Setting the 21ˢᵗ Century Security Agenda

edited by Kurt R. Spillmann, Andreas Wenger and Michel Hess / with the Assistance of Karin Fink

Proceedings of the 5th International Security Forum

Contents

Preface

The Center for Security Studies at the ETH Zurich (Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Zurich) is pleased to present this summary of the proceedings of the 5th International Security Forum ISF. The 5th ISF was held from 14–16 October 2002 at the Kongresshaus Zurich and brought together some 450 participants from all over the Euro-Atlantic area. The three plenary sessions, six tracks of thirty workshops, and fifteen sidebar presentations with parallel themes were held under the conference motto 'Setting the 21st Century Security Agenda'. Summaries can only offer a limited impression of the substantial program and high-quality discussions that were held at the 5th ISF. They cannot do justice to all 156 speakers who shared their knowledge and ideas. Nonetheless, the following summary report, which was put together with the help of rapporteurs, provides a useful *tour d'horizon* of the conference for future reference, notably the next ISF scheduled to be held in Montreux in the fall of 2004.

The ISF tradition reaches back to 1994, when the conference cycle was initiated as the 'Institutes and the Security Dialogue'. Over time, that dialogue has indeed given shape to a 'security community' willing and ready to exchange information, to share experiences and insights, and to contribute to a recognized confidence- and security-building process. Held every two years alternatively in Zurich and Geneva, the continuing tradition of the ISF has been made possible by the unwavering support of the Swiss Federal Department of Defense, Civil Protection, and Sports as part of Switzerland's contribution to the Partnership for Peace. As a host of the 5th ISF in Zurich, the Center for Security Studies co-organized the conference on behalf of the Swiss Federal Department of Defense in cooperation with the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), the Geneva Centre for Security Policy (GCSP), and the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva. As in previous years, the objective was to bring together high-level civil servants, diplomats, military staff, academics, and representatives of non-governmental institutions from the Euro-Atlantic area.

How and to what extent has the 5th ISF distinguished itself from previous conferences? Certainly the security debate has changed in the light of the 11 September 2001 terrorist incidents. In contrast to the 4th ISF in 2000 in Geneva, which focused on human rights and humanitarian dimensions of security, the 5th ISF in Zurich examined the challenges presented by new information and communications technologies and the media, the protection of critical infrastructures, terrorism, selected human and regional security issues, and security sector reform. In particular, the first track dealt with knowledge management in security policy, looking at critical infrastructure protection, information risks, web management, information technology in the South Caucasus, and media coverage of the war on terror. This topic also formed the core of the second plenary session, which highlighted some of the complex tasks involved in managing media relations in an age of global real-time information coverage. New information and communications technologies have fundamentally altered the conditions under which security and defense policies are formulated and implemented. Time is indeed a critical element. News coverage provided by electronic media is not only delivered in real-time, but also in a globally and universally accessible manner; decision-makers are more quickly confronted with the necessity to come up with a response. However, these factors do not always result in carefully crafted decisions. The tradeoff between speed and quality in news coverage is not always an easy one.

A second element is access to information. As technologies provide straightforward solutions to the complex task of information provision, pressing questions arise regarding the type of information that can be provided at different levels and in difference instances. Is public access to information a basic civil right in all circumstances? While the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) code of conduct on politico-military aspects of security of 1994 asks states to provide for transparency and public access to information related to the armed forces, it does so with due deference to national security requirements. Especially in complex emergencies, the gap between the accessibility to reliable information and the necessity to deliver validated information becomes acute. Jamie Shea, Director of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO's) Information and Press Service, shared his tested insights on this dilemma from the governmental perspective.

The second track addressed e-learning for security policy from various angles, including advanced distributed and collaborative learning, e-learning in multinational and multilingual environments, new learning strategies, and emerging standards. Enhancing defense and security policy training, e-learning can provide both technological and didactical solutions for students and instructors alike. The third track, entitled 'human security', included topical workshops on war-torn societies, Islam, gender, the OSCE, and small arms. The fourth and fifth tracks were sponsored and organized by DCAF and examined security sector reform from various geographic and institutional perspectives. Finally, the sixth track offered a program on 'regional security' with workshops on Russia, Europe, European security and defense policy, asymmetric war, and peace support operations.

The broad multidisciplinary and institutional approach taken by the conference and the diversity of topics hinted at the nature of the response needed to address global security in the aftermath of 11 September. The 5th ISF generated some new perspectives and innovative solutions for policy-makers and policy-shapers, and stimulated further academic research within the community. It made clear that while the 21st century will bring many complex, unpredictable challenges to security policy, the exchange of knowledge and the sharing of information related to risks and vulnerabilities is as necessary as ever. Such an exchange, however, must be based on a close dialog between the academic and the professional security communities for the balanced formulation of policies and recommendations. The 5th ISF made a successful attempt to identify future key issues and trends, and to generate fresh perspectives and solutions for the policy community working within the framework of the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC) and the OSCE.

As the organizers of the 5th ISF, the editors of this volume would like to thank all participants and speakers for their valuable contributions that made the 5th ISF a tremendous success. They would like to express their particular gratitude to the workshop leaders, the keynote and guest speakers, and to the authors of the summaries. They also recognize the generous financial and other assistance provided by their co-sponsors and co-organizers. In this context, the editors would like to acknowledge especially the support of Ambassador Theodor Winkler, Director, Anja Ebnöther, Assistant Director, and Alan Bryden, Coordinator, at the

Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, Geneva; Ambassador Ulrich Lehner, Director, Fred Tanner, Deputy Director, and Patrick Lehmann, Coordinator, at the Geneva Centre for Security Policy, Geneva; Daniel Warner, Professor, and Véronique Burkhalter, Coordinator, at the Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva; and Jean F. Freymond, Professor, at the Centre for Applied Studies in International Negotiations, who actively supported the realization of the conference.

The editors would like to express their special thanks to those colleagues at the Center for Security Studies who have helped organize and run the 5th ISF. Special thanks go to Barbara Gleich, ISF Conference Manager, who was responsible for the entire ISF conference organization and logistics, with support from Andrea Rothenbühler and Karin Fink. Thanks also go to Michel Hess, ISN Coordinator, who managed the content of the conference with the assistance of Jennifer Gassmann and Anna Sargsyan. Claude Derron and Roland Spyr assisted with conference logistics and transportation, and Dieter Henning and Fabio Consani at the ETH's IT Services Helpdesk helped with the database. Michelle Norgate and Christopher Findlay edited and translated conference material, and Germano Giuliani and the IT Support Team helped with the design of the website and were responsible for IT support during the conference.

With regard to the present publication, Michel Hess, Karin Fink, Barbara Gleich, and Christopher Findlay deserve special mention for their editorial assistance. Further thanks is due to the speakers of the plenary sessions and the rapporteurs, who all contributed to the successful outcome of this publication.

The views expressed are those of the authors and do not reflect the opinions of the editors or speakers. Further information on the 5th ISF (including a free online publication of this volume) is available at http://www.isn.ethz.ch/isf.

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Welcome Address

FEDERAL COUNCILLOR SAMUEL SCHMID
Head of the Swiss Federal Department of Defence, Civil Protection and Sports

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Let me first of all welcome you to Switzerland. It is an honour for my country to host this event. And I am pleased to note that so many scholars and scientists – but also practitioners of international security – have followed the call from Zürich.

The relationship between government and science in security affairs is not a simple one. You may often feel that governments do not take your advice seriously enough, or do not act sufficiently quickly on this advice. We in government feel sometimes that scientists are not sufficiently realistic, that they do not recognise all problems that have to be overcome on the way to a better world. But let me state loud and clear: We need you, your analysis, your criticism, and your suggestions. We work toward the same goal, and I thank you for your contribution.

Setting the 21st Century Security Agenda – this is the overall topic of this International Security Forum. This is an ambitious title: Setting the agenda is a good part of shaping the future. I am not sure if we shall indeed manage to set the agenda for security in the 21st century. But there is certainly one thing I know, a point I feel strongly about: We must not allow terrorism, the enemies of free societies, to set the agenda. In saying this, I recognise that we are, for the time being, reacting to terrorist attacks, to a challenge that we did not provoke but have to confront. Terrorism has set the agenda with 9/11. But our task is to make sure that this is only temporary: We must seize the initiative and put terrorism on the defensive – and in the longer term try to eliminate terrorism.

Free societies and liberal democracies are peaceful, if left alone. What our citizens want is the pursuit of happiness, to borrow a phrase from the American Declaration of Independence: have a rewarding job, raise a family in peace and security, live in an intact environment. Of course there is competition in our lives, first of all in our professional lives. Of course we have an interest in democracy, stability, human rights and the rule of law beyond our borders. And of course interna-

tional relations are not at all times just plain harmony. But free societies do not want to interfere in the affairs of other peoples and states. They do not want their governments to engage in adventures and crusades. They do not resort to brute force and naked violence as a means to further their interests.

Hence this is a particular time for all of us. We must do something that runs against our instincts. We must act with determination, and at the same time be careful not to damage the very thing that we want to defend, namely our free and democratic societies and an international order based on law. Switzerland is part of the fight against terrorism. There is no neutrality against this threat. We focus our contribution on the area where we can make the greatest difference: closing down the financial networks that international terrorism relies on.

Let me conclude my remarks on this topic by saying that we – all of us together – have to set the security agenda for the 21st century. If we do not set the agenda, somebody else will – and we will be spectators and merely reacting.

Coming to your proper agenda for this International Security Forum, I have noted that the topics cover a wide field: from the benefits of information technology for education to the risks posed by our reliance on information technology; from small arms to the reform of the security sector; from Russia's security environment to asymmetric war in South-West Asia. At first look, these topics appear to be very different – with only security as common factor. But in our increasingly complex world, subjects that used to be separate from each other have a tendency to become interdependent. Geography has lost much of its former importance: distance does no longer offer much protection. Events in one field of human activity tend to impact on other fields. The world has become one vast 'system of systems', a tangle of networks. An attack at one critical point will be felt throughout the system. There is a limit to protecting our systems and societies. The desire for security must be balanced with our regard for liberty. Moreover, we cannot afford to provide maximum security in all fields and at all time. We must make choices, based on a critical assessment of our vulnerabilities.

If the world has become a rather complex place, the analysis of international security must also be complex. Your menu for the next two days reflects this fact.

Your primary job is analysis. Governments, on the other hand, must frame a policy, create political consensus, and find the resources for the measures necessary for the security of us all. As Head of the Swiss Federal Department of Defence, Civil Protection and Sports – and as member of the Swiss government – I am aware of this responsibility. In Switzerland, our armed forces, as well as civil defence, is based on the militia system. And we have a direct democracy. This means that many of our citizens are directly involved in our largest instruments of security policy – and they may have strong feelings, based on their personal experience. This means also that our citizens have a number of political instruments to shape policy – in particular initiatives and referenda that have to be decided by popular vote.

The first job of political leadership, in Switzerland as elsewhere, is to base the analysis on the real world. It makes no sense to ignore realities, to behave as if the world had not changed. We must strive for security, stability and peace in the world as it is – not as we might wish it to be.

A second point: The political leadership must accept the realities of domestic politics. Every policy – including the most intellectually brilliant one – will fail if it ignores the will of parliament and the citizens. It is true, that our security policy must be up to the international challenges. But it is also true that security policy must be made with our people. We need visions, but we need also patience and common sense.

The third point flows from the first two I just mentioned. The responsibility of government is to bring together objective needs and political acceptance. Our permanent job is to explain our policy and to build popular support for what he have recognised as necessary. The Swiss political system – more than any other – forces us to do that. Direct democracy does not reward authoritarian tendencies, it calls for patient explanation and persuasion.

Most of you have come from abroad for this International Security Forum in Zürich. And some of you may assume that Switzerland is the place where the world is still in order, almost regardless of what happens elsewhere. I am certainly convinced that Switzerland is a good place to live and to work, and also a country that works. But this does not come by itself. What we are today is the merit of earlier genera-

tions. And our job is not to rest on these merits, but to make a push for excellence.

There was the joke about Switzerland being an island surrounded by land. This was never true. We do not seek salvation in isolationism. We are open to the world, and we are involved. And we do our best to contribute to a stable, just and peaceful world – in our own interest as well as out of solidarity. It is in just this spirit that we host this International Security Forum. I wish you very stimulating discussions and much success.

Thank you.

Part I
Knowledge Management and E-Learning in Security Policy

Michel Hess

Knowledge Management for Security Policy: Introduction

Knowledge management has become a fashionable concept lacking an adequate definition and standards. The goal of this first workshop track at the 5th ISF was to formulate such a definition in the context of international security and defense policy, to test the definition from both a policy and a practical perspective, and to deliver specific recommendations as to best practices for various strategic issues.

Knowledge management has been the key strategic tool in security and defense policy for many years. As hallmarks of effective leadership, the management *of* knowledge and the management *for* knowledge have contributed to the long-term objectives of security and defense policy.[1] How has knowledge management changed in a comprehensive

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1 A basic distinction is traditionally made between data (building blocks), information and knowledge, whereas knowledge is information with value added supporting decision-making. On the basis of this distinction is is therefore useful to separate the management of knowledge and the management for knowledge. The first task refers to the systematic collection and validation of information and the creation of accessible databases; the second refers to the use of knowledge for productive means (e.g., decisions). Further distinctions can be made between implicit/explicit, core/peripheral, individual/collective, internal/external, present/future, formal/informal, private/public, etc. knowledge. Knowledge includes but is not limited to the following features: a network of individually generated skills and information, a process, a basis for competence and know-how. The literature attempting to come to grips with this elastic concept is vast and reaches from project and change management and corporate identity literature to conceptual and theoretical works. See for example Kurbalija Jovan, ed. *Knowledge and Diplomacy*. Malta: DiploProjects, 1999. See also Davenport Thomas. *Working Knowledge*. Boston: Harvard, 1998. See also Herbst, Dieter. *Erfolgsfaktor Wissensmanagement*. Berlin: Cornelsen, 2000.

security environment? First, the security and defense policy community is aware of the importance of sharing information, expertise, and country-specific information and data, at both the academic and the political levels. How else can some of the most pressing problems such as terrorism, trans-border crime, and organized crime be tackled?[2] Yet one of the greatest persisting obstacles to the systematic management *of* knowledge in security policy remains the institutional unwillingness to share information. The willingness to exchange information is independent of the tools that are available to manage that information. Second, technological solutions today make the impossible possible.[3] Physical and virtual databases and libraries present any decision-maker with an overwhelming quantity of information. What matters, therefore, is the user evaluation process, the ability to interpret and evaluate information and data. This is where the gap between the available technology and the human capability to reap the benefits of that technology has become more acute. Third, information is neutral, while knowledgedepends on its carrier; it is human-specific. To have information is not enough, what is at least equally important is the generation of needs-driven information for the solution of specific problems. This type of knowledge management pays attention to methods and tools for accessing knowledge. It also creates added value for decision-making.

Track I of the 5th International Security Forum (ISF) was the fruition of a combined effort by the International Relations and Security Network (ISN) and its Comprehensive Risk Analysis and Management Network (CRN), both run by the Center for Security Studies at the ETH Zurich (Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Zurich)[4]. Track I synthesized the results of some of the work accomplished by the ISN

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2 See for example the report of the Swiss Federal Council to Parliament. *Lage- und Gefährdungsanalyse Schweiz nach den Terroranschlägen vom 11. September 2001*. Bern: DAP, 26 June 2002, online available at http://www.fedpol.ch/d/aktuell/berichte/020627a_ber-d.pdf, 30 January 2003.

3 See for example the possibilities offered by the integration of content management and e-business applications such as MySAP in content life cycle management systems.

4 For further information on ISN, CRN and the Center for Security Studies, please refer to http://www.isn.ethz.ch, http://www.isn.ethz.ch/crn, and http://www.fsk.ethz.ch, respectively.

and CRN since the 4th ISF of November 2000 in Geneva. A conscious effort was made by the ISN[5] to move from traditional information technology (IT) project presentations towards a more content and problem-oriented agenda after 11 September 2001. It included 22 presentations distributed over five workshops, and successfully and systematically addressed the three sets of knowledge management issues outlined above. The results are most substantial. Indeed, all five workshops lived up to the goal of the overall track: to manage knowledge. Innovative work was accomplished on transparency in structures and processes and on the improvement of the exchange of information regarding strategic decision-making. These are major pillars and criteria of successful knowledge management.

The five workshops examined knowledge management principles, concepts, tools, and instruments in a specific working environment: the protection of critical, including knowledge-based, infrastructures; information risks and the maintenance of network-based knowledge systems; web management, including data and information management within the framework of defense and security policy-oriented institutions and their websites and Internet services; the role and stabilizing potential of information technology in the geopolitically sensitive region of the South Caucasus; and finally the role of global real-time coverage by electronic media of the 'war on terror'.

The conclusion of the knowledge management track is that there is a useful and applicable definition of knowledge management in security policy and that it is best judged by its tangible results and the impact of knowledge management technologies and supporting organizational structures and processes. Knowledge management tools and policies form an integral part of a modern and advanced defense and security portfolio designed to cope with some of the most complex security challenges, including asymmetric warfare and terrorist networks.
Track I included the following workshops:

5 These IT projects presented by the ISN at the 3rd and 4th ISF included the ISN Limited Area Search Engine (ISN LASE), the Facts on International Relations and Security Trends (FIRST, a federated database), the Security Watch online news service, and various types of e-Learning products, including the ISN CDRom.

Workshop I.1:	Critical Infrastructure Protection (CIP): Issues and Strategies
Workshop I.2:	Managing Information Risks: Technology and Human Security
Workshop I.3:	Web Management in International Security
Workshop I.4:	South Caucasus: Geopolitics and IT Prospects
Workshop I.5:	Media Coverage of the 'War on Terror'

Michel Hess

Critical Infrastructure Protection and Information Risks[6]

Critical infrastructures – systems in both the physical realm and in cyberspace that are so vital that their incapacitation or destruction would seriously weaken national security, economic stability, or public safety – have historically been physically and logically separate systems with little interdependence. However, because of advances in IT and the necessity of improved efficiency, these infrastructures have become increasingly automated and interlinked. These same advances have created new vulnerabilities with regard to equipment failures, human error, weather, and other natural causes, and physical and cyberspace attacks. Apart from barely known vulnerabilities, a range of serious threats have led to the realization that protecting these assets is of crucial importance, raising the importance of national and international critical infrastructure protection (CIP) policies on the global agenda.[7] Addressing these threats and vulnerabilities will necessarily require flexible, evolutionary approaches that span both the public and private sectors and protect both domestic and international security.

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6 *Workshop Program*: Chairperson: Jan Metzger, CRN Coordinator, Comprehensive Risk Analysis and Management Network CRN, Center for Security Studies, ETH Zurich (Swiss Federal Institute of Technology, Zurich), Zurich; Speakers: Stein Henriksen, Advisor, Planning and Supervision Department, Directorate for Civil Defense and Emergency Planning, Oslo; John Gearson, Senior Lecturer, King's College, London; Doron Zimmermann, Senior Researcher, Center for Security Studies, ETH Zurich (Swiss Federal Institute of Technology, Zurich), Zurich; Laila Bokhari, Norwegian Defence Research Establishment (FFI), Kjeller; Magnus Norell, Swedish Defence Research Agency (FOI), Stockholm, Sweden.

7 See for example the President's Commission on Critical Infrastructure Protection (PCCIP). *Critical Foundations: Protecting America's Infrastructures*. Washington, D.C.: October 1997. See also papers presented at the ETH-ÖCB-CRN Workshop on "Critical Infrastructure Protection in Europe: Lessons Learned and Steps Ahead", Zurich, 8–10 November, 2001:

The first workshop discussed problems, prospects, issues, and strategies of CIP, stressing the need for a detailed understanding of threats and vulnerabilities through normative actor-centered research as a prerequisite for the formulation of any counter-measure. It outlined strategies to deal better with vulnerabilities in critical infrastructures, ranging from reforms of traditional instruments that enhance the protection of national assets to methodological approaches that emphasize actor-centered analysis. Case studies included the Norwegian and British experience with research and research-based policy measures to counteract vulnerabilities in critical infrastructures. The protection of critical infrastructures involves a variety of actors and issues with a wide spectrum of different terminologies and concerns. What matters is the definition of common goals and values. What also matters is a comprehensive approach to risks and vulnerabilities, as technological and social developments have created a complete interdependence of electric power supply, telecommunications, and IT in configurations that are vulnerable and insecure. CIP is at the core of an integrated homeland security concept. One way to overcome obstacles in the exchange of information and in the promotion of transparency is to launch joint activities and coalitions between research, government, and private actors at the national and international levels.

Terrorism research is a good example in this regard, as the price of institutional rivalries between government agencies is particularly high. Terrorist networks need to be countered with effective knowledge networks. The phenomenon of politically motivated violence below the threshold of war represents a serious security challenge. Contemporary terrorism has developed along innovative lines, combining highly flexible, decentralized organizational forms, advanced logistics, and operational experience with increased mobility of activists and the advantageous use of information and communications technology, as well as

Nicander Lars. *The Swedish Initiative on Critical Infrastructure Protection*, online available at http://www.isn.ethz.ch/crn/extended/workshop_zh/ppt/Nicander/sld005.htm, 30 January 2003; Stein Henriksen. *National Approaches to CIP*: *Norway*, online available at http://www.isn.ethz.ch/crn/extended/workshop_zh/ppt/Henriksen/sld001.htm, 30 January 2003.

8 See for example the Proceedings of the International Expert workshop "Terrorism and Asymmetric Threats: Challenges to Western Society", Vienna, 21–23 March 2002, online available at the CRN website: http://www.isn.ethz.ch/crn/extended/docs/vienna_prog.htm, 30 January 2003.

the potential acquisition of weapons of mass destruction. States have undertaken, and continue to engage in, numerous efforts to counter the threat of terrorism by various means. Unfortunately, the combating of terrorism (especially policy that is devised for this purpose) is at times not grounded in a thorough understanding of the effective, documented threat involved, or the trappings and peculiarities of a particular political violence movement, but instead largely rests on the re-interpreted perception of threats emanating from these movements. A detailed knowledge of such groups is a prerequisite for the formulation of any counter-measure. Methodological terrorism research can contribute to CIP by providing a necessary focus on actor-centered research and analysis and by developing threat assessment tools and capabilities.[8]

The increasing value of information and the availability of electronic means to manage the growing volume of that information have transformed information systems into both invaluable assets and attractive targets for attacks. A critical issue is how to manage networked information systems in service-oriented economies and modern information societies. Whereas the opportunities of integrated information and communication technologies are known and widely taken advantage of, the consequences of the linkages within and between critical infrastructures, notably through the information infrastructure, are not yet understood. A growing apprehension towards newly emerging risks in the information domain has prompted actors from academia, the private sector, and the public sector to examine more closely critical information infrastructures (CII) in order to manage and protect these critical digital assets more effectively.

Michel Hess

Managing Information Risks: Technology and Human Security[9]

The second workshop examined these emerging risks of the information society as well as national and international efforts to come to terms with them. Significant national and international projects were presented, including the European Commission's Dependability Development Support Initiative (DDSI), the CRN's International CII Protection Handbook, and the Swiss and Swedish models of information assurance and CII protection.[10]

The emergence of an information society in Europe has led to a growing recognition of the need to ensure an environment in which dependable and trustworthy information infrastructures can be developed. As Europe becomes more dependent upon electronic communications and information exchanges, so critical business and social processes become more vulnerable to accidental or malicious failures of IT systems and networks. The DDSI ran from 2001–2002 and sup-

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9 *Workshop Program*: Chairperson: Myriam Dunn, CIP Researcher, Critical Information Infrastructure Protection Project, International Relations and Security Network (ISN), Center for Security Studies, ETH Zurich (Swiss Federal Institute of Technology, Zurich), Zurich; Speakers: Daniel Bircher, Consultant, Ernst Basler & Partners, Ltd, Zurich; Anton Lagger, Head ICT Infrastructure, Federal Office for National Economic Supply, Bern; Jan Lundberg, Principal Administrative Officer, Analysis Department, The Swedish Emergency Management Agency (SEMA), Stockholm; Marcelo Masera, Joint Research Center (JRC), European Commission, Ispra.

10 For further reference, see Wenger, Andreas, Jan Metzger and Myriam Dunn, eds. *The International CIIP Handbook*: *An Inventory of Protection Policies in Eight Countries*. Zurich: Center for Security Studies, 2002; Informatikstrategieorgan Bund. *Einsatzkonzept Information Assurance Schweiz*: *Melde- und Analysestelle Informationssicherheit, Sonderstab Information Assurance*. Final Report of 30 November 2001, online available at http://www.isb.admin.ch/dok/dokumente/informatiksicherheit/einsatzkonzept_ia.pdf, 30 January 2003.

ported the development of dependability policies across Europe and across sectoral boundaries by establishing networks of interest, providing baseline data, and devising policy roadmaps. The core of the project involved the creation of robust and sustainable communities of interest involving policy makers, infrastructure stakeholders, and dependability experts, including targeted communities from EU member states, accession countries, and experts from across the world. Similarly, the Swiss and Swedish information assurance and CII protection models have engaged the corporate, research, and governmental communities to work out preventive measures based on risk scenarios. This engagement has also entailed the creation of early warning, prevention and awareness mechanisms, and task forces.

In sum, a critical element of overall infrastructure protection is the protection of CII, especially in highly networked and open information societies. Old risks are still there of course, but the new risks that threaten our critical digital assets call for new and innovative instruments of protection. Two challenges are at stake: the assurance of the flow of information assets through open networks, on the one hand, and the critical dependence on information assets that are beyond the control of their owners, on the other. An open, networked environment is as much a competitive and comparative advantage as it is an attractive target. The exchange of information and knowledge on national protection strategies and on different types of institutional mechanisms in several countries was clearly a remarkable achievement of the second workshop.

Michel Hess

Web Management in International Security[11]

Is the Internet a knowledge management tool?[12] At best, the web can deliver information for which there are seemingly no guarantees of authenticity, validity, and reliability. The Internet's key asset is also the Internet user's key liability. The threshold to making information available globally and in real time is low. It requires neither exceptional resources nor skills, expertise, or authority. Access to both technologies and information is universal. Professional web management, however, can reassure users in need of authentic and reliable information and knowledge. Indeed, the way information is made accessible will guide the experienced user in the decision whether or not to adopt that information as the basis for knowledge and decision-making. The efficiency of the Internet is measured in terms of the correlation between professional web management and the reliability of information.

Websites of defense and security policy-related government agencies and organizations have become important working instruments, delivering both time-sensitive information, such as news briefings, and basic documents, such as white papers on national strategic concepts and defense budgets. The OSCE code of conduct, for instance, calls for the provision of transparency and public access to information related to the armed forces. Similarly, the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations specifies the collection and analysis of informa-

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11 *Workshop Program:* Chairperson: Michel Hess, ISN Manager, International Relations and Security Network (ISN), Center for Security Studies, ETH Zurich (Swiss Federal Institute of Technology, Zurich). Zurich; Speakers: Michal Olejarnik, Electronic Publishing Coordinator, North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Brussels; Eduardo Gelbstein, ret. Director, United Nations International Computing Center, Geneva.

12 See for example the Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference on Web Management in Diplomacy, Malta, 1–2 February 2002. Proceedings available at http://www.diplomacy.edu/Conferences/WM2/proceedings.htm, 30 January 2003.

tion as a key diplomatic function.[13] These provisions and mandates present knowledge management challenges. Indeed, there is indeed no better and practical instrument than the web – with all due respect to other messengers and media – to address these challenges. It is rapid, inexpensive, and globally accessible; information can be transmitted in structured and categorized form, frequently with annotated documentation and multimedia elements; information delivery can be customized according to user profiles (so-called push functionalities). Indeed, as many ministries and organizations have come a long way from document to information management – from a secretive paper world of classified files to an open electronic environment with full transparency concerning content, structures, and processes – the Internet's knowledge management potential has only recently become unleashed.

Exhausting the knowledge management potential of the Internet for international relations and security policy constitutes a confidence-building measure. Critical elements of confidence are trust and predictability: trust in the authenticity and in the validity of data transmitted through cyberspace; predictability regarding the delivery and transmission of data packages. The technologies for this task are available, and many of them are freely available through open sources. Access to high-quality, reliable content is a different matter. The demands on the information consumer have changed. The ability to select from a range of resources, and the capability to decide which medium to use for what purpose and in which circumstances, have placed strategic demands on decision-makers and shapers. Information search, retrieval, and delivery tools have offered fragmentary answers only. The International

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13 Article 22 of Chapter VII of the OSCE Code of Conduct on Politico-Military Relations (Budapest, 5–6 December 1994) reads: "Each participating State will, […] with due regard to national security requirements, exercise restraint in its military expenditures and provide for transparency and public access to information related to the armed forces." Online available at http://www.vbs.admin.ch/internet/GST/KVR/e/e-Codeofconduct.htm, 30 January 2003. Article 3.1 of the Vienna Convention of Diplomatic Relations and Optional Protocols (Vienna, 18 April 1961) reads: "The function of a diplomatic mission consists inter alia in […] (d) ascertaining by all lawful means conditions and developments in the receiving State, and reporting thereon to the Government of the sending State […]." Online available at http://www.mfa.gov.tr/grupe/ed/eda/eda02e.htm, 30 January 2003.

