not have contributed to a peaceful solution, considering that Russia would have had a negative attitude regarding active engagement of the Alliance in this part of the Russian border.

The European Union (EU), through its defense forces, i.e. common security and defense policy (CSDP), has neither the capabilities nor the willingness of all Member States for a more active engagement at this point of time—even if Russia so agreed.

14 OSCE observers were primarily deployed at border crossings around Lugansk and Donetsk (two out of the total of 21 border crossings), with a view to monitoring the transfer of potentially hazardous substances. Following the Minsk ceasefire agreement of September 2014, even though the monitoring is applied by the presence of unarmed observers, all OSCE observers engaged in overseeing the exchange of fire had military experience.

In the long run, these conflicts are by their nature specific, but by the way in which they unfold, they represent a classic form of security threats that are long lasting but have low intensity. As for the modern methods of warfare, enhanced engagement of foreign fighters in terrorist activities, energy and economic leveraging for the purpose of achieving political goals, and the strengthened role of cyber security threats, are to be expected.

The role of the OSCE thus becomes more complex, but on the other hand gains importance, especially in view of the situation in the Western Balkans, where such threats did not exist during the OSCE field operations. This also indicates that the OSCE as an organization will have to focus its future activities on two tracks, namely, in classical terms by using successful experiences from the post-war period in the former Yugoslavia, and simultaneously by developing new strategies and mechanisms for contemporary security threats.

The implementation of these tasks is primarily hindered by the lack of money, the reluctance of some countries to actively participate and differing political views when it comes to the role of the OSCE. In that respect, the forthcoming period will require more political dialogue and the intensification of regional cooperation with a view to defining the future role of the OSCE and reaching a compromise when contemporary security challenges are concerned.

In addition, funding is also a challenge of its own kind. Namely, until the Minsk agreement in September 2014, the funds used for the Mission to Ukraine came from the OSCE reserve funds and amounted to EUR 2,000,000 a month. According to estimates, the total annualized amount of funds is EUR 46.8 million and the question is whether—and until when—the countries will be able to finance it.

Contemporary security challenges also require a transformation in terms of preventive action, given their unpredictability and absence of borders. This is directly indicative of the need for active engagement in defining new strategies as contemporary responses to contemporary security threats, with the participation of all countries and intense cooperation with other relevant international organizations dealing with some of the security segments.

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OSCE and contemporary security challenges

Summary: Today's world, especially Europe as a synonym of democracy and the rule of law, is facing the greatest crisis of security since the end of the Cold War. The distrust and division, the policy of confrontation and the logic of absolute winners and losers, the "conflict" between Eastern real politics and American ideology of "excellence", threaten the cooperative approach to security. New-old security challenges, risks and threats have emerged—of civil armed conflicts, organized crime, cyber crime, terrorism, migration, human trafficking, pandemics, all the way to climate change. In such a security context, it seems that there is absence of better security cooperation between international security actors because "Great Powers continue to fear each other and there is little room for trust"¹, which opens the space for the OSCE to take a leadership role in the peaceful resolution of conflicts.

This paper deals with the basic security challenges, risks and threats in Europe and the possibility for specific activities of the OSCE on the ground.

Keywords: OSCE, cooperative security, preventive diplomacy, security challenges, risks and threats, field operations, great powers

1 John Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, Udruženje za studije SAD u Srbiji (*Serbian Association for American Studies*), Belgrade 2009, p. 6

Introduction

The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe is the broadest form of alliance of states for cooperation in security. Presently, it comprises 56 participating states that span the globe, encompassing Europe, Asia and North America and 12 partner states for co-operation. A comprehensive approach to security, covering all three dimensions of the Helsinki Final Act (politico-military, economic, environmental, and human rights and freedoms) distinguishes the OSCE from any other organization. The OSCE has managed to increase its role in mediating conflicts, especially with regard to the so-called “long conflicts” in Moldova and the Caucasus. Despite the proven success of field operations, which influenced the creation of “pioneer measures” in confidence-building and reconciliation at the national and local levels in post-conflict societies, the OSCE suffers from a poor visibility among the general public². Under-representation in the public does not fully reflect the significance and the results of the OSCE field operations, which may adversely affect the very image of the organization.

However, what can be a problem or an advantage for OSCE compared to other organizations is that the OSCE has no founding treaty that would produce legal obligations or a respective legal status for entering into international agreements and having privileges and immunities. Taking into account its diversity, certain “political elites” of great powers do not consider it an international organization but rather an “instrument” for the promotion of peace and security. This observation should not be understood as having a negative connotation, but rather as being an advantage when it comes to quick decision-making and action on the ground in all stages of conflict (early warning, preventive diplomacy, observation operations on the ground, conflict resolution and post-conflict rehabilitation). The use of the term “preventive diplomacy” in the context of the OSCE implies the application of diplomacy to prevent the emergence of disagreements between the parties, in order to prevent transformation of disagreements into conflicts, to eliminate conflicts when they occur and to limit and prevent the conflicts from acquiring such proportions that it becomes impossible to rapidly eliminate them.³ Preventive diplomacy is at the same time