Relations and Security Network ISN, a Swiss government contribution to the Partnership for Peace and run by the Center for Security Studies at the ETH Zurich (Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Zurich), has been at the cutting edge of the endeavor to provide the security policy community with an open source high-quality integrated knowledge management portal since the mid-1990s.[14] The workshop contributions from the OSCE, NATO, and the UN provided a superb overview of the (mostly still untapped) communicative potential of websites. And returning to CII protection, the asset has indeed become the target. As the hacker's target of choice, security-related websites are in special need of safe computing procedures.[15]

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14 The ISN knowledge portal is accessible through http://www.isn.ethz.ch.
15 Of the vast literature on information security, see the very useful and eminently readable and practical guide "A survival guide to the uncharted territories of cyber threats and cyber security." by Gelbstein, Eduardo and Ahmad Kamal. *Information Security*. New York: United Nations ICT Task Force, September 2002.

Michel Hess

South Caucasus: Geopolitics and IT Prospects[16]

Finally, the knowledge management track concluded with a geopolitical note: a workshop on IT prospects in the South Caucasus region[17] and a workshop on the role of the media in the war against terror.

Some of the most competitive economies globally are knowledge-based economies. Information and communications technology is the enabling factor on which the backbone of any economy depends, including of course efficient financial and telecommunications sectors. While much attention has been paid to the South Caucasus because of the Caspian Sea's potential as an oil and gas energy platform and because of major infrastructural projects such as transport corridors and pipelines, the role of IT in the regional stabilization process has been neglected. The workshop provided a much-needed overview of country profiles and two presentations of prominent IT-related work

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16 *Workshop Program*: Chairperson: Michel Hess, ISN Manager and Anna Sarkissian, ISN Course Coordinator, International Relations and Security Network (ISN), Center for Security Studies, ETH Zurich (Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Zurich), Zurich; Walter Kaffenberger, Program Director, NATO Scientific Affairs Division, NATO, Brussels, Zviad Kirtava, Director, National Information Learning Center, Tbilisi; Edgar Danielyan, Consultant, Danielyan Consulting, Yerevan; Ramaz Kvatadze, Executive Director, Georgian Research and Educational Networking Association (GRENA), Tbilisi.

17 The South Caucasus workshop was the outgrowth of the ISN's involvement in the South Caucasus in the framework of the Partnership for Peace (PfP), including PfP seminars on the "Internet for Security and Defense Policy Professionals" for ministries of defense and foreign affairs and national parliaments of Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan and the ISN's First Executive Conference on "IT Prospects in the Caucasus" held at Sheraton Metechi in Tbilisi, Georgia, 13–15 June 2001. The publication of this ministerial conference within the PfP framework is accessible through http://www.isn.ethz.ch/caucasus, 30 January 2003.

in the region, one by the NATO Science Committee on its Virtual Silk Highway Project in the field of academic networking and the other by the Tbilisi-based National Information Learning Center in the social sector. IT facilitates cross-border cooperation and interaction at the individual, corporate, and governmental levels despite political barriers. It is an important vehicle to promote transparency. Prosperity and stability are interlinked. As a result, there is a need to share information on both domestic problems and common interests, ranging from national information strategies in Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan to regional IT initiatives.[18] In this sense, the workshop made a pioneering step towards identifying the key ingredients that are necessary for the region's integration into the global information community. These are regional information infrastructure strategies, including standards and best practices, regional Internet exchange points for the routing of local traffic, and harmonization of regulatory frameworks and the importance of universal access, including remote geographical regions.

The South Caucasus workshop made it clear that the region's future cannot be based exclusively on oil and gas in an era of knowledge-based economies. It also indicated that the trickle-down effects of major infrastructure projects may well be very different and more modest than anyone can hope for. This is not to say that there are no trickle-down effects from traditional energy resource development. A good example is the implementation of a telecommunications system in Azerbaijan by oil corporations to avoid dependence on the old and expensive analog system that routed traffic through Moscow. There are similar examples of these types of modernization effects for the IT sector in Georgia and Armenia. However, as all stakeholders realize how much indeed prosperity and stability are interlinked and that there is no way around cross-border cooperation, a discussion on regional and

18   In addition to NATO's Virtual Silk Road Project, one could mention the European Union sponsored Transport Corridors (TRACECA) and Caucasus Information Technology Initiative (CITI).

national IT strategies can raise the levels of confidence and predictability that are so important for the region.[19]

19 See for further information Nadreau, Jean-Paul and Oliver B. Popov, eds. *Networking Developments in the Caucasus Region*. Amsterdam: IOS Press and NATO Scientific Affairs Division, 2001. Hess, Michel et al., eds. *Information Technology Prospects in the Caucasus*. Zurich: Center for Security Studies, 2002, online available at http://www.isn.ethz.ch/onlinepubli/publihouse/misc/caucasus/contents.htm, 30 January 2003; World Bank Report. *Trade, Transport and Telecommunications in the South Caucasus*: *Current Obstacles to Regional Cooperation*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 2002, online available at http://lnweb18.worldbank.org/eca/eca.nsf/d1e666886eb626e285 2567d100165168/9761da11f5067053852569fc007210c4?OpenDocument, 30 January 2003.

MICHEL HESS

Media Coverage of the 'War on Terror'[20]

The knowledge management track concluded with a media workshop addressing the key theme of the 5th ISF: the impact of electronic media and new information and communications technologies on international security. The media workshop provided a general introduction to the role of both local and international media in complex emergencies, and in the so-called 'war against terrorism'. It also provided a critique of mainstream commercial news broadcasting that has allegedly reneged on its responsibility to provide independent investigative journalism, running the risk of becoming little more than patriotic and propagandist venues to promote national policies. The sensationalist presentation of foreign affairs in the broadcast media (e.g. promotional titles such as CNN's 'Showdown in Iraq') often suggested more of a news entertainment game. While US broadcast media coverage, with the exception of the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS), fell short of quality news coverage, there were indications that some sections of the print media, including the New York Times and US regional print media, were taking their responsibilities more seriously.

The sometimes-difficult relationship between the media and governments was also discussed in a debate that was particularly relevant, given the articulate statement of the government perspective by Jamie Shea, Director of Information and Press at NATO at the 5th ISF. The workshop outlined the tensions between government and the media, discussing how governments have over time sought to manipulate the campaign against terror to their own advantage and asking to what degree the media, both local and international, have provided an inde-

20 *Workshop Program*: Chairperson: Andrew Tait and Christopher Findlay, ISN News Editors, International Relations and Security Network (ISN), Center for Security Studies, ETH Zurich (Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Zurich), Zurich, Speaker: Edward Girardet, President, Media Action International, Versoix/Geneva.

pendent perspective or followed the government agenda. It was suggested that at times, the media can and indeed should play the role of unofficial opposition.

Underlying the debate over the role of the media in the 'war on terror' is the question of whether a democracy has the right to stifle free and independent reporting because of security concerns. There seems to be a discernable trend on the part of governments to increase control of information. Ultimately, while the relationship between the media and government may at times be strained, the workshop suggested that the media had a vital role to play in assuring accountability in the 'war on terror', even though at times the media had failed to properly fulfill this role – a role that becomes even more crucial for fostering civil society in post-conflict rehabilitation.

The 5th ISF threw into sharp relief the degree to which the security policy community is exposed to and dependent on the vagaries of the media. A consequence of the substantiated call for serious investigative journalism appears to be the imperative not to rely on single media resources. Multiple information and knowledge resources have become necessary. If the speed at which information is provided by mainstream commercial news broadcasting comes at the cost of depth and quality of news coverage, as it is alleged, then this requires no further explanation. Media diversity would appear to be the only way out: it would be the way out of a virtual and distorted reality that is no more than the product of self-interested gatekeepers.

Michel Hess

Conclusions

In this sense, the media and the information technologies, which support the transmission of data and information at light speed, are the key knowledge management players of the 21st century. The conclusion of track I was therefore as straightforward as it was Machiavellian: either security and defense policy actors take these resources on board for their own benefit, or they will work against them. Effective knowledge management forms an integral part of a modern security and defense policy concept both in terms of doctrine and in terms of operations. Transparency as defined in the OSCE code of conduct and the collection of information as defined in the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations are also, if not primarily, knowledge management challenges. Among the indicators that knowledge management works are a transformation of information into knowledge, added value for decision-making, innovative ideas, structured information acquisition, knowledge accessibility at the right point with the right tools, and connected 'knowledge islands'. While key obstacles to a systematic management of knowledge and information may continue to persist in international and national security, other factors such as institutional, political, and economic reforms and technological advances will have a medium to long-term impact that will ultimately eliminate the most important obstacles impeding an efficient analysis, evaluation, and dissemination of information in international security. However, the cart should not be put before the horse: the implementation of knowledge management is not simply the logic benefit reaped from economic and political reforms; knowledge management is the main *vehicle* and *agent* through which these reforms, including security sector reforms and civil-military relations, can be realized in the first place in transition economies.

Michel Hess

E- Learning in Security Policy: Introduction

E-learning provides a comprehensive package of didactical, pedagogical, methodological, and technological solutions for the enhancement of military, defense, and security policy training and education. The second workshop track on e-learning for security policy not only provided a forum for the exchange of lessons learned in the application of advanced learning technologies, but also a venue for the presentation and discussion of best practices and pioneering projects in digital training and collaborative learning in a web-based environment in international relations and security policy.

The five workshops examined aspects of e-learning from various conceptual and practical angles, including advanced distributed learning, collaborative learning in virtual groups, e-learning in multinational and multilingual environments, and new learning strategies that take advantage of emerging standards and technological functionalities.

One conclusion of the 'E-learning in security policy' workshop track is that web-based learning has become a necessary, but not sufficient element in the professionalization of defense and security policy-related training and education. Various technologies and functionalities afforded by the Internet considerably enhance the traditional learning experience both in terms of quality and quantity of the educational content delivered.

Track II included the following workshops:

Workshop II.1:   The PfP Consortium ADL Initiative in Europe

Workshop II.2:   Collaborative Learning in Virtual Groups

Workshop II.3:   E-Learning in Multinational and Multilingual
                  Environments

Workshop II.4:   New Learning Strategies in International Relations and Security Policy

Workshop II.5:   ISN e-Learning: Working with Emerging Standards

Ulrich Gysel

The PfP Consortium Advanced Distributed Learning Initiative[21]

Introduction

The PfP Consortium's Advanced Distributed Learning (ADL) Working Group promotes advanced forms of teaching and learning. With its members widely spread throughout the entire Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC) region, it has tackled its task from three sides: it is developing its own platform that would allow developers and users alike to meet the challenges of emerging standards; it has developed content for its own platform and supported others in doing the same; and it has promoted a better understanding of the methodological problems of e-learning and the development of e-learning material.

The ADL Working Group has gained a lot of attention for its activities and products. NATO has adopted its approach for NATO's own ADL prototype. While technology easily attracts people and is one of driving forces of e-learning in the marketplace, methodology is the real driving force of every learning process. This session is about the methodology of e-learning and therefore focuses on 'learning' rather than on the 'e-'. It tries to re-establish the fact that there is a whole set of stakeholders, all of whom are to be considered if the e-learning endeavor is to be successful.

Ulrich Gysel, Chair of the Partnership for Peace Consortium of Defense Academies and Security Studies Institutes Advanced Distributed Learning Working Group (ADL WG), briefly introduced

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21 *Workshop Program:* Chairperson: Ulrich Gysel, Attaché for Information Technology, ISN Coordinator, International Relations and Security Network (ISN), Swiss Embassy, Washington, DC; Co-Chair, PfP Consortium Advanced Distributed Learning Working Group; Speakers: Peter Foot, Deputy Dean of Academic Studies, Department of Defence Studies, King's College, London and Joint Services Command and Staff College; Jim A. Barrett, Dean of Continuing Studies, Royal Military College, Kingston.

the objectives, history, and current activities of the ADL WG. He pointed out that the mission of the ADL WG was threefold:

1. To create and develop a community of teachers and designers of advanced distributed learning at defense academies and security studies institutes in the EAPC area. To create an awareness of typical problems and good practice in e-learning.

2. To develop jointly a platform for the development, maintenance, and distribution of e-learning courses that comes as free software, i.e. with no price tag. This platform shall eventually conform to emerging standards such as SCORM.

3. Develop courses for the platform and establish a framework that supports interested organizations in converting their courses to e-learning courses.

The ADL WG can be proud of having attained a fairly high level of achievement in all three areas: It has developed a platform that is used by more than 10 institutions in Europe and the US (among them SACLANT for its NATO/PfP mandate), it has created more than 10 courses that consist of more than 50 hours of instruction in total, and its meetings are a highly esteemed opportunity for demonstrating achievements and exchanging valuable experience among e-learning professionals.

Ulrich Gysel said that two outstanding academics who had crucially contributed to the ADL WG's success would have the opportunity during this session to relate their experiences with ADL in their respective organizations.

Key Contributions

Peter Foot from the Defence Academy of the United Kingdom, Kings College, London talked about Military Professionalism and Distributed Learning. He showed that staff training and education has developed rapidly in the last 20 years. While it was acceptable for almost two centuries for the military to define its own training and run indepen-

dent training institutions, the need to extend education to civilian disciplines became manifest during the last quarter of the 20th century. The complexities of conflicts and post-conflict rehabilitation have increased and made preparation for effective action in the field more and more demanding. Extension of content cannot be achieved without in-depth evaluation of methods, and therefore education theory became a crucial element in military education, replacing drill and rote learning. Peter Foot showed that in a perfect world, all course preparation would start with the study of the students and their knowledge, experience, and preferences. Aims set by an external agent for the learners would then be adapted and modified to achievable objectives for the students. Finally, optimal delivery methods would be evaluated and chosen.

Peter Foot went on to show the dilemma that emerges whenever a delivery method dominates the minds for whatever reasons: It prevails in the absence of evidence and can even deter critical thinking about the prerequisites of its successful application. He encouraged evaluation of the issues of distance-course delivery and critical exploration of usability vs. spending when moving to distance learning.

A. Jim Barrett, Vice-Principal of the Royal Military College of Canada in Kingston, evaluated "The Promise and the Pitfalls of Distributed Learning: Some Thoughts from a Practitioner", relating his experiences as a leader of a very successful e-learning initiative.

He focused on the quick changes or even inter-related revolutions in three fields: learning technology, adult learning, and military education. A. Jim Barrett said that the Revolution in Military Education would probably have a greater long-term effect than the much-discussed Revolution in Military Affairs. While the latter allowed waging low-cost wars, the former had the potential to wage peace, too.

According to A. Jim Barrett, an important common feature of the three revolutions is distributed learning, which extends two of their crucial dimensions of impact: reach and interactivity.

The most astonishing development in learning technology is the ease with which complex learning objects can be constructed using object-oriented and visual programming techniques. Not only are processes put together with much more ease, but these processes also allow handling of huge amounts of data with powerful database products and courseware repositories. To maintain and extend the simplicity of com-

position and sharing, the communities that share common content must define the standards they want to adhere to, such as SCORM.

While copyright might be an issue in the business world, it is not the currency that matters among academics. They seek recognition and reward in their academic community. The move by MIT to make all of its learning content freely available on the Web is indicative of this.

In most cases, the new technologies demand a division of labor between instructional design and subject-matter expertise in the preparation of a course. After that, the instructor – who may be the SME – takes over, but his role in e-learning is still not fully understood and needs to be investigated and developed further.

It is a fact that distance learning has brought a new surge in research in teaching techniques by looking into the conditions of successful application of the new communication technology. The findings benefit traditional learning as well.

Adult learners are beginning to form their own learning community and do not have to fit in the normal young student's world: They are more assertive; they want what they learn to be relevant in their world. Since they have an occupation, they need easy access to learning facilities at all times and from different places. Adult learners have become an important force in the educational field. More than anything else, this trend will bring rapid change and restructuring in the field of higher education: To survive, institutions must understand why they exist, whom they serve, and what they do. More than ever, A. Jim Barrett suggests, educational institutions have to be conscious of their three main tasks:

1. To provide a coherent study program from own guidance and instruction and own or purchased material

2. To award recognized credentials for achievements

3. To maintain intellectual integrity and reputation

Military education is education with a purpose, namely to defend and enhance the security of the nation or the world. In an increasingly complex world, better-educated soldiers make better and more adequate contributions towards change and order. This has led to an aspiration to achieve national goals through a common education-based agenda.

Defense education is becoming an instrument of national policy. The astonishing phenomenon is that despite its adversarial context, the military defense community has developed a remarkably common language that might be one of the reasons that this community is the quickest in adopting the new learning technologies. Within learning communities, we see evolving virtual communities where vigorous exchange, opinions of ideas, opinions, and knowledge takes place with the help of new communication tools. This gives us hope for the development of communities where the defense teaching institutions reach out to the soldiers in the field. A. Jim Barrett concluded: "Here, the soldier's experience will inform and challenge the scholar's theories. Here, the scholar's thinking will illuminate the soldier's experience."

"Paradoxically, it is perhaps here that we find the greatest hope for our future."

Timo Staub

Collaborative Learning in Virtual Groups[22]

Introduction

Many e-learning courses use the Internet merely as a delivery platform for learning materials. Such courses distribute learning materials to individuals who work on their own. They do not exploit the full potential for collaboration and communication that the Internet offers. This results in a loss of social relationships, and there is a lack of the sense of community usually present on a traditional campus.

E-learning should be able to create a virtual learning community. It should facilitate the exchange of ideas and information among its members. Collaborative e-learning models do just that. They require new didactical and technical concepts. Quite often, they build upon relatively small classes or groups and are actively mentored by a tutor. If all goes well, they should be more effective than non-collaborative e-learning models.

This workshop outlines the concept of collaborative e-learning. It looks at existing projects and points out the factors that contribute to the success or failure of collaborative e-learning.

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22 *Workshop Program*: Chairperson: Timo Staub, e-Learning Coordinator, International Relations and Security Network (ISN), Center for Security Studies, ETH Zurich (Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Zurich); Speakers: Pierre Dillenbourg, Assistant Professor, and Laure Carles, Educational Technology Unit (TECFA), Faculty of Education and Psychology, University of Geneva, Geneva; Dieter Wallach, Director, ergosign GmbH, Saarbrücken; Professor, University of Basel and University of Zurich.

What's still missing when a distributed (or virtual) group has a complete range of collaborative tools?

Whenever collaborative work is done over the Internet, the physical working environment everybody is acquainted with has to be replaced with a virtual one. However, computers are not yet able to replace all the advantages that can be found in a physical working environment. Many problems result. The reasons are threefold:

Lack of media richness: A virtual environment does not have the same sound and picture quality as a real working environment. People used to think of this lack of media richness as a major problem, a major obstacle to the work in virtual groups. But innovations like SMS have proven that this is only a short-sighted view based on obvious technological laps. Everybody prefers a video connection rather than a audio connection, but scientific eye-tracking tests have proven that – looking at group performance and perception of emotion – a video connection is no better than an audio connection. So the problem has to be elsewhere.

Lack of peripheral awareness: When sitting in a physical work environment, a lot of ongoing scenery is automatically perceived as part of the working experience: Somebody opens a door, we hear a nervous voice, etc. Even if we do not concentrate on these peripheral impressions, we perceive what is going on within the room, and within the group. This peripheral awareness is lacking in a virtual computer environment. There are some projects that try to imitate it through the computer – for instance on the computer screen, by representing group activity with bars, and speeches with a bunch of lines. But there is still no good solution. And there is also a privacy problem – people accept being seen throughout the working day within a certain room, but they do not want to be seen through their computer.

Lack of informal communication: Informal communication is 'communication on the fly', in the corridor, by the coffee machine, or elsewhere. Informal communication is about storytelling, about the values of a group, about little remarks creating an atmosphere of trust. This does not happen in a virtual environment, and so there is a great potential for misunderstandings – for example in an e-mail exchange: Why does X write this now? Why this long silence? etc.

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Furthermore, the communication rules that are applicable in a physical environment differ from the communication rules used in a computer environment.

In a physical environment, there are four kinds of communication:

Scheduled communication: Communication planned beforehand at a certain time and date, probably at a meeting.

Intended communication: This is also planned communication, but without an agreement on the date or time: "When I see X, I shall tell him this-or-that."

Opportunistic communication: Unplanned communication, happening if one sees somebody else, and remembers that something should be said: "Ah, hello Mr. X, you should hear about this-or-that."

Spontaneous communication: Communication without a predefined subject or end, performed occasionally, anytime.

Many projects try to solve the problems created by a virtual working environment. For instance, if a group is working on a single geometrical object, then this virtual object is shown in the physical space around the different computer users. Other projects do not avoid misunderstandings, but rather use them in order to learn more about each other, and the group itself.

As a common rule, one can say that the information space should be designed like a social space, with known people giving their advice 'just around the corner', therefore resulting in some kind of social navigation: "I know X, and X recommends this website to me, so I'll look at it."

When organizing a virtual group, the practical questions are not so much about trust ("do I trust X?"), they are more about engagement ("is X active in this group? Does he look at things before he recommends them?").

There is no use in imitating face-to-face communication within a computer environment. The computer cannot cope with a physical face-to-face communication, but it offers other possibilities that cannot be found in a physical environment. For instance, dialogues in a computer chat room are different from oral dialogues because there is a text/screen memory that allows the various messages to persist.

Lessons learned in collaborative learning

Some years ago, people tended to say that e-learning would be 'the next killer application'. And e-learning can really offer some advantages, like a diminution of training time, better training quality through 24 hours of access to learning content, etc.

Nevertheless, e-learning also has some disadvantages. There is a complete lack of instructional guidelines. Many users feel that e-learning is some sort of punishment, compared to real courses with real instructors. E-learning schools are confronted with a high level of drop-out rates. And the content is buried in different technical platforms: In Germany, there are more than 250 competing e-learning platforms, and 80 per cent of the suppliers think that they have more than 10 per cent of the market share!

However, e-learning can still be used in a university environment, and it facilitates postgraduate courses, blended learning, and better user analysis.

At the University of Basel, some e-learning projects have been realized. Some of these projects aimed to establish concept maps[23] in a collaborative computer environment: A group had to read about a certain subject, discuss it, and create the corresponding concept maps – all of which was done through the computer in a virtual environment. It has also been demonstrated that concept maps can be generated very well within a virtual group. As Dieter Wallach said: "If you want to have a good concept map, let it be done in groups of two." Actually, the groups judged the (virtual) concept maps as being much more useful than the (virtual) chat rooms!

The following conclusions represent the lessons learned from this project, and other projects undertaken at the University of Basel:

– People want to make courses for themselves. But they also want tools that foster communication.

– The authors do not want to learn about Internet technologies. They want to use the software they already know – mostly Microsoft Office products. And they want content customization.

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23   A concept map is similar to a mind map; it shows information objects inter-connected to each other.

- The students want to see their fellow learners. They want to have moderated chat, and contact to tutors. They want to have attachable notes, the possibility to upload/download papers, and glossary support. And they want to have an option for offline learning (in a train, for instance).

- Individual learning should be supported by group processes – like threaded discussion, common development tools, and the sharing of resources. Cooperation, not competition, should prevail in such a group.

- The usability of the learning environment is very important. Learning is tough enough, and it should not be impeded by a complicated computer system. This will also help to decrease the student dropout rates.

- No e-learning platform offers all the necessary tools, and technology does not solve all the problems. Blended learning offers more advantages than e-learning alone. Courses that involve a lot of on-screen reading will never work. The learner's feedback is important.

Timo Staub

E-Learning in Multinational and Multilingual Environments[24]

Introduction

The Internet can help overcome distances, time zones, frontiers, and barriers, and it can bring together people from different nations, cultures, and linguistic backgrounds. Global use of modern information and communication technologies is likely to affect international relations and security policy, and contribute to conflict prevention and reconciliation processes.

How does e-learning fit into this vision? The Advanced Distributed Learning initiative promises to make learning possible 'anytime, anywhere', to free learning from restrictions of space and time– but what about other factors, such as nationality, language, and cultural background? How can language barriers and cultural differences be overcome in e-learning environments? For instance, is multilingual collaborative learning possible? What obstacles might we have to overcome to establish such an environment? Do we need a specific didactical design for multicultural learning environments and courses? How will a multinational, multilingual audience affect curriculum development?

These and related questions were raised during the workshop. Workshop participants were invited to share and discuss their experiences with people from multicultural, multinational, and multilingual

24 *Workshop Program*: Chairperson: Michael Reimann, ISN Multimedia Developer, International Relations and Security Network (ISN), Center for Security Studies, ETH Zurich (Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Zurich); Speakers: Ingrid Halbritter, UNESCO Education Server D@dalos, Sarajevo; Kerstin Imbusch, International Relations Online, Institute for East European Studies, Free University of Berlin, Berlin; Lars Strand Torgersen, Baltic Distance Learning Center, Tartu.

societies such as Switzerland, Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Baltic countries, and Canada.

In the workshop, three e-learning projects from Middle and Eastern Europe were presented by their project managers: the Sarajevo-based UNESCO Education Server 'D@dalos', the 'Baltic Distance Learning Project', and the Berlin-based 'International Relations Online'. All of these projects not only have to cope with specific technical and infrastructure restraints in Eastern European countries, they also have to deal with the specific conditions imposed by the core theme of the workshop itself: they try to cover several countries, where different languages are spoken – sometimes even within one country –, and they are reaching users and learners from different ethnic groups or different cultures.

The D@dalos Project

Ingrid Halbritter, project manager, presented the 'International UNESCO Education Server for civic, peace, and human rights education' called 'D@dalos'[25].

She gave a short introduction to the project, discussed problems and obstacles, and finally came to some lessons learned and suggestions for similar undertakings.

D@dalos is based in Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and is spreading its activities to Croatia, Albania, Serbia, Kosovo, Montenegro, and Bulgaria. The project's main purpose is to provide teaching and learning material on civic, peace, and human rights-related topics such as 'Democracy', 'Parties', and the European Union to teachers in the region.

D@dalos rests on three pillars: An online component – the D@dalos website –, and two offline components – CD-ROMs with learning material, and IT training given to teachers in the region. The website, as the core component, contains more than 1'000 pages of teaching and learning material in eight languages. Problems and obstacles that the project faces include technical and logistical challenges, the poor

25 http://www.dadalos.org, 30 January 2003.

social and economic situation in the region, and 'language' as a particularly sensitive topic in the Balkans. E.g., the three ethnic groups in Bosnia-Herzegovina all claim to speak their own languages – Bosnian, Serbian, and Croatian –, although these languages differ only slightly from each other, and although everybody in Ex-Yugoslavia used to understand 'Serbo-Croatian'. The solution D@dalos has chosen for that problem is to provide different language versions of their content, and not country versions, thereby reducing the number of versions from 15 country versions to eight language versions.

For similar undertakings, Ingrid Halbritter recommended a holistic approach to e-learning in multinational environments, thus including thorough knowledge of history, politics, and the culture of the countries in question. Further, the specific needs of the targeted user groups should also be taken into account – e.g. social and economic conditions, and IT skills. And there should be supplementary traditional elements, such as classroom teaching or IT training.

The Baltic Distance Learning Project

Lars Strand Torgersen, project manager of the 'Baltic Distance Learning Project'[26], presented the project and its background, discussed the main challenges and problems, and gave recommendations for similar projects.

The aim of the 'Baltic Distance Learning Project' is to provide "a fully operational distance learning institution established in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania by the end of 2002." The project's institutional background is in the Baltic Defense College in Tartu, Estonia. It produced and carried out a reserve officers' platoon commander course in all three Baltic countries using the Internet, and e-learning in particular. During its course in 2002, the project installed three analog hardware setups in Tartu, Vilnius, and Riga, and produced three language versions of its website. The project decided to use the PfP Learning Management System, and for that purpose, project members translated the PfP-LMS and its navigation buttons into the three languages.

26   http://baltdistlearn.bdcol.ee, 30 January 2003.

Subsequently, Lars Strand Torgersen identified a series of problem areas, some of which are associated with 'organizational resistance' – e.g. the resistance to integrating e-learning into the existing educational system, or the uncertainty about the project's financial backing –, and some of which have to do with the multinational and multilingual character of the project – e.g. the different levels of support and IT infrastructure in the various countries, or the lack of background material in the respective languages.

In order to cope with such problems, Lars Strand Torgersen made some recommendations for similar projects: to establish a policy for the use of DL within the organization, to ensure that the ideas behind DL are understood at all levels of the organization, to establish DL-related roles and responsibilities, not to impose too advanced technical requirements on the users, to use scalable hard- and software, to integrate the course into the existing educational systems, and to provide sufficient financial backing.

The International Relations Online Project

Finally, Kerstin Imbusch, project coordinator, presented 'International Relations Online'[27], a project initiated by the Institute for East European Studies at the Freie Universität Berlin. Kerstin Imbusch presented the idea, the setting, and the content of the project, described her experiences in developing and employing e-learning content in multinational groups, and talked about the challenges involved when developing e-learning tools in multinational and multilingual environments.

The project's main idea is to develop and test e-learning material for International Relations (IR). For that purpose, scientists and teachers from ten universities (geographically ranging from Nizhnii Novgorod in the center of Russia, over St. Petersburg, to Berlin and Philadelphia), produced e-learning modules about key topics within the academic discipline of International Relations.

Student workgroups were set up to discuss current IR issues over the Internet using Internet based role-plays and e-conferences. In the

27   http://www.ir-online.org, 30 January 2003.

course of the project, several challenges had to be overcome: How can material be arranged to meet the requirements of a new medium? How can material be developed to be useful for a variety of teaching/learning contexts? How can the obstacles of fixed course-syllabi be overcome when testing electronic modules? Furthermore, technical and language aspects played a role, such as different levels of English, different teaching periods and time zones, and different technical and infrastructure conditions.

With regard to the electronic workgroups, Kerstin Imbusch identified three main aspects within the project: the need for harmonizing the different educational backgrounds of the students, the importance of building trust in multinational and multilingual environments, and the difficulty of maintaining motivation and continuity of work, given the very diverse learning conditions.

Kerstin Imbusch recommended a focus on standardization of content development; on the integration of didactics, content, and technology into one sound approach; and on practical hints for the organization of workgroups in multinational environments.

Concluding Discussions

In the concluding discussion, all three projects were appreciated as being rather ambitious, but promising.

There was some discussion of the language versions, especially in the case of D@dalos, where different language versions for near-identical languages (Bosnian, Serbian, Croatian) could have a divisive effect, rather than bringing together people from the three ethnic groups. Ingrid Halbritter, however, said that these language versions have to be produced mainly because of the administrations and ministries that insist on them, rather than the teachers and students that actually use them. English is no alternative – with the exception of 'IR online', where the target group consists of English-speaking students of International Relations –, because undeniably one learns most effectively in one's own language.

Other questions focused on the multinational workgroups and the role plays introduced by 'IR online': Kerstin Imbusch illustrated some

of the difficulties they had to face with examples ranging from different time zones to different student motivation. She stressed the point that projects like this need a central organizing point, and a close connection to 'traditional' forms of teaching[28].

After all, the discussion showed that the three projects all face similar problems, such as the 'language problem' and the 'infrastructure problem'; solutions for these problems are dependent on the target groups, their motivation and skills, on the financial and organizational background of the project, and on 'real-world', face-to-face communication and interaction with the local partners, teachers, and students.

28 See chapter on New Learning Strategies in Security Policy, p. 59

Timo Staub

New Learning Strategies in International Relations and Security Policy[29]

Introduction

Today, universities face numerous challenges: budget cuts, increasing student numbers, diversification of students, and, for some, the introduction of new degrees. Electronic learning environments can help make a virtue of necessity. Web-based coursework allows teachers and students to manage their time flexibly, to increase interaction within heterogeneous groups, to discover new sources of information, and, generally, to learn and teach more effectively.

In this workshop, two e-learning projects and the lessons learned from them were presented. The first project presented was applied at the ETH Zurich (Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Zurich), the second at the Darmstadt University of Technology.

In his introduction to the workshop, Urs Ingold dealt with the question of whether Blended Learning was just another buzzword on the e-learning market or a mature instructional concept based on the lessons learned from e-learning projects over the last couple of years.

Blended learning refers to didactical designs that integrate teaching sessions, during which students and teachers are physically present, with distance education via computers. One company describes the advantages of Blended Learning as follows:

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29 *Workshop Program:* Chairperson: Urs Ingold, ISN Instructional Systems Developer, International Relations and Security Network (ISN), Center for Security Studies, ETH Zurich (Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Zurich); Speaker: Cornelius Friesendorf, ISN Instructional Course Developer, International Relations and Security Network (ISN), Center for Security Studies, ETH Zurich (Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Zurich); Thomas Conzelmann, Assistant Professor, Institute for Political Science, Darmstadt University of Technology.

"We believe that learning is best achieved through a combination of self-study and human instruction. *Self-study* provides the opportunity to learn at one's own pace [...]. *Human instruction* brings the learning into perspective through real-world experiences [...]. The *blending* of these methods leverages the best of both to produce a learning experience that far surpasses either learning method alone."[30]

Blended Learning takes into account the fact that not everything can be done online. E-learning has advantages such as providing more flexibility in time, space, and learning pace. At the same time, e-learning has disadvantages, for example a lack of social contacts, problems of motivation, and difficulties to integrate e-learning into the educational concept of a teaching institution. High dropout rates are just one consequence of those shortcomings. Blended Learning, by aggregating the advantages of the two learning strategies, can help to avoid such problems.

Examples of Blended Learning are traditional workshops combined with teleconferences, seminars accompanied by online discussion boards, or online seminars where people meet physically on a regular basis. In all of these examples, various elements of Blended Learning can be integrated: instructors can teach virtual classrooms with synchronous and asynchronous communication tools; tutors can coach and mentor online through chat, email, or discussion board; and students can hand in their assignments electronically.

The ERLES Project

After the introductory presentation, Cornelius Friesendorf of the International Security and Relations Network ISN[31] presented the ERLES project. ERLES stands for 'Erweiterte Lernformen im Bereich Sicherheitspolitik' (New Learning Strategies in Security Policy). Professor Andreas Wenger from the ETH Zurich (Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Zurich) and his team devised and applied a new

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30 http://www.epiclearning.com, 30 January 2003.
31 http://www.isn.ethz.ch, 30 January 2003.

didactic concept for the lecture series 'World Politics Since 1945' by integrating a web-based learning environment into the lecture series.

The most significant features of the new didactic concept were the replacement of some lectures with individual and group work, a discussion forum, and an online course on information technology and security policy[32]. This course was run on a Learning Management System called PfP LMS[33], which was co-developed by the International Relations and Security Network.

Furthermore, student essays were posted online chronologically, according to their content, on an interactive timeline that includes descriptions of events, pictures, and background documents.

The most important aims of ERLES were to foster the initiative of students, to provide the lecturer, his assistants, and students with more spatial and temporal flexibility, to differentiate among different student groups, to get students acquainted with ISN services, and to take care of more students under conditions of stagnant budgets.

An external evaluation examined whether those objectives were reached and how Blended Learning should be applied under the specific conditions at the ETH Zurich. This evaluation showed that students generally liked the new format and that they regarded it as a relatively clear, interesting, effective, and efficient way to learn about security policy. Students said that ERLES enhanced learning when compared to a traditional lecture format, that it increased their own initiative and cooperation among each other, and that it took into account their different backgrounds and interests. However, the evaluation also showed that the appreciation of web-based elements depends on their being clearly integrated into the lecture series. Thus, the content of web-based elements needs to correspond with the contents of the lecture series. Other lessons learned were that pilot projects such as ERLES are expensive in the short term, yet may yield a return on investment when applied again in the future.

32   The SPIRIT course, http://www.isn.ethz.ch/elearning/courses, 30 January 2003.
33   http://www.isn.ethz.ch/elearning/pfplms, 30 January 2003.

The International Civil Society Project

The second project was developed by Klaus-Dieter Wolf's team at Darmstadt University of Technology[34] and presented by team member Thomas Conzelmann. The project forms part of the German initiative PolitikON[35]. The latter is an initiative of the German Association for Political Science (DVPW) that aims at testing Blended Learning and new media in institutes of higher education. Several of those institutes produce material for online distribution that all students at these institutes may use. PolitikON utilizes the open-source software ILIAS as an interactive learning platform.[36] ILIAS, as well as the PfP LMS mentioned above, is provided under the terms of the General Public License, which means that anybody can use the system for free and develop it further.

The Darmstadt team is a member of the International Relations branch of PolitikON, and one of its contributions to the initiative came in the form of an integration of an online tutorial and an undergraduate seminar on the topic of 'International Civil Society'. For this purpose, the online platform contained course material and allowed students to prepare for the individual seminar sessions. Students were required to work through texts written by Klaus-Dieter Wolf's team and to perform research on the Internet. Their results were presented in online discussion forums. Thus, the online component largely accounted for the teaching aspect, while the 'traditional' seminar sessions were used to assess the material collected on the web and to build upon the web-based discussion.

As with ERLES, an evaluation provided insights into the achievements and necessary improvements of this and similar Blended Learning projects. As with ERLES, the overall result was positive. Students judged that they could learn autonomously and choose learning contents according to their individual interests. Moreover, they also felt that they had learned how to find and select information on the Internet. Yet they also noticed that the new format required a greater

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34   http://www.ifs.tu-darmstadt.de/pg/index.htm, 30 January 2003.
35   http://www.politikon.org, 30 January 2003.
36   http://www.ilias.uni-koeln.de/ios/index.html, 30 January 2003.

amount of time than traditional seminars. The academic staff, on the other hand, learned that the new didactical design helps to increase activity among students and that it helps them to prepare seminar sessions.

Concluding Discussions

The discussion following the two presentations focused on several aspects of Blended Learning.

One issue was the question of whether the online component or traditional teaching was at the core of Blended Learning. In other words, is web-based work a mere add-on to physical seminars and lecture series, or is it the other way around? There seems to be no answer that applies to all learning scenarios and institutional environments. In some conditions, meeting other learners and the lecturer is still the most essential learning experience. In other cases, meetings only serve to prevent feelings of isolation or to alleviate a lack of motivation.

Another aspect mentioned during the discussion was the question of the functions and features that a Learning Management System needs to support Blended Learning. One participant replied that a LMS should be as flexible as possible, so that it can be adapted to various didactic purposes.

At the end, the debate turned towards the issue of how to save resources with Blended Learning. One participant remarked that in smaller groups, Blended Learning cannot reduce the amount of time that lecturers need to take care of students, and that it may even increase it. Yet, once a group comprises a certain number of people, Blended Learning can be a highly efficient strategy.

Timo Staub

Working with Emerging Standards[37]

Introduction

Standards play an important role in maintaining quality in e-learning. A good e-learning strategy aims at creating high-quality web-based learning material: instructionally sound, user-friendly, and designed for reuse. The latter is a particularly important indicator of quality: first, platforms and their underlying technology change much faster than learning content. Therefore, content must be transferable to new platforms. Second, the same content can be used in different e-learning courses. Therefore, content must be transferable from one course to another.

To achieve this goal, the ISN and many other institutions have adopted the SCORM (Sharable Content Object Reference Model) as a standard. In support of SCORM, a number of Cooperative Laboratories (Co-Labs) have been created to help develop e-learning specifications. Co-Labs also support all the processes needed to establish SCORM as an applied specification in e-learning.

This workshop presents the experiences made with this emerging standard, its implications for methodology and course design, and the implementation of the Co-Lab guidelines in practice. It demonstrates lessons learned from completed course projects and looks at the path ahead.

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37 *Workshop Program*: Chairperson: Timo Staub, ISN e-Learning Coordinator, International Relations and Security Network (ISN), Center for Security Studies, ETH Zurich (Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Zurich); Speakers: Katerina Sinitsa, Senior Researcher, International Research and Training Center for Information Technologies and Systems, Kiev; Jeffery A. Krinock, Senior Software Engineer, Concurrent Technologies Corporation, Johnstown; Travis Lynch, Director, The OpenLMS Foundation, Washington, D.C..

SCORM – The Sharable Content Object Reference Model

This e-learning workshop took the form of a short round-table discussion of the use and future of SCORM, which is the Sharable Content Object Reference Model put forward by the Advanced Distributed Learning Initiative sponsored by the US Department of Defense. There have been no conclusions, but controversial discussions about the following subjects:

SCORM is not good for collaborative learning. It is true that SCORM does not offer support for collaborative learning, as it does for student/computer learning situations. However, it does not hinder collaborative learning – it is just about another thing. How to combine SCORM-compatible courseware with collaborative learning is another question.

SCORM is not good for teaching. Although SCORM is open for many instructional approaches, it puts forward the idea of sharable content objects. This approach might eventually be incompatible with some other e-learning approaches, especially the ones based on collaborative learning.

SCORM does not help with content management. It is true that SCORM does not necessarily help with the management of learning content. However, SCORM offers some meta-tags that allow cataloguing of learning content, and the idea of a sharable courseware object put forward by SCORM already carries the nucleus of a possible content management solution. But this does not yet solve the problem in all its complexity.

SCORM has bad meta-tags. It is true that tags like 'semantic density' are somewhat unclear. The SCORM meta-tags grew out of the meta-tags of other Standard bodies, such as IEE, IMS, and Dublin Core. They represent the state of the art, and some of them might be somewhat short-sighted. But the SCORM meta-tags can be upgraded with corresponding catalogue systems, and they might be improved in the future.

SCORM gives additional work, so why should I use it? Filling in the SCORM meta-tags is useful only if you exchange your learning con-

tent, and if you want it to be retrievable for other learning management systems throughout the Internet.

SCORM has no future, so let's wait. As it seems, many European universities still have a 'waiting attitude'. Before changing to SCORM, they want to be sure that SCORM will be the e-learning standard of the future.

Part II
Human and Regional Security

Michel Hess

Human Security: Introduction

'Human security' forms the core of the expanded security policy paradigm that has become part of the mainstream since the early 1990s, when exclusively military-based definitions of security were altered to include broader challenges to human survival.

The five workshops provided an overview of the state of human security in light of the changed security policy environment in a number of specific human security issues. One conclusion of this workshop track is that terrorism is indeed a phenomenon that validates the expanded paradigmatic approach to international security, but at the same time also undermines and questions any approach to defense policy based on traditional instruments. In other words, while strategic concepts may have been changed, the reform of instruments to implement these concepts has lagged behind. States may well continue to invest in traditional defense budgets that are designed to protect state integrity, but that neglect the integrity of the individual citizen in an era of asymmetric warfare and random terrorist attacks.

Track III included the following workshops:

Workshop III.1:	Rehabilitation of War-Torn Societies: the Case of Kosovo
Workshop III.2:	Islam, Islamic Groupings, and the West
Workshop III.3:	Women and Peace: the View Point of the Field Worker
Workshop III.4:	New Security Threats and Challenges Within the OSCE Region
Workshop III.5:	Small Arms

JEAN F. FREYMOND

Rehabilitation of War Torn Societies: The Case of Kosovo[1]

Introduction

The Workshop was the third in a series on the rehabilitation of war-torn societies that so far has focused very much on the Balkans. The event constituted part of one of the Clusters of Competence programs initiated by Switzerland in the context of its contribution to NATO's Partnership for Peace (PfP). The next event in this series is scheduled to take place in Pristina with the objective of further discussing and disseminating the projects' recommendations.

The Workshop concentrated on Kosovo and the interaction between the international and the Kosovar communities, but never too far from participants' minds was the worst-case scenario of war in Iraq, and the question of how to eventually approach rehabilitation there.

Two papers provided the background to the discussion – one written by an independent scholar with field experience, the other by a group of Kosovar social scientists.

1 *Workshop Program*: Chairpersons: Jean F. Freymond, Director, Centre for Applied Studies in International Negotiations (CASIN), Geneva, and Franklin de Vrieze, OSCE Senior Program Officer in charge for Kosovo Assembly Support, Pristina; Speakers: Marcus Brand, Analyst, European Stability Initiative (ESI), Vienna; Lulzim Peci, Executive Director, Kosovar Civil Society Foundation (KCSF) and Kosovar Institute for Policy Research and Development (KIPRED), Pristina; Leon Malazogu, Programme Director, Kosovar Institute for Policy Research and Development (KIPRED) and PER representative to Kosovo, Pristina.

Key Contributions

The first paper was presented by Markus Brand, LL.M., an analyst at the European Stability Initiative, and focused on *The Development of Kosovo Institutions and the Transition of Authority from UNMIK to Local Self-Government.* The paper outlined the institutional development of the United Nations Interim Administration in Kosovo (UNMIK) and its evolving models of cooperation with provisional Kosovo bodies of governance. It provided a brief description of UNMIK's mandate, contained in UN Security Council Resolution 1244 of 10 June 1999, and the internal structure that the international civilian presence has adopted on the ground. This structure, under the overall leadership of the Special Representative of the Secretary General of the United Nations (SRSG), divides responsibilities among several international organizations, i.e. the UN itself, UNHCR, the OSCE, and the EU, and has become known as the 'four pillars'.

Although UNMIK alone is authorized by resolution 1244 to provide the interim administration (pending a final resolution of the province's political status), it has sought to cooperate with the Kosovar population and political representatives. An agreement was reached in December 1999, after six months of improvisation, on a Joint Interim Administrative Structure that provided the basic model for governance in Kosovo until the transfer of responsibilities from UNMIK to the elected Provisional Institutions of Self-Government (PISG) in 2002. The paper describes the various bodies established within the JIAS (the Interim Administrative Council, the Kosovo Transitional Council, the 20 Administrative Departments and the JIAS on municipal level in the form of Municipal Councils and Administrative Boards).

After the first municipal elections in October 2000, the JIAS structure began to be replaced by elected Municipal Assemblies and Presidents. Gradually, UNMIK withdrew from an active role in the administration to a more supervisory function. In May 2001, a Constitutional Framework on Provisional Self-Government was adopted by the SRSG. The document is not an actual constitution, as all legislative and executive authority remains with the SRSG, but it provides rules for the creation and functioning of and interaction between provisional institutions, such as the Kosovo Assembly, the President of Kosovo and

the government, comprised of a prime minister and cabinet. General elections were held in November 2001, and the provisional institutions were formed accordingly.

As certain important administrative functions have been excluded from both the JIAS and the PISG, the paper also briefly mentions the basic structure and institutional relationships of the police (Kosovo Police Service and UNMIK Police) and the military in Kosovo, including the Kosovo Force (KFOR) and the Kosovo Protection Corps. Also, several salient 'independent bodies and offices' are included.

As the paper focuses mainly on the factual-historical aspects of institution-building in Kosovo under UNMIK's administration, the aspects of analysis and qualitative evaluation were given less attention. However, the purpose of the paper was to provide an independent and objective background for analytical observations to be made.

The second paper, prepared by Robert Muharremi, Lulzim Peci (presenter), Leon Malazogu (presenter), and Teuta Murati, consisted in a *Preliminary Assessment of Administration and Governance in Kosovo: Lessons Learned and Lessons to be Learned.*

This paper aims to study the dynamics of post-war administration of Kosovo by the international community in order to formulate research questions that could enhance policy analysis and lessons learned from the first mission of this kind. By assessing the UN Mission in Kosovo and the implementation processes of both civilian and military components, this paper identifies key successes and problems related to administrative dynamics in post-war Kosovo.

The paper supports the main argument related to UNMIK performance and quality of lessons to be learned, by observing these dynamics through four different lenses. First, it concentrates on key aspects of Kosovo's recent history and the international presence there. It then discusses the legal framework of Kosovo and international performance, including the slow transfer of competencies to the newly established local structures. A further section examines the performance of three security agencies: the international military presence led by NATO, the international civilian police, and the local police service. Another part deals with interethnic relations after the war and evaluates the efforts of the various international and local actors promoting reconciliation, dealing with property issues, and facilitating the return of displaced populations. Finally, the paper looks at the divided city of Mitrovica as

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a case study testing the importance of international engagement in local levels of administration in post-war Kosovo.

The progress and achievements in post-war Kosovo could not be imagined without the international presence. Despite policy efforts to hand over authority to local structures in some sectors, the international presence remains a necessity. In examining the specific characteristics, both administrative and legal, of the UN Mission in Kosovo, the paper highlights specific experiences and policy recommendations that can be drawn for them. All the salient features of post-war and transitional countries in the Balkans have been attributed to Kosovo. It is being rebuilt from scratch, while undergoing a transition to a market economy. It is administered by an international mission, which at times is confused about its role and vision. The external status of Kosovo, as such, is a taboo topic. Thus, public life is being built from the bottom up, starting from municipal structures leading to the gradual development of central structures.

The UNSC Resolution 1244 that mandated the UN Mission in Kosovo was as good as the political compromise that gave rise to it. Unlike many resolutions, 1244 has had quite an impact on the situation on the ground. Ambivalent phrasing in the resolution led to conflicting interpretations by different stakeholders, such as legitimate Kosovar political representatives, UNMIK, or Serb political entities. These conflicting interpretations and the expectations resulting from them lead us to believe that 1244 was not necessarily the best mechanism to enable rebuilding Kosovo.

Other Findings and Preliminary Recommendations:

The following points have to be considered:

a) Operational planning of the civil aspect of peacekeeping lags behind the military component; this results directly in legal and administrative uncertainty.

b) Low level of international-local cooperation.

    i.   Little knowledge of local legal tradition.

    ii.   Reserved powers for the international community keeping legitimate local leadership at bay.

c) Daily political juggling replaces strategic thinking.

d) No sustainable local capacity-building in the field of human resources, administrative management, and technical infrastructure.

e) Parallel structures of authority and leadership implicitly legitimized.

f) Non-transparent decision-making by UNMIK.

Preliminary recommendations for policymakers in Kosovo

a) UNMIK and local structures should analyze the financial viability and human capacity of local institutions in order to identify capacities, resources, and visions as well as specify the mentoring needs of local institutions for a gradual handover.

b) Discussions over the final status of Kosovo should be initiated. The agencies involved in this process and their level of involvement must be evaluated.

c) UNMIK should guarantee the rule of law and security throughout Kosovo by enabling the Kosovo Police Service to serve in minority areas with ethnically mixed patrols.

d) Efforts should be made to legitimate local administration through the involvement of local communities, in order to avoid ethnically driven decentralization and the formation of more enclaves.

e) The international diplomatic community should lead other stakeholders to encourage Serbs to embrace the internationally-mandated institutions of Kosovo.

Preliminary recommendations to be considered for future similar missions

a) Better operational planning of the civilian components of peacekeeping: police, justice, and basic administration; change the rhetoric from 'peacekeeping' to 'development' early on. Consider an early warning system that prepares the international community for a better-equipped civilian mission along with a military one.

b) Consider UN templates for similar missions during the earliest emergency phases of peace building.

c) Accumulate sufficient knowledge about local customs and the legal system. Deploy lawyers trained in civil law and in common law in countries with similar legal traditions.

d) Accountability of international structures and stakeholders that contribute to an international mission should be better defined.

The expectations of the international community might be too high at times. The rehabilitation process is a long one. Greater synergy is required among international and local agencies in order to consider past and recent history, culture, and traditions and to build sustainable structures of democratic decision- and policymaking. Thus, peacebuilding processes will be better assessed and will lead to a higher quality of administration and governance in conflict-ridden areas.

Additional Points of Discussion and Concluding Remarks

In the course of the workshop, a number of points were made which are highlighted here.

1. Are we not expecting too much of the international community in the process of rehabilitation? East Timor is somewhat a success story. Kosovo, despite significant achievements, is not. One of the problems is that the international community does not have the human resources to be engaged on all fronts with the necessary qualification, experiences, and sensitivity. This shows the need for

the international community to be very clear about what it should do, and is only able to do, and what should be left to the 'locals', with the international community playing the role of a 'catalyst'.

2. Setting priorities is of paramount importance for the international community, in particular as time is quickly running out. The international community has neither the capacity nor the will to stay for long and to keep its commitment for more than a few months, or at most a few years. In Kosovo, today, time is running out, as it is already in Afghanistan.

3. Limitations of time as well as shortages of human and financial resources force the international community to identify at an early stage its strategic objectives to be achieved within the first few months, before the initial momentum fades away.

4. This certainly implies that the rehabilitation process cannot start from scratch and that it has to be built on the existing history, culture, traditions, and institutions, even in societies with no democratic tradition in the western model of human rights and market economy. Rehabilitation should not equal social engineering and importing models. Why try to force Anglo-Saxon law on a community whose legal system is rooted in a different tradition?

5. Rehabilitation starts with taking care of the daily problems of the people – food, health, shelters, education, and security – and involving the people as much as possible. It starts at the level of the local communities and of the municipalities. This is where one can initiate the necessary process of trust and confidence-building, which the international community requires if it wishes to achieve its goal. The Kosovar community has an impressive ten-year track record of successful day-to-day self-administration in the areas of education, health, culture, etc. in the context of an ongoing bitter conflict with Serbia. This has provided this community with skills and experiences that the international community has hardly taken advantage of.

Through this sample of findings, one sees that the case of Kosovo can certainly provide lessons to reflect upon in other situations: lessons so obvious that one wonders sometimes why they are not learned.

Probably the most important lesson is that rehabilitating war-torn countries is such a formidable task that everything should be done to avoid going to war.

Shahram Chubin

Islam, Islamic Groupings, and the West[2]

Introduction

The aim of this workshop was to analyze the causes of political activism in Islam (Islamism), to note its manifestations, and to consider its implications for the West and particularly Europe. Islamism is not new, but it may be growing and becoming more radical and extremist. Furthermore, it may be targeted against Europeans or be planned and staged in Europe, which now hosts a population of some 10 million Muslims. Whether militant political Islam is a phenomenon that primarily stems from within Islam and is oriented toward change within Islamic countries, or whether it is, rather, aimed foremost at the West for reasons to do with politics (rather than religion) is a question of considerable interest. To the extent that the West or Europe can identify the specific grievances of those supporting militant political Islam and meet and accommodate them, a discrete set of questions arises. Quite another set of questions arises where militant and extremist Islam emerges from local Islamic conditions and policies, and is subsequently exported to the West. It is important to consider the status of the Muslim communities in Europe and to examine whether and under what conditions they may evolve their own distinctive forms of Islam. Under the current 'campaign against terrorism', there is a special focus on Islam and on the related political questions of assimilation, integration, migration, and refugees issues. Clear thinking and careful study

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2 *Workshop Program:* Chairperson: Shahram Chubin, Director of Research, Geneva Centre for Security Policy (GCSP), Geneva; Speakers: Ibrahim Karawan, Director, Middle East Center, University of Utah, Salt Lake City; Sami Zubaida, Reader in Sociology, Birkbeck College, University of London, London.

are required to avoid a generalized and simplified 'clash of civilizations' mentality.

The ISF workshop focused on two papers and two themes: *Violence and Strategic Choices: The case of Islamic Militancy*, by Ibrahim Karawan; and *Islam in Europe*, by Sami Zubaida.

Islamism

A number of themes emerged in the workshop discussions. Islamism is not a growing phenomenon, and may be declining. In part, this is due to the use of violence by extremists; in part, due to the failure of political Islam in power (e.g. Afghanistan, Sudan, and Iran). Islam does not provide readymade and universal answers to political and economic priorities and decisions that have to be made. Radical Islam is driven by ideological and sectarian disputes that weaken it. It is very much a case of a clash within rather than between civilizations, or of a civil war within Islam, if you will. Islamism is primarily directed against existing regimes in Muslim countries, not outsiders (the distant or external enemy).

An examination of the conditions that allow political Islam to grow is revealing. It especially reflects the failure of alternative models provided by regimes in the Middle East. In countries where no secular opposition forces or parties are allowed, the opposition inevitably takes on a religious form. Similarly, where criticism of domestic politics is illegal, activism tends to focus on areas where it can find expression, such as against foreign governments or their policies (the US and Israel). Apart from the political failure of most regimes in the region, and state policies that frustrate and humiliate Muslims, such as US support for Israel, there are broader issues.

The 'crisis within Islam' stems from its difficult encounter with modernization, which requires adaptation and adjustment and which has been exacerbated by the depth, speed, and pervasiveness of globalization. This in turn has accentuated the crisis of identity, leading in special cases to the kind of anomie and violence symbolized by the 'nomadic jihadists' noted by Olivier Roy, who travel the planet looking to defend or promote Islamist causes. If Islamism is a way of dealing

with identity issues, it is also a way of putting the secular moderate elites on the defensive. Within Islam, the more extremist Islamists have appropriated and redefined the political discourse in Islamic terms.

The manifestations of political Islam vary across the region. Even in the case of radical groupings that indulge in terrorism, such as Hizbollah, Hamas, Islamic Jihad, and the various opposition movements to local governments, like the Muslim Brotherhood or its extreme variant, Gama'a Islamiya, there are cleavages and differences. In almost all cases, these groups focus on local and political issues rather than pursuing universal or symbolic goals. Most have national agendas; few make Muslim issues the sole focus of their activities. As noted, many such opposition groups simply fill the gap left by the absence of a secular equivalent (e.g., the Islamic Movement in Uzbekistan – IMU).

Islam in the West

Islam in the West is an increasingly topical issue in the current political climate in Europe, where terrorist attacks, economic decline, and law and order issues are increasingly becoming confused with questions concerning refugees, asylum seekers, foreigners, and social identity. In this context, the large Muslim populations hosted by many countries, and notably Germany, Britain, and France, assume a particular importance. Issues that matter to these communities, such as the Palestine or Kashmir conflicts, or even the status of the Kurds, can no longer be considered foreign policy issues only. This means that European states now have to consider the impact that their policies and alignments may have on their domestic politics (and possibly even on social stability). It may be this that accounts, in part, for the European states' greater sensitivity to the plight of the Palestinians. However it was generally agreed that the influence of North African and specifically Maghrebin Islam in Europe is probably greater than that of the rest of the Middle East. How do the policies and alignments of Western states in the Middle East influence Muslim communities in Europe? How far are the problems of these communities different from those of others? Is their integration any more difficult, needing special attention? Or are they, like most communities, susceptible to the integration that comes

with economic success, including employment and professionalization? Muslim communities in the West are characterized by a profound ambivalence. They admire the freedom of society, but are challenged by the need to retain or redefine their identity and achieve integration without loss of that identity. Here, the distinction between religion and culture is important and each community finds its own equilibrium and definition. The striking feature of Muslims in the West is their diversity in terms of culture, professions, ethnic groups, class, and socio-economic background. Compare, for example, a poor family from the Indian subcontinent with an entrepreneur from the Persian Gulf, or a Maghrebin laborer with a university professor. Few generalizations can usefully be made. What matters is that the European states resist stereotyping and also avoid a non-workable 'Fortress Europe' approach. Given future demographic needs and respective trends in Europe and the Middle East, the future of Europe's relations with the Muslim world, as well as the future of Europe's own Muslim communities, will grow in importance.