2 Erwan Fouéré, *Ukraine and Security Disorder in Europe – A Defining Moment for the OSCE?*, Centre for European Policy Studies, 24 April 2014, pdf, pp. 1-3

3 Margaretha af Ugglas, *Conditions for successful preventive diplomacy*, Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1994, p. 12.

the most visible comparative advantage of the OSCE compared to the United Nations and regional security organizations in Europe.⁴

Today's security context, the number of security actors, the transition, the decline of global power and influence of the United States, the strengthening of Russia and China, as well as the expansion and consolidation of the European Union, have influenced the OSCE to develop its own mechanisms. One of the key mechanisms, the one that gives supremacy to this organization compared to others, are operations on the ground (field presence), where conflicts actually occur or in their vicinity. Field operations are conducted under memorandums of understanding, concluded between the OSCE and the authorities of the receiving State. OSCE started its first field operation after the Cold War, in response to conflicts that erupted in the territory of the SFR Yugoslavia and the USSR. After that period, the OSCE began, in line with the comprehensive approach to security, to pay attention to other security challenges, risks and threats, aiming at early warning and conflict prevention, and then at contributing to the resolution of the already erupted conflicts and at post-conflict rehabilitation. As the main form of "friendly" intervention in the receiving states, as we already mentioned, the OSCE operations use "preventive diplomacy" because they exclude coercion as an instrument.⁵ The extent of importance of field operations is also indicated by the fact that over 80 per cent of the total OSCE's budget goes to these operations.

In the following pages, after defining "contemporary challenges, risks and threats", which burden the security context of Europe, this paper will give an overview of field operations conducted by the OSCE.

Security challenges, risks and threats

The list of security challenges, risks and threats varied in history, following globalization. As was mentioned in the introduction to this paper, the modern world is characterized by the deepening of the old and emergence of new chal-

4 Victor – Yves Ghebali, "Preventive Diplomacy as Visited from the OSCE, 3rd International Security Forum", Kongresshaus Zurich, 1998, pp.19–21

5 Vladimir Trapara, "Uloga OEBS operacija na terenu u zemljama u tranziciji" (The Role of OSCE Field Operations in Transition Countries), Original research paper, Belgrade, 2011, p. 102.

lenges, risks and threats that have affected both internal and external relations and are manifested in various forms, depending on the political, economic and cultural development of countries and regions. The changes that occurred as a result of the development of modern society brought new security challenges, risks and threats, while the old ones acquired new dimensions and substantially changed their appearances. After the end of the Cold War, when the threat of the “known enemy” ceased to be present, people started again to moderately fear a large number of other threats. Some threats, such as terrorism, migration, pandemics and civil wars had existed before, but were not at the forefront, some were not so alarmingly manifested as in the modern world (climate change), while some, owing to new technologies, emerged for the first time in history (IT threats).⁶ We should not forget the threats which Professor Samuel Huntington “predicted” in 1993 in his article and later book titled “The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order”, referring to a possible clash of civilizations especially on religious grounds between the Muslim and Christian civilizations.

States are trying to recognize security challenges, risks and threats, and to list them in strategic and normative documents, such as the national security strategy and the defense strategy. The European Union, led by Kantian ideals, started the European Security Strategy with the sentence: “Europe has never been so prosperous, so secure nor so free. The violence of the first half of the 20th Century has given way to a period of peace and stability unprecedented in European history.”⁷ The European Security Strategy singles out five key threats to security of the European Union, namely: terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD), regional conflicts, state failure and organized crime. In addition to basic threats, also listed are other threats such as pandemics, climate change, maritime piracy and the threat of energy dependence. What the European Security Strategy does not mention is the fact that modern society has become dependent on information-communication technologies. This dependence has produced new security risks and threats. New technologies have not only produced new threats but have also made it more difficult to identify and distinguish security threat actors. In the new milieu, cyber space, threat actors can be various: state, inter-state and transnational actors. They are most frequently malicious individuals, criminal groups, terrorist organizations, economic operators, but also states and their institutions (national armies and

6 Filip Ejdus: *Međunarodna bezbednost: teorije, sektori i nivoi (International Security: Theories, Sectors and Levels)*, Official Gazette, Belgrade, 2012, p. 32

7 *Bezbedna Evropa u boljem svetu: Evropska strategija bezbednosti (Safe Europe in a Better World: European Security Strategy)*, ISAC Fundi (International and Security Affairs Centre), Belgrade, 2006, pp. 3-21.

intelligence services), with different motives for destructive action: economic, political, ideological, religious or military.⁸

In the global multipolar and multilateral environment, in which complex interdependence of states is manifested, no state is able to independently solve the increasingly complex problems of preserving and strengthening the national security. Therefore, security in modern conditions is increasingly viewed globally, and national security is becoming ever more significantly linked with the security situation in the immediate and distant environment. The existence and growth of asymmetric threats of transnational character enhances the need to develop approaches in maintaining and improving security, based on cooperation and pooling of national security capabilities of national states. One form of cooperation and association of national states are field operations under the auspices of the OSCE.