Future work depends on funding. The issues arising in connection with the broader question of Islam and the West, whether touching on foreign or domestic policy, promise to be of continuing and possibly growing importance. Future workshops of experts from the region, together with their counterparts in Europe and United States, will be a goal of the GCSP. Such a workshop could possibly be held in time to report its findings to the next ISF in 2004.

NICOLE PERRET

Women and Peace[3]

Introduction

The section 'Security Policy and Society' of the Directorate for Security Policy at the Swiss Federal Department of Defense, Civil Protection, and Sports, in order to promote the role of women in security policy, has initiated a workshop dedicated to 'Women and Peace' at the 5th ISF.

In the international fora, there is currently a debate on the special needs of women in conflict and their specific role and responsibilities in post-conflict reconstruction and peace-building. Marcel Boisard, the UN Assistant Secretary General and Executive Director of the United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR), has shared his views on this pressing theme.

Indeed, women and children have always been the most vulnerable victims of war and have suffered deeply in international and internal conflicts. At the same time, women have made huge contributions to re-building war-torn societies and have great potential for cooperation. In the words of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Sergio Viera de Mello, "it is all too often women who forge the greatest drive for peace in conflict-ravaged societies." The topic has gained increasing importance through current discussions on gender mainstreaming in conflict and reconciliation in UN operations. This is based on women's struggle for equal rights and participation as well as full involvement in the promotion of international peace and security. A very important step in the recognition of this idea and process, as Marcel Boisard pointed out, was the adoption in 2000 of UN Security Council Resolution 1325, which urges increased participation of women as special representa-

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3 *Workshop Program:* Chairperson: Nicole Perret, General Secretariat, Swiss Federal Department of Defense, Civil Protection, and Sports, Bern; Speaker: Marcel A. Boisard, United Nations Assistant Secretary-General, Executive Director, United Nations Institute for Training and Research, Geneva.

tives and envoys of the Secretary-General, as well as increased participation in conflict and field-based operations.

What have the findings been so far on the issue of 'women and peace'?

There has been good progress regarding the direct involvement of women in peace-building. Numerous studies are currently being undertaken by UN bodies such UNITAR and UNIFEM (UN Development Fund for Women), and this research is also being taken up by NGOs. However, there is still much work to be done.

The current situation and the way ahead

There is a need for more research on the topic and more training material for military and civilian members of peacekeeping operations. One of the most important points raised in the workshop was the protection of women and children afforded by legal documents:

- on international humanitarian law, such as the
  - 1949 Geneva Convention on International Humanitarian Law
  - 1977 Additional Protocol
- on refugee law, such as the 1951 Refugee Convention
- on human rights law, such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)
- and the Statute of the International Criminal Court.

However, these legal documents and legal provisions need to be enforced by strengthening the implementation of these laws and assuring compliance. There is also a need for closer involvement and commitment of locals in the design and conduct of relief programs and for a strong presence of women in the decision-making process of UN peacekeeping operations, as well as participation of women in interna-

tional judiciary bodies. All this is based on the conviction that effective international and national arrangements that fully guarantee the protection and direct participation of women in the peace process can significantly contribute to the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security.

Focusing on Current Issues

Comparing the writings and actions of the most prominent leaders of the pacifist movement in the 19th century, it appears that women activists were also very involved in social work for the under-privileged, campaigning for issues such as women's right to vote, defense of women workers, control of child labor, support for immigrants, racial equality, etc. The male pacifists, politically having had a long head start on the women, usually published widely and were the instigators, creators, and leaders of peace associations. They developed the idea of a world organization, including a type of assembly of nations and a court of justice or arbitration, which contributed to the establishment of the League of Nations. The men produced concepts and proposals, while the women tackled the immediate problem of peace or war in a more concrete and realistic manner.

Such examples may appear too ethnocentric since the women of the 19th-century pacifist movement were mainly from the Anglo-Saxon world. These references to the roots of Western culture and to the modern history of the Northern Hemisphere might be useful, however, in illustrating the tremendous progress accomplished during the recent past in the study of the special place of women in conflict and peacebuilding. They could also exemplify an important shift in the intellectual approach embodied in the modern concept of 'gender', which does not compare or juxtapose men and women, but rather considers them in the broader perspective of social, economic, cultural, and political interaction.

The focus of attention will be on the special needs of women in conflict and on the specific role and responsibilities they undertake in post-conflict phases of reconstruction and reconciliation during the contemporary period. This represents a major and current concern

debated in various circles, not least the Security Council of the United Nations.

The newly appointed United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, Sergio Viera de Mello, said on 24 September 2002 at the informal meeting of the commission on Human Rights:

> The question of the rights of women merits specific and energetic focus: I shall make it one of my priorities. My experience in East Timor, as with other places, has taught me that it is all too often women who forge the greatest drive for peace in conflict-ravaged societies. They are, as a rule, a source of restraint, reason, reconciliation, stability, and democracy. While great progress has been made in the last decade to place women's rights high on the human rights agenda, much is still desired, particularly at the national level.

Special Needs of Women in Conflict

The United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR), has designed and is conducting an awareness and training program on Special Needs of Women and Children in Conflict, thanks to a grant from the United Nations Foundation (UNF/UNFIP). The Geneva Centre for Security Policy has recently joined the initiative. Through this program, it attempts to address the main issues affecting women in war and to identify their specific role in peace-building and post-conflict reconstruction.

To state the obvious, wars are evil, leading to great ordeals and sufferings for all human beings – men, women, and children. The risks that women face are at least threefold: firstly, as members of the civilian population targeted by combatants and caught in the crossfire; secondly, as soldiers or irregular troops; and thirdly, as women, *per se*. Of course the situation of women varies from one conflict to another, even within the same country, and largely depends on their rural/urban location, education, social status, religion, etc.

Women are generally represented as civilians in armed conflicts. The reality, however, can be otherwise. They are also often involved in the fighting or assist the armed forces. In some parts of the world,

women represent a large share of fighters in internal conflicts. Under International Humanitarian Law, when captured, women are protected by the Third Geneva Convention in case of international armed conflicts and by the Additional Protocol in case of internal conflicts. Women are granted special protection or, to quote the law (art. 14), they "shall be treated with all the regard due to their sex." In practical terms, this means that female prisoners shall be under the immediate supervision of female guards and, unless they are housed as a family, they must be accommodated in separate quarters – in particular, they must be given separate dormitories and sanitary facilities. Although legal instruments to protect female prisoners or detainees do exist, the concrete implementation of the rules needs very much to be improved. Experience shows that sexual violence can be quite common. Women, and in particular girl soldiers, have endured horrific experiences during recent armed conflicts.

Women (and children) account for the largest section of civilians suffering in conflicts. War forces women to take on new roles, demands the development of new skills, gives them increased responsibility, and sometimes leads to a completely different lifestyle. War means separation from and even loss of family members, confronting great risks on a daily basis, and severe deprivation. There is a dramatic increase of women's workload, as they become single heads of households, having to deal with all the needs of children and elderly relatives. The abrupt change of women's traditional roles engendered by conflict represents a constant, even if hidden, trauma.

The presence of combatants and arms in populated areas raises the level of tension and insecurity, increasing the risks faced by women and limiting their mobility at a time when they have more responsibility, restricting access to much-needed markets and to relatives who could help, limiting their ability to work, trade, farm, or graze their livestock. Attending to their new duties as head of the household, they are at risk from anti-personnel mines and other military hazards, and their medical needs are unlikely to be met in a reasonable timeframe. The same applies to appropriate medical care, including specific services, such as gynecological healthcare and prompt care in the event of sexual violence. Besides of the dangers inherent to armed hostilities, the new tasks given to women can be extremely difficult, because of cultural tradition, social barriers, and lack of skills. The separation of families

and the lack of news concerning the whereabouts of their relatives affect women more than any other member of society.

The already extremely difficult situation of women in conflict becomes even worse when they are caught up in the fighting or are victims of a deliberate policy of forced displacement, leaving them no other option but to abandon their homes and possessions. They become more vulnerable to all the evils of war. They lose their social and cultural structures and norms and are taken from the land on which they are completely dependent for their livelihoods. They are often forced into promiscuity, violating their privacy and increasing the risk of abuse and disease.

There are roughly 50 million refugees and displaced persons in the world. It is estimated that approximately 75–80% (i.e. 40 million) of these are women (and children). In a recent study, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees concluded that female refugees continue to be disproportionately affected by physical and sexual violence and abuse, have unequal access to asylum procedures, and are often refused individual identity documents, which are frequently issued to husbands or male relatives only. Such practices make women, at worst, 'non-persons' and at best, 'dependents' rather than partners. Even upon returning to their homes, female refugees, unable to prove their identity and often deprived of liberty of movement or access to essential services, are unable to claim their property or their right to inheritance.

Whether they remain in their own home environment, are displaced within their countries, or have to flee to a foreign country, women are particularly vulnerable to economic exploitation and sexual abuse. They often have to perform hazardous work and tiring duties that impact negatively on their physical and mental health and interfere with family life, and they are usually considerably under-paid.

Sexual Violence

The worst scourge that affects women in conflict is sexual abuse and violence, rape, sexual slavery trafficking, and prostitution. Rape can be perpetrated by an individual or by brutal groups of men and even sometimes as part of a war strategy. In the single year of 1992, over 20'000

women were raped in Bosnia. It is now largely accepted that the great majority of women who survived the genocide in Rwanda in 1994 were assaulted and raped. In some cases of ethnic violence, women have been intentionally made pregnant. It would be pointless to enumerate all the potential long-term emotional, psychological, physical, and social suffering resulting from such brutal acts. Insecurity, administrative chaos, and the absence of proper judicial systems favor the trafficking of women (and children). Sexual slavery is organized by criminal rings, which flourish in times of conflict. It results in what used to be termed as 'forced prostitution'. There are other forms of prostitution which are certainly not 'voluntary' either, that arise from joblessness, misery, and the absence of all hope for the future. The abuse is not necessarily physically violent. It can sometimes take the shape of an offer of food, protection, or any other assistance in exchange for sexual relations. Women and girls who are victims of sexual violence must be given proper treatment, in a manner corresponding to local culture and belief.

The arsenal of legal instruments protecting female civilians in time of conflict is a large one. The Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 and the Additional Protocol of 1977 give protection to all civilians, including women. They must be protected against the dangers arising from hostile situations, in particular against indiscriminate attacks or violence aiming to spread terror. Any form of degrading, inhuman, or cruel treatment is forbidden. International law also prohibits the arbitrary displacement of civilian populations and protects internally displaced persons. They also benefit from the protection of refugee laws, in particular the 1951 Convention, and human rights laws, in particular the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women. Sexual abuse is explicitly prohibited by the Additional Protocol to the Geneva Conventions of June 1977. Article 76 reads: "Women shall be the object of special respect and shall be protected in particular against rape, forced prostitution, and any other form of indecent assault." Under the recent Statute of the International Criminal Court, all forms of sexual violence in times of conflict constitute war crimes.

International conventions are clear and specific, and the standards and guidelines to protect women in war are abundant. The real issue is that they are not properly implemented. Needless to repeat, the

sufferings created by war do not exclusively concern women. They do, however, have to face multifaceted difficulties, as already mentioned. If they survive the conflict, they may often have lost the family bread-winner, they may be distanced from their former socio-economic basis, and they are likely to be socially disorganized as well as suffering from psychological and physical injuries. Recent experience tends to demonstrate, however, that women are not only victims. Given the opportunity, empowered women can definitely play an important role in the post-conflict phase of reconstruction and reconciliation. Following wars, the demographic composition of societies usually changes dramatically, while the social structures and traditional values may be altered. Women are then given responsibilities formerly reserved to men and become more directly involved in the decision-making processes of their communities. Having suffered in a multitude of different ways, they may be more committed to achieving sustainable peace.

Complex Peacekeeping Operations

Simultaneously, United Nations peacekeeping operations have changed considerably in nature. The Blue Berets are no longer posted only in buffer zones to separate the belligerents. Their mandate includes multi-dimensional peace support, complex operations including maintaining peace and security, the restoration of public services and the judicial system, and laying the basis for economic rehabilitation. In some cases such as Cambodia or, more recently, East Timor, the United Nations was the temporary depository of the sovereignty. Women have not been given their full role in this new context, neither nationally nor internationally. Let us consider briefly the issue at the two levels.

At national level first, women who have survived war have taken on increased responsibilities in community tasks and are more strongly committed to local decision-making processes. Because of the difficult circumstances, they have to show courage and develop a practical ingenuity. They must be personally involved in the preparation and conduct of relief and protection projects designed by outside humanitarian or political organizations for their benefit or the benefit of their people. It is only through their direct participation in the implementation and

assessment of the assistance programs that they can ensure that their priority needs are properly met, corresponding to the traditional values of the society and its cultural requirements. As far as possible, women in post-conflict reconstruction should be given the means to create, resume, or maintain their productive capacity and possibly their economic self-sufficiency. This minimizes the risks of abuse and exploitation.

In the decision-making process and the community structure, the influence of women touches upon the traditional sector, such as house supplies, hygiene, and education and schooling, as well as managerial functions, in particular in deciding on the utilization of assistance, be it self-reliance programs or paid employment. In any case, they are the privileged interlocutors for any outsiders wishing to understand the economic and social rules of a community. If they are made to feel responsible, they contribute to strengthening the protection of the most vulnerable, such as elderly or disabled persons. Moreover, they represent the essential link with the children who are the main actors for sustainable changes of perception and behavior, thus facilitating a proactive approach to reconciliation.

Taking into consideration the fact that recent armed conflicts have taken place in countries or regions where women's involvement in leadership roles is rare, it is, of course, important that the men of the community or of the same social system are equally involved in the reconstruction process. The process known in modern development discourse as 'gender equality mainstreaming' must not be imposed, but convincingly explained within the given cultural context. It is a crucial element of post conflict reconstruction policy.

Women's Participation in Peace-building

Until quite recently, war and peace were very much male-dominated matters. This is applicable to the United Nations and international humanitarian organizations alike. It is now recognized that the success of peace and security operations depends on a greater awareness on the part of the peacekeepers of the special role and needs of women in conflict, as well as on an increase in the participation of foreign civil-

ian or military women in the operations. The different components of peacekeeping operations (military, security, civilian police, humanitarian relief, and peace-building) must directly involve female officers in order to have a tangible impact on women in the host country as well. Improved awareness of foreign peacekeepers and stronger involvement of local women would heighten reciprocity and interaction. The presence of women in the foreign contingents improves access and assistance for local women and makes male peacekeepers more aware and responsive to gender issues.

The matter received serious attention for the first time in the form of the so-called Windhoek Declaration and the Namibian Plan of Action, which followed a meeting organized in May 2000 on the occasion of the Tenth Anniversary of the United Nations Transitional Assistance Group to Namibia. It took only a few months to have the proposal officially recognized by a resolution of the Security Council (1325 (2000) of 31 October 2000). The resolution is rather long and detailed, and is appended in view of its immediate political importance and its potential impact for the future. It represents a good inventory of the improvements needed. The road is long, but the present Secretary-General of the United Nations seems committed to changing things. The main targets can be summarized as follows:

– Increase women's participation at decision-making levels in conflict resolution and peace processes. The present results are quite mixed. If the levels of females recruited as junior professionals in the field by the United Nations is satisfactory (67% of the P-2s in 2000), at director level, the gender ratio still remains very unbalanced (18% of D-1s and 0% of D-2s in 2000 are women).

– The appointment of more women as special representatives and envoys of the Secretary-General. The picture is also quite disappointing. Very few women have been appointed in the past, and usually not to important missions, except Dame Margaret Anstee from the United Kingdom, who was appointed Special Representative to Angola. She was very well known in the United Nations, having had a brilliant and diversified career before reaching the level of Under-Secretary-General. Currently, of some 25 Special Representatives and envoys, only one is a woman, Ambassador Heidi Tagliavini

from Switzerland, who is based in Georgia. It is difficult to rationally explain the marked absence of women among the Special Representatives and Envoys of the Secretary-General (SRSGs). The pretext, rather than the reason, is that the SRSG posts are so-called 'non-family missions'. This is a rather traditional view, not taking account of the gender perspective, as male SRSGs also have children. Moreover, and with all due respect, at this level of professional experience and political responsibility, most SRSGs are likely to be young grandparents, rather than young mothers or fathers!

– Expansion of the role and contribution of women in field-based operations: The number of women in the field is slowly increasing, but the Secretary-General of the United Nations very much depends on the composition of the contingents selected by the contributing countries themselves.

– Preparation of special training material on the particularity of women, for the benefit of military peacekeepers and civilian personnel. Such material is partly available and training initiatives are being taken by the Department of Peacekeeping Operations, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, the High Commissioner for Human Rights, and UNICEF, with special emphasis on children and girls. UNITAR is also contributing to training in this field.

– Measures that support local women's peace initiatives and indigenous processes for conflict resolution, and that involve women in all of the implementation mechanisms of the peace agreements. This point has certainly been well taken, but one must wonder whether it is practically implemented in the field.

The Legal Arsenal

Considering all the applicable bodies of law simultaneously, one can conclude that the special needs of women in conflict are, by and large, covered. The true challenge lies in the implementation of the rules. The issue of compliance is as old as the law itself. The new possibility to prosecute those responsible for war crimes could be a good step, if implemented generally without any exception or discrimination, because of the general deterring effect it should have. The second condition lies in a stronger promotion of the obligations of international law and of the sanctions that can follow breaches. Soldiers must be made more aware of the prohibition of sexual abuse or violence against women. Finally, the third main component of the solution is better and more specific training of military and civilian personnel before departing for the field. They must behave on mission as they would in their home country. The problems of women should be dealt with by women. In case of emergencies, civilian men or military personnel may have to act. When they do, they should be aware of the specific situation. In certain cultures and traditions, incidents and problems involving women will never be disclosed to foreigners and are a matter for the closest family members. Female peacekeepers must also be trained, since they are not automatically sensitive to the cultural differences. Rape, for instance – the murder of the soul – is in some countries still considered as a source of shame for the victims. Foreign women leading enquiries should be aware of what they themselves represent and show prudence in their actions. Statements to the local and international press can leave the victims of these crimes easily identifiable. When visiting alleged victims, foreigners may unconsciously carry the infamy with them and can create terribly painful situations for those whom they want to help. While legitimately voicing their indignation, they must remember that in some places, women who are rape victims continue to be considered as guilty as the perpetrators! Activism for a good cause should not lead to a second crime against of the victim, that of their social murder!

Awareness and Training

Lack of cross-cultural training can be as harmful as naive and well-intentioned ethnocentrism. A short time ago in Geneva, in a manifesto entitled 'Women for Peace', one speaker proposed training Afghan women as aestheticians who could later open 'beauty parlors' in Kabul, both affirming women's dignity and earning their living! For those men and women that do not share the same or similar cultural or spiritual background, this was a mere provocation. Individuals enrolling for humanitarian actions, be they peacekeeping operations, humanitarian assistance, or disaster relief programs, are usually adventurous, imaginative, and dedicated. They sometimes feel that in some way they have a mission to accomplish, at a certain time in their life. This enthusiasm is not without its dangers if the conviction of vocation or mission goes too far. After all, who is better placed to rebuild a war-torn society than those who have been the victims? Those who believe that they know better than the victims are in danger of patronizing them. Too many 'messianic actions' have led to negative developments. The personal preferences or motivations of outsiders, or (as it has been called) 'sentimental imperialism', should not imply the right to unlimited intervention. There is no superior wisdom that will justify the destruction of a culture in the name of saving it! Humility should be the rule in gender matters.

Sexual abuse is not only a matter of individual or collective rapes. Benefiting from the physical and moral misery of the victims can also constitute rape. This happens frequently. Even agents of humanitarian organizations have sometimes taken advantage of their dominant position, as was the case recently in UN refugee camps in Africa. Such lack of respect for moral distress should not be permitted to happen again. Young men on missions or among peacekeepers should be reminded of the fact that many persons with whom they will come into contact are in profound moral distress and lack financial or material means. Abusing these circumstances is punishable by law in many countries. Without moralizing excessively, these dimensions must be taken in to account during the recruitment process and, more importantly, during the training period preceding missions. It is not sure that enough time and attention is given to these issues, perhaps because they may seem

to be irrelevant and untimely. The UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) recently signed an agreement with the Joint UN Program on HIV/AIDS whereby the latter will provide technical and advisory services. It should also include the development of a code of conduct emphasizing the advocacy role of peacekeepers and sanctions for violations of this code. It is high time for such an initiative and one hopes that education and training will not be limited to AIDS prevention.

Indeed, the fact that several cases of incorrect behavior have occurred during peacekeeping operations cannot be ignored. Punishment for violations does not fall to the United Nations, but to the responsible authorities of the troop contributing countries. Certain states have taken action, while others have not. The situation has greatly improved recently, apparently following implicit warnings from the United Nations that contributing countries not taking appropriate measures would be 'named and shamed'. Similarly, the rate of HIV/AIDS infections among expatriate personnel is sharply decreasing thanks to more systematic control by the contributing countries. It seems that the lessons of the past are finally being learned.

In closing this free reflection on women and peace, can we draw some general conclusions? It is a fact that all humans at all times, men and women alike, do suffer from war and aspire to peace. Women, however, for various reasons, are particularly vulnerable during conflicts, and women have special needs and also special responsibilities and roles during post-conflict reconstruction and reconciliation.

Hope for the Future

As already mentioned, there is a broad legal arsenal for fighting abuses during conflict. On the whole, women should be well protected. However, the implementation of these rules is too often left to the good will of the warring factions and the direct involvement of women in peace-building remains limited.

The situation is changing and improving progressively, in particular since the establishment of the International Criminal Court, which prosecutes war crimes.

As for the international judiciary, however, the number of women remains very limited: one female judge from the United Kingdomsits on the International Court of Justice, and 3 out of 14 judges at the International Tribunal for Rwanda and at the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) are women. The ICTY prosecutor is a woman from Switzerland. For the International Criminal Court, the parties have to propose competent lawyers for election. To date, only a single country, Switzerland, has proposed a female lawyer. Must we repeat that the three latter courts will have to judge cases of sexual abuse and violence?

The general public has become more aware of issues affecting women in time of war and of their role in peace-building. Adequate training must be given to the belligerent armed forces, including those in domestic armed conflict, as well as to the civilian and military personnel sent on peacekeeping and peace-building missions. Finally, the role of women in the decision making process of peacekeeping and rehabilitation operations must be given its right place. It will certainly take more time, but improvements can already be seen. Indeed, a study conducted by UNITAR of the most recent and comprehensive UN peace operation, the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET), found that:

> UNTAET performed well in the area of gender mainstreaming. Awareness efforts were raised at the highest level and by numerous departments, agencies, and civil society organizations to promote gender equality. The capacity building program of the Gender Affairs Unit built a larger network of actors who had the requisite awareness and skills to undertake or promote concrete action to include women at all levels. UNTAET worked with the East Timorese women and took into consideration of having at least 30% of female representation in the public service and decision-making positions.

As already quoted above, "it is all too often women who forge the greatest drive for peace in conflict-ravaged societies." Much remains to be done, not least at the international level, regarding women's participation in the decision-making echelons of peacekeeping and peace-building operations, their increased presence among the Special Representatives of the Secretary-General, and their direct involvement in the international judiciary system that is finally being established.

VICTOR-YVES GHEBALI AND DANIEL WARNER

New Security Threats and Challenges Within the OSCE Region[4]

Introduction

As part of Switzerland's participation in NATO's Partnership for Peace (PfP), four 'Clusters of Competence' were created in 1996 in the following areas: arms control; humanitarian law and action; rehabilitation of war-torn societies; and the OSCE. The aim of the Clusters is to invite existing expertise to engage in a joint dialogue and thinking process that transcends traditional institutional boundaries, includes experts, researchers, and practitioners from the PfP area, and is totally open-ended.

The *OSCE Cluster of competence* has been able to foster reflection on the OSCE's activities, the challenges faced by the Organization and its role in the international system. By regularly gathering senior officials of OSCE institutions, academic specialists, and diplomats, the OSCE Cluster has become a forum for discussion and analysis on the Organization.

The need to develop efficient responses to the persisting threats to European security has been confirmed by the continual resurgence of problems and conflicts in the OSCE area. The workshop of the *OSCE Cluster of Competence* thus examined new security threats and chal-

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4   Workshop Program: Chairperson: Daniel Warner, Deputy to the Director, Graduate Institute of International Studies (GIIS), Geneva; Speakers: Yves Ghebali, Professor, Graduate Institute of International Studies (GIIS), Geneva; Ambassador Guido Lenzi, Head, Permanent Mission of Italy, Organization of Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), Vienna; Walter Kemp, Senior Advisor, High Commissioner on National Minorities, Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), The Hague; Thomas Buchsbaum, Director, Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Vienna; Alexandre Lambert, Research Officer, OSCE Code of Conduct Project, Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva.

lenges within the OSCE region from several perspectives. The presentations dealt in particular with subjects such as the relationship between organized crime and inter-ethnic conflicts, national minorities, and the OSCE's contribution to the international fight against terrorism.

The Reform Process of the OSCE

Professor Victor-Yves Ghebali addressed the issue of the reform of the OSCE, and focused on the latest demands for radical change within the Organization expressed by the Russian Federation. The so-called 'Russian political malaise' is characterized by the formulation of four criticisms towards the OSCE:

– The OSCE limits its concern to post-Soviet countries and the Balkan countries.

– The OSCE focuses too much on the Human Dimension and neglects its other (politico-military and economic-environmental) dimensions.

– The OSCE still lacks the attributes of a 'normal' International Organization, beginning with an international legal capacity.

– The OSCE needs an agenda to address the 'real' threats and challenges to European Security.

Professor Ghebali also mentioned the Russian Federation's position that terrorism and violent extremism are among the major threats in the OSCE region, and constitute threats that the Organization is in fact not particularly equipped to address.

New Risks: the Challenges of Joint Identification, Assessment and Response

Ambassador Guido Lenzi gave an overview of international security, highlighting the increase in actors and their accelerated interactions. He emphasized the need to support international organizations like the OSCE as it is in each country's national interest to support the international system.

Ambassador Lenzi emphasized that the state is no longer the place where the responsibility is concentrated. Responsibility has been shifting upward and downward, and is now located at the level of both international institutions and citizens. But the state remains the entity where accountability is placed. And it is in the national interest of the state to support the international system, which provides the state with greater transparency and ensures legitimacy towards its citizens.

The international system should thus be reinforced, organized, and become more participatory, so as to become more coherent and comprehensive. A collective sense of purpose should be developed through proactive relationships between states.

Management and governance are the key concepts to addressing contemporary security threats. This implies the joint identification of threats, the joint assessment of risk, and collective action. Ambassador Lenzi states that "the end result ought to be the empowering of the system of international relations itself, through the convergence and compatibility of individual behaviors."

Profiting from Instability: Organized Crime and Inter-ethnic Conflict

Dr. Walter Kemp analyzed the relation between violent conflicts and organized crime and the relationship between ethnicity and material elements in protracted conflicts.

In the contemporary world, violent conflict is one of the biggest threats to security. Sometimes this kind of conflict is protracted because

certain individuals or groups have a vested interest in perpetuating the *status quo*. Conflict creates an environment where corruption and organized criminal activity can prosper to the extent that they become impediments to post-conflict rehabilitation. Perpetrators are sometimes parasites of conflict, but in some cases they are or become actors themselves. In such cases corruption, political aims, and ethnic extremism become an explosive cocktail.

Dr. Kemp looked at the ingredients of that cocktail and the volatile effects of its mixture. He drew on examples from recent cases of Kosovo/Macedonia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Transdniester (Moldova). He raised questions about the nature of the problem and suggested a number of possible ways of tackling this threat.

National Minorities Issues from Central Europe's History: Haunting Today's Europe

Dr. Thomas Buchsbaum focused on how to deal with certain historical minority issues, to show how we can learn from past injustices to avoid repetition and how minority issues affect contemporary Europe.

National minorities issues have been part of OSCE's thinking since its inception and central to its thinking and action for about a decade. While OSCE commitments are binding upon the establishment of consensus and do not carry retroactive force, there have been grave violations of national minorities' rights within the OSCE region in the past which still haunt present-day Europe – in particular in connection with membership applications to European institutions.

The Contribution of the OSCE to the International Fight Against Terrorism

Alexandre Lambert demonstrated how the OSCE has dealt and currently deals with terrorism, emphasizing that all OSCE preventive action is linked to solving the root causes of terrorism itself.

Alexandre Lambert first analyzed some recent OSCE texts on terrorism as regards their use of key terms and basic concepts. This reflected how the OSCE generally 'identifies' new risks and challenges to security; for instance, how the connection is made between terrorism and other security risks as well as between prevention and combating the root causes of terrorism, and the possible role of the comprehensive security concept.

Since the events of 11 September 2001, the issue of terrorism has been a priority working area of the Forum for Security Co-operation (FSC). Activities related to Small Arms and Light Weapons and the Code of Conduct on Politico-Military Aspects of Security have been examined more closely as regards their implications combating terrorism. The Information Exchange on the Code of Conduct since 1999 has shown a tendency (starting clearly before 11 September 2001) to gradually shifting the reporting from democratic control issues to issues related to terrorism. After 11 September 2001, this tendency has become a dominating factor within the exchange of information.

Alexandre Lambert concluded by summarizing further activities and contributions of the OSCE in the fight against international terrorism. Police training, border monitoring, and related activities have shown that the OSCE has not remained a paper tiger in confronting the threat of terrorism and sub-regional instability.

Key Findings and Conclusions

Key remarks were formulated during the discussion following the five presentations:

– Future reorganization is linked to the OSCE's success in 'stealth diplomacy'. But the question remains whether that will be enough. It was suggested that the OSCE must focus on concrete activities that only it can deal with, rather than organizational reform.

– It is in each country's national interest to support international institutions such as the OSCE, which maintain a system of open governance.

– There is a need for reflection on the role that the OSCE could play in dealing with the actors that have an interest in perpetuating violent conflicts. The relationship between paramilitaries and governments is one example of such issues.

– Terrorism is relevant to all OSCE activities, but the OSCE should not focus too much on terrorism, as its added value is too small compared to that of other political institutions.

– Terrorism gives more responsibility to the states than to institutions such as the OSCE.

General conclusions can be drawn from the five presentations of the OSCE Cluster workshop:

– 11 September has demonstrated the flexibility of the OSCE in reacting to new issues.

– Today more than ever, prevention is the trademark of the OSCE.

Follow-up Projects

In future projects, the *OSCE Cluster of Competence* will focus its attention on the challenges the Organization has (or has had) to deal with in specific regions. In particular, the *OSCE Cluster of Competence* will look at the ten years of OSCE preventive diplomacy in the Baltic

region, the challenges of transition in the Balkans and Central Asia, as well as at religious issues in Central Asia.

The role of the OSCE in the international system will also be addressed, and the *OSCE Cluster of Competence* will continue its analysis of the historical development of the mandate of the High Commissioner on National Minorities.

Peter Bachelor

Small Arms[5]

Description

This report provides details of the workshop on small arms, organized by the Small Arms Survey project of the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva. The Small Arms Survey project, established in 1999, is recognized as the leading international source of impartial and public information and research on all small arms issues. The project has participated at both the 4th and the 5th International Security Forum. We regard our participation in the ISF as an important opportunity to profile the work of the project, particularly our field research on various small arms issues, and to link the small arms issue, both intellectually and at the policy level, to other broader security issues, such as Security Sector Reform. It is also a useful forum to develop collaborative projects with other research, and policy, organizations in Switzerland and elsewhere.

The Small Arms Survey project presented an overview of its current activities at a Side Bar Presentation and also hosted a workshop on small arms, which was held on 16 October. The aim of the workshop was to highlight the humanitarian impacts of small arms availability and misuse, drawing on examples from field research conducted by the project in the Caucasus and Africa.

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5 *Workshop Program:* Chairperson: Peter Batchelor, Project Director, Small Arms Survey, Graduate Institute of International Studies (GIIS), Geneva; Speakers: Peter Batchelor, Project Director, Small Arms Survey, Graduate Institute of International Studies (GIIS), Geneva; Eric Berman, Consultant, Small Arms Survey, Graduate Institute of International Studies (GIIS), Geneva; Anna Khakee, Researcher, Small Arms Survey, Graduate Institute of International Studies (GIIS), Geneva.

Analysis

The small arms issue has many different dimensions. The workshop, in terms of presentations, and general discussion, focused on the different aspects of the small arms issue, including:

1) Demand and supply dimensions.

2) The weapons themselves – production, stockpiles and transfers.

3) The humanitarian effects or impacts of small arms availability and misuse.

4) The measures – at national, regional and international levels – that are currently being developed to deal with the problems associated with small arms availability and misuse.

The themes that emerged during the discussions at the workshop included:

1) There are a wide range of direct and indirect humanitarian impacts associated with the availability and misuse of small arms.

2) Small arms availability can contribute to the militarization of politics at local and national levels.

3) Paramilitary and militia organizations often facilitate the proliferation of small arms, and are often implicated in the various humanitarian impacts associated with the availability and misuse of small arms.

4) There are still gaps between political rhetoric and concrete action in terms of measures (at national, regional and international levels) aimed at dealing with the problems associated with the proliferation of small arms.

5) In some contexts there is a lack of political will, and capacity, on the part of governments to deal with the issue of small arms proliferation.

6) There is still a lack of accountability, and a need for much greater transparency, on the part of governments with respect to information on various aspects of the small arms issue.

7) Civil society organizations can play an important role in documenting the impact of small arms availability and misuse, and in working with governments to develop effective measures to deal with many of the problems associated with the widespread availability and misuse of small arms.

8) Further research and analysis is needed on the link between small arms proliferation and security sector reform.

Counting the Human Cost: the Humanitarian Impacts of Small Arms (Presented by Peter Batchelor)

The availability and misuse of small arms can have a number of possible humanitarian impacts. These impacts can be direct, and/or indirect. The workshop identified and discussed the various humanitarian impacts of small arms availability and misuse.[6]

The direct impacts can include fatal and non-fatal injury, as measured by firearm homicide and suicide rates, and intentional and unintentional firearm injury rates. In addition, these direct impacts can also include firearm-related disability rates, and related psychosocial and psychological trauma.

The indirect impacts can include violence-induced displacement, the collapse of basic services, declining agricultural production and food security, and the withdrawal of humanitarian/relief agencies.

The fear and terror generated by small arms availability and misuse is a critical factor with respect to violence-induced displacement (both internal or cross-border), and may inhibit or delay later return or resettlement. There is evidence that insecurity related to small arms

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6 Muggah, Robert and Martin Griffiths. "Reconsidering the tools of war: Small Arms and Humanitarian Action." *Humanitarian Practice Network Paper*, no. 39 (July 2002).

is a significant factor influencing individual or household decisions on whether to flee or migrate, as measured by rates and numbers of displacement from areas affected by gun violence.

Small arms availability and misuse can contribute to the collapse of basic services, such as education and health. In some cases of arms-related violence, health and education workers are often targeted or attacked, leading to the collapse of health care and education facilities. Furthermore, access to these basic services is often limited or constrained due to armed insecurity. For those who are able to reach these services, they are often faced with abandoned schools and/or clinics, or facilities that are overstretched and under-resourced.

The availability and misuse of small arms can lead to a collapse of both formal and informal economic activity. The mere threat of small arms can distort the mechanisms of formal and informal commerce, raise the transaction costs associated with trade, and have a negative impact on household and commercial consumption and investment decisions. Agricultural production can also rapidly deteriorate in situations of armed insecurity. The presence of small arms has negative implications for inter-personal transactions, and can undermine productive activities that are essential for livelihoods and food security.

Finally, small arms availability and misuse has generated insecurity for the personnel and operations of humanitarian and relief agencies, often resulting in a withdrawal from regions that are particularly affected. The frequency of security incidents involving small arms has led to dramatic increases in the costs of transportation and logistics (including security) – thus generating a culture of withdrawal amongst humanitarian and relief agencies.

Small Arms Issues in East Africa
(Presented by Eric Berman)

The humanitarian, and other impacts, of small arms availability and misuse are evident in various parts of Africa, based on the results of field research conducted for a project on small arms issues in East Africa.

There are a number of long-term and ongoing conflicts in East Africa and the Horn of Africa (e.g. Uganda, Sudan, Somalia). In this context, large amounts of small arms and light weapons are available, and re-circulate from one conflict zone to another. In most cases, legally held weapons are diverted into illicit circuits, through theft or leakage. In addition, legal supplies of weapons (from external supplies) are also diverted into illicit markets.

Most countries in East Africa (Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda) have a domestic capability to produce small arms ammunition, but not small arms or light weapons. In addition, there are some instances of small-scale illicit, craft production of small arms in various countries.

The humanitarian impacts of the widespread availability and misuse of small arms in parts of the Horn of Africa have been documented in a study commissioned by the United Nations InterAgency Standing Committee.[7] In addition, the widespread availability and misuse of small arms has contributed to refugee and rebel concerns (in Uganda), and the breakdown of law and order and high levels of armed criminality (in Kenya).

In response to the various threats posed by the widespread proliferation, availability, and misuse of small arms, governments in the region have responded in a number of ways, at both the national and regional levels.

At a national level, governments in countries such as Kenya and Uganda have created various paramilitary or militia groups to deal with the security problems associated with the proliferation of small arms – the Kenya Police Reserves in Kenya, and Local Defense Units in Uganda. In both cases, these groups have tended to contribute to the problem, as they have been implicated in illicit trafficking, and in some of the armed violence and crime associated with the availability of small arms.

In addition to these paramilitary or militia groups, private security companies have emerged in most countries in the region. In both Kenya and Uganda, private security companies are now significant in size, and in Uganda they are allowed to carry firearms. There are a range of legal

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7 Muggah, Robert and Eric Berman. "Humanitarianism Under Threat: The Humanitarian Impact of Small Arms and Light Weapons." *Small Arms Survey Special Report*, no. 1 (2001).

and ethical concerns related to the role, and conduct, of private security companies, and whether they are implicated in many of the negative impacts associated with small arms availability and misuse.

Governments in the region have also attempted to deal with the problems of small arms availability by initiating various disarmament initiatives. For example in Uganda, the government initiated a disarmament program in the Karamoja region in the northeastern part of the country in December 2001. This disarmament initiative was accompanied by a sensitization and public awareness campaign, a general amnesty, and the provision of individual incentives (e.g. agricultural tools, job opportunities in the local defense units). Although a number of small arms were retrieved (about 10'000 out of an estimated 40'000), insufficient funding, and problems with planning, meant that the initiative was not as successful as had been hoped.

At a regional level, 10 governments signed the Nairobi Declaration in March 2000. In November 2000, the same governments agreed to a Coordinated Agenda for Action, and an Implementation Plan. This declaration, together with a proposed Firearms Protocol (which is under development) is an attempt to adopt a co-coordinated, regional response to the issue of small arms proliferation. A regional secretariat has been established within the Kenyan Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but implementation of the Nairobi Declaration, including the establishment of national focal points, has been uneven among countries. There is also an urgent need to engage more actively with civil society organizations, in order to facilitate the implementation of some of the Nairobi Declaration's provisions.

Based on field research conducted in East Africa, it is clear that national and regional efforts to deal with small arms proliferation, and the impacts associated with the widespread availability and misuse, have not been particularly successful. Despite significant resources from outside donors, and a growing appreciation of the problem (thanks to research conducted by NGOs, research institutes, and international organizations), governments in the region, with some exceptions, have not demonstrated the necessary commitment and political will to address the issue of small arms proliferation, and the various humanitarian impacts (e.g. crime, refugees) associated with the widespread availability and misuse of these weapons.

Small Arms Proliferation and Conflict in the Republic of Georgia (Presented by Anna Khakee)

The humanitarian and other impacts associated with the widespread availability and misuse of small arms can also be demonstrated by the results of field research conducted in the Caucasus.[8]

Georgia's quest for independence lead to multiple conflicts during the period 1989–1993, including the Georgian civil war, the South Ossetian conflict, and the Abkhaz conflict. Both of the latter conflicts involved clashes between Georgian and non-Georgian populations. These conflicts were interrelated in complex ways, and obviously also related to events as they unfolded in the former Soviet Union during the period 1989–1991. During the course of these conflicts, the availability of small arms changed dramatically. In the early conflict period (1989 until mid-1991), very few small arms were available. Most were available from police stations, from the Komsomol, and from military training facilities of schools and universities, and included old WWII weapons. Based on our field research, it is clear that the total number of small arms in Georgia during this period was quite small, numbering in the tens of thousands.

From mid-1991 onwards, this situation changed. The August 1991 attempted putsch in Moscow led to the disintegration of structures of authority, including the Russian military. As a result, numerous Russian military bases in parts of the former Soviet Union, including Georgia, were without effective command. This, in turn, prompted massive leakages of small arms from the Russian military bases in a number of different ways:

1) Various armed groups stole weapons from the Russian military bases.

2) Thousands of small arms were freely distributed by Russian soldiers from their military bases.

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8   Demetriou, Spyros. "Politics from the Barrel of a Gun: Small Arms Proliferation and Conflict in the Republic of Georgia (1998–2001)." *Small Arms Survey Occasional Paper*, no. 6 (November 2002).

3) Small arms were also sold by Russian soldiers from their military bases.

In addition, there was a thriving regional trade in small arms (involving Azerbaijan and Armenia) from Russian bases in the whole region. All of these factors led to the widespread availability of small arms in Georgia and the region, and a wide range of small arms and light weapons became available.

The consequences of these changes in arms availability are not easy to assess as they interact with other changes occurring during that period. However, two effects can be discerned:

1) It is possible to argue that the sudden increase in the availability of small arms was one key factor that led to the militarization of politics in Georgia. In this context, military solutions became acceptable to political actors in Georgia, South Ossetia, and Abkhazia, and in many cases moderate leaders were pushed aside. Moreover, as small arms became more easily available, increases in the size of armed groups became possible. As the size of armed groups increased, the war became more large-scale, and arguably more lethal. Indeed, the main armed groups operating in Georgia grew during this period: Mkhedrioni went from several hundred to 2'500 men. The South Ossetian armed forces at least doubled in size. The consequences of arms availability did not end with the conflict. In the period 1993–95, President Shevardnadze did manage to restore a measure of law and order to parts of the Georgian territory. A number of weapons collection programs were implemented, but made little difference in terms of the general availability of weapons. Those weapons that were collected were largely old, obsolete, and not in working order.

2) The widespread availability of small arms has also had a number of humanitarian impacts. Since the war, parts of Abkhazia have become very insecure. Weapons availability combined with a lack of state structures and widespread poverty have lead to the formation of armed groups. These groups and the remaining militias are engaged in a wide range of violent and criminal activities such as ambushes, killings, theft, abduction, and hijacking.

Almost all of these activities are carried out with small arms. These activities have had a dramatic impact on economic activity, especially agricultural production. The ambushes and armed robberies, for example, tend to be seasonal. During the harvest season for hazelnuts, mandarins, and corn, etc., the incidence of armed attacks goes up drastically, thus leading to declines in agricultural production and food security. This, in turn, contributes to poverty, which in turn feeds organized crime. In this context of armed insecurity, many international and local humanitarian and relief organizations are not able to provide any assistance because of fear of abductions and assaults.

Evaluation

In the last decade, small arms proliferation has become a new global public policy issue like global warming or HIV/AIDS. It is now a priority issue for the international community, including the United Nations and many regional and sub-regional organizations (e.g. EU, OSCE).

The international community has also recognized that the small arms issue is not simply an issue of security or disarmament, but also an issue that has humanitarian, human rights, development, crime, and health dimensions. This is reflected in the *United Nations Program of Action to Prevent, Combat, and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects*, agreed by consensus in New York in July 2001.

The Program of Action acknowledges that

> the illicit manufacture, transfer and circulation of small arms and light weapons and their excessive accumulation and uncontrolled spread in many regions of the world [...] have a wide range of humanitarian and socio-economic consequences and pose a serious threat to peace, reconciliation, safety, security, stability, and sustainable development at the individual, local, national, regional, and international levels.

The humanitarian impacts of small arms availability and misuse are now increasingly understood, thanks to in-depth field research conducted

by a wide range of NGOs, research institutes, and international organizations. The Small Arms Survey project and its various publications[9] have played a leading international role in identifying and quantifying the humanitarian impacts of small arms availability and misuse.

There is still a need to undertake further research on documenting the humanitarian and other impacts of small arms availability and misuse in different contexts, as well as linking the issue of small arms proliferation with other security and development issues, such as security sector reform.

Further Activities

In all its research activities, and publications, the Small Arms Survey project is committed to documenting and analyzing the humanitarian and development impacts associated with the widespread availability and misuse of small arms and light weapons.

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9 Relevant publications of the Small Arms Survey include the following: Small Arms Survey. *2001 Small Arms Survey: Profiling the Problem.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001; Small Arms Survey. *2002 Small Arms Survey: Counting the Cost.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002; Muggah, Robert and Eric Berman. "Humanitarianism Under Threat: The Humanitarian Impact of Small Arms and Light Weapons." *Small Arms Survey Special Report*, no. 1 (2001); Demetriou, Spyros, Robert Muggah and Ian Biddle. "Small Arms Availability, Trade and Impacts in the Republic of Congo." *Small Arms Survey Special Report*, no. 2 (2002); Godnick, William, Robert Muggah and Camilla Waszink. "Stray Bullets: The Impact of Small Arms Misuse in Central America." *Small Arms Survey Occasional Paper*, no. 5 (October 2002); Demetriou, Spyros. "Politics from the Barrel of a Gun: Small Arms Proliferation and Conflict in the Republic of Georgia (1998–2001)." *Small Arms Survey Occasional Paper*, no. 6 (November 2002); Muggah, Robert and Martin Griffiths. "Reconsidering the tools of war: Small Arms and Humanitarian Action." *Humanitarian Practice Network Paper*, no. 39 (July 2002); Muggah, Robert and Peter Batchelor. "Development Held Hostage: Assessing the Effects of Small Arms on Human Development." *United Nations Development Programme* (April 2002).

To this end the Small Arms Survey project has developed a number of collaborative research projects in various parts of the world with NGOs (Injury Prevention Initiative for Africa, Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, Saferworld), research institutes (e.g., Bonn International Center for Conversion, Johns Hopkins University) and International Organizations (World Health Organization, United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research) that specifically focus on documenting and analyzing the humanitarian and development impacts associated with the widespread availability and misuse of small arms and light weapons.

The Small Arms Survey projects hopes to present the findings of these collaborative research projects at the 6th ISF.

MICHEL HESS

Regional Security: Introduction

Regional security issues have traditionally attracted the attention of security and defense policy analysts. There are good reasons for this attraction: a number of key challenges and institutional solutions to security have important regional dimensions. Regional cooperation is frequently the only feasible building-block to achieving a modicum of international stability. This is most clearly seen in the European Union's efforts for a single European security and defense policy, Russian efforts to curb secessionist movements within the federation, and in international efforts to come to terms with asymmetric war and terrorism.

Track VI on 'Regional Security' included five workshops, which provided an overview of both institutional and geographic topics within European security. One possible conclusion of the workshop track may well be that institutional approaches remain the only effective way of resolving some of the most pressing challenges to Europe's regional stability, both at its core and at its periphery.

Track VI included the following workshops:

Workshop VI.1:   Russia's International Security Environment

Workshop VI.2:   Europe as a Regional Actor

Workshop VI.3:   Institutional Strategies to European Security: ESDP and NATO

Workshop VI.4:   Asymmetric War in South-West Asia

Workshop VI.5:   Peace Operations in Light of the Events of September 11

Jeronim Perović

Russia's International Security Environment[10]

Outline and Objectives of the Workshop

The purpose of this workshop is to establish the main lines and determinants of Russian international security policy with regard to the geostrategic zones to the west, south, and east of its borders.

The key threats to Russia's security are believed to be non-military and internal. Most experts agree that the greatest threats Russia faces are inherent in its economic crises, social problems, or ethnic tensions – an understanding also reflected in Russia's National Security Concept.[11] But Russia's transition is occurring in the context of fragmentation of the formerly integrated Soviet security space and the emergence of new geostrategic zones to the west, south, and east of its borders. In each of these directions, Russia faces a distinct set of threats and risks, balances of forces, and means and instruments of providing security. Russia considers such key international developments as the EU and NATO enlargement in the west, continuous instability in the troubled areas to the south (Caucasus and Central Asia), and an increasingly powerful China in the east to be the main external challenges to its security.

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10 *Workshop Program:* Chairperson: Jeronim Perovic, Senior Researcher, Head, Russia and Eastern Europe Program, Center for Security Studies, ETH Zurich (Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Zurich), Zurich; Speakers: Derek L. Averre, Research Fellow, Centre for Russian and East European Studies, University of Birmingham, Birmingham; Aleksei Malashenko, Professor, Scholar-in-Residence, Carnegie Moscow Center, Moscow; Andrew C. Kuchins, Director, Russian and Eurasian Program, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, DC.

11 The national security document of 17 December 1997 was revised under then-acting Russian president Vladimir Putin. The new document, approved 10 January 2000 by the Russian president, is available online at the Russian Security Council Internet site at http://www.scrf.gov.ru/, 30 January 2003.

The workshop identifies and compares Russia's interests in each of these zones and looks at resources, possibilities, and constrains set by internal conditions and the external environment to pursue these interests. The workshop seeks to anticipate how Russia's presence affects the security dynamics in terms of conflict and cooperation in each of these international regions in the mid- and long-term. It aims to assess the resulting policy challenges to Western states and organizations.

The workshop is part of ISN's Russia Security Project – an international platform for research, networking, and discussion. The purpose of the Russia Security Project is to bring together the leading post-Soviet scholars to analyze and compare the key challenges to Russian security at the various western, southern, and eastern parts of its periphery and to study their impact on the national security of Russia, the stability of the Eurasian continent, and Russia's relations with the West.[12]

Russia's Great Power Debate

On the level of policy formulation, one can essentially distinguish between two ways in which Russian foreign and security policy has responded to the changed strategic situation after the end of the Cold War. The perception of Russian foreign and security policy in the West has, during the 1990s, been to a great extent influenced by those vociferous actors on the Russian side who claim great power status for their country and feel that Russia deserves to play a pivotal role in international affairs. Even today, the Kremlin rulers and large parts of Russia's political and military establishment consider it to be of vital importance that their country play a role in practically all issues of international importance – be this on questions of strategic stability with the US and NATO, the finding of solutions to regional tensions and conflicts in the CIS space, the Balkans, the Middle East, or Northeast Asia.

This attitude, which stands in sharp contrast to the country's narrow economic basis and declining military power, was, during Soviet times,

12 For more information on the ISN Russian Security Project, see at http://www.isn.ethz.ch/Russia, 30 January 2003.

partly born of an ideological imperative, but has also been sustained by an appreciation of geographic size, as well as the country's historical and cultural importance and military (nuclear) potential. Albeit Russian great power rhetoric now lacks the ideological underpinning familiar from Cold War times, in substance, many of Moscow's policy-makers and strategic analysts still tend to develop their concept of international security policy along classical balance-of-power lines.

The assumption of Russia as a great power with a 'historical' mission departs from what could be called a 'holistic' understanding of national interests. The international agenda of this line of thinking is traditional and mainly dedicated to damage limitation. During the 1990s, this traditional agenda was aimed at limiting the perceived damage caused by NATO enlargement, at preserving the existing arms control regime with the United States, at securing Russian Southern and Eastern borders, at preventing potentially hostile anti-Russian alliances from emerging on the territory of the former USSR and beyond, at keeping the Russian position as a permanent member of the UN Security Council, or at restoring some old Soviet ties with countries in the Third World.[13]

The other line of Russian foreign and security policy can be called 'positivist'. This line is based on a less 'sacred', more rational vision of society and international relations. National interests from this perspective are nothing more than the common denominator of the many, and sometimes mutually exclusive, group interests that exist in every society. Therefore, national interests cannot be invented or discovered by political leaders. They have to be understood and balanced. This line stands for a more modernist agenda, committed less to damage limitation than to integration. In the view of the modernists, Russia should not try to capitalize on the old Soviet heritage, but to make full use of opportunities that the new openness of the world offers to Russia. Modernists have been emphasizing such goals as gaining access to Western financial markets, joining global and regional economic insti-

13 Kortunov, Andrey. "Russian National Interests." In *Russia's Place in Europe: A Security Debate*, eds. Kurt R. Spillmann and Andreas Wenger, 21–45; 21– 44. Bern etc.: Peter Lang, 1999.

tutions, or promoting horizontal ties with new business structures in other CIS countries.[14]

The focus on perceptions and opinions of individuals or group of actors is important for understanding Russian policy formulation, but has also been a source of major confusion and disagreement among Western policy-makers and analysts in their assessment of Russia's internal reforms and external orientation. Western opinion has been divided on Boris Yeltsin and is even more divided on Vladimir Putin. While some have expressed worry that Putin will strangle Russia's fledgling democracy, stoke nationalism, and launch an anti-Western, even neo-imperial foreign policy, others expect him to go energetically forward with reforms in Russia so that order is created, taxes collected, and corruption curbed. Some fear that Russia will become an effective adversary of the West. Others hope that it will become a partner of the West, focusing on economic revitalization and not on strategic competition.[15]

Russia's practical policy seems to depend, however, not so much on personal designs as on structural conditions such as military power, economic potential, or demographic forces. Given the constraints resulting from Russia's relative weakness with regard to each of these parameters, the driving force behind policy-making was never a grand design but the interests of particular groups. As will be outlined in the following section on Russia's situation towards the west, south, and east of its borders, Russian policy tends to behave opportunistically rather than strategically, which is typical for a relatively weak state trying to make the best out of a difficult situation.

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14 *Ibid.*, 22, 44.
15 Menon, Rajan, "Russia." In *Strategic Asia 2001–02*, eds. Richard J. Ellings and Aaron L. Friedberg, 173-222; 175. Seattle, WA: The National Bureau of Asian Research (2001).

Russia's Situation Towards the West

Despite traditional fears of an 'expansion' of the West and the result-ing regional imbalances to Russia's disadvantage, most Russians would agree that the most secure borders their country has today are those towards the West. Even Russian hardliners recognize that there is pres-ently no risk of major war in Europe. But an uneasy feeling remains, especially with regard to the US and NATO. Many Russians feel that NATO action in Yugoslavia has showed that the 'expansion' is, though not overtly, but implicitly, directed against Russia due to the nature of the alliance as an expansionist bloc trying to project its military strength beyond the zone of its influence, including to Russia. However, tensions have considerably eased in recent years on the level of high politics. The prevailing of a rather pragmatic attitude and readiness to cooperate with the West during all phases of Russia's foreign policy stems from the simple understanding that Russia has no alternatives to cooperation with the West – Putin understands that Russia's state and society can only be stabilized through economic recovery, which is not possible without massive Western investment. Russia's current pragmatic policy of pro-Western engagement is based on a more realistic assessment of Russia's capabilities and on the realization that NATO and the EU are the core institutions managing security in the Euro-Atlantic region.

The prospects for cooperation with the West have indeed never been better. The reason is not so much a refocusing of Russian for-eign policy priorities, the definition of which is still based on a 'global' understanding of Russian interests, but rather a change in internal and external conditions for the pursuance of these interests. Internally, the consolidation of Russia's political regime under Putin, a stricter implementation of structural reforms in the economic and finance sec-tor, and the stabilization of Russia's economy due to favorable export conditions for Russian oil have made the country a more predictable partner and a much more attractive place for foreign investment. The time to create a qualitatively new strategic relationship between Russia and the West was, however, ripe only after 11 September 2001. The events of 11 September and Moscow's unconditional support of the US-led actions against international terrorism made Russia appear in a positive light. Western criticism of the state of Russian democracy,

the Kremlin's media policy, or the Russian army's human rights abuses in Chechnya, which had previously been vocal, was now almost completely silenced.

On a strategic level, the Russian-Western partnership is embodied in the qualitatively new strategic relation between Russia and the US and the creation of the new NATO-Russia Council in Rome on 28 May 2002. During President Bush's visit to Moscow on 24 May 2002, the two sides signed two treaties: a strategic-arms reduction treaty in which they agreed on a drastic reduction of their strategic nuclear arsenals, and a joint declaration on the principles of their new strategic relations.[16]

While it cannot be ruled out that the creation of the NATO-Russia Council could mark a first step towards real integration of Russia into the alliance structure in the longer term, for the present, the symbolic character of this act clearly outweighs any practical meaning. The Council is basically designed as a consultation body between NATO members and Russia that will give Moscow a voice – though not a veto – in formulating alliance policy on key issues. The Council was created with the aim of identifying and pursuing opportunities for joint action such as "the struggle against terrorism, crisis management, non-proliferation, arms control and confidence-building measures, theatre missile defense, search and rescue at sea, military-to-military cooperation, and civil emergencies."[17] However, as some Russian commentators have argued, it is evident that issues such as antiterrorism or nonproliferation are not the main threats to European security. The really important issues, they fear, will be discussed at another table without the participation of Russia.[18]

16 The texts of both treaties can be found in: *Daily News Bulletin* issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, Information and Press (27 May 2002), online available at http://www.ln.mid.ru/Bl.nsf/arh?OpenView&Start=178&Count=50&Expand=186.1#186.1, 30 January 2003.

17 The text of the Declaration is available in: *Daily News Bulletin* issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, Information and Press (24 May 2002), at http://www.ln.mid.ru/Bl.nsf/arh/836D7845309147BE43256BC30052911E?OpenDocument, 30 January 2003.

18 Mereu, Francesca. "Russia: Analysts Pessimistic About NATO Enlargement, NATO-Russia Council." *RFE/RL Weekday Magazine* (11 July 2002), online available at http://www.rferl.org/nca/features/2002/07/11072002152829.asp, 30 January 2003.

While there seem to be no potentially divisive issues in the short term to derail Russia's Western-oriented engagement, optimism about how far Russia's security relations with the Euro-Atlantic powers can develop must, therefore, be tempered by uncertainty over, *first*, exactly to what extent the NATO-Russian Council and institutional links with the EU will allow Russia a greater voice in European affairs, and to what extent they contribute to solving fundamental political and economic challenges faced by Russia; *second*, what kind of security role NATO and the EU will play in the post-11 September world in terms of both the scope of missions and their geographical remit; and *third*, to what extent Moscow is prepared to accommodate its policy to the security interests of the major Euro-Atlantic powers.[19]

Despite Western reassurances to Russia, it is undeniable that the prospect of an EU and NATO enlargement that stops at Russia's borders will to some extent lead to the creation of a Europe of the 'haves' and the 'have-nots'. The dual challenge of maintaining a degree of openness to allow cross-border movement of people and goods to facilitate integration, while ensuring control over cross-border trade and preventing illegal movements of people, is therefore a key one. A Europe with Russia (and most likely also Ukraine and Belarus) outside the mainstream of European stability and prosperity will pose a long-term security challenge to the EU, NATO, and the US.[20]

The conclusions at this stage must be that Russia's influence over political-military decision-making in the West is and will remain very limited; that the lack of a clear strategy on the part of both NATO and the EU in managing out-of-area security, particularly in regions on Russia's periphery, and uncertainty about US policy are generating the potential for future clashes; and that Russia's own security interests and

19 See on these points: Averre, Derek. "Russia's Security Policy Towards the West." Paper presented at the 5th ISF in Zurich, 14–16 October 2002, paper online available at http://www.isn.ethz.ch/5isf/5/Papers/Averre_VI-1.pdf, 30 January 2003.