The OSCE field operations

In the last two and a half decades since the first field operations were introduced, part of Europe is still greatly affected by global changes.

After the war in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, it was assumed, as the European Security Strategy says, that new violent conflicts in the European Union countries and the OSCE participating states were no longer possible. Of course, this assessment proved to be wrong because conflicts broke out in Macedonia (2001), Georgia (2008) and Kyrgyzstan (2010), or still last in Ukraine (2014). Frequent violent conflict outbreaks are disastrous, given that the states in which they happen are mostly oriented towards Euro-Atlantic integration. Today, with the EU members making up half the membership of the OSCE, the EU needs to show greater responsibility and far-sightedness in its dealings with the OSCE.⁹

On the other hand, the UN missions that were sent to Europe are currently limited to the ones in Kosovo and Cyprus. Since it is unlikely that the UN will

8 Nenad Putnik, Milica Bošković, *Savremeni bezbednosni izazovi – haktivizam kao novi oblik društvenog konflikta (Contemporary Security Challenges – hactivism as a new form of social conflict)*, Faculty of Security, Belgrade, 2013

9 Erwan Fouéré, *Ukraine and Security Disorder in Europe – A Defining Moment for the OSCE?*, Centre for European Policy Studies, 24 April 2014, pdf, pp. 1-3

return to Europe with major land operations, this is a challenge for the OSCE and the European Union. The current situation in Ukraine is such an example.¹⁰ In fact, Ukraine's crisis brought the OSCE to the forefront as a universal, flexible organization suitable for rapid response to security challenges, risks and threats through "preventive diplomacy" and "field operations".

The OSCE is the first and only international organization that has a special monitoring mission in Ukraine, which currently has about 500 staff (the OSCE participating states approved an expansion to 1000). According to the Head of Mission Ertugula Apakan, the extension of the OSCE Special Monitoring Mission (SMM) in Eastern Ukraine may be purposeful "only if members of the monitoring mission are granted full access throughout the entire territory of Eastern Ukraine, including territories that are currently not under control of the government and those along the border with Russia. Until such issues are resolved, additional monitors will have little impact on monitoring the implementation of peace agreement from Minsk".¹¹

The crisis in Ukraine actually mirrors the institutional changes both in the OSCE area and beyond. The political conflict is accompanied by mutually exclusive perceptions. From a Western perspective, the annexation of Crimea by Russia and its intervention in Eastern Ukraine represent gross violations of international law and basic OSCE principles. In the Russian view, these acts are legitimate measures to defend the rights of Russians against the background of a putsch in Kiev. More complicated processes of interaction and escalation, usually promoted by several sides, are no longer taken into account. As long as these black-and-white views prevail, a real dialogue will not be possible.¹² The crisis in Ukraine actually mirrors the institutional changes both in the OSCE area and beyond. The political conflict is accompanied by mutually exclusive perceptions. From a Western perspective, the annexation of Crimea by Russia and its intervention in Eastern Ukraine represent gross violations of international law and basic OSCE principles. In the Russian view, these acts are legitimate measures to defend the rights of Russians against the background of a putsch in Kiev. More complicated processes of interaction and escalation, usually promoted by several sides, are no longer taken into account. As long as these black-and-white views prevail, a real dialogue will not be possible. Henry

10 Wolfgang Zellner & Frank Evers, *The Future of OSCE Field Operations*, OSCE Network of Think Tanks and Academic Institutions, pdf, pp. 2-27

11 Internet:http://www.b92.net/info/vesti/index.php?yyyy=2015&mm=04&dd=24&nav_category=78&nav_id=984337, accessed on 27 April 2015

12 Wolfgang Zellner & Frank Evers, *The Future of OSCE Field Operations*, OSCE Network of Think Tanks and Academic Institutions, pdf, pp. 2-27

Kissinger, in his interview with the British newspaper *The Independent*, on the occasion of publication of his new book “World Order”, has a different view of the crisis in Ukraine. “I disagree with Putin, but why didn’t somebody, somewhere along the road, propose a solution that would have addressed both sides’ concerns within the context of an independent Ukraine? When Europe said Ukraine has to choose between Europe and Russia in a commercial negotiation, maybe saying the opposite, saying let’s do it together, might have made great progress”¹³, Kissinger said.

For now, there are no standard guidelines under which field operations work, except for the generalized principles of the 1999 Istanbul Charter for European Security.¹⁴ Previously, operations followed the guidelines relating to the specificities of the particular operation and were originally contained in the 1992 Helsinki Final Act.¹⁵ Despite this fact, field operations are the best mechanism for crisis resolution and post-crisis rehabilitation of society.