20 Stent, Angela. "Global Versus Regional Interests: The United States, Europe and Russia." Paper prepared for the IISS/CEPS European Security Forum, Brussels, 14 January 2002, paper online available at http://www.eusec.org/stent.htm, 30 January 2003.

the nature of its internal development mean that bringing Russia into the European 'security community' is at best a long-term project.[21]

Russia's Troubled South

Many in Russia's foreign policy elite speak of the south as their country's 'soft underbelly'. From a security point of view, 'the south' comprises the eight former Soviet republics and, in a broader sense, Russia's Northern Caucasus republics and Russian territories bordering on Kazakhstan. However, the Moscow hostage tragedy in late October 2002 highlighted the fact that the boundaries of the so-called 'arch of instability' have become more elastic than before, and the significance of territorial links is diminishing. From a geopolitical point of view, the Russian authorities' perception of the south is similar to that of the Czarist and Soviet rulers, who conquered this region in order to secure the empire's unstable southern borders and to fill a geopolitical power vacuum in a zone contested by other external powers.

Beyond these perceptions, there seems to be little consensus among Russia's political elite about Russia's long-term vital or strategic interests in the region. It is, however, well understood by the current Russian leadership that Russia's foreign policy options are constrained by the country's economic weakness and lack of resources. Russia's ruling elite seems to be well aware of the fact that Moscow cannot simply impose its interests on its neighbors, but has to take their concerns into account when formulating its policies. Though Russia's army is still more powerful than the armies of the eight former Soviet republics combined, Russian military hegemony is waning. Russia still has large numbers of troops in Georgia, Armenia, and Tajikistan, but Russia's presence is diminishing throughout the region.[22]

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21 Averre, "Russia's Security Policy Towards the West", 14–19.
22 For an overview of Russia's military presence in the region: Fairbank, Charles, Frederick Starr, Richard Nelson and Kenneth Weisbrode. *Strategic Assessment of Central Eurasia*. Washington, DC: The Atlantic Council of the United States and the Central Asia – Caucasus Institute, 2001, 82.

Yet despite Moscow's decline in influence and its limited resources, Russia still has plenty of avenues for influencing developments in the region. Russia's alliance with Armenia defines and limits Azerbaijan's strategic choices – especially with regard to the conflict over Karabakh – and keeps Armenia dependent on Russia. Further, Armenia's debt to Moscow is estimated at US$100 million, and as the country cannot pay in cash, Russia is currently negotiating for the acquisition of a stake in two of Armenia's crucial economic sectors – the military-industrial complex and the energy complex. Good relations with Moscow are also important for Georgia, as Russia plays a crucial role in the tenuous peace settlement between Georgia and its separatist regions, particularly Abkhazia in the northwest, along the Black Sea coast. In addition, a large proportion of the Caucasian population lives and works in Russia. It is estimated that between two and three million Azeris and around one million Georgians live in Russia. The income they generate and send back to their home countries represents a significant proportion of the gross domestic product in those countries. Other states (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan) remain significantly dependent on Russia's market exports. And the dependence is asymmetric; while trade with this group of states makes up for a relatively small volume of Russia's total trade volume with foreign parties, the countries in question depend heavily on Russian imports.

Of great economic importance to Russia are the oil and gas-rich Caspian Sea countries – especially Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, and Kazakhstan. Most of these countries still depend on Russia's pipelines and technology for the transportation and exploitation of their resources. Seventy per cent of the oil exported by Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, and Kazakhstan passes through Russian pipelines. However, while Russia still has the power to disrupt the development and marketing of Caspian Basin energy resources and can apply economic sanctions, the Russian leadership understands that, if it were to impose sanctions, its country would gain only a very small long-term advantage for its own exports, as the region's resources would eventually be developed through (Western) investments that would destroy Russia's monopoly.

While economic considerations play a growing role in Russia's foreign relations with the south, Russia's primary concern in this region is security. The Russian political establishment perceives the south as the most frequent source of external trouble. Traditional security concerns

have long dominated Russia's perception of this zone, especially with regard to the Southern Caucasus; Russia fears that the various overt and latent conflicts in the region could spill over into its territory and lead to an intensification of the conflicts in the Northern Caucasus. Russia's view on the security situation in Central Asia has been less traditional. In Central Asia, Russia has focused primarily on managing the Tajik conflict and secondarily on reactivating and expanding bilateral military relations with its only immediate Central Asian neighbor, Kazakhstan. Defending the border of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) is also a matter of concern. Recently, however, the debate about Russia's security interests in the Caucasus and Central Asia appears to focus more and more on non-traditional security threats, in particular Russia's fear of the spread of militant Islamic extremism. Russia's other non-traditional security concerns with regard to the south include issues such as trans-border drug trafficking, illegal smuggling of people and goods, and migration.[23]

From the broader international security perspective, the region has not only become a major geopolitical battlefield between foreign powers in recent years (as best exemplified in the struggle for Caspian oil), but it has also become a potential area for international cooperation – especially in the field of terrorism since 11 September. Russians remain divided, however, regarding Western engagement in this part of the world. While some consider Western engagement to be beneficial for Russian security, others do not perceive the US presence as an advantage to Russia, but rather as part of a strategy to push Russia out of what they consider its exclusive sphere of influence.[24]

Western engagement in the Southern Caucasus and Central Asia may well lead to an 'end of Eurasia' where Russia is the region's cen-

23 Allison, Roy. "The Military and Political Security Landscape in Russia and the South." In *Russia, the Caucasus and Central Asia*, eds. Rajan Menon, Yuri E. Fedorov and Ghia Nodia, 27–60; 27–31. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1999.

24 Torbakov, Igor. "Does Moscow's Reaction to Developments in Georgia Herald the End of Eurasia?" *Eurasia Insight*,(5 March 2002), online available at http://www.eurasianet.org/departments/insight/articles/eav030502.shtml, 30 January 2003.

ter of gravity.[25] However, it is safe to assume that Russia will continue to have an influence on the domestic politics and foreign policies of the Southern Caucasian and Central Asian states for some time. The future development of Russia's relationships will depend largely on whether Russia either chooses to demarcate itself from this predominantly Muslim region or instead highlights the historical, political, and cultural aspects it shares with its southern neighbors. The form that Russia's influence will take thus depends on Russia's approach to several problems: Will Russia's southern policy be based on economic rather than geopolitical factors? How will Moscow politicians and strategists perceive the threat of Islam, how will they deal with that threat, and what approach will Russia take to the many unresolved local conflicts in the region, such as the one in Chechnya?[26]

Far East: Uneasy Stability

From the point of view of traditional security, East Asia presently appears to be a stable region – especially if compared to Russia's South. However, while many analysts and policy-makers agree that there is no immediate external threat to Russia coming from its East Asian neighbors, most would agree that there is large potential for insecurity stemming from two factors: Russia's unprecedented decline, and China's rise both as an economic and military power.

When Gorbachev and then Yeltsin opened up the region to the outside world after fifty years of isolation, the problems that came to surface resembled the ones that the Tsarist empire encountered in the late 19th century: Then, as now, Moscow worried that Siberia and the Far East could, due the great distance separating it from the European part

25 Trenin, Dmitri. *The End of Eurasia*. Moscow: Moscow Carnegie Foundation, 2001.
26 For further reading on this last point, see Malashenko, Aleksei and Dmitrii Trenin. *Vremia Iuga: Rossiia v Chechne, Chechnia v Rossii*. Moscow: Moscow Center Carnegie, 2002.

of Russia, steadily disengage from the rest of he country and foreign powers could become more involved.[27]

Despite its huge natural resources (the Far East holds some of the world's richest deposits of diamonds, gold, silver, and rare metals, as well as deposits of coal) and a relatively developed industry, the region holds the dubious distinction of being the most economically and socially troubled part of Russia. The Russian Far East industrial production dropped in 1995, in real terms, to 46% of its 1990 level. Every other enterprise is unprofitable, and eight of the ten administrative units belonging to the Far Eastern Federal District are on the list of economically depressed areas.[28] In addition, the Far Eastern region has been *de facto* cut off since 1991–92 from traditional suppliers of food products and consumer goods in European Russia and has received little financial help from the federal center as yet. Russia's weakness is also becoming more and more obvious in the military sector. The Russian Far East military-industrial complex, which asserted Soviet military power in the Pacific for more than three decades, has suffered from immense cuts of the federal budget and has found it difficult to achieve conversion.

Possible security dilemmas resulting from demographic imbalances loom large over this region as well. While concern about Chinese migrants to Russia proved to be disproportionate to the real numbers (which were often manipulated by the Far Eastern governors in order to stimulate anti-Chinese sentiment in the media and win points in their struggle with Moscow over subsidies), the fact remains that China presents Russia with a huge demographic imbalance. China's northeastern provinces (Inner Mongolia, Jilin, Liaoning, and Heilongjiang) have a combined population of 129 million living within two million square

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27   For further reading: Stephan, John J.. *The Russian Far East: A History*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994.
28   Supian, Viktor B. and Mikhail G. Nosov. "Reintegration of an Abandoned Fortress: Economic Security of the Russian Far East." In *Russia and East Asia: The 21st Century Security Environment*, eds. Gilbert Rozman, Mikhail G. Nozov, and Koji Watanabe, 69–100; 72. New York: EastWest Institute, 1999.

kilometers. By contrast the vast Russian Far East (an area of roughly six million square kilometers) has seven million inhabitants.[29]

For the Moscow strategists, Russia's decline in relative power means that Russia will have to rely on coalitions to a far greater degree than did the Soviet Union to counterbalance threats to its security. In order to make up for the loss in power and influence due to US and NATO expansion in the West, Moscow has, since the mid-1990s, focused its Asian policy mainly on establishing closer relations with the People's Republic of China. Since the volume of trade between Russia and China (mostly in arms sales) is far from initially expected hopes, Moscow's choice of China is not so much based on economic considerations but reflects the primacy of politics over economics in the Russian approach towards East Asia.[30] While good relations with China remain the cornerstone of Russia's Asia policy under Putin, there seems to growing awareness that Russia's integration into the Asia-Pacific economy is unlikely to be achieved without major improvements in relations with the United States, Japan and South Korea – those countries that have the investment capital that is desperately needed in the region.

As a further means of strengthening Russia's position in the Asia-Pacific, Moscow has also tried to promote integration through the existing regional institutional arrangements. In this light, the Russian Foreign Policy Concept of January 2000 emphasizes the "invigoration of Russia's participation in the main integration structures of the of the Asia-Pacific Region – the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum, the regional forum on security of the Association of the South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), and the Shanghai Five (Russia, China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan)."[31] However, if compared to the

29 For further reading on the security situation of the Russian Far East: Thornton, Judith and Charles E. Ziegler. *Russia's Far East: A Region at Risk.* Seattle: National Bureau of Asian Research in association with University of Washington Press, 2002.

30 Wishnick, Elisabeth. "One Asia Policy or Two? Moscow and the Russian Far East Debate Russia's Engagement in Asia." *NBR Analysis* 13, no. 1 (March 2002): 39–101; 46.

31 Uzbekistan has joined the Shanghai Group in June 2001. – The Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation, approved by the President of the Russian Federation on 28 June 2002, is available online at the Russian Security Council Internet site at http://www.scrf.gov.ru/, 30 January 2003.

Euro-Atlantic region, multilateral institutional arrangements are still relatively weak in the Asia-Pacific and the relationships between the states are mainly a result of bilateral deals.

The current focus on China does not mean, however, that Russian foreign policy elites desire a rearrangement of security alliances in East Asia. There is striking contrast between the way Russia views NATO and issues of European security and the way it sees the US security alliances in Asia with Japan and South Korea. While NATO expansion has triggered a major Russian diplomatic counter-offensive and a blast of criticism in the press and academic publications, these US alliances are either ignored or are discussed rather sympathetically in that Russia praises them as positive guarantees of regional security. This approach reflects the Russian view of East Asia as a genuinely multipolar region in which the US helps to preserve the status quo.[32] The key to Russian security is therefore seen in Moscow finding its role in the strategic quadrangle of China, Japan, Russia, and the United States, in which the United States is the lone superpower and Russia is the country with the weakest presence in this region.[33]

In the aftermath of the events of 11 September 2001, it has become evident that the US is crucially important not only with regard to regional stability in Central Asia, but also as an 'invisible' player in the relations between Russia and China. Russian commentators have long been arguing for closer collaboration between Moscow and Beijing in order to counter Western influence in a region where both sides have mutually complementary interests. However, while the Central Asian states were quick to cooperate with the United States against the Taliban, the Shanghai Cooperation Forum proved ineffective beyond issuing joint statements condemning terrorism. Presumably, Asian security will be shaped not so much by the contours of the

32   Kuchins, Andrew C.. "Russia and Great-Power Security in Asia." In *Russia and Asia-Pacific Security*, ed. Gennady Chufrin, 27–36; 30. Stockholm: SIPRI, 1999.
33   Rozman, Gilbert, Mikhail G. Nozov and Koji Watanabe. "Conclusion." In *Russia and East Asia: The 21st Century Security Environment*, eds. Gilbert Rozman, Mikhail G. Nozov and Koji Watanabe, 215–230; 214. New York: EastWest Institute, 1999.

Sino-Russian cooperation as by Moscow's and Beijing's respective bilateral relations with Washington.[34]

Russia's future situation in the Asia-Pacific remains unclear. Scholars from the realist and neo-realist schools of international relations theory see Asia as potentially dangerous because of the major transitions underway in many of these states with a highly unpredictable outcome, and because of growing imbalances of power to the advantage of China and to the disadvantage of Russia. Those who depart from a liberal-idealist and multilateral economic perspective are more optimistic. Continuing interactions in interregional forums such as the APEC, the Shanghai Cooperation Forum, or the Asian Regional Forum will, they believe, enhance the sense of a regional international society where states seek to focus on common interests and limit the use of force.[35]

Conclusion

The above has shown that it is difficult to reason about Russia's international security situation without first identifying which of the 'Russias' we are actually talking about. The situation Russia faces in its western direction is basically a problem of integration. The central question here is: How can Russia join existing Western and European institutions and integrate into an increasingly interdependent and globalized world? The situation in Russia's western regions seems to have little in common with the problems the country faces towards the south – a region ravaged largely by great-power rivalry, ethnic violence, transborder terrorism, and crime: while the main issue in Russian-Western relations is integration, to the south of Russia's borders, the overall pattern is more one of confrontation. When it comes to Russia's security situation towards the east, here again, Russia faces quite a different set

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34 Wacker, Gudrun. "Chinesisch-russische Beziehungen unter Putin." *SWP-Studien* 2, no. 19 (June 2002); Wallander, Celeste A. "Russia's Relationsship with China After September 11." *PONARS Policy Memo*, no. 214 (25 January 2002)

35 Kuchins, "Russia and Great-Power Security in Asia", 27–28; 36.

of problems. In this direction, Russia is confronted with the problem of isolation. The most striking feature here is a growing regional imbalance caused, one the one hand, by depopulation and de-industrialized of large parts of Siberia and the Russian Far East, and, on the other hand, by the rise of China.

The security problems in each of the geostrategic zones are thus unique, but they are also, as has been shown in the above sections, interconnected: Russia's relation to NATO obviously has an impact on the formulation of Moscow's policy towards Central Asia and the Caucasus; Russia's fear of a future China expanding into a depopulated Russian Far East shapes, to some extent, Russia's largely positive perception of the US as a stabilizing force in the Asia-Pacific region.

How Russian policy-makers establish the relationship between local developments and international politics is, in the end, linked to the question of Russia's self-understanding as an international entity. For a country like Russia, situated between Asia and Europe, incorporating different ethnic groups, cultures and religions, it is no easy task formulating national interests if perceptions of the different groups within the country are diverging. Emblematic for Russia's problem of finding its post-Soviet international identity is that those in Russia who profess closer engagement in the West tend to neglect that Russia is also a great southern country with all the problems related to it. Conversely, those who appeal at Russia's 'Eurasian' identity and speak out in favor of closer relation with the country's Muslim neighbors, tend to ignore the essentially European orientation of the major part of Russian society.

For the West, the many faces of Russia's security situation means that individual Western states and organizations need to be aware that dealing with Russia with regard to one particular security issues often means also dealing with all her other major security problems. A case in point is Russia's ongoing war in Chechnya. The problem of Chechnya should – despite Russia's participation in the US-led alliance against terror – not be excluded from the Western-Russian political agenda. Tolerating Russia's brutal acts in Chechnya will not only make the West a *de facto*-compliance in the Chechen affair, it will also indirectly contribute to a prolongation of the war and, as a consequence of this, a rising of ethnic and possibly also religious tensions within Russia. This would not encourage stability in Russia, which must at all costs avoid deterioration in its already fragile relations with its Muslim minority.

Fred Tanner

Europe and Its Periphery: Towards a European Strategy?[36]

Introduction

The principal objective of the project was to examine the degree to which Western Europe (the European Union and its members states) has been able to respond as a coherent and strategic actor towards the developmental and security needs of its immediate periphery in the post-Cold War period. The purpose of the project was to examine the extent to which Europe's ambition to be a strategic actor has been realized in those regions close to its borders.

Western Europe has set itself the ambition to respond to three major challenges since the end of the Cold War and the dismantlement of the Iron Curtain:

– Enlargement of the European Union;

– Deepening of the process of integration within the European Union, providing a political union to complement the economic union (CFSP and ESDP);

– Crisis management of conflicts on its periphery, most notably in the Balkans.

36 *Workshop Program:* Chairperson: Fred Tanner, Deputy Director, Geneva Centre for Security Policy (GCSP), Geneva; Speakers: Antonio Missiroli, Senior Researcher, European Union Institute for Security Studies, Paris; Andrei Zagorski, Faculty Member, Geneva Centre for Security Policy (GCSP), Geneva; Neil MacFarlane, Course Director, New Issues in Security Policy Course (NISC), Geneva Centre for Security Policy (GCSP), Geneva; Discussant: Fraser Cameron, Director of Studies, European Policy Center, Brussels.

The ambition of the European Union and its member States to assert a more coherent and strategic policy has been driven by its need to integrate central and Eastern Europe, its desire to become a more autonomous foreign, security, and defense actor, and the practical experience in the Balkans that has confirmed the need for an effective and independent European crisis management capability.

In seeking to develop a coherent strategy towards its periphery, the EU and its member states have had to face a number of difficult challenges. These include questions such as: who should the candidates for EU membership include? How should policies differ between those countries who are candidates and those who are not? How to deal with regions close to the EU's borders that have suffered from conflicts and warfare and require long-term reconstruction and external commitments? How to convince the citizens of the EU states of the strategic importance of such engagement beyond the borders of the EU? And, how to promote and enhance the influence of the EU in relation to other significant actors – such as the United States, Russia, and NATO?

The main focus of this research project is towards the regions neighboring the European Union. This starts with those countries in central and Eastern Europe who are candidates for EU membership and where the integrative engagement of the EU has been most intense. A separate assessment is given for Turkey, which is also a candidate, but has special characteristics. The non-candidate regions are divided into three: the Balkans region where the EU, along with other institutions, has been engaged in crisis management and post-conflict reconstruction; the countries of the former Soviet Union, Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, the Caucasus, and Central Asia; and the Mediterranean countries of the so-called 'Barcelona process'.

Key Questions

The key questions that the contributors were asked to pursue in relation to the set of countries/ particular region for which they are responsible include:

– How has policy by the European Union and its member states developed towards the region?

– To what extent can the European Union be viewed to have increased its strategic presence and influence?

– What have been the main strengths and weaknesses of EU policy?

– To what extent is the EU acting as the principal actor and to what extent do member states continue to act autonomously from the EU?

– To what extent do other actors – such as the United States, NATO, the UN, and the OSCE – affect and influence the activities of the EU?

– To what extent has the EU moved from being a developmental and economic actor to being a politico-security and strategic actor?

– Overall, to what extent can Europe be seen to be a coherent and strategic actor?

Conclusion

The following conclusions are primarily drawn from Antonio Missiroli's contribution to the project.

A policy towards the periphery is an essential feature/requirement of any regional power, and the EU claims to be(come) a fully-fledged one. At the same time, the Union conceives of itself also as an international actor, at least on the economic and (to a lesser extent) diplomatic front. That does not mean that it has the ambition to be a global power in its own right, nor that it can or will operate worldwide across

the policy board, especially as regards military intervention and strate-
gic issues such as non-proliferation and energy supply; on the contrary.
If one looks, for instance, at the aid flows emanating from the EC/EU,
it becomes clear that the range of its interests and partnerships is rather
selective and corresponds to that of a regional power with some clearly
identifiable overseas interests: in 2000, out of the 12 billion of the
Union's aid budget (EC plus European Development Fund), roughly
2 billion went to the Central/Middle European candidates, 1 billion
to emergency, humanitarian, and food aid (mostly directed to Africa),
1 billion to the Mediterranean, and 500 million each to the CIS,
Latin America, and Asia. Insofar as it is directed overseas, however,
EU aid mostly ends up in ACP countries. And the picture is more or
less the same, with marginal nuances, if one looks at the bilateral aid
given by individual EU member states. This shows that the Union has
a geographical periphery (the immediate neighborhood) as well as
a historical/economic periphery, which basically coincides with the
post-colonial links and preferential partnerships of its member
states. As for security policy proper, the current provisions for the
European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) envisage a virtual
geographical scope for EU military crisis management (up to approxi-
mately 4'000km from Brussels) that roughly covers the present
immediate neighborhood – starting with the Balkans, but touching
only lightly the CIS proper and the southern shores of the Mediterranean
– but does not rule out, at least in principle, also the 'outer'
periphery, as past discussions over deployment in the African Great
Lakes or East Timor have proven. Furthermore, soldiers and officials
from EU individual member states are already engaged in multilateral
peace support operations in the Balkans or in those more distant parts
of the world that embody some broader European and/or national inter-
est.

   In other words, there seems to be after all a discernible pattern for,
and a substantial geographical overlap between, the Union's various
external policies: trade, aid, diplomacy, and crisis management proper.
What is still lacking is a more streamlined and coherent approach,
especially to its immediate periphery, after a decade of mostly reactive
decisions and constructive ambiguities. To give just a practical exam-
ple: does it make sense, once the current enlargement process is com-
pleted, to preserve the current rigid separation (also in bureaucratic and

procedural terms) between the Interreg, PHARE, CARDS, and TACIS programs, thus perpetuating the tension between the two approaches analyzed above?

The forthcoming enlargement, coupled with the growing demand for a more active foreign policy, could, one hopes, force the policymakers in question to take a more systematic approach. In terms of external policies, it will add next to nothing to the outer periphery – none of the applicants, with the partial exception of Turkey (Middle East, Caucasus, and Central Asia), have an imperial past or extra-European ramifications – but plenty to the immediate one, which they were part of in the past and will be mostly in contact with in the future. Indeed, the most important contribution of the new member states to the Union's policies is expected to be in this domain, especially as regards the 'Eastern dimension' and the *Ostpolitik:* an interesting test-case ahead of time, so to speak, has been the controversy over the transit to and from the Kaliningrad enclave.

As for the global dimension, much will depend on the extent to which the CFSP/ESDP turns into a driver of European policy at large and, therefore, commits the member states to pooling interests and capabilities that go well beyond – for some of them at least – the immediate periphery of the present (and foreseeable) Union.

The EU remains for the time being a civilian actor that relies on its economic might and liberal vision, both of which are – *faute de mieux* – implemented by program and not by policy. But the promotion of democracy towards its neighborhood experienced a serious setback in the aftermath of 11 September, particularly in North Africa and the Middle East, as the attacks served as a convenient pretext for various partner states to indiscriminately clamp down on non-violent opposition groups.

The EU today is still building up a toolbox for flexible crisis management with various military and civilian instruments. The strength of the EU is its increased ability to mix the various instruments of soft and hard power. This ability provides Europe with a comparative advantage even over the United States. The need for the right combination of ESDP with long-term structural measures requires an effective cross-pillar co-ordination. The intersection of security, political, economic, and even JHA leads inevitably to an internal EU test of multi-layered policy-making. In the final account, the EU's strategy towards its

neighborhood remains very much a function of where the EU is headed institutionally – towards a federal state or a multi-speed construct.

René Schwok and Gianluca Maspoli

Institutional Strategies in European Security: NATO and ESDP[37]

Objective and Aims

The aim of this workshop was to look into the recent changes in the European security institutions and to highlight the issues lying ahead. In particular, the focus was on NATO and ESDP (European Security and Defense Policy). The Atlantic Alliance has undergone important changes and is still in the midst of an ongoing process of transformation, the outcome of which is still uncertain. The ESDP is the expression of the EU's willingness to play a broader role as international actor, and it is still making its first steps. Consequently, its future is also characterized by many uncertainties. In addition, some important decisions will be taken in the short run. For instance, NATO has to deal with a second round of enlargement and the ESDP is expected to achieve a complete operational capability by 2003, which is extremely important for its effectiveness and credibility.

This transformation process is connected with other issues, and that makes the current situation difficult to understand and the future difficult to predict. A major issue is certainly the future of the transatlantic relation. NATO has been a key element in maintaining the stability of this relationship during the Cold War and the 1990s, but will the Atlantic Alliance keep its primacy in the future? And how will NATO change? The development of the ESDP expresses the willingness of European countries and the EU to assume more security responsibili-

37 *Workshop Program:* Chairperson: René Schwok, Associate Professor, Graduate Institute of European Studies, University of Geneva, Geneva; Speakers: Jolyon Howorth, Professor, Department of European Studies, University of Bath, Bath; Antonio Missiroli, Senior Researcher, European Union Institute for Security Studies, Paris; Gianluca Maspoli, Departement of Political Science, University of Geneva, Geneva.

ties, but will the ESDP become a rival to NATO? Does it compromise the transatlantic relationship and US leadership? In addition, will the ESDP be effective and credible? And will the EU be able to pay for it? These are open questions and the debate is far from over. The workshop dealt with this debate and aimed to give a clearer picture of the current situation, rather than looking for answers. In other words, it attempted to map the different questions and the link between them.

Key Contributions and Findings

The first speaker, Professor Jolyon Howorth, argued in favor of the ESDP by emphasizing that its development is beneficial for NATO and the United States and not only for the EU. In his paper, Howorth acknowledged the validity of some arguments against the ESDP. For instance, the ESDP complicates the relationship with some allies, such as the United States and Turkey; it cannot rely on a common European security culture; and the realization of a cross-pillar coherence is problematic. Nevertheless, these problems are not insurmountable and they do not undermine the overall logic of the ESDP. Howorth's main point was that the ESDP is not an aberration, but the logical outcome of historical forces. On the one hand, it is the result of the EU founding fathers' willingness to build an 'ever closer union'. On the other hand, the ESDP is also the effect of exogenous forces, namely the US demand for balanced burden-sharing both during the Cold War and the 1990s.

According to Howorth, the development of the ESDP is confronted with three issues in particular. First, the *adjustment of the new institutions* within the already complicated EU structure. This institutional adjustment encompasses the rationalization of overlapping agencies in the decision-making process. For instance, it is necessary to manage the potential tensions between national practices and the new collective ethos emerging from the ESDP. It is also important to assure cross-pillar coherence, which means for example to resolve the coexistence of both the High Representative and the Commissioner for external relations.

The second main issue concerns the development of military capabilities. In this field, the significant question is about the *style* of

military engagement envisaged by the ESDP. The EU does not have develop a force to match US capacities; it must, however, adapt to the changing environment, all the more so since 11 September 2001. In particular, the ESDP is confronted with the widening technological gap in relation to the United States and the emergence of terrorism as the main threat.

The third issue, which is closely linked with the second one, is about the *relations between the EU and NATO*. According to Howorth, the ESDP is not conceived as and should not become a rival or competitor to NATO. Nevertheless, it is logical that the EU should build an autonomous capacity in order to act when and where NATO does not want to engage itself. Obviously, this capacity should be developed in consultation with NATO in order to avoid unnecessary duplications.

In conclusion, Howorth emphasized that the development of European security autonomy is based on both the growing confidence of the EU as an international actor and the change of the international environment. A credible and effective ESDP, then, is in the interest of both the EU and the transatlantic relationship on the whole.

The second speaker, Antonio Missiroli, focused on the problem of financing the development of the ESDP and the need to find new sources of funding. The lack of adequate means generates a burden-sharing problem not only in the transatlantic relationship, but also inside the EU. Consequently, the main challenge to an ESDP is to enhance defense spending both quantitatively and qualitatively. In particular, the EU should aim to spend more and better in order to assure a credible and effective ESDP. According to Antonio Missiroli, the 'pooling of defense expenditure' seems to be the most realistic and viable solution.

In the *long run*, the 'pooling of defense expenditure' calls for a degree of 'role specialization' among the states participating to the ESDP. Obviously, this specialization calls for a higher level of political integration.

In the *medium term*, the EU should fund integrated capabilities following, for instance, the model of NATO's AWACS (Airborne Warning and Control System). Inevitably, this entails a need for further financial resources, and a solution may be found in diverting funds from the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) to the ESDP. Certainly, the difficulty of reforming the CAP is an obstacle to this solution. However,

the CAP is an important source of funding because it constitutes almost the half of the EU's budget.

In the *short term*, the pooling of spending can be promoted through the establishment of 'tailored incentives' in order to enhance the quantity, the quality, and the collaborative nature of defense spending. On the one hand, these incentives should reform procurement policies and promote co-operative projects. In particular, he suggests "accounting 'bonuses'" for projects "establishing a *common* (as distinct from a *single*) procurement system and a homogeneous defense economic 'space'." Increasing co-operation in defense matters should be supported by the creation of a 'European Capabilities Controlling Agency' with more power to monitor the mechanism than the European Capabilities Action Plan. The role of this agency would be to check the effectiveness of co-operative projects. Antonio Missiroli also suggested introducing the approach used in the field of development aid, which calls on member states to attain the EU average spending in ESDP-related capacities.

The aim of these incentives should be closing the capabilities gap and the creation of a common procurement system and defense market. In particular, these goals have to be connected with the development of a common policy for the defense industry that defines (a) what technological and industrial capacities are required, (b) a long-term action plan, and (c) its progressive implementation.

The last contribution to the workshop, from Gianluca Maspoli, is an attempt to assess what impact the Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA) could have on the European security architecture. The starting point of this intervention is the observation that the RMA is among the major forces behind the transformation of the US Department of Defense and armed forces, but it is not at the core of defense debates in Europe. The transformation undertaken in the US is not only about operational doctrine and the modernization of armed forces, but it is the expression of a new strategy for the 21st century that focuses on technological superiority as a key strategic factor for maintaining US dominance. Hence, the RMA is feeding a gap between the US and European countries. In all likelihood, it will also have an important impact on the future development of both the NATO and ESDP. In fact, the RMA may enhance not only the quantitative gap at the level of defense spending, but also the qualitative gap, as it entails a strategic divergence on

the use of military force. In addition, Gianluca Maspoli argued that the capabilities gap encompasses other factors, for instance the differences in terms of the distribution of defense spending, institutions for military R&D, operational doctrine, and the defense market. The RMA also favors the US' strategic culture, which is more focused on power projection and military technology, and it re-enforces the divergence with Europeans countries, which are more concerned with territorial defense and multilateralism.

On the whole, the RMA supports US superiority in the military field and raises the problem of inter-operability with allies. Concerning NATO, the RMA makes the issue of military capabilities more relevant and it calls for an improvement of NATO's capacity to act globally. The Defense Capabilities Initiative (DCI) launched in 1999, the establishment of a new DCI, and the establishment of a new rapid reaction force are basically US propositions that can best be understood through the relevance of the RMA in the US. Ultimately, the RMA calls for a more *flexible* NATO that is able to project political values, to enlarge, and to be more prepared in military terms. With regard to the ESDP, on the one hand, the RMA perpetuates US leadership and the 'burden-sharing' problem. On the other hand, because of the different approach to the RMA in Europe, it feeds an internal gap within the ESDP that can undermine its effectiveness and cohesiveness in the long run.

Ultimately, the RMA increases the political pressure on the transatlantic relationship and makes the achievement of a credible ESDP more urgent than ever. In particular, the paper emphasizes the need to develop a common *European strategic culture* in order to ensure the coherence and the continuity of the ESDP. Evidently, the RMA cannot determinate the future, but it is an important element that should be thrown in the balance, together with political willingness and other factors, in order to have a broader picture of the current situation and its possible future development.

On the whole, the workshop showed that both the development of the ESDP and the transformation of NATO are not set in a predetermined pattern leading to a specific configuration of the European security architecture. Many questions are still open and important decisions must be made in the following months. Among the various issues, the speakers' contributions highlighted from different points of view (institutional, political, financial, and military) the need to enhance

the coherence of the ESDP through institutional rationalization and its connection with a broader foreign policy and strategy. New financial resources and the achievement of effective institutions and military capabilities will be decisive for setting up a credible ESDP and the stability of the transatlantic relationship. During the discussion, the relevance of the relationships with Russia and, in particular, with Turkey, were also emphasized; the latter being especially important because of Turkey's capacity to veto access to NATO assets and its pending request for accession to the EU. The relevance of developing a common strategic culture as a precondition for an ESDP was also stressed.

In conclusion, as regards the questions listed at the beginning, the workshop showed that the relevance of NATO and US leadership is not threatened by the development of the ESDP. The final outcome of NATO transformation is not definitely established, but the importance of the ESDP for achieving a more balanced burden-responsibility sharing in the future was emphasized. Therefore, the institutional strategies behind NATO and the ESDP do not inevitably lead to greater divergence between Europe and the US. However, the preservation of a stable transatlantic relationship depends on the realization of a credible ESDP, which means clear common goals as well as adequate funding and military capabilities.

Shahram Chubin

Asymmetric War in South-West Asia[38]

Introduction

This panel covered a number of related questions: asymmetric warfare and terrorism in south-west Asia; trends in terrorism; the experiences of the campaign in Afghanistan and applicability, if any, of its 'lessons' to other contingencies (notably Iraq); and Western policy in the light of the new vulnerabilities of Western societies together with new military capabilities available to terrorists.

Many of the questions relating to terrorism and the implications of the devastating attacks of 11 September 2001 revolve around the issue of whether terrorism today is assuming strategic importance requiring appropriate military and diplomatic responses, and no longer just an irritant and therefore largely (as it has been traditionally) a law enforcement issue. If terrorists have political/instrumental goals, they normally abstain from inflicting large-scale civilian casualties, as they see them as either counterproductive to their political goals or as a diversion from them. In contrast, if terrorists are motivated by expressive/symbolic goals, violence for its own sake becomes the very kernel of their program. Another set of issues revolves around whether al-Qaida represents a trend in terrorism. It is clear that an organization that is at once networked, decentralized and strategically directed; that is simultaneously directed from above and responsive to initiatives from below; and that is dispersed and raises funds, recruits, and operates globally, is a difficult to locate, penetrate, or otherwise disrupt. Such organizations

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38 *Workshop Program:* Chairperson: Shahram Chubin, Director of Research, Geneva Centre for Security Policy (GCSP), Geneva; Speakers: Jerrold Green, Director of International Programs and Development and Director, Center for Middle East Public Policy, RAND, Santa Monica; Therese Delpech, Director of Prospective Planning, CEA, Paris.

are usually not easy to deal with militarily. However such organizations are not the norm. Most terrorist groups have national and local agendas; this implies constraints on their use of violence.

Asymmetric wars are neither new nor especially worrisome. Where resources are not exactly matched, one side usually resorts to compensatory measures to restore some balance. As the US' military edge over the capabilities of its adversaries has grown, the latter have sought means of making up the difference; in the case of so-called rogue states, this has resulted in the acquisition of weapons of mass destruction; in other cases, it has resulted in suicide bombings or terrorist attacks on civilians, as soft targets. An important question for the panel and for further reflection is whether the military lessons of the special case of Afghanistan (where a terrorist group colluded with a state and hence provided a convenient locatable address) are applicable elsewhere. In Iraq, for example, there are more targets and the main aim is the overthrow of the regime, not the disruption of terrorists. Elsewhere, as in Yemen and Sudan, the state's control may be less than complete. In the case of Hizbollah in Lebanon, the aim would be to convince its sponsors (Iran and Syria) to end their support. In each case, the military instrument would be of varying usefulness. Calibrating diplomacy and the use of force, intelligence, and cooperation to prevent actions and unilateral measures of retaliation will be a task for the future. Overreaction may then be as dangerous as under-reaction, if the war on terrorism and its supporters is not to create a wider schism between the West and Muslims further afield.

The ISF panel comprised two presentations, *The repercussions of an attack on Iraq in the Middle East* by Jerrold Green and *The UN, inspections, and war against Iraq*, by Therese Delpech.

Summary

The subjects discussed in the ISF panel included terrorism, asymmetric war, and the lessons of Afghanistan (if any) for possible application in Iraq. It is clear that terrorism, like counter-terrorism, is evolving and adapting, organizationally as well as in its sources, recruitment, and objectives. 'Lessons learned' are thus a two-way street in a struggle that

promises to be long-lived. Having said that, it is important not to over-emphasize the military aspect of 'war'. Winning the war militarily may be the easiest part. In winning the peace, a definition of victory (i.e. in Afghanistan) may indeed be what is lacking. This may be a problem in Iraq as well, even recognizing that the two cases are dissimilar (Afghanistan in need of a state, weakened by warlords, and lacking resources; Iraq with a strong state and resources that need reconfiguration rather than creation from scratch). Similarly the political side of terrorism needs attention. There are many forms of terrorism; most are local in origin and ambition, some have understandable political motives, and cooperation amongst them does not necessarily constitute a 'terrorist international'. Distinctions matter. So do political agendas, which can be met and are, at least in theory, negotiable. While deterrence of terrorist groups is doubtful, there is less argument about the applicability of deterrence against states, even 'rogue' or 'axis of evil' states. Global terrorism is thus a catch-phrase that does not cover the existing varieties of terrorism, and no one strategy will deal with all of its manifestations. Similarly, 'axis of evil' states, however repugnant, are simply not comparable to terrorist organizations, and they differ considerably among themselves.

There was debate on whether the war in Afghanistan had been prosecuted effectively on the military side. Clearly, military success is meaningless in the absence of a political definition of victory, which should be part of a grand strategy, which in turn remains shrouded in mist. The 'hearts and minds' dimension of the campaign applies equally to a war against Iraq. Here, however, the issues are different. Iraq provides more targets in a war. However, a protracted war could see considerable instability in the region and agitation in the Islamic world, as well as a humanitarian disaster. The imbalance of forces may encourage Iraq to use terrorism or WMD against regional or US homeland targets. A victory would also imply a lengthy engagement 'the day after' and social engineering that the US is ill suited for.

Discussion of Iraq elicited little agreement. Much was made of the possible regional repercussions of a military attack. Those who emphasized the regional dimension rarely noted the WMD threat to the region and preferred a policy of containment and deterrence to regime change. However, these same participants were rarely sensitive to the difficulties of sustaining such a posture over time. Or, faced with a determined

proliferators, to the basic unreliability of inspections, however intrusive. Those more sympathetic to 'regime change' in turn tended to understate the risks of regional turmoil, anger, and instability.

Whereas states can be defeated militarily, they will stay defeated only if there is a peace they can live with. Terrorism, however, cannot be defeated militarily, and it is pointless to define goals in this way. More realistic is the aim to contain, reduce, and marginalize the use of violence in politics (including by illegitimate and authoritarian states). Whether terrorism is now a strategic threat remains an open question. This depends in part on state legitimacy and capacity, neither of which is lacking in the West. What we do know is that today society is vulnerable to the acts of determined groups, who can exact a high price in terms of casualties and damage in pursuit of their goals. Differentiating among terrorists, avoiding militarized responses and over-reaction as well as making distinctions between states and groups are among the most obvious policy suggestions that follow from these discussions.

We expect to take the issue of the 'war on terrorism' to its next phase by discussing the case of Iraq and, depending on its development, the successes, failures, and implications of how it has been handled. This will be tackled in the 4th GCSP-RAND workshop in the spring of 2003 in Geneva. The participants will include Europeans, Americans, and people from the region.

Thierry Tardy

Peace Operations and UN-related Issues in Light of the Events of 11 September [39]

The workshop addressed two different sets of issues: first, the impact of 11 September 2001 on UN peace operations (Thierry Tardy); second, its impact on values defined in the UN Charter (Neil MacFarlane).

UN peace operations after 11 September

Insofar as they constitute a defining moment of international life, the events of 11 September may have some impact on UN-led peace operations, at a time when the whole field of peace operations is being reconsidered.

Prior to 11 September, the role of the UN in peace operations could be defined by the four following points:

– the UN was still suffering from disrepute, and was marginalized in Western states as well as by regional institutions in Europe;

– the UN was trying to focus its activities on conflict prevention on one hand, and on peace-building on the other, at the expense of peacekeeping activities. The UN was therefore increasingly involved in consent-based activities;

– in spite of this marginalization, the UN had about 47'000 military personnel and civilian police deployed in 15 operations in August

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39 *Workshop Program*: Chairperson: Thierry Tardy, Faculty Member, Geneva Centre for Security Policy (GCSP), Geneva; Speakers: Neil MacFarlane, Course Director, New Issues in Security Policy Course (NISC), Geneva Centre for Security Policy (GCSP), Geneva; Thierry Tardy, Faculty Member, Geneva Centre for Security Policy (GCSP), Geneva.

2001, which showed that the UN role in peacekeeping is far from insignificant;

– the UN was going through a process of reform after the release of the Brahimi report in August 2000.

The immediate response to 11 September

The different actions taken by the 'international community' immediately after the attacks of 11 September confirm the state of relative marginalization of the UN, be it at the legal, the political, or the operational levels.

Three issues that reveal alternatively an important role for the UN and its limits need to be considered.

First, the UN Security Council and the General Assembly displayed an uncontested unity following the attacks. The adoption of resolution 1368 instantly involved the Security Council in its legal capacity. The text unsurprisingly recognizes the "inherent right of individual or collective self-defense" of the US, and may therefore be considered as the legal ground for Operation 'Enduring Freedom', unless the right itself is the legal basis, without a specific need for a resolution.

The second important development for the UN Security Council was the adoption of a series of measures to fight terrorism by suppressing its financing, and consequently the creation of the counter-terrorism committee. Resolution 1373 is undoubtedly the most important text in terms of giving the UN a role in the international response to the 11 September attacks.

The third issue is the way the US referred to the UN in the weeks following 11 September. Not surprisingly, considering the nature of the situation and the 'color' of the administration, US officials did not care much about the UN in the immediate response to the attacks. References to the UN are almost completely absent in the US discourse, especially as far as the military response was concerned. The US made very clear that it did not need any authorization from the UN to intervene in Afghanistan. The only repeated reference was to resolution 1373, i.e., the financial dimension of the fight.

These three elements lead us to conclude that apart from the creation of the counter-terrorism committee, the UN was absent in the immediate management of the crisis.

The UN in Afghanistan

There is no doubt that the UN became more and more involved soon after the immediate response to the attacks. One can even argue that the UN role was as important as it could have been, given the constraints of the situation. The UN has been rapidly involved at two different levels: through its humanitarian agencies, to assure the relief of the Afghan population, and at the political/diplomatic level, with the action of Lakhdar Brahimi, and with the 'UN Talks on Afghanistan'. With these different levels of engagement (including the action of the counter-terrorism committee), the UN was the only international organization actively involved in the management of the crisis. No other institution could claim to have played a role in this matter.

In this context however, the UN (in this case, the UN Secretariat) has consistently ruled out the most two ambitious options that were discussed at various times in October and November: a UN involvement in a 'transitional administration', that could be established following the restoration of a 'negative' peace in Afghanistan, and a UN-led peace-keeping force to help implement a peace agreement.

As far as the UN-led operation is concerned, the reluctance expressed by the UN was very consistent with the 'sub-contracting model' that has been followed since the mid-1990s. As for the 'transitional administration', the Brahimi Report was rather dismissive of such activities. The idea was, however, put forward by the US, but the UN Secretariat did not display any enthusiasm for involvement in what was perceived as favorable ground for mission creep.

To sum up, in dealing with the Afghan crisis, there is nothing that the UN did or did not do *because* of 11 September, and one can consequently argue that the events of 11 September have had no important consequences on the way the UN has defined its own role. The UN's actions or lack of action were, rather, a confirmation of the situation prior to 11 September.

There are four key aspects in today's UN peace operations: political will; the efficacy of the UN (Secretariat/DPKO); financial resources; and US policy.

The link between 11 September and each of these four levels is difficult to establish in the long run, but in each case, one is more likely to observe negative effects than positive ones. As far as the US is concerned, it is clear that the combination of the traditional reluctance towards peace operations, the Republican administration currently in power, and the political and military priorities implied by 11 September are not likely to lead to a renewed effort to support UN peacekeeping. One element might also be that forces deployed within peace operations can become targets for terrorist acts, which is another reason to be cautious when considering such deployments.

And insofar as peace operations have a high financial and political cost, the necessity to reform them may become less relevant, i.e. the implementation of the Brahimi Report may become less relevant. There is no reason to think that the political will of the states of the West to be involved in UN peace operations will be strengthened, as there is no obvious positive link between 11 September and the stances taken by some states towards the UN role in peace operations. What was not a priority before 11 September is unlikely to become a priority when armed forces are to be used in other missions.

This priority shift should not matter as much at the level of the UN Secretariat as it does to states. The implementation of the Brahimi Report falls to the Vice Secretary-General, and is a separate issue from the campaign against terrorism. The different reports on UN reform issued after 11 September do not address the consequences of 11 September on peace operations.

More generally, it appears that there is no direct link between the essence of peace operations and the issues raised by 11 September. Peace operations are not, by nature, aimed at fighting the 'root causes' of terrorism (which could have justified an increased role for these operations). The UN might have a role in this fight, but not peace operations as such. Within peace operations, terrorism is a factor that will have to be taken into account, without however fundamentally changing the very nature of the operations. Having said that, the fight against

the 'root causes' of terrorism may well imply a greater effort in the field of peace-building and prevention, and above all development, that is to say long-term policies. Peace-building and conflict prevention are part of peace operations, and may be said to have a direct link with the issue of terrorism in the sense that they both may concern 'failed states', which are considered to be breeding grounds for terrorism. Such a link between long-term policies (in the field of peace-building) and the 'root causes' of terrorism does not seem, however, to be made at the level of the UN, nor at the state level.

Beyond these observations, the whole issue of the role of the UN in a globalized and multicentric world will have to be addressed. Insofar as the current crisis will lead to a reappraisal of key concepts governing international relations (which has yet to be confirmed), and of the role of its different actors, one could argue that there should be no alternative to a reinforced UN, as a key legal and political actor. The events of 11 September do not make the UN less relevant.

UN Charter Values After 11 September

Besides the operational side of UN action, the normative aspects of the role of the UN was studied, in particular, the impact of the 11 September attacks on the UN's promotion of the values defined by its Charter.

Multilateralism as an approach to peace and stability

In Europe and much of the rest of the world, the standard image one receives in the post 11 September context is of an increasingly hegemonic military superpower that shows little interest in the broad agenda of UN values or in multilateral approaches to the problems that it faces, is increasingly self-regarding, is wedded to the unilateral use of force, is stretching the boundaries of legitimate self-defense, and that has re-embraced intervention as an instrument of policy, even where this is not mandated by the Security Council. Yet it would be inaccurate to suggest that the US has given up on multilateralism. In the first place,

the Security Council played a role in the legitimization of the US military response to the terrorist attacks. Sixteen days later, the Security Council laid the groundwork for a substantial enhancement of international co-operation in the response to terrorism, notably in targeting the financial assets of terrorist groups and sympathizers. It should also be noted that, although the rhetoric of the military campaign has had a distinctly unilateral flavor, its implementation in Afghanistan involved close operational co-operation with a number of US allies. Moreover, the US has made clear its preference for multilateral approaches to post-conflict peace-building and reconstruction in Afghanistan, not least because it apparently does not wish its forces to be distracted from purely military matters. In short, we are a long way from US abandonment of multilateralism for the simple reason that US policy-makers appear to believe that multilateral co-operation serves their interests in the campaign in certain respects.

The use of force, sovereignty, and non-intervention

Matters become more complex when one moves towards substantive values regarding the use of force and the principle of non-intervention. The immediate response to the attack was not particularly problematic in this regard. The US was a victim of aggression, and acted in self-defense in a situation recognized by the Council to be a threat to international peace and security. However, it is difficult to see how this coverage could be extended to states that had not attacked the US and could not be proven to be harboring terrorists. The 'axis of evil' concept and the US intention to attack Iraq, consequently, fall outside the parameters.

It is, of course, true that Iraq is not complying with other resolutions passed by the Security Council, and this could plausibly serve as justification for military action against Iraq. But in Resolution 687, the Security Council reserved for itself the right of decision on this matter. This does not leave much space for unilateral state action to implement the resolution. Whatever the merits of the US position on this 'pillar' of the 'axis of evil', action in the absence of a mandating resolution would weaken the norm proscribing the unilateral use of force by states.

Besides, it has been suggested that the possession of weapons of mass destruction by Iraq *ipso facto* constitutes a threat to the US, either because it might use them itself, or because it might leak them to terrorists. Therefore, it is argued that the pre-emptive use of force to remove them could be considered self-defense. This begs the questions 'why now', and one must wonder why this has not been and still is not considered to be the case in the numerous other states, often hostile to the US, where preemptive force was not deemed necessary. Moreover, it would be difficult to square pre-emption with Article 51 of the Charter, which specifies that states have a right to self-defense "if an armed attack has occurred." Accepting a right to pre-emptive self-defense would tear a large hole in the normative fabric of the UN as it concerns the non-use of force, given the potential precedent-setting quality of the argument.

The justificatory argument for the use of force against Iraq is further complicated by the embrace of 'regime change' as a US policy goal. It is not immediately obvious how this objective could be squared with the proscription on intervention as specified in Article 2.4. Action against Saddam's regime could be launched on the basis of Articles 2.7 and 42, but this would require the Security Council to identify the regime as a threat to international peace and security and authorize military action to remove it. The prospects for a resolution embracing regime change are low. In the event of action without such a resolution, the international system risks returning to a more traditional and anarchic unilateral practice of intervention, derailing much of the progress made in establishing the principle of non-intervention for political reasons in international society.

Human Rights

The third focus is that of the promotion of human rights. For much of its history, the promotion of civil and political rights within the international system has depended strongly on the commitment of major states to the cause. The key issue in relations with authoritarian regimes appears now to be whether they are capable of controlling their jurisdictions in such a way as to limit the prospects that their countries may give comfort to terrorists, and whether their territory and infrastructure

are useful in the wider struggle against terrorism. The republics of Central Asia (and notably Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan) are good cases in point. Elsewhere, Russia had attempted to convince the international community that the war in Chechnya was a counter-terrorist operation. Prior to 11 September 2001, this characterization was resisted by key Western states. Subsequent to the 11 September attacks, the level of criticism against Russia's conduct of the war (which has involved massive violation of the rights of many of its Chechen citizens) has diminished radically, and Russia appears to have been granted *carte blanche* to bring the operation to term.

11 September also has had an impact on governments' perspectives on civil and political rights within their own borders. It was followed by significant changes in security legislation in numerous states. In general, these involve expanding the right of the state to freeze and/or seize assets and to hold individuals without charging them of a crime. They also reduce individuals' right to privacy. The legal changes have varying impacts on different categories of people. Generally, they apply more substantially to non-citizens than to citizens. This leads to brief consideration of the impact of September 11 and state responses to the attacks on refugees and asylum-seekers. The international refugee regime was already in trouble prior to the attacks on the US. The events of 11 September strengthened the security rationale for restraint on movement. This has resulted in substantial constraint on asylum rights in a number of developed countries, among them the US, the United Kingdom, and Canada.

Redistributive Justice and Development

The final issue for consideration is the effect of 11 September on the redistributive values promoted by the United Nations. The early focus of US commentary on 11 September was on retributive justice – effective punishment of the perpetrators of crime. Those who suggested that the acts of 11 September might in some sense be a result of an unjust distribution of resources in the international system, and of the consequent hopelessness, despair, and resentment felt by large numbers of people, particularly in the developing world, were pilloried for justifying terrorism.

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Over time, this discussion has become more reasoned, and it is now acceptable to suggest that – in the longer term – one necessary element of coping with the problem of terrorism is coping with the problem of inequity both between and within societies through serious efforts at development. In the US, recent government initiatives to expand development assistance suggest a renewed recognition that stability and peace are linked to development. This link is made far more directly in the statements and policy papers of US allies in the fight against terrorism. On an optimistic note, it could be said that amongst the major states, there is a growing realization that development and redistributive justice are not merely ethical propositions, but security interests in an increasingly transnational world where it is difficult for the wealthy to insulate themselves from the consequences of widespread poverty.

Part III
Security Sector Reforms

Michel Hess

Security Sector Reforms: Introduction

The reform of the security sector presents a considerable organizational and political challenge, involving actors at all levels and various instruments. The fourth and fifth workshop tracks were the fruition of two years' work by the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of the Armed Forces (DCAF) in its systematic quest to collect, analyse, validate, and disseminate information and best practices on the democratic and parliamentary control of armed forces.

The ten workshops and plenary sessions examined security sector reforms from various geographic and functional perspectives, including societal and institutional aspects, case studies, lessons learned, and governance issues. The program also included the presentation of the way ahead and future trends and challenges in security sector reform. One conclusion is that successful security sector reform and viable civil-military relations are key ingredients for setting the foundation for international stability.

Tracks IV and V included the following workshops and DCAF plenary sessions:

Workshop IV.1/V.1: Plenary Meeting: Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF)[1]

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1 *Workshop Program:* Chairperson: Ambassador Theodor Winkler, Director, Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, Geneva; Speakers: Andrzej Karkoszka, Head of Think Tank, Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), Geneva; Wilhelm Germann, Senior Fellow, Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), Geneva; Ambassador Theodor Winkler, Director, Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), Geneva.

Workshop IV.2:	Institutional Reform of the Security Sector: Lessons Learned[2]
Workshop V.2:	Societal Aspects of Security Sector Reform[3]
Workshop IV.3:	Institutional Reform of the Security Sector: Lessons Learned[4]
Workshop V.3:	Civil Society, Civilians, and the Security Sector: Case Studies[5]

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2 *Workshop Program:* Chairperson: Alain Faupin, Deputy Head of Think Tank, Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), Geneva, Speakers: Andrzej Karkoszka, Head of Think Tank, Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), Geneva; Gérard Stoudmann, Director, Geneva Centre for Security Policy (GCSP), Geneva; Hans Born, Fellow, Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), Geneva.

3 *Workshop Program:* Chairperson: Tim Edmunds, Research Fellow, King's College, University of London, London; Speakers: Christopher Dandeker, King's College, University of London; Marina Caparini, Fellow, Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), Geneva; Zoltan Martinusz, Member, Institute of Central and Eastern European Strategic Studies, Budapest.

4 *Workshop Program:* Chairperson: Dylan Hendrickson, Senior Research Fellow, International Policy Institute, King's College, London; Speakers: Marina Caparini, Fellow, Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), Geneva; David Greenwood, Research Director, Center for European Security Studies (CESS), Groningen; Sander Huisman, Senior Program Manager, Center for European Security Studies (CESS), Groningen; Ian Leigh, Professor of Law, Human Rights Center, University of Durham, Durham; Michael Brzoska, Director of Research, Bonn International Center for Conversion.

5 *Workshop Program:* Chairperson: Marie Vlachova, Fellow, Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF); Speakers: Karl Haltiner, Senior Lecturer for Military Sociology, Swiss Military College, ETH Zurich (Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Zurich) Zurich; Ambassador Yury Nazarkin, Senior Fellow, Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), Geneva; Biljana Vankovska, Senior Fellow, Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), Geneva.

Workshop IV.4:   Future Challenges for Security Sector Reform[6]

Workshop V.4:   Security Sector Reform as a Condition of
                    Economic Assistance and Good Governance[7]

Workshop IV.5/V.5: Final Plenary Meeting: Geneva Centre for the
                    Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF)[8]

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6 *Workshop Program:* Chairperson: Istvan Gyarmati, EastWest Institute, New
   York; Speakers: Francois Heisbourg, Chairman of the Board, Geneva Cen-
   tre for Security Studies (GCSP), Geneva; Jack Petri, Chief of Staff, Geneva
   Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), Geneva; Wal-
   ter Slocombe, Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Washington,
   D.C.; Louise Shelley, Director, Transnational Crime and Corruption Center,
   American University, Washington, D.C..
7 *Workshop Program:* Chairperson: Khalil Fall, formerly of the Senegalese
   armed forces, Dakar; Speakers: Dylan Hendrickson, Senior Research Fellow,
   International Policy Insitute, Kings College, University of London, London;
   Roderick Evans, Member, Defense Advisory Team, British Ministry of De-
   fence, London; Anicia Lala, Mozambique Ministry of Defense and Higher
   Institute of International Relations, Lourenco Marques.
8 *Workshop Program:* Chairperson: Ambassador Theodor Winkler, Direc-
   tor, Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF),
   Geneva; Speakers: Hans Born, Fellow, Geneva Centre for the Democratic
   Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), Geneva; Marie Vlachova, Senior Fellow,
   Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), Ge-
   neva; Marina Caparini, Fellow, Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control
   of Armed Forces (DCAF), Geneva; Nicole Ball, Senior Visiting Fellow, Cen-
   ter for International Development and Conflict Management, University of
   Maryland, College Park.

Andrzej Karkoszka

Security Sector Reform – the Concept, Its Political Usefulness and Growing Importance

Introduction

In the post-Cold War decade of democratization of East European states, the inclusion of their security and defence institutions into democratic systems of government was a major political objective and an indispensable element of building peace and stability on the continent. This objective required their transformation from dominant instruments of political power into institutions of public service characterized by full accountability. This objective in the area of states' military and non-military security institutions required complex and often politically difficult processes. This included the establishment of an appropriate legal system, the introduction of internal regulations, changes to educational systems, and the reduction and restructuring of the armed forces and their administrations.