Field Operations are established by the Permanent Council, which decides about their mandates and budgets. The conduct of these operations is secured by the Permanent Council and the Chairperson. International officials within the operations are diplomats seconded by participating states and are paid by them. This has reduced the cost of operations for the OSCE, but the real problem exists in the form of vacancies, frequent staff turnover and insufficient training, distorted equitable geographical distribution (over 40 per cent of the staff of these operations come from the United States, Britain, France and Germany).¹⁶ Although the OSCE field operations are based on individual, tailored mandates, they share a number of common features and primarily represent a collective and co-operative effort of the whole Organization aiming at a peaceful resolution of crises.¹⁷

However, not all states are “good hosts”. Whereas most host states in South Eastern Europe have a relatively positive attitude, the South Caucasian and Central Asian states are, to different degree, more skeptical towards the OSCE field operations. As highlighted by the article entitled “The Future of OSCE

13 Internet: <http://srbin.info/2014/09/28/savremeni-svet-sukob-rusko-kineske-realpolitike-i-americke-ideologije/>, (modern-world-conflict-russian-chinese-real-politics-and-american-ideology), accessed on 27 April 2015

14 Dragan Simić, *Nauka o bezbednosti (Science of Security)*, FRY Official Journal, Faculty of Political Sciences, Belgrade, 2002, p. 172.

15 See: Internet: <http://www.osce.org/mc/39530>, accessed on 24 April 2015

16 Vladimir Trapara, *Uloga OEBS operacija na terenu u zemljama u tranziciji (The Role of OSCE Field Operations in Transition Countries)*, Original research paper, Belgrade, 2011, p.119.

17 Wolfgang Zellner & Frank Evers, *The Future of OSCE Field Operations*, OSCE Network of Think Tanks and Academic Institutions, pdf, pp. 2-27

Field Operations”, a few host states have demonstrated their desire to limit the OSCE scope of operation or downgrade it. This is happening particularly in resource-rich countries where the opinion that the contacts and services of the OSCE are not needed sometimes prevails, based on the idea that the field operations’ mandates have already been fulfilled”.¹⁸ Also, in the last ten years Russia has criticized the functioning of field operations and her criticism is having a growing impact, reflecting Russia’s growing power and ability to impose her own list of priorities in the Euro-Atlantic-Eurasian dialogue on security relations. Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan developed a document in 2002, criticizing the OSCE field operation practices,¹⁹ and referring among other to the insufficient control of field operations by the OSCE’s central authorities.

OSCE tomorrow

Given the security context prevailing in Europe and the world today, globalization, transition and wandering in politics, it is clear that the states alone, without the help and cooperation of the Great Powers through cooperative security, will not be able to counter the contemporary security challenges, risks and threats. As noted by professor Dragan Simić, “... regardless of truly democratic and peaceful efforts of the OSCE, the cooperative security concept has, regrettably, both for this initially ‘Conference in continuity’ and then an international organization, remained largely a normative vision, unattained in reality and insufficiently clear in the theoretical-philosophical sense”.²⁰ Also, in the coming period the OSCE may also face the challenges which will, according to Wolfgang Zellner, be brought about by the “EU enlargement” that could cause the overlapping of functions of the two organizations, or create an opportunity to deepen cooperation.²¹

Despite these observations, the OSCE’s role through preventive diplomacy, field operations and other mechanisms should in the coming period gain even great-

18 Wolfgang Zellner & Frank Evers, *The Future of OSCE Field Operations*, OSCE Network of Think Tanks and Academic Institutions, pdf, pp. 2-27

19 Vladimir Trapara, *Uloga OEBS operacija na terenu u zemljama u tranziciji (The Role of OSCE Field Operations in Transition Countries)*, Original research paper, Belgrade, 2011, p.119.

20 Dragan Simić, *Nauka o bezbednosti (The Science of Security)*, the FRY Official Gazette, Faculty of Political Sciences, Belgrade, 2002, p. 84

21 Vladimir Trapara, *Uloga OEBS operacija na terenu u zemljama u tranziciji (The Role of OSCE Field Operations in Transition Countries)*, Original research paper, Belgrade, 2011, p. 119

er importance. The OSCE of tomorrow should enhance the dialogue with all international actors with a view to restoring peace and stability in Europe. This argument is supported by the fact that the OSCE is the recipient of “Kaiser-Otto” award for 2015.²²

However, it is necessary to increase the transparency of the OSCE, primarily of its capabilities for rapid and effective action on the ground, and for achieving results. It seems that the current crisis in Ukraine encourages states and other security actors to more significantly pay attention to the Organization. They now actively use the OSCE as a mediator in conflict resolution, while on the other hand, as mentioned above, there is still very little understanding for the OSCE’s potential capabilities and its readiness to influence the revitalization of dialogues related to European security.

One of the recommendations of Wolfgang Zellner is to develop thematic missions, that would deal with new transnational security threats and risks in the entire OSCE area (or in some regions), instead of the existing local missions that deal with a wide range of issues at the level of individual states.²³

In the year of Serbia’s OSCE Chairmanship, one of the priorities of this organization should be stabilization of the crisis in Ukraine and more aggressive response to cyber threats through the full support of the implementation of the adopted confidence-building measures (CBMs). “With the confidence-building measures, the OSCE participating states provide a single platform for tackling various cyber threats, at the same time protecting fundamental freedoms and human rights.”²⁴ Also, according to the Joint Work Plan of Switzerland and Serbia for the chairmanship of the organization,²⁵ OSCE should in the future “develop activities based on the Dublin Ministerial Council Declaration on strengthening good governance and fight against corruption, money laundering and financing of terrorism, including addressing recovery of stolen property, solving global and regional environmental problems in the context of promoting security cooperation and addressing the issue of sustainable water management and water scarcity”.

22 The Kaiser-Otto Culture Foundation has been awarding this prize since 2005 in the German town of Magdeburg. The prize is awarded once in two years for exceptional contribution to European integrations and stability in Europe and in the neighbouring regions. Internet: <http://www.slobodnaevropa.org/archive/news/latest/500/500.html?id=26979406>, accessed on 26 April 2015

23 Vladimir Trapara, “Uloga OEBS operacija na terenu u zemljama u tranziciji” (*The Role of OSCE Field Operations in Transition Countries*), Original research paper, Belgrade, 2011, p. 119.

24 Internet, <http://mondo.rs/a787040/Info/Srbija/Dacic-Sajber-bezbednost-prioritet-za-Srbiju-kao-predsedavajucu-OEBS-u.html>, accessed on 20 April 2015

25 Internet, <http://www.mfa.gov.rs/sr/index.php/teme/oebs-2015-predsedavanje-srbije?lang=lat>, accessed on 20 April 2015

Also, the OSCE should enhance cooperation and partnership with the United Nations, which is crucial for addressing security challenges, risks and threats to the Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian space. “The OSCE is engaged in political dialogue, coordination and exchange of information with the UN on thematic and regional issues both on the political and expert level. All OSCE structures cooperate with a wide range of UN bodies and organizations in order to strengthen security in all three dimensions in the OSCE area and in the neighboring regions. We highly appreciate this close cooperation. We are ready to make it more operational and more results-oriented by reviving talks with the staff, targeted exchange of staff and pragmatic implementation of the existing institutional framework”²⁶. In addition to promoting cooperation with the United Nations, on the basis of the 1999 Istanbul Platform for Security Cooperation, the OSCE’s priority should be to develop cooperation with other relevant regional and international organizations that share the OSCE goals and values in order to capitalize on synergies for preserving security.

Conclusion

The aim of this essay was to describe, examine and explain the role of the OSCE in addressing contemporary security challenges, risks and threats, especially through field operations, as well as to reaffirm the relevance of this organization, which is primarily committed to maintaining the comprehensive security architecture of Europe.

26 Part of speech of the OSCE Chairperson-in-Office, First Deputy Prime Minister of Serbia and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ivica Dacic, at the briefing held at the UN Security Council on the priorities of Serbia’s chairmanship of the OSCE and the co-operation between the OSCE and the UN. For details, see: Internet <http://www.mfa.gov.rs/sr/index.php/2015-01-15-13-45-30/14870-2015-02-25-12-57-03?lang= lat>, accessed on 20 April 2015

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The OSCE and contemporary security challenges

Belgrade, April 2015

Summary: This essay aims at analyzing contemporary security challenges and their implications for the security dynamics within the space of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. The first part explains the evolution of the OSCE, i.e. how it was transformed through adaptation to security requirements of the given time and to characteristics of security challenges with a view to providing an adequate response. Further follows a description of the changed nature of contemporary challenges in a globalized world and the OSCE's vision of creating a security community as a strategy for countering them. The sudden crisis in Ukraine, as the greatest security challenge for the OSCE participating States, however, denies the possibility of creating such a security community. Thus, internal instability, caused by the outbreak of this crisis, in collusion with other challenges emerging from destabilizing southern neighborhood regions affect the security of the OSCE space. At the time when the existing security architecture is eroded, the OSCE is faced with a challenge of finding an adequate response and preserving the acquired reputation of the largest security organization.

The effect of security challenges on the evolution of the OSCE

The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, as the largest international security organization, was created and developed under the influence of the security dynamics and challenges in the area it covered, but at the same time it also influenced the change and the transformation of the security environment. With its 57 participating States, stretching almost across the entire northern hemisphere, the OSCE is an organization with extremely high significance for security, while on the other hand the large area and the diversity between the participating States can also be a limiting factor. Forty years after the adoption of the Helsinki Final Act, it seems that the current security challenges are returning the OSCE back to the similar position which it had when it started to function.

The organization's predecessor, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, was established in 1975, during the period of détente and the easing of tensions between the two blocs in the Cold War era, with a view to creating a forum for dialogue between the East and the West. By the adoption of the Helsinki Final Act, the states agreed on the principles that should lead to the establishment of a stable and comprehensive process of détente. After the fall of the "iron curtain", the initial reason for creating the CSCE no longer existed, which resulted in the need to redefine its goals, but also to transform it.

The emergence of new democracies and the challenges of their inclusion into the pan-European security concept led to the pursuit of new goals, the establishment and strengthening of democracy, human rights and security, rule of law, enshrined in the 1990 Charter of Paris for a New Europe¹. With that the Helsinki CSCE practically ceased to exist, which was confirmed by its transformation into the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe in 1995. The institutional change led not only to the extension of the organization's jurisdiction but also to the establishment of permanent and ad hoc bodies authorized to act both in general terms and in internal individual cases.² The change in the type of conflicts, from interstate to internal ones, shifted the focus of the OSCE toward new goals, from crisis management, building of democratic institutions, implementation of international acts, to promotion of hu-

1 OSCE, 1990

2 Aćimović, 2013, 9,10

man rights, provision of overall support and election monitoring³ Thus, as the security challenges changed, the role of the OSCE also changed so that it could effectively respond to them.

In the early 21st century, transnational threats such as terrorism, organized crime, cyber threats, etc., assumed the highest place on the security agenda, while it seemed that the space from Vladivostok to Vancouver was deeply committed to peace and cooperation. However, the unexpected crisis in Ukraine has drawn attention to new challenges that returned the OSCE back to a situation similar to the time of its creation and its role of balancing between the East and the West. This complicates the security structure, already compromised by destabilizing factors in the periphery, from Central Asia, the Middle East and North Africa. What implications these challenges will have for the very role of the OSCE and whether the changes in the security dynamics will once again cause the transformation of the organization, remains to be seen in the coming period.

The features of contemporary challenges

The globalization process has given rise to entirely new types of threats both at the national, and at the regional, global and individual levels. At the beginning of the 21st century numerous transnational challenges and threats were given top priority on security agendas. Due to the implications which they have for the security dynamics not only of the OSCE region but also of other parts of the world, the changes in the characteristics of global challenges are crucial for understanding individual security threats.

The changing nature of warfare and armed conflicts, as well as the specificity of the actors, instruments and institutions influence the character and the scope of contemporary security challenges.⁴ Although the number of wars and armed conflicts is declining, other forms of violence are constantly on the rise, contributing to the overall feeling of insecurity. The sharp divide between organized and “dis-organized” violence has disappeared and the distinction between crim-

3 Ibid, 13

4 Krause, 2014, 1

inal or economic, and political or ideological violence has become blurred.⁵ The availability of small arms as well as new technologies contributes to the emergence of new challenges such as cybercrime, but also accelerates the growth of the number of non-state actors involved in armed conflicts and facilitates their management. The inefficiency of institutions is often one of the key problems in dealing with contemporary challenges, while its direct consequence is failure of the state to provide security to its citizens.

In the conditions of transnational interconnection and weakening of national borders, all these features contribute to easy spillover of new challenges and a kind of powerlessness in adequately responding to them. The destabilizing areas from Central Asia, through the Southern Mediterranean, but also Central America are a direct threat to the southern borders of the OSCE participating States. Terrorism, organized crime, and irregular migration are but some of the threats that are a product of the new circumstances in the security dynamics. The weakness of some states further complicates the whole problem, due to their inability to resist and prevent the penetration of such threats.

As a reaction to contemporary developments, a vision was created, as adopted at the 2010 OSCE Summit in Astana, to develop a “free, democratic, common and indivisible Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian security community stretching from Vancouver to Vladivostok.”⁶ This would represent a pluralistic form of security complex where participating States exclude the possibility of the use of force and act together in dealing with contemporary challenges.⁷ However, the sudden crisis in Ukraine and the straining of relations between the East and the West once again showed that the state-centric approach in international relations was a reality and that creation of a security community was far from reality.

The Ukrainian crisis

The current crisis in Ukraine is a major challenge not only in the European region but at the global level as well. The tightening of relations between the

5 Ibid.

6 OSCE, 2010

7 Ejdus, 2012, 119

OSCE participating States raises the issue of effectiveness of existing tools that are available to the OSCE for responding to crisis situations. The implications of border changes in Europe and, consequently, the breach of fundamental principles of international law and the Helsinki Final Act are much bigger. They have triggered an avalanche of other challenges, from political to economic and energy issues, including the unavoidable human dimension. Polarity and geopolitics have become key aspects.

Once again, Europe is divided. Optimistic visions of “a Europe whole and free and at peace” from the late 20th century, backed by neo-liberal teachings, have once again turned the European stage over to realistic paradigms of constant tension and conflict of interest in an anarchic system. Geopolitics returns to the scene through the front door. According to the British geographer H. Mackinder, the central part of the Eurasian continent is the “heartland”, which in this case explains the geo-strategic importance of Ukraine and Eastern Europe. The well-known Mackinder’s syllogism reads: “Who rules Eastern Europe commands the Heartland. Who rules the Heartland commands the World-Island (Eurasia). Who rules the World-Island commands the World”.⁸ Besides him, not so long ago, Zbigniew Brzezinski, explaining his concept of geopolitical pivot, cited Ukraine as an example of a country over which geopolitical players compete due to its importance for the control of Eurasia.⁹ The current crisis in Ukraine confirmed his claims.

The conflict of geopolitical and military interests between Russia and the West has led to a security dilemma and the tightening of relations. The sanctions imposed against the Russian Federation only worsened mutual relations and led to a no-win situation for all those involved. Therefore, the Ukrainian crisis poses a challenge and requires the development of a comprehensive approach that will manage to prevent further deterioration of the already strained relations. The complexity of this crisis is reflected in the spillover of the political crisis to other sectors and levels of security. The economic and energy factors undoubtedly affect the development and course of events. Precisely due to the economic implications, but also due to the potential destabilization of other sensitive areas of Eastern Europe, it is in the interest of all states to approach the resolution of this crisis from a pragmatic viewpoint. The Minsk Agreements (2014, 2015) indicate the commitment of all parties to finding a peaceful solution and ceasefire. On the other hand, the failure to put words into deeds indicates the sensitivity of the issue. Given the implications for the human dimension

8 Miletic, 1993, 343

9 Brzezinski, 1998, 46

and the security of citizens, as well as the growing problem of migration from Ukraine, this is clearly a large-scale crisis.

The OSCE's vision of creating a security community that would prevent the emergence of a security dilemma and discontinue territorial claims and conflicts in the area from Vancouver to Vladivostok proved to be unsustainable. The difficulties that the OSCE is facing in terms of the inability to settle the conflicts have led to a situation in which the OSCE is also facing its own challenge—how to remain a relevant player in such conditions. However, given the OSCE's persistence and constant struggle to ensure a peaceful and stable Europe during its forty years of existence, the current instability cannot erode the legitimacy it enjoys.

The OSCE, as an umbrella security organization, has a pivotal role in finding the way for peaceful dispute resolution. Its activity so far, through the special monitoring mission established in March 2014, has focused on continuous monitoring and reporting from the ground. Although it is a civilian mission, it contributes significantly to the strengthening of dialogue between the conflicting parties and its power stems from the fact that its mandate was approved by the consensus of all 57 participating States. However, the limited scope of this instrument and the seriousness of the crisis indicate the need to consider possible changes of the way in which the OSCE operates and finding new mechanisms that would contribute to greater efficiency.

The Mediterranean Region

Apart from the internal crisis in Ukraine, the OSCE is also faced with challenges coming from its southern rim, from the Mediterranean partner countries shaken by internal unrest, but also with the imminent threats of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria. Cooperation with the Mediterranean partner countries (Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Morocco, and Tunisia) dates back to the time of the Helsinki process when the Mediterranean Chapter was incorporated into the Final Act, emphasizing that European security cannot be treated separately from security in the Mediterranean area, due to their interrelation.¹⁰

10 OSCE, 1975, 36

The Mediterranean region is shaken by its own problems. The Arab Spring has brought forth not only a wave of demonstrations and discontent in the Arab world but also an eruption of transnational threats. Some of them, including terrorism, the migration problem, human trafficking and arms trafficking, but also the challenges of transition, characterize the security environment of the region, which also impacts the European security. Owing to its comprehensive approach to security and its broad membership, the OSCE has the capacity to assist the transition process in these countries, as well as to establish dialogue with a view to resolving the crisis and taking cooperative action to combat the threats, although due to the outbreak of the internal crisis and the tightening of relations between the participating States, this task is currently not on the priority list.

However, the neglect of this region affects the complexity of the security situation in the Mediterranean with direct implications for Europe's security. This was demonstrated by the tragedy of 700 people in the Mediterranean Sea¹¹, which has put the issue of migration and human trafficking on the top of the security agenda. According to the European Parliament President Martin Schulz, "The lack of a truly European asylum and migration policy is now turning the Mediterranean into a graveyard."¹² The same is true for the OSCE. The problem of this organization is its broad membership, where states are not equally affected by the same threats. In such conditions it is difficult to reach a consensus on the priorities and actions that would satisfy all participating States. The Helsinki + 40 Process¹³ thus referred to the Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian security community, without mentioning the creation of a similar Euro-Mediterranean security community.¹⁴ However, not only did the creation of a security community prove to be impossible at this point of time but it was also understood that to discard the Mediterranean dimension would be completely retrograde.

11 <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/apr/19/700-migrants-feared-dead-mediterranean-shipwreck-worst-yet>

12 <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/news-room/content/20150423ST045411/html/Schulz-%E2%80%9CLack-of-European-migration-policy-turning-Mediterranean-into-graveyard%E2%80%9D>

13 OSCE, 2012

14 Wohlfeld, 2014, 6

Afghanistan and the region of Central Asia

On the other hand, Afghanistan remains a source of threat in Central Asia with direct influence on the security and stability of its neighboring countries and the entire region. This country's high ranking in the index of state weakness¹⁵, as well as its unabated conflict with the Taliban, make it a failed state. Moreover, the interconnected threats of drugs, crime and corruption impair human security and require a common approach by the international community. The announcement by U.S. President Barack Obama that the U.S. will keep 9,800 of its troops until the end of 2015 indicates the instability and inability of the Afghan government alone to deal with the threats on the ground.¹⁶

Direct threats from the southern neighborhood affect the security of the OSCE participating States from Central Asia (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan). An additional challenge for this region is weakness of states, which are very poorly ranked according to the index of weakness (Uzbekistan 48, Tajikistan 55, Kyrgyzstan 58, Turkmenistan 74, Kazakhstan 111).¹⁷ Their inability to adequately respond to internal challenges and to deliver public goods to their own citizens, impact the susceptibility of these states to destructive influences from the region.

The role of the OSCE is therefore indispensable in empowering these states. Its capacities to support democratic reforms, participate in the creation of efficient institutions, promote the rule of law and human rights are crucial for empowering the states of the region for coping with security challenges. To this end, the OSCE is working on strengthening cross-border cooperation and on creating a regional approach that would contribute to common confrontation with threats and to finding efficient ways to combatting them.

15 Messner, 2014, 23

16 <http://www.wsj.com/articles/obama-meets-with-afghan-president-ghani-amid-troop-drawdown-concerns-1427209840>

17 Messner 2014, 24, 26

Terrorism and radicalization

The entire international community, including the OSCE region, is faced with the global threat of terrorism and extremism. The activities of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria and Boko Haram in northern Nigeria, as well as the announcements of Al Qaeda about the creation of a new stronghold in South Asia indicate a global outreach of the threat of Islamic terrorism. These advancements, as well as a large number of murders of foreign journalists and rapid recruitment of foreign terrorist fighters are a constant reminder that terrorism remains the biggest threat of the modern age.¹⁸ It is precisely because of its transnational character that the fight against terrorism requires joint action by the international community.

The attack against the French satirical magazine Charlie Hebdo, in January 2015¹⁹ shows that the terrorist network has ramifications all over the continent and that no state is capable of responding to such challenges by itself. The sophisticated and far-reaching propaganda of the Islamic State on a daily basis recruits hordes of extremists from different countries of the world who are willing to give their own lives for the creation of a caliphate. Also, for many of them, Iraq and Syria have become a destination from which they directly contribute to the attainment of this goal. Radicalization thus threatens not only national, but also global and human security.

“Terrorist radicalization is a dynamic process whereby an individual comes to accept terrorist violence as a possible, perhaps even legitimate, course of action. There is no single profile that encompasses all terrorists, nor is there a clear-cut pathway that leads individuals to terrorism.”²⁰ Therefore, the challenge for the OSCE is precisely to prevent and counter violent extremism and radicalization that lead to terrorism. Radicalization, however, does not occur in a vacuum. Its causes lie in social, economic, political marginalization, which creates conditions for discontent of certain categories of society, thereby contributing to their susceptibility to radical teachings. The role of the OSCE is to develop mechanisms, through a comprehensive and cooperative approach to security, for strengthening democratic institutions, establishing the rule of law and promoting dialogue between the government and civil society, for the purpose of creating a security environment that will be less susceptible to radicalization.

18 Wuchte, 2014, 1,2

19 <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-30708237>

20 OSCE, 2014, 23

Conclusion

Based on the overview of security dynamics in the OSCE space, as well as in the neighboring regions, a sharp rise is noticeable in the challenges and threats faced by the participating States. Polarization and confrontation between them infringe the fundamental principles of cooperation and collaboration that are at the core of the OSCE's existence. Such developments can provide justification to sceptics regarding the relevance of the role of the OSCE as a security institution, due to its inability to preserve peace and stability within its own space. However, the fact is that the OSCE, with its broad membership and a multi-dimensional concept of common, comprehensive, cooperative and indivisible security remains an important actor in dealing with contemporary challenges.

The Ukrainian crisis has called into question the stability of the European order and security architecture, but has also triggered an avalanche of other security issues related to economic, energy and human dimensions. On the other hand, conflict areas with regional threats, stretching along the southern borders of the OSCE space, carry security challenges of transnational character and directly impact the security of the participating States. The reach of these challenges and threats does not stop at the regional level, but rather has a global impact.

Comprising three intertwined dimensions, the politico-military, economic and environmental, and human, the OSCE has the capacity and the tools to efficiently respond to contemporary threats. The main challenge, actually, is the dissonance between the participating States, as well as their (lack of) resolve in the implementation of the assumed commitments and in adherence to the organization's adopted principles. Thus, even 40 years after its creation, dialogue and cooperation remain the OSCE's primary goals. Known for its merits in the establishment of dialogue during the Cold War crisis and for its contribution to overcoming the crisis, in the 21st century the OSCE still has the legitimacy and capacity to once again justify its security role in the modern world.

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