In sum, the reform resulted in a functional transformation of various military and security institutions within the state, within societies, and between the two. Without these changes, the communist and Soviet-system legacies could not have been discarded, the modernization of old political systems could not have been implemented, and finally, the integration of the East European states with those of Western Europe and NATO would not have been possible. The main concept epitomizing these efforts and generally recognized as a norm to be implemented was the democratic control of armed forces (dcaf). It became a basic measure of states' maturity within the area of security and defense. However, although generally recognized as a political concept, the democratic control of armed forces was never formally defined or applied in any uniform way by the various countries.

The experience of the East European states in the process of democratization of their armed and security structures, as well as the Balkan conflicts and their aftermath –, have made it clear that DCAF is not

enough. To achieve the goals of stability, democratization, and better living standards, all elements of a state's security apparatus and its relations with society must be reformed to promote democratization and good governance. In addition to the reduction, professionalization, and reintegration of the armed forces under civilian oversight, similar processes had to take place within police and paramilitary formations, secret security services, and border guard units. On the other hand, this supervision could not be left to civil administrations, not even to the parliaments, as weak as they were. The entire social and political fabric of the involvement of a society in the security policies of states had to be re-modeled for this task.

This new approach is increasingly visible in the thinking of the OSCE, the European Union, and NATO, with an emphasis on the overlapping functions of nation-building, promoting national and regional stability, enhancement of a democratic style of government, and assistance in the integration processes throughout the continent. The notion of security sector reform (SSR) appears increasingly often in the working documents and discussions of these organizations.

Within the European Union, efforts are undertaken to strengthen parliamentary oversight in the transition states of Eastern Europe, as well as reforming their border guard systems and police forces. The NATO PfP – at the initiative of Switzerland – has taken up the idea of SSR as a new and promising area of cooperation among the partners. The OSCE has been particularly helpful in these developments by adopting its 1994 Code of Conduct of states in the security domain, in which democratic norms governing the relationships between the armed forces and other institutions of state power on the one hand, and the civilian authorities and society on the other, were accepted by all member states. Though not always without some hesitation, as it enters the domestic realities of sovereign states, the notion of SSR is gradually becoming more prominent within the international community. From academic rhetoric or a vague idea, it has developed into a concrete political concept, serving as a point of reference in Europe and beyond.

9   As embodied in the spectrum of activities linked to the Dayton agreement and the Stability Pact.

The notion of SSR has acquired special relevance in the context of development assistance, in which several donor countries, the United Nations and its family of organizations, and international financial institutions are engaged. Thanks particularly to the effort of UNCTAD, the World Bank and, to name only one of the more active donors, the British Department for International Development (DfID), SSR has become one of the leading concepts in the debate about increasing efficiency of financial assistance to developing nations. The document adopted by the March 2002 Monterrey conference on financing for development[10] makes good governance one of the core elements of SSR, a precondition for successful development. In the words of UN SG Kofi Annan, financing for development must be a 'reward of sound governance'. The Johannesburg World Summit on sustainable development called for 'freedoms' and wide social participation in the political life of a state – a principal element of SSR – as one of several ways to help economic development. The African Union, formerly the OAU, included the promotion of democratic principles and institutions among its goals, a major step forward in view of the organization's previous reluctance to enter into the domestic policies of its members. Within the African context, interaction among academic, social, and political institutions devoted to the promotion of SSR is growing to a degree unknown even in Europe.

SSR: The 'Toolbox' Approach

All of these examples show that SSR, as an academic concept and as a political notion, is developing gradually into a new paradigm. This is evident from the international debate and practical efforts to promote democracy, good governance, human rights, and work to make economic assistance more efficient while strengthening regional and national stability. SSR is seen increasingly as a 'toolbox' that can be applied in a variety of political and geographical contexts. The organizational and managerial aspects of a national security sector's

10   Commonly known as the Monterey Consensus.

institutions, its position within a state and society, and its influence on domestic and external policy are becoming measures of the success of national democratization processes and a condition of effective political, economic, and financial cooperation.

For many years, the international community has looked for ways to increase the efficiency of international aid, thus reducing poverty and destitution in the least-developed states. The sad fact is that during the ten years between the World Summit in Rio de Janeiro and this year's Summit in Johannesburg, the eighty poorest nations have experienced a decline in per capita income. It is not enough to increase the nominal value of international financial aid. New methods of applying it must be tried. One of the possible answers to that conundrum may be SSR, executed in a particular regional context and earmarked for specific national cases.

The wide-ranging international anti-terrorist efforts, which will probably remain with us for many years to come, have a variety of consequences, notably for the national security sectors. The function of armed forces as the main instrument of states in providing external security, separated from other national security institutions, has now become enmeshed with the functions of the police, the secret services, intelligence, and border guards. Civil liberties, democratic oversight, transparency, and accountability – all of which are core values in any democratic liberal system of government and in any democratic security sector of a state – are under threat from the new and more demanding requirements of expediency of the anti-terrorist campaign. The campaign may also serve as a convenient cover to non-democratic governments, restraining SSR or perpetuating autocratic systems of rule. Thus the new types of threats permeating international, national, and local settings may require an increased effort to accept political adjustments in the management of the national security sector.

SSR and the 5th ISF: DCAF Goals and Objectives

The debate in this forum is intended to help develop a better understanding of the concept of the security sector and of the problems in reforming it. Various definitions of the term are in circulation in scholarly debate. The scope of the term is not altogether clear, and neither is the meaning of the notion of 'reform'. Our forum should help to overcome these basic controversies. However, we should not strive primarily for precise academic definitions. We can find an acceptable approximation of views on the various elements that constitute a national security sector. They certainly differ from case to case, depending on a given historical, geographical, cultural, and economic context. A number of such elements – such as the armed forces, police, secret services, and intelligence services on the one hand, and the civilian administration, parliament, civil society, and media on the other, constitute core elements of any national security sector.

A number of questions emerge:

– What are the normative aspects of a possible definition: is it defined in political, legal, or administrative terms? Which basic norms and characteristics are applicable to all elements of a national security sector, and which are very specific, and thus applicable only to one type of service, but not to the other? Can we talk about a unitary notion of the security sector when its elements are so diverse?

– What are the functional aspects of the concept: what kind of security is to be provided by the institutions of the sector? What are the objects of concern for the sector: society/state, professional or political groups, political or individual authority? How does the political context influence the shape and roles of security sector? How do they differ in the post-communist, post-authoritarian, post-conflict, or post-colonial contexts when compared to those of well-developed democracies?

– What constitutes 'reform' of the security sector? Is any partial step that may or may not lead to a comprehensive reform, enough to constitute SSR? Today, we tend to consider the term 'reform' to mean a number of different measures, such as demobilization, downsizing,

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modernizing, restructuring, professionalization, conversion, rationalization, shifting to the civilian sector, etc. Some of these elements may not be associated at all with democratization per se, that is, with the increase of transparency, public accountability, improvement of rule of law, or human rights, all of which seem to be indispensable elements of a true SSR. We can add more such questions. In many cases, a lack of clear answers indicates the relative weaknesses of our understanding of the problems of SSR.

The concept of SSR has not yet been fully grasped, and is not always supported by the members of the state security institutions, particularly those belonging to the non-military organizations. One reason is a relative oversimplification of the problem, leading to an emphasis on a narrower concept of 'democratic control of armed forces (dcaf)'. Judging from the experience of several Eastern European states, where 'dcaf'has already been introduced, universal SSR is usually not welcomed by the entire spectrum of security sector elements. The reasons for such an attitude seem quite obvious: the 'reforms' often bring redesigning of familiar procedures and management techniques; they lead to redistribution of institutional influence and power; and their complexity often overwhelms the bureaucracies of states undergoing democratic transformation. The benefits of SSR are still not widely understood, nor is the reason why the international community increasingly makes economic assistance dependent on SSR.

It is our task to translate academic analysis into practical proof that SSR leads to efficiency of government, to regional and domestic stability, to better use of resources, and to an increase of individual and common security. We must also communicate these arguments to wide segments of societies that are preoccupied with other, more basic concerns, and are thus often uninterested in general matters of government.

As there is no single model of a 'democratic security sector' or one single method of reforming it, the task requires an interdisciplinary approach devoted to a multitude of different case studies, allowing us to analyze and synthesize prevailing common features. This approach guided us in designing the debates on SSR in the 5th ISF. That is

why the work in each of our four tracks has been founded on several case studies, and on presentations aimed at general findings. The main areas of concern are reflected in the themes of the DCAF workshops:

– Institutional Reform of the Security Sector: Lessons Learned

– Societal Aspects of Security Sector Reform

– Security Sector Reform as a Precondition of Economic Assistance and Good Governance

– Future Challenges for Security Sector Reform

Overview of Findings

The proceedings of DCAF's sessions on SSR during the 5th ISF may be taken as a culmination of the Center's work on this issue since its inception in 2000. Each of the panels devoted to this complex subject has been linked to the programs of DCAF's various Working Groups and Outreach projects, especially those on border regimes and transparency. Additionally, the results from several long-term co-operative projects undertaken by DCAF with such institutions as the International Institute of Strategic Studies (London), the Center for East European Security Studies (Groningen), and the Bonn International Center for Conversion were presented. As a follow-up to all these efforts in research and practical application of security sector reform, the debates were also a step towards future activities of DCAF and its sister institutions.

The debates on SSR covered four distinct areas, namely institutional reform of the security sector; societal aspects of SSR; future challenges of SSR; and, finally, the issue of SSR as a precondition for economic assistance and good governance. We heard seven separate panels with 24 outstanding speakers. Significantly, the ISF gathering on SSR was the first session on this scale that was devoted specifically to the subject. While the depth of our discussion may be assessed as a matter of subjective opinion, the fact is that the meeting not only permitted us to

discuss and learn, but also to network with many scholars and practitioners in the field.

Policy Recommendations

–   The concept of SSR is relatively new in international relations theory and practice. It needs better promotion as an innovative and useful tool of democratization and socio-economic development in all geographical and political contexts. In order to disseminate its virtues, its contents and its contextual factors need to be better understood. Due to the complexity and constant dynamic development of the concept, we need more data and case studies to make a comparative analysis. Interdisciplinary efforts are the only way to analyze the interrelations among the various institutions of a national security sector, as well as between the latter and civil society. Establishing democratic oversight over these varied institutions necessitates specific legal, organizational, educational, and political measures. On the other hand, if the notion of SSR is to have meaning as a toolbox that can be useful in different contingencies, one must adopt a holistic approach.

–   It has been repeatedly pointed out in the debates that specific geopolitical, economic, cultural, and historic contexts of SSR are decisive for the way it may be programmed and executed. However, to grasp the contexts requires time and effort. It is particularly important in this regard to see various security sector reforms in their regional political contexts. This points toward the potential role of various regional organizations in the promotion of reform. Although the concept of SSR is universal, has many general features, and is thus applicable cross-regionally, its regional implementation may bring best results, as it may respond to specific regional needs and conditions. Moreover, with SSR being taken up by different regions at the local level, it may avoid the stigma of being a 'Eurocentric' invention.

–   International assistance to developing countries is now openly dependent on the criterion of good governance, defined in various

ways and often including SSR or similar efforts in the context of internal security. This may be a justified approach to better efficiency of assistance programs but, as pointed out in our workshop, the piecemeal and uncoordinated approach of different donor states and organizations undermines the validity and productivity of the aid provided. Often, assistance is aimed at those aspects of recipient's policy or behavior that are linked to the donor's interests or that have limited legitimacy or usefulness in the eyes of the local population, though they may be seen as favorable by the local authorities. The interaction between the outside aid agency and indigenous actors should lead to more purposeful actions, responding to the real, long-term requirements of a country's socio-economic development.

Findings of the DCAF Workshops

Below is a summary of key findings from the DCAF Workshops:

1. The postulates to approach SSR in a holistic way are valid from a theoretical point of view, but as far as SSR planning is concerned, these demands are questionable. Problems stem from the complexity of any such program, which thus presents an unmanageable panoply of measures to be executed in a finite time span. *A program of SSR has to be gradual, time-consuming, and commensurate with the available resources and readiness of the political context.*

2. Any program of SSR must be adapted to a given political, economic, societal, and bureaucratic context; it cannot be based on theory alone, but must be adapted to real needs and possibilities. Often the context initially permits only a modest measure of reform, but, after the reforms are entrenched, the context may change and become more facilitating. The 'point of entry' of SSR may be decisive for its success, as it may lead to a 'local ownership' and wider acceptance of change. This means that outside pressure and assistance in designing SSR is of value, but not decisive for its eventual implementation and for long-lasting effects.

3. SSR cannot be implemented in a political vacuum or without regard for the general political situation in a country. The democratization of the security and defense sectors is dependent on the overall democratization, stabilization, and/or modernization of the whole state and society. Because SSR deals with the most sensitive area of a state's domestic and external policy, it usually lags behind other reforms in a country, but once it is executed, it may have a profound influence on the political stability of the state in question.

4. Judging from the experiences of a number of countries that have pursued such reforms in the last decade, the reforms suffer setbacks or are frequently modified. All this leads to 'reform fatigue' both on part of the authorities and the members of the security sector. Without the support of either of these two sides, however, reforms have little chance of success. *The complexity of SSR, therefore, calls for a long-term approach to planning and implementation.*

5. Good planning is needed in SSR, and not only because of the multi-dimensional character of the measures. Reform is also rather expensive, particularly at the beginning of a process of reform. It is usually believed that SSR will produce quick savings in the defense and security budget. In fact, this expectation is often the main reason for embarking on SSR. When the savings are not obtained promptly, the result may be disillusionment as to the rationale of the whole effort.

6. *There is no single model of a democratic security sector, just as there is no single method of its reform.* As the experience of the well-developed democracies indicates, each has a nation-specific solution for the security sector's structure. However, despite this diversity, a well-established set of general rules exists to which any model should conform. These include:

   – the existence of a sound constitutional basis,

   – respect for internal and international rules of law,

   – adherence to human rights,

   – a strong and effective justice system,

- proper ethnic representation within the security sector bureaucracies,

- parliamentary control of the spectrum of security sector institutions,

- transparency of defense and security budgeting as well as weapons procurement and of general administration of the defense, security and law enforcement institutions,

- public accountability of all authorities involved in the management of the security sector,

- the professional character of defense and security forces,

- clear definition of roles and functions of these forces,

- the existence of a civil society involved in a public debate on defense and security issues,

- freedom of the press.

7. A relatively new aspect of SSR is the parliamentary oversight of the non-military institutions of state responsible for law enforcement and those belonging to secret and intelligence services. It is customary for these organizations enjoy much greater freedom of action and less transparency towards both state authorities and society. However, it is believed that they are also public services and should be placed under democratic oversight – with all proper arrangements to secure their efficient operation – as any other public institution. This is, admittedly, a difficult proposition to implement, even in stable and well-developed democracies.

8. As the history of SSR in the East European states indicates, the existence of formal arrangements for democratic oversight of the security sector does not mean they are always implemented in practice. *In several instances, the establishment of norms of democratic oversight has been easier to create than a change in attitudes of personnel and their state of mind, which would permit a full implementation of agreed rules of behavior.* Part of the problem is a general lack of well-educated and trained cadres, particularly civilian leaders that could implement the newly established regulations.

9. Though SSR as a condition of foreign assistance to developing countries has met with a mixed reception in general, in the case of the East European states, this linkage was quite successful. One of the reasons was to be found in the clear potential benefits these states have seen in applying SSR. Among these benefits was the gradual integration of these states into the various European political, economic, and military institutions and organizations, facilitating their overall modernization and economic progress, with greater internal stability and an improvement of interstate relations throughout the continent. Part of this development is a growing inter-relationship among different elements of national security sectors, leading to a nascent architecture of a 'European security sector', and helping to create truly 'cooperative security' on a regional scale.

10. SSR is particularly difficult in countries emerging from conflict, whether internal or between states. These countries usually have weak state institutions, a fragile inter-ethnic or political situation, with influential armed forces, and precarious economic conditions. *Post-conflict development is dependent on success in the re-integration of former combatants into the civilian economy. External assistance is an essential factor in such a process.*

11. Today, the security sectors of states are, without exception, under constant pressure. The roles and structures of the armed forces are transformed by technology and by changing political circumstances, while their missions are expanding according to the requirements of peacekeeping and conflict prevention. The lines of division between the military and non-military tasks of armed forces, as well as the differences between various security services, have become blurred, and a merging of the internal and external roles of military and security forces can be observed. This complicates their mandate, organization, training, and structures. Accordingly, budgetary allocations are shifting among the organizations responsible for security and public order, which requires still better parliamentary and civilian oversight.

12. One particularly strong factor is the appearance of new challenges to international security such as international terrorism, organized crime, illicit traffic of goods and people, mass enforced migrations,

money laundering, and threats to the computer networks. These challenges also pose new problems in the functioning of national security sectors, and thus to SSR. New or transformed security institutions emerge, new rules of behavior apply, and new norms may have to be established. One of the dangers looming on the horizon is a tendency to weaken democratic oversight over the security sector.

13. *Civil society is indisputably a prerequisite of a successful SSR and of the democratic oversight of states security sectors.* In developed democracies, the authorities are more susceptible to public opinion but, on the other hand, may also manipulate it. In transitory or young democracies, civil society groupings are often distrusted, restricted, or even at odds with the security sector bureaucracies.

14. *SSR in developing countries is often undermined by a lack of administrative capacities to launch and implement reforms.* In such a case, SSR as conceived in the European context cannot be implemented before the state's bureaucratic system develops. One of the impediments for reforms in a security sector may also be the existence of 'traditional patterns of political control'. Any potential success may depend on winning the support of those traditional centers of influence. *Yet another difficult feature in developing countries is to be found in a disregard human rights, and particularly of the right to individual physical security. To promote SSR, it is necessary to include the concept of broader 'human security' into the framework of such reforms.*

Conclusion

Though it seems self-evident to those who work within the SSR area, either in its theoretical aspects or in implementing it in real political life, the concept has not yet convinced many politicians, members of security organizations, or the public at large of its practicality or of the benefits accruing from its implementation. The attitude of professional members of the armed and security services is particularly important. They bear the brunt of various transformations and adaptations, they

have to accept and learn the new regulations, and they are may be placing their own careers and administrative positions in jeopardy. The benefits of SSR are usually calculated on a large societal scale, and are only perceived after some time lag. To prove these benefits, we need to analyze various national security sector reforms and bring their positive results to the attention of a broader public.

The DCAF workshops during the 5th ISF have sought to shed light on the most relevant issues related to SSR in transition countries. The analysis, discussion, and conclusions drawn from the workshops will provide a valuable springboard for the future work of DCAF in particular and, more broadly, for the understanding, development, and implementation of SSR.

Conclusion

Once again, the International Security Forum ISF has given an already well-established 'security community' the chance to come together for the fifth time in ten years to share the most recent insights and opinions, to share information and data on the progress and problems of work done at the home front, and to share a common vision of the future of international and Euro-Atlantic security. What is this common vision? It is a vision of security and stability built on mutual confidence and trust, for which predictability and transparency are key ingredients of success. It is a vision of an inclusive and comprehensive European security designed to lay the foundation for regional prosperity. It is a vision not of a finished architectural product, but of an ongoing and fluid security process with constantly changing parameters.

The 5th ISF was an opportunity to apply theoretical concepts to the practical world of decision- and policy-making. It also afforded the opportunity to test policy precepts and guiding principles in the light of cutting-edge advances in academic research. While the requirements, circumstances, and needs of the academic and the professional security communities sometimes diverge, bringing these two worlds together has once again generated a most beneficial outcome. The 5th ISF made an invaluable contribution to interweaving academic and policy interests and to formulating a common language. Thus, the contribution was timely and timeless: The agenda did not address the imminent intervention against Iraq, nor did it table for discussion the traditional response given to a particularly non-traditional form of terrorism. In much more subtle ways, the 5th ISF suggested alternative options with sophisticated long-term instruments and solutions to confront the origins of global terrorism and terrorist networks. We hope that the present volume has given the reader the chance to sift through some of these instruments and solutions. If these give rise to further controversy and scholarly and policy debates, then the present publication will have achieved its purpose.

Conference Program

Monday, 14 October 2002

from 10:00	Arrival and Registration

14:00–16:00   Plenary Session I: Conference Opening

14:00–14:15   5th ISF Welcome Address:
Professor Kurt R. Spillmann, Conference Chairman

14:15–14:45   5th ISF Welcome Address: Samuel Schmid,
Federal Councillor, Head of the Federal Depart-
ment, Swiss Ministry of Defence

15:15–16:00   5th ISF Keynote Speech: Catherine McArdle
Kelleher, Naval War College: "New Aspects of In-
ternational Security in the Wake of September 11"

16:15–17:00   Side-Bar Presentations 1

International Relations and Security Network
(ISN)

Against NBC Weapons

Geneva Centre for Security Policy (GCSP)

Geneva Centre for Democratic Control of Armed
Forces (DCAF)

Geneva International Centre for Humanitarian
Demining (GICHD)

17:10–17:55   Side-Bar Presentations 2

PfP Consortium of Defense Academies and Secu-
rity Studies Institutes

Small Arms Survey of the GIIS Geneva

Parliamentary Control of the Armed Forces:
A Handbook

Information Management System for Mine Action
(IMSMA)

16:15–17:55	**Extra Side-Bar Presentations VI.1 and VI.2**
	Joint Planning Document (JPD)
	The Fund For Peace, Washington, DC
18:15	**Buffet Dinner hosted by the ETH Zurich (Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Zurich)**

Tuesday, 15 October 2002

08:45–10:15	**Parallel Workshops**
Workshop I.1	Critical Infrastructure Protection (CIP): Issues and Strategies
Workshop II.1	The PfP Consortium ADL Initiative in Europe
Workshop III.1	Rehabilitation of War-Torn Societies: The Case of Kosovo
Workshop IV/V.1	Plenary Meeting: Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF)
Workshop VI.1	Russia's International Security Environment
10:45–12:15	**Parallel Workshops**
Workshop I.2	Managing Information Risks: Technology and Human Security
Workshop II.2	Collaborative Learning in Virtual Groups
Workshop III.2	Islam, Islamic Groupings, and the West
Workshop IV.2	Institutional Reform of the Security Sector: Lessons Learned

| Workshop V.2 | Societal Aspects of Security Sector Reform |
| WorkshopVI.2 | Europe as a Regional Actor |

14:00–15:30   **Parallel Workshops**

Workshop I.3	Web Management in International Security
Workshop II.3	e-Learning in Multinational and Multilingual Environments
Workshop III.3	Women and Peace: the View Point of the Field Worker
Workshop IV.3	Institutional Reform of the Security Sector: Lessons Learned
Workshop V.3	Civil Society, Civilians, and the Security Sector: Case Studies
Workshop VI.3	Institutional Strategies to European Security: ESDP and NATO

16:00–17:00   **Plenary Session II:**
"Security Policy in the Age of Global Media Coverage"

| 16:00–16:10 | 5th ISF 2nd Plenary Welcome: Professor Kurt R. Spillmann, Conference Chairman |
| 16:10–17:00 | 5th ISF 2nd Plenary Address: Jamie Shea, Director of Information and Press, NATO: "Managing Media Relations in International Security" |

17:15–18:00   **Side-Bar Presentations 3**

Comprehensive Risk Analysis and Management Network (CRN)

EastWest Institute

Committee on Security Studies in Bosnia and Herzegovina (CSS)

Young Faces in Security Policy

UN Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR)

20:00   **Dinner hosted by the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs**

Keynote speaker: Jean-Jacques de Dardel, Head, Center for International Security Policy, Swiss Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Wednesday, 16 October 2002

08:30–10:00	**Parallel Workshops**
Workshop I.4	South Caucasus: Geopolitics and IT Prospects
Workshop II.4	New Learning Strategies in International Relations and Security Policy
Workshop III.4	New Security Threats and Challenges within the OSCE Region
Workshop IV.4	Future Challenges for Security Sector Reform
Workshop V.4	Security Sector Reform as a Condition of Economic Assistance and Good Governance
Workshop VI.4	Asymmetric War in South West Asia
10:10–10:55	**Parallel Workshops**
Workshop I.5	Media Coverage of the 'War on Terror'
Workshop II.5	ISN e-Learning: Working with Emerging Standards

Workshop III.5	Small Arms
Workshop IV/V.5	Final Plenary Meeting: Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF)
Workshop VI.5	Peace Operations in Light of the Events of September 11th

11:20–13:30	**Plenary Session III: "Setting the 21st Century Security Agenda"**
	This Plenary Session sums up the results achieved in the workshop tracks and panel discussions. Workshop leaders/rapporteurs present short five-minute summaries of each workshop track. The final speech focuses on the role of the media and institutional actors in managing international security.
11:20–12:40	5th ISF Reports of Workshops and Panels: Rapporteurs
12:40–13:00	5th ISF Keynote Speeches:
	"A New Security Agenda: Concepts and Instruments." Vladimir Petrovsky, Former Deputy Secretary-General, United Nations Office, Geneva and Carl Bildt, Special Envoy of the United Nations Secretary-General for the Balkans, United Nations Office, Geneva
13:00–13:20	5th ISF Final Address: Ambassador Philippe Welti, Directorate for Security Policy (DSP), Swiss Ministry of Defense

About the Authors

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Professor Ghebali has published, in French or English, some 15 books and over 200 articles. His major works include: *Confidence-Building Measures Within the CSCE Process: Paragraph-by-Paragraph Analysis of the Helsinki and the Stockholm Regimes* (New York, United Nations, 1989), *La diplomatie de la détente. La CSCE d'Helsinki à Vienne, 1973–1989* (Brussels, Bruylant, 1989) and *L'OSCE dans l'Europe post-communiste. Vers une identité paneuropéenne de sécurité* (Brussels, Bruylant, 1996). Among his forthcoming publications are a *Commentary of the OSCE Code of Conduct on Politico-Military Aspects of Security* and a new book on the evolution of the OSCE from 1996 to 2002. Professor Ghebali is the editor of two book series: *'Axes'* and *'Organisation internationale et relations internationales'*, both published by Bruylant (Brussels). Since the mid-1970s, some sixty books have been published in both series.

ULRICH GYSEL is Attaché for Information Technology at the Swiss embassy in Washington, D.C. He is also an employee of the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology in Zurich as a project manager. Ulrich Gysel earned a MA in History from the University of Bern and a MS in Computer Science from the University of Wales, Cardiff, and is a certified expert for IT business applications.

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Abbreviations

ACP	African, Caribbean and Pacific Countries
ADL	Advanced Distributed Learning
ADL WG	Advanced Distributed Learning Working Group
APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
ASEAN	Association of the South East Asian Nations
AWACS	Airborne Warning and Control System
CAP	Common Agricultural Program
CARDS	Community Assistance to reconstruction, Development and Stability in the Balkans
CASIN	Centre for Applied Studies in International Negotiations
CEA	Atomic Energy Commission
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CEPS	Centre for European Policy Studies
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
CII	Critical Information Infrastructure
CIP	Critical Infrastructure Protection
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
CIS	Center for International Studies, Zurich
CRN	Comprehensive Risk Analysis and Management Network
DCAF	Geneva Centre for Democratic Control of Armed Forces
DCI	Defence Capabilities Initiative
DDPS	Swiss Federal Department of Defence, Civil Protection and Sports
DDSI	European Commission Dependability Development Support Initiative

DL	Distant Learning
DPKO	The United Nations Departement of Peacekeeping Operations
EAPC	Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council
ERLES	New Learning Strategies in Security Policy
ESDP	European Security and Defence Policy
ESI	European Stability Initiative
ETH	ETH Zurich (Federal Institute of Technology Zurich)
EU	European Union
FIRST	Facts on International Relations and Security Trends
FSC	Forum for Security Cooperation
GCSP	Geneva Centre for Security Policy
GICHD	Geneva International Centre for Humanitarian Demining
GIIS/IUHEI	Graduate Institute of International Studies
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IISS	International Institute for Strategic Studies
IMSMA	Information Management System for Mine Action
IMU	Islamic Movement in Uzbekistan
ISF	International Security Forum
ISN	International Relations and Security Network
ISN LASE	International Relations and Security Network Limited Area Search Engine
ISS	International Security Studies (Yale)
IR	International Relations
IT	Information Technology
IUHEI/GIIS	Graduate Institute of International Studies (Geneva)
JHA	Cooperation in the fields of Justice and Home Affairs

JIAS	Joint Interim Administrative Structure
KCSF	Kosovar Civil Society Foundation
KFOR	Kosovo Force
KIPRED	Kosovar Institute for Policy Research and Development
LMS	Learning Management System
MIT	Massachusetts Institute of Technology
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NBR	National Bureau of Asian Research
OSCE	Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe
PfP	Partnership for Peace
PfP-LMS	PfP Learning Management System
PISG	Provisional Institutions of Self – Government
PONARES	Program on new Approaches to Russian Security
PSIO	Program for the Studies of International Organizations
PSO	Peace Support Operations
RMA	Revolution in Military Affairs
SACLANT	Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic
SCORM	Sharable Courseware Objects Reference Model
SIPRI	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
SME	Subject Matter Expert (Expertise)
SMS	Short Message Service
SRSG	Special Representative on the Secretary General of the United Nations
SSR	Security Sector Reforms
TECFA	Educational Technology Unit
SIPRI	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

UNIDIR	United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research
UNF	United Nations Foundation
UNFIP	United Nations Fund for International Partnership
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UNMIK	United Nations Mission in Kosovo
UNSC	UN Security Council
UNTAET	United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction