BRITISH AMERICAN SECURITY INFORMATION COUNCIL

BASIC SPECIAL REPORT

THE FUTURE OF THE OSCE

By Robert L. Barry

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British American Security Information Council

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The Author

Robert L. Barry, a retired U.S. Ambassador, headed the OSCE Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina from January 1998 to June 2001. He was also involved in OSCE/CSCE affairs as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs, as head of the U.S. delegation to the Stockholm negotiations on Disarmament in Europe, and as coordinator of U.S. assistance to Eastern Europe. He is a board member of BASIC and a senior associate of CSIS.

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By Robert L. Barry

Cover

Top photo: OSCE-sponsored traditional horse polo match in Tajikistan (photo property of the OSCE).
Bottom photo: Several participants from panel discussion that was held in October 2002 (photo property of BASIC). From the left: Ambassador Robert Barry, Secretary General Jan Kubis, Kim Traavik, Ambassador Knut Vollebaek. (Not shown: Ambassadors David Johnson, Adam Kobieracki and Stephan Minikes.)

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Introduction

Over the last decade, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) has been transformed from a normative organization that sets standards designed to promote a comprehensive approach to security to an operational organization with 90 percent of its personnel in field missions in 19 countries, mostly successor states to the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. This transformation has gone unnoticed by many in the United States and the United Kingdom.

It is time to pay more attention. We are pleased to present to you this *BASIC Special Report* on the "Future of the OSCE." The report includes a synopsis of a panel discussion held by the Royal Norwegian Embassy in Washington, D.C., and the British American Security Information Council (BASIC) last fall, and a *BASIC Research Report* by Ambassador Robert Barry, which was written last summer.

The panel discussion included Ambassador Jan Kubis, the Secretary General of the OSCE; Ambassador Knut Vollebaek, the Norwegian Ambassador to the United States; Ambassador Stephan Minikes, U.S. Representative to the OSCE; Ambassador David Johnson, U.S. Coordinator of Assistance to Afghanistan and former U.S. Representative to the OSCE; Kim Traavik, Norwegian Deputy Foreign Minister (State Secretary); and Ambassador Adam Kobieracki, Director of the Security Policy Department, Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and former Chairman of the OSCE Permanent Council. These distinguished participants discussed the achievements of the OSCE as well as the challenges facing the 55-member organization. Ambassador Barry, who headed the OSCE Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina from January 1998 to June 2001, chaired the event.

In the report that follows the panel summary, entitled "The OSCE: A Forgotten Transatlantic Security Organization?" Ambassador Barry argues that the OSCE should be the instrument of choice in preventing conflict and promoting civil society in southeastern Europe, particularly in Bosnia, Kosovo, and Central Asia. The report highlights the organization's considerable contributions to improving security and suggests ways to enhance its effectiveness.

BASIC believes that the OSCE is uniquely suited to deal with some of the key threats facing the United States, the United Kingdom and their allies today — terrorism, organized crime, the illegal arms trade, political repression, refugee flows and denial of human rights. Most of these problems cannot be solved by military pre-emption. Instead, we must pay more attention to advancing our long-term values — democracy, the rule of law, development of market economies, modernization and education. We must do this in a multilateral framework, and the OSCE is the only organization with this capability in many parts of Europe and Eurasia.

In the year ahead, BASIC plans to focus on the OSCE and its potential for dealing with the root causes of terrorism. We hope that you will find this *BASIC Special Report* to be useful in your work and that you will join us in this ongoing dialogue.

Dr. Ian Davis
Director, BASIC

Foreword by Ambassador Jan Kubis, Secretary General of the OSCE

Much of the news about European security during the past year has been about NATO expansion and the European Union's effort to operationalize its security and defense policy. While the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) has not been forgotten, it has faced the challenge of demonstrating its relevance to the changed security environment of the 21st century. The British American Security Information Council has performed an important service by focusing attention on the OSCE at a turning point in its history.

The *BASIC Research Report*, "The OSCE: A Forgotten Transatlantic Security Organization," pointed to the transformation that the organization has gone through in the last decade as field missions were deployed in more than 20 countries of Eurasia. The report pointed to the OSCE's successes and to the need to adapt to new circumstances. It particularly underlined the OSCE's comparative advantage in dealing with the different aspects and root causes of terrorism.

On October 22, 2002, I participated in a discussion about the OSCE, which was organized by BASIC and the Royal Norwegian Embassy. Other participants included past chairs of the OSCE permanent council, past and present U.S. representatives to the OSCE, and Norway's Deputy Foreign Minister. That discussion, which is summarized in this report, pointed to ways in which the OSCE is changing to meet new challenges.

We are exploring ways to do more in the OSCE's "unique space" – some 30 countries that are not now candidates for NATO membership or EU association. The Portuguese and incoming Dutch chairmanships have been talking to the leaders of Central Asia and the Caucasus about ways in which the OSCE can work with them.

We recognize that the pattern of field and other activities developed in the Balkans will have to be adapted to meet the unique requirements of Central Asia and the Caucasus. While not downgrading emphasis on human rights, there needs to be more emphasis on the security and economic dimensions of our work. And we must ensure that the presence of an OSCE field activity is not seen as a black mark that must be removed.

The OSCE has an important role to play in countering terrorism and strengthening the rule of law. We are developing new capabilities in police training, and have begun pilot projects in Central Asia, which should meet local needs and improve participating states' ability to cope with organized crime and terrorism. Combating trafficking in arms, persons and illicit goods while promoting legitimate trade and communications, will be an important focus of OSCE activities in 2003.

The Porto Ministerial meeting in December 2002 provided a new focus for the OSCE. Annual security review conferences will in the future insure that commitments made by OSCE participating states are carried out in practice. New emphasis on reaching agreements to stabilize situations in Moldova and Georgia will also help eradicate terrorism. The theme of balance in the OSCE's activities will be carried forward in 2003. The Secretariat's capacity will be strengthened in order to help the CiO provide better political guidance to field missions and ensure better management of the OSCE's current business.

We will streamline management by devolving decision-making to the field missions and central institutions. We will strengthen cooperation with NATO, the European Union and the United Nations so that there can be better-defined cooperation, taking account of the comparative advantage of each organization.

If the OSCE is to meet these challenges effectively, we will need the understanding and support of governments and opinion leaders in all member states. BASIC's effort to educate elites in the United States and the United Kingdom has already played an important role. I encourage them to continue this effort in 2003, in close cooperation with the OSCE "Troika" of the new CiO for 2003, the Netherlands, the outgoing CiO, Portugal, and the CiO for 2004, Bulgaria, supported by the Secretariat. BASIC would be welcome to send a study mission to Vienna and to one or more field missions.

Ambassador Jan Kubis, Secretary General
December 2002

Summary of Panel Discussion: "The Future of the OSCE"

On October 22, 2002, the British American Security Information Council and the Royal Norwegian Embassy sponsored a discussion on the future of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) at the Cannon House Office Building in Washington, D.C. Participants included:

- Jan Kubis, OSCE Secretary General;
- Kim Traavik, Norwegian Deputy Foreign Minister (State Secretary);
- Stephan Minikes, U.S. Ambassador to the OSCE;
- Knut Vollebaek, Norwegian Ambassador to the U.S. and former OSCE Chairman in office;
- David Johnson, U.S. Coordinator of Assistance to Afghanistan and former U.S. Representative to the OSCE; and
- Adam Kobieracki, Director of the Security Policy Department, Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and former Chairman of the OSCE Permanent Council.

The discussion moderator was Robert Barry, former head of the OSCE Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina. The audience included former heads of OSCE field missions, representatives of the U.S. State Department and OSCE member state embassies in Washington, academics, journalists and non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

The discussion was organized around a *BASIC Research Report* authored by Robert Barry entitled "The OSCE: A Forgotten Transatlantic Security Organization?" [See Appendix 2.] Participants were asked to focus their attention on the following questions:

- How does the international community maintain a division of labor between the OSCE, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the European Union (EU) as NATO expands and the EU becomes more operational? How will the OSCE maintain its distinct role as a flexible, economical and effective multilateral organization?
- Can the OSCE play a larger role in Central Asia and the Caucasus as its operations wind down in the Balkans?
- What lessons have we learned from the OSCE's conflict prevention and nation-building efforts? Are these experiences relevant to the current situation in Afghanistan, a post-conflict Iraq or other regions?
- What reforms are needed to provide a better sense of political direction to the OSCE without building a cumbersome central bureaucracy?

The Division of Labor Among Transatlantic Organizations: Competition or Cooperation?

Both the OSCE Secretary General and Lord Robertson, the NATO Secretary General, were in Washington at the same time meeting with U.S. officials and speaking to American audiences. Neither attracted much attention from the U.S. press, though Lord Robertson was received by the "A list" of U.S. officials while Ambassador Kubis met with lower ranking people at the State Department and the National Security Council. Ambassador Minikes, however, met with the U.S. Secretary of State, Colin Powell.

The participants acknowledged that the OSCE has almost no public profile in the United States and that some U.S. officials in this and previous administrations wrongly considered that NATO and the OSCE were rivals. Some of this feeling traces back decades to the time when the Soviet Union was using the concept of a conference on European security to undermine NATO, but all agreed that this time had long passed. In fact, as one participant pointed out, the OSCE is the only organization that has a mandate to involve itself in the internal affairs of member states and thus to deal with some of the root causes of terrorism. Ambassador Johnson said that unlike some other organizations, the OSCE concentrates on building the capacities of its member states, not on augmenting its own.

Ambassador Kubis pointed out that major European organizations have had their different mandates, with NATO focusing on military cooperation and the OSCE focusing on the human dimension, such as human rights. Several participants stressed that the relationship among the United Nations (U.N.), NATO, the EU and the OSCE did not need to be a zero sum game where one organization tried to shove the other aside (though there are examples of this behavior). There have been highly successful examples of cooperation:

• In Macedonia, NATO, the OSCE and the EU have succeeded in bringing about a better result than any could have accomplished individually. NATO, the EU and the OSCE all participated in the negotiations that brought about the Ohrid agreement and its commitment to power sharing. NATO provided security for OSCE observers and mission staff. The EU is considering taking over the security mandate from NATO. The OSCE is most deeply involved on the ground within the implementation of the Ohrid agreement. The Macedonian elections this fall, carried out under OSCE monitors, seem to represent a step back from the brink of inter-ethnic conflict.

• In south Serbia, cooperation among security organizations has also produced a result that is greater than the sum of its parts. NATO's Kosovo Force (KFOR) initially checked cross border forays by Albanians wishing to destabilize the situation. With NATO acting as a political broker because of its role in creating the buffer zone on the border, the Yugoslav government engaged itself and agreed to form a multi-ethnic police force trained by the OSCE. The EU sent members of its monitoring mission to investigate complaints and the United Nations opened a project development office. Around the border area the OSCE took on a mediating role and organized early local elections, which were successfully carried out. The OSCE Mission to Yugoslavia then continued to work with the parties to implement the election results and persuaded the Serbs and Albanians to work together in ethnically mixed governments. The OSCE and the EU monitors kept a close eye on human rights issues in the area. As a result of this cooperation, a major outbreak of violence was avoided.

The panelists pointed out that the OSCE is a relatively flexible organization, and that it has therefore been able to make rapid deployments, such as ramping-up field operations from 60 to 250 personnel without trouble after the Dayton Accords. Nevertheless, the OSCE could improve its response time to crises. The same problems are being confronted within NATO, the EU, and the United Nations. More cooperation in this area could benefit all of these organizations.

Ambassador Vollebaek emphasized that the OSCE should avoid duplicating the roles of other organizations. The OSCE does not have a role to play when a conflict becomes a military matter and it should not take on intensive economic development roles, similar to the United Nations Development Program (UNDP).
Shared responsibility for security issues is not the only path for the OSCE to follow. Many participants pointed to the OSCE's unique space: the group of 30 countries, which are not and probably will not become members of NATO or the EU. This space includes Central Asia, where the incoming Dutch chairmanship

has said it wishes to concentrate some of its efforts. The OSCE is already playing a very important role in Georgia in pressing for the implementation of the Istanbul decisions on the withdrawal of Russian forces and turnover of Russian bases. In the event of a solution for the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, a potential peacekeeping role is foreseen for the OSCE, which could necessitate the deployment of the organization's largest ever field mission.

Within this OSCE space, Moldova deserves special attention. The organization could play a central role in implementing a federal solution that would settle the issue of the breakaway enclave of Transnistria. The OSCE is also a candidate for a role in peacekeeping as well as police and legal reform. While there appears to be little chance at present that Transnistria will accept the concept of federation, assurances about the facilitating role of the OSCE might contribute to efforts in reaching a compromise. In Moldova, the OSCE is also pressing for implementation of the Istanbul summit decision on the withdrawal or destruction of huge amounts of Russian ammunition and arms left behind from the Soviet era. While the Istanbul deadline of December 31, 2002, will not be met, considerable progress was made in 2001 and the push for compliance should not be abandoned.

New Challenges: Central Asia and the Caucasus

While many participating states see Central Asia and the Caucasus as a logical focus for the OSCE in the future, and the incoming Dutch chairmanship has promised to concentrate on Central Asia, obstacles remain. Perhaps the most serious is the tendency of host governments to view the presence of an OSCE mission on their territory as a malady that needs to be overcome. One participant noted that Central Asian leaders want OSCE services in the short-term, but then want the organization to depart quickly. The challenge is to package OSCE assistance more attractively without stepping back from emphasis on respect for human rights. Several participants suggested a new balance in the OSCE's activities linked to new security threats that have emerged with the escalation of international terrorism. While some in Central Asia see oppression as the answer to these challenges, the OSCE approach must concentrate on getting at the root causes of terrorism, one of which is an overly repressive approach to alienated elements of society.

The OSCE is cautiously attempting to demonstrate its relevance in Central Asia. It has begun a program of police training in Kyrgyzstan by sending teams to Bishkek and Osh to set up model police stations where new techniques of policing can be demonstrated. If successful, this could be expanded with larger scale police training efforts both in Kyrgyzstan and elsewhere in the region. In Termez, Uzbekistan, OSCE experts are advising the border guards and customs officials on ways of improving border security while permitting traffic with Afghanistan. Other areas that could be explored include training of border police and efforts to mediate border disputes. Easing legal transit among the countries of Central Asia and promoting trade and transport within the region would provide economic as well as security benefits.

Special purpose OSCE field missions or teams may prove more acceptable to host countries than the kind of large general-purpose missions that have been established in the Balkans. In addition to police training and the rule of law, such thematic missions could focus on institution building, assistance to parliamentary bodies, strengthening municipal governments, electoral reform, trade and transport. Some of these missions could draw on the expertise of the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR), but would have to go beyond the current practice of holding seminars and would need to place people on the ground for substantial periods of time.

The International Crisis Group has suggested that a key to stimulating the interest of Central Asian govern-

ments is to emphasize the economic dimension of the OSCE, in particular by partnering with international financial institutions such as the World Bank or the International Monetary Fund (IMF). OSCE field missions have done some interesting things in the economic area, such as assisting in audits of state and local budgets, but it will never evolve into an organization that can provide the kind of economic aid for which Central Asians are looking.

The United States and the Russian Federation are putting the finishing touches on a paper outlining new threats to security, which they will submit to the Porto Ministerial meeting this December (2002). This paper might provide new openings for the OSCE in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) countries, particularly in dealing with organized crime and its links to terror.

Applying the Lessons Learned from the OSCE to Other Areas

While the initial position of the Bush administration was to decry nation-building, subsequent events have caused a re-examination of the issue. In Afghanistan, the United States and its partners are trying to create institutions where none existed before. The United States and the United Kingdom have been discussing what might follow regime change in Iraq, and how the international community might create conditions for democracy. As diplomats look at the possibility of convening an international conference on the Arab-Israeli peace process, the parties have asked what lessons can be learned from the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE)-OSCE process.[1]

The current U.S. Coordinator of Assistance to Afghanistan, Ambassador David Johnson, has regretted that some of the mechanisms available to the OSCE do not exist in South Asia. As a first step in providing them, he suggested that Afghanistan be included among OSCE partners for cooperation to facilitate collaboration with OSCE member states bordering Afghanistan (Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan). The main problem internationals face in Afghanistan at present is the absence of viable institutions, which leads to concentration on individual personalities. OSCE experience in institution building could be usefully employed in Afghanistan, but delivery mechanisms are needed.

Max Kampelman, who did so much to shape the CSCE, has suggested that a Middle East peace conference be modeled on the CSCE, setting standards for democracy, economic development, the rule of law and human dignity, which ought to apply in a final settlement. A conference on security and cooperation in the Mediterranean and the Middle East could build on work already underway in parliamentary and government circles in the region. Israel, which with other countries of the region is a "partner for cooperation" with the OSCE, sent a delegation to observe the work of the OSCE Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2000 to see whether democratization programs being implemented there might be applied to Gaza and the West Bank. Despite the retrograde steps that have taken place since, Kampelman still detects potential interest among both Israeli and Palestinian officials.[2]

In Southeast Asia, the upsurge in concern about international terrorism has caught the attention of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Forum, which at its recent meeting in Mexico undertook commitments similar to those taken by OSCE participating states in Bucharest in 2001.

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[1] Created in 1973 and formalized by the Helsinki Final Act in 1975, the CSCE was the precursor to the OSCE. The CSCE became the OSCE in 1994.

[2] See the op-ed by Max Kampelman, *Washington Times*, August 15, 2002, p. A19.

Iraq presents a very different set of challenges, and there will be a need to put in place an internationally-led civil government as soon as the security situation permits. While the OSCE will play no role in such an effort, there is no doubt that, as in Afghanistan, internationals who have gained experience in OSCE democratization, human rights, and election reform efforts will participate in an international structure and use some of the lessons learned by the OSCE. In terms of international structures in a post-conflict situation, the model of the Office of the High Representative in Bosnia might be modified to fit Iraq, assuming that the United Nations will not want to be involved.

A participant in the meeting suggested that Cyprus could be a subject of OSCE efforts, and indeed one of the projects carried out by the OSCE in Bosnia was first developed as an effort to promote multi-ethnic government in Nicosia.

Reforming the OSCE

One set of challenges to the OSCE comes from the emerging new security architecture of Europe, with both NATO and the EU enlarging and becoming more active. This has an impact on the OSCE's morale, but does not undercut its potential. A more serious problem is the uneven quality of political leadership and management. Ambassador Kobieracki called for the chairmanship to be made more predictable; perhaps by setting out guidelines that would govern how a country prepares for and conducts its year in office.

Kim Traavik of Norway was among those who believed that the answer lies in a stronger Secretariat and a Secretary General who would be more active in providing political guidance to the organization and its field missions. He also advocated adapting the nature of field missions to new situations, with more special purpose activities as opposed to generic missions with vague mandates and inadequate resources to carry them out. Former Chair in Office Vollebaek noted that there was no structure in the Secretariat, which could be used to implement Permanent Council decisions, for example on fielding the Kosovo Verification Mission and its successor.

The United States has been traditionally opposed to a larger, more powerful Secretariat, but has recommended the creation of the post of Permanent Secretary to the Chair in Office, a senior official who would assist the OSCE Troika in providing continuity and political guidance to OSCE institutions.

Some participants urged that OSCE institutions be restructured to reflect today's challenges. A new mandate might be given to the Conflict Prevention Center that would empower it to play a stronger role in preventing the outbreak of violence. Efforts to deal with the root causes of terrorism and related issues such as trafficking in human beings and money laundering could be part of such an effort. At the same time, superfluous institutions such as the Court of Conciliation and Arbitration and the High Level Planning Group might be eliminated.

Secretary General Kubis suggested that the management of the organization could be improved by decentralization and devolution of authority to program managers. He saw the need to strengthen missions in Central Asia and the Caucasus with personnel and resources if new tasks were to be carried out, and he welcomed the beginning of policing programs in Kyrgyzstan. The emergence of a "food for thought" paper prepared by the United States and the Russian Federation could improve cooperation with Russia and provide a new sense of direction for the organization in meeting the kinds of new threats to security and stability in the 21st century.

The problem of Belarus and its defiance of the OSCE principles and efforts to squeeze out the Advisory Monitoring group by denying visas were discussed. Clearly Belarus' activities have weakened the organization, but efforts to maintain the mission must continue.

The issue of the OSCE's status under international law was raised, but few saw any possibility of getting the OSCE participating states to agree to a treaty that would legitimize interference in their internal affairs. Even the United States would resist such a treaty today. Issues related to privileges and immunities of OSCE personnel can be dealt with by more limited agreements, as already exist for some OSCE missions and institutions.

The Porto Ministerial and the Road Ahead

The Porto Ministerial will be seized with the question of how to adapt the organization to the changed circumstances that result from the rise of international terror, crime, corruption and the negative consequences of globalization. A new strategy will have to be based on the comprehensive approach to security, which is unique to the OSCE. This means that the emphasis on the human dimension must be maintained while more attention is paid to security issues such as trafficking in human beings, weapons of mass destruction, and illegal migration. Because many of the challenges to OSCE members come from outside the region, cooperation with neighboring regions and with other international organizations needs to be stepped up.

While the question of the role of the Secretary General and the Secretariat remains controversial, agreement has already been reached on the need for a strategic policing unit and an anti-terrorism unit in the Secretariat to provide a greater capability for support of field activities. There is also broad agreement on the need to improve the analytical capability of the Secretariat, so that the organization can more clearly identify and cope with emerging challenges. Likewise the Permanent Council and the Forum on Security Cooperation can devote more time to meetings designed to deal with challenges such as corruption and violations of minority rights.

An essential element of a new strategy must be an annual security review conference to examine implementation and ensure that commitments undertaken are not purely rhetorical. There must also be a stronger connection between declarations made in Vienna and activities carried out in the field. The new strategy may have the effect of continuing the shift of the center of gravity of the organization back toward the central institutions as field missions in the Balkans continue to shrink. Because the field mission in Bosnia no longer administers elections and the mission in Kosovo has just administered its last election, the relative size of missions will continue to decline unless major new tasks are adopted.

To the degree that OSCE participating states buy into the new strategy, there is room for increased activity by field missions. This is particularly true in the fields of governance and rule of law. A key area could be regulation of cross border activities. On the one hand borders are too porous- criminals and terrorists pass easily. On the other hand borders are too impermeable - legitimate trade and information, and even workers and intellectual property – are halted. New emphasis on strategic policing, border controls and avoiding the negative implications of globalization could provide a welcome focus for field missions in Central Asia and the Caucasus.

The OSCE will remain relevant in the period ahead if it adapts to new external challenges and carries out internal reform. In terms of its mandate and its unique "space" where other European security organizations

do not operate, it is well qualified to deal with the root causes of terrorism. While paying more attention to security and economic questions, it must maintain its emphasis on the human dimension, individual and minority rights.

U.S.-Russian cooperation may be enhanced as a result of recent exchanges on the future of the OSCE, but the organization must do a better job of demonstrating that its field operations are assets to host countries, not liabilities. Increased activity in Central Asia and the Caucasus will depend on the attractiveness of OSCE programs, and the new beginning made in the field of police training and border security are examples of a program which can be expanded upon.

While the OSCE's area of responsibility will not expand, valuable lessons have been learned on how to prevent conflicts and deal with post-conflict situations. These tactics, and the personnel who have used them in the field, can be an asset in Iraq and the Middle East as they have been in Afghanistan.

Participants welcomed the continuing interest of BASIC in the OSCE and BASIC's efforts to inform U.S. and other audiences about the OSCE. BASIC will continue to follow developments in the OSCE in the year ahead, in close cooperation with the Secretariat and the incoming Dutch Chairman in Office.

Appendix 1: Brief Biographies of Panelists

Speakers

Ambassador Jan Kubis
Secretary General of the OSCE

Ambassador Kubis, a career diplomat, has served as the Secretary General of the OSCE since June 1999. From July 1994 to July 1998, he was the Director of the Conflict Prevention Center at the OSCE Secretariat, overseeing OSCE operations and Missions in the field. Under the 1992 Czechoslovak Chairmanship of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (now the OSCE), Ambassador Kubis was Chairman of the Committee of Senior Officials (now the Permanent Council). From January 1993 to June 1994, Ambassador Kubis was the Permanent Representative of the Slovak Republic at the United Nations Office in Geneva.

Kim Traavik
Deputy Foreign Minister of Norway

Mr. Traavik was appointed State Secretary in the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in October 2001. Prior to that he chaired the Stability Pact for Southeastern Europe's Working Table on Security Issues in addition to serving as Director General of the Ministry's Department for European Policy. From 1997 to 1999, Mr. Traavik served as Ambassador and Coordinator of the Norwegian OSCE Chairmanship. Mr. Traavik has also served in Norway's Missions to NATO, the United Nations and the European Union.

Ambassador Stephan Minikes
U.S. Representative to the OSCE

Ambassador Minikes has been U.S. Representative to the OSCE since December 2001. Prior to his appointment as Ambassador, Mr. Minikes was a partner in the Washington, D.C. office of Thelen Reid and Priest LLP. Mr. Minikes has also served in the U.S. Defense Department and as senior vice-president of the U.S. Export-Import Bank.

Commentators

Ambassador Knut Vollebaek
Norwegian Ambassador to the U.S. and former OSCE Chairman in Office

Ambassador Vollebaek was appointed Ambassador to the United States in March 2001. He is a former Norwegian Foreign Minister and he served as OSCE Chairman in Office in 1999. As Chairman in Office, Ambassador Vollebaek played a key negotiating role during the War in Kosovo. He has previously served in New Delhi, Madrid and Harare and as Ambassador to Costa Rica.

Ambassador Adam Kobieracki
Director of the Security Policy Department, Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and former Chairman of the OSCE Permanent Council

Ambassador Kobieracki has been Director of the Security Policy Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs since April 2001. A career diplomat, Ambassador Kobieracki chaired the OSCE Permanent Council during the Polish OSCE Chairmanship of 1998. Ambassador Kobieracki joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1982 and has served in a variety of high-level roles in the Polish Mission to the United Nations and the OSCE in Vienna.

Ambassador David Johnson
Coordinator of U.S. Assistance to Afghanistan and former U.S. Permanent Representative to the OSCE

Ambassador Johnson was appointed as the Afghan Coordinator in May 2002. He is responsible for overseeing all aspects of United States policy toward Afghanistan. Prior to that appointment he served as Ambassador to the OSCE from January 1998 to December 2001. Ambassador Johnson was also a member of the U.S. Delegation to the Vienna Follow-up meeting of the CSCE from 1986-1987.

Moderator

Ambassador Robert L. Barry
BASIC Board Member and former OSCE Head of Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Ambassador Barry is currently a senior associate with the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, and has had a long career with the U.S. government on European affairs and arms control. He headed the OSCE Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina from January 1998 to June 2001. He also served as Ambassador to Bulgaria and Indonesia. He was Deputy Director of the Voice of America and Ambassador to the Stockholm Conference on Disarmament in Europe.

Appendix 2:
The OSCE: A Forgotten Transatlantic Security Organization?

The original BASIC Research Report 2002.2 by Robert L. Barry, published in July 2002.

BRITISH AMERICAN SECURITY INFORMATION COUNCIL

BASIC RESEARCH REPORT

The OSCE:

A Forgotten Transatlantic Security Organization?

By Robert L. Barry

Research Report 2002.3
July 2002

British American Security Information Council

The British American Security Information Council (BASIC) is an independent research organization that analyzes international security issues. BASIC works to promote awareness of security issues among the public, policy makers and the media in order to foster informed debate on both sides of the Atlantic.

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Robert Barry, a retired U.S. Ambassador, headed the OSCE Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina from January 1998 to June 2001. He was also involved in OSCE/CSCE affairs as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs, as head of the U.S. delegation to the Stockholm negotiations on Disarmament in Europe, and as coordinator of U.S. assistance to Eastern Europe.
He is a board member of BASIC and a senior associate of CSIS.

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Executive Summary

The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) is uniquely positioned to deal with the conditions that breed terrorism in Europe and Eurasia. Having transformed itself following the breakup of Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, the OSCE has some 4,000 people in field missions in 19 countries of the region. These missions have helped to end civil war in Tajikistan, constrained conflict in Ukraine, Macedonia, Moldova and Georgia, and played a major role in building civil society in post-conflict Bosnia and Kosovo.

These long-term resident missions play a unique role because they deal with specific issues at the local level, building partnerships and defusing conflicts before they erupt. This is an effective way of dealing with conditions that breed terrorism. An expanded OSCE role in Central Asia and the Caucasus would be an effective means of dealing with the threats of radical Islam and political and economic instability. Yet in both the United States and the United Kingdom, the organization is little known and often wrongly seen as a rival to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the European Union (EU), and the Council of Europe.

None of these organizations are capable of substituting for the OSCE.

Whatever direction NATO takes after enlargement and the creation of the NATO-Russia Council, it is in no position to undertake the kind of conflict prevention or post-conflict "peace building" in former Soviet republics that are not NATO members. Nor does the Council of Europe include members from Central Asia.

The EU could conceivably play a larger role among non-members of NATO and the Council of Europe. The first EU venture into field-based programs will come when it takes over police training from the United Nations (U.N.) in Bosnia next year. However, the EU has decided against involvement in Central Asia.

The OSCE, created by the 1975 Helsinki Final Act, is particularly suited to many U.S. and U.K. goals. It is the only European security forum that includes the United States, Canada, and the Russian Federation as full members. It advocates a comprehensive approach to security, which emphasizes human rights and economic development as well as military security issues. It includes other non-EU and non-NATO members that play a major role in peace building, such as Switzerland and Finland.

The OSCE is more agile and far less expensive than comparable international organizations. The U.S. share of the OSCE budget is about half the percentage it pays to the United Nations. Because it does not have an entrenched Secretariat like the United Nations, it can adjust quickly to changing circumstances. This is because the OSCE maintains a very small permanent bureaucracy, drawing most of its staff on an as-needed basis from professionals and experts who are seconded by their governments on renewable six-month contracts.

In sum, the OSCE is uniquely suited to deal with some of the key threats facing the United States and the United Kingdom and their allies today: terrorism, organized crime, the illegal arms trade, political repression, refugee flows and the denial of human rights.

Most of these problems cannot be solved by military pre-emption. Instead, we must pay more attention to advancing our long-term values: democracy, the rule of law, the development of market economies, modernization and education. We must do this in a multilateral framework.

The OSCE's capabilities in 2003 will depend on the financial, as well as the political, support of key participating states such as the United States and the United Kingdom. Judging by the Bush administration's sharply reduced request for peacekeeping funds in 2003, and the debate on funding for international organizations in the Congress, the United States could join the United Kingdom and Russia as a leading advocate of budgetary restraint next year. The burden of budget cuts would fall largely on the field missions, which are the most effective arm of the OSCE.

In order to maintain support from member states, the OSCE must meet the challenge of reform. This means strengthening the Chairmanship in Office and/or the Secretariat to ensure that field missions, which account for 90% of OSCE personnel, receive adequate political guidance. There should be more decentralization of management functions in order to avoid micro-management from headquarters. The organization should reverse the tendency of assigning functions to missions without the necessary resources. The OSCE should close or greatly reduce missions where mandates have been largely completed or where host countries have raised insuperable obstacles.

Resources freed in those areas ought to be shifted to deal with new opportunities, for example in Central Asia, the Caucasus and Macedonia. The Russians should be drawn into a more active and creative relationship with the OSCE. More attention should be paid to the rule of law and less to elections. Field missions should focus more on problem solving at the local level and less on seminars and talk shops. In addition, the organization should recruit a small cadre of middle managers to supplement seconded personnel as senior supervisors in the field.

Many of these reforms are under way, but they will not be successful unless policy makers on both sides of the Atlantic are prepared to make better use of the most effective regional security organization in Europe.

CHAPTER 1: Introduction

The creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)-Russia Council this spring and the Prague summit that will enlarge the alliance this fall have both prompted increased public discussion of transatlantic security organizations. Some commentators and diplomats have claimed that NATO expansion will result in a regional security organization that includes Russia and, potentially, half the countries of Europe and Eurasia.

Few have mentioned that such an organization already exists. The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) is seldom discussed in American media, and is virtually unknown to the American public. In the past, many American policy makers have seen it as a rival to NATO and have resisted efforts to strengthen it. Yet unlike NATO, the OSCE has special capabilities to prevent conflict and deal with post-conflict situations in Europe and Eurasia. Over the last decade, the OSCE has helped end civil war in Tajikistan, constrained conflict in Georgia, Macedonia, and Moldova, and played a major role in building a civil society in post-conflict Bosnia and Kosovo.

The OSCE is uniquely suited to achieve many American goals and it is the only universal
European security forum that includes the United States, Canada and the Russian Federation as full members. It advocates a comprehensive approach to security, which emphasizes human rights and economic development as well as military security issues. It is more agile and far less expensive than comparable international organizations. Because of its extensive field structure, it is highly operational. Particularly after September 11, the OSCE should be the instrument of choice in multilateral efforts to prevent the spread of terrorism by promoting civil society in the weak underbelly of Europe and Eurasia. But budget pressures from member states may in fact require major curtailments of OSCE field activities, which account for about 85% of the overall OSCE budget. But budget pressures from member states will limit the OSCE's ability to respond to new situations, as we have seen, for example, in Macedonia this year. As 85% of the OSCE budget goes to field activities, this is where the impact of tighter budgets will be felt most strongly. To date, the United Kingdom and the Russian Federation have been the strongest advocates of "zero real budget growth." In 2003, the United States may join in this effort, given the Bush administration's reduced request for peacekeeping funds in the new budget year.

As we move toward the NATO summit in Prague this fall and decisions on the role and structure of the alliance, it is important that reforms of both NATO and the OSCE preserve their core competencies rather than setting the stage for increased competition and fuzziness about their roles. By the same token, as the European Union (EU) begins to take on operational tasks in the field, such as civilian policing, it is important to clearly define its role as well. There is enough work to go around for all. The turf battles that have given multilateralism a bad name need to be avoided. At the same time, the OSCE must do more to reform itself.

1.1 The Origins of the CSCE

The OSCE had its origins in the oft-repeated Soviet call for a pan-European security conference in the 1950s and 1960s. A collective security forum that excluded Canada and the United States would of course have decoupled Europe from the United States and would have undermined NATO. Therefore, the West Europeans initially resisted. However, as the Warsaw Pact "peace offensive" gathered steam in the second half of the 1960s and German Ostpolitik pressed ahead, NATO began to express more interest in creating a more stable security environment. U.S. and Western European interests centered on the reduction of conventional military forces in Europe, which came to be known as Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions in Europe, or MBFR. While the Soviet Union still pursued the goal of formalizing the status quo in Europe, U.S. allies were thinking of how to deal with potential U.S. disengagement from Europe as the Vietnam War loomed larger.

During the early days of the Nixon administration, the United States and NATO began to discuss more seriously a European Security Conference with the provisos that Canada and the United States would participate, that the agenda would include "Basket III" human rights issues, and that NATO agreement to a Conference would be reciprocated by a Warsaw Pact agreement to MBFR.[1] Henry Kissinger hoped as well that "linkage" could be established between a European Conference and Soviet concessions on Berlin.[2]

At the 1972 Moscow summit, Nixon agreed to discuss a Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). The lengthy process of negotiation among NATO, the Warsaw Pact and the European neutral and non-aligned countries began later in 1973, with Washington playing a central role. The Helsinki Final Act of 1975, signed by President Ford at the summit, concluded these negotiations. The Final Act was signed after détente had already reached its high watermark, and the document was widely criticized in the United States for apparent acceptance of the status quo in Europe. Some believed that President Ford's agreement to the Final Act was a leading factor in his defeat in the 1976 elections.[3]

But the Final Act was by no means one-sided. It endorsed the right of CSCE member states to interfere in one another's internal affairs to protect human rights. The Final Act did not prevent the reunification of Germany or the breakup of the Soviet Union. The Final Act did, however, advance a doctrine of limited sovereignty and became the basis for the kind of humanitarian intervention carried out by NATO in Kosovo in 1999, which provided much of the information needed for indictments by the International Criminal Tribunal for Yugoslavia.[4]

1.2 Transition to the OSCE

At the CSCE summit in Paris in 1990, the "Charter for a New Europe" was signed to mark the transition from the politics of the Cold War. The CSCE took on a permanent structure with a small secretariat and formally became the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe at the Budapest summit in 1994. The concept was to make it a "light" organization without a strong central bureaucracy, but with a mechanism that could oversee an increasing level of activity. Like other CSCE documents, the Budapest declaration was adopted by consensus but did not take the form of a treaty requiring ratification by member states. Thus the OSCE, unlike NATO or the United Nations, had no formal legal "personality" that would give it standing in international law.

The OSCE today consists of a Permanent Council of representatives of 55 member states, a Secretariat, a Conflict Prevention Center, an Operations Center, and a variety of special representatives and advisors to

the Chair in Office on subjects ranging from freedom of the media to policing, and from the economy to the environment. A Forum on Security Cooperation (FSC) is also located in Vienna and deals with arms control and confidence-building measures stemming from the Stockholm Conference of 1984-1985 and the limitations on Conventional Forces in Europe. The FSC has been a particularly effective body because it can draw on the military expertise of member states to implement and improve those confidence-building measures.

The political leadership of the OSCE is entrusted to the Chair in Office (CiO), who is a Foreign Minister from a participating state. This position rotates every year. Day-to-day political guidance comes from the CiO's representative in Vienna, who is the Chair of the Permanent Council. General policy guidance comes from the annual Ministerial Council, a gathering of Foreign Ministers of all participating states, and from periodic summits. These bodies carry out the normative function of the OSCE and the setting of standards and goals that should be adhered to by European states. While these normative acts are not legally binding, and are often ignored by governments, over time they have a clear cumulative effect.[5]

Operational OSCE institutions outside Vienna include the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities (HCNM) in The Hague and the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) in Warsaw. The HCNM assists in bringing the treatment of national minorities into line with European standards, and over the last decade the previous incumbent, Max van der Stoel of the Netherlands, scored notable, if unheralded, successes in defusing potential conflicts in about a dozen countries. His efforts, together with those of the OSCE Mission to Ukraine, probably prevented the outbreak of a conflict between the Russian Federation and Ukraine over the Crimea. His successor, Rolf Ekeus of Sweden, continues these efforts in such member states as the Baltic countries, Macedonia, and Moldova.

The ODIHR deals with a variety of issues that fall under the "human dimension" category, including the development of democratic institutions and the observation of elections. The ODIHR often fields expert teams and develops regional programs to handle transnational problems such as trafficking in women and discrimination against minorities, such as the Roma (Gypsies). Smaller OSCE field missions often depend on the ODIHR for expert assistance and financial support in dealing with human dimension and democracy issues.

The OSCE Parliamentary Assembly, headquartered in Copenhagen, brings together parliamentarians from OSCE member states and supports democratic reforms throughout the region. The Standing Committee of the Assembly occasionally appoints ad hoc committees to cover special issues. These ad hoc committees, for example, have worked on issues related to Albania, Belarus, and the Stability Pact for Southeastern Europe.[6]

TIMELINE OF THE CSCE/OSCE – 1973-2001

MAJOR TRANSATLANTIC EVENTS	*Year*	CSCE/OSCE EVENTS
Denmark, Ireland, Great Britain join European Economic Council.	*1973*	Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe formed.
	1975	Helsinki Final Act signed, CSCE process formalized.
Soviets invade Afghanistan.	*1979*	
Declaration of Martial Law in Poland.	*1981*	
	1984	Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe (CSBM) begins, Stockholm.
Chernobyl nuclear accident/Reagan-Gorbachev Reykjavik Summit.	*1986*	Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures (CSBM) concludes, Stockholm.
Berlin Wall falls.	*1989*	Beginning of negotiations on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe - including NATO and Warsaw Pact members, Vienna.
Poland elects first President, Lech Walesa.	*1990*	Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe and "Charter for a New Europe" signed in Paris/CSCE becomes permanent structure.
Soviet Union collapses/War erupts in Yugoslavia when Croatia and Slovenia declare independence.	*1991*	
War again erupts in Yugoslavia when Bosnia and Herzegovina declares independence/ Macedonia declares independence.	*1992*	CSCE declares itself a regional arrangement under Chapter VIII of U.N. Charter/ dispatches first Mission of Long Duration to Kosovo, Sandjak, and Vojvodina.
	1994	Summit Heads of State or Government, Budapest - CSCE formally changes name to Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE).
NATO bombs parts of Serbia/Dayton Peace Accord signed to end war in Bosnia.	*1995*	OSCE assigned responsibility for many aspects of civilian implementation of Dayton Agreement, large field mission inaugurated.
	1996	Review of CFE Treaty, Vienna/OSCE administers first post-war elections in Bosnia.
War erupts in Kosovo.	*1998*	Rambouillet Agreement for peace in Kosovo/Kosovo Verification Mission deployed.
NATO campaign ends with Serb withdrawal from Kosovo, UNMIK and KFOR move in.	*1999*	Istanbul Charter for European Security - Summit of Heads of State or Government, Istanbul/ Stability Pact for Southeastern Europe under auspices of OSCE.
Fall of Yugoslav leader Slobodan Milosevic from power.	*2000*	
Ohrid Agreement to end violence in Macedonia/ Terrorists attack World Trade Center and Pentagon.	*2001*	Bucharest Ministerial meeting approves action plan to combat terrorism.

*Source: *OSCE Handbook*, URL http://www.osce.org/publications/handbook/handbook.pdf, version current as of June 11, 2002.

CHAPTER 2: OSCE Field Missions

In response to crises caused by the breakup of Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, the organization began to send "missions of long duration" to take up residence in member states. This process began at the 1992 Helsinki CSCE summit when leaders decided to establish a mission to deal with tensions in Kosovo, Sandjak and Vojvodina. The 1999 Istanbul OSCE summit pointed out that the establishment of field missions had transformed the organization.[7] Today the OSCE has 19 field missions or "presences" in the Caucasus, Central Asia, Eastern Europe and Southeastern Europe. The field presence is about 4,000, ten times more than the size of the central institutions, and 84% of the organization's budget of about $200 million goes to support field activities. The operational center of gravity of the OSCE and its unique assets are these field missions.

2.1 Role of Large OSCE Field Missions

The popular verdict on the OSCE, insofar as there is one, is that it is a talk shop that engages in good works, such as election monitoring. This type of characterization ignores what OSCE field missions have accomplished during the past decade. The OSCE Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina is the longest lasting and the most mature of large OSCE field presences. A discussion of its structure and programs will demonstrate why OSCE "missions of long duration" play an increasingly vital role in conflict prevention and peace building.

The mandate for the OSCE Mission to Bosnia was contained in the Dayton Peace Accords of December 1995. The OSCE was given a central role in implementing the civilian aspects of the Dayton agreement, reflecting dissatisfaction with the role played by the United Nations in Bosnia from 1992 to 1995. The tasks included creating all the conditions necessary for:

- Free and fair elections, which required the drafting of the rules governing elections and the implementation of the election results;
- The protection of human rights, including the right to return to the homes from which people had been driven during the war;
- The promotion of democracy and good governance, including strengthening intra-party democracy;
- The implementation of arms control and confidence-building measures contained in the Dayton agreement; and
- The promotion of free and independent media.

Because the administration of elections, the protection of human rights, and the process of return were so demanding, the OSCE decided at the outset to establish offices throughout the country. There are now 29 OSCE offices located in virtually every major town in the two entities – the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republika Srpska. Many of the successes of the mission were obtained through

constant pressure at the grass roots level, for example, by insisting on the implementation of property laws and respect for the rights of returning refugees. While there is much to be said for the normative acts of the OSCE's central institutions, real progress on the local level more often results from interaction of local officials and internationals who work with them on concrete issues.

The mission from 1998 to 2001 consisted of about 200 internationals and 700 citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Initially, nationals did exclusively support-work as interpreters, drivers, security guards and secretaries. Beginning in 1998, they were integrated into professional positions as lawyers, administrative supervisors, democratization officers, human rights monitors, etc. By 2000, some 30% of international professional staff positions were taken over by Bosnian citizens, which resulted in greater productivity and built capacity for the future.

The Bosnia mission evolved into a truly multinational mix reflecting the interest of OSCE member governments that paid the basic salaries of seconded mission members.

The internationals were seconded from over 30 governments. Some were civil servants, military officers or diplomats in their home countries. Others were from non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and humanitarian organizations – often those who had come to Bosnia to assist in reconstruction or to administer elections. Compared to those of other international organizations, OSCE staff members were younger and less experienced. Most were not from the diplomatic service of the seconding state, and some of those diplomats who were seconded were problem cases and could not be placed in their own services. The young people in their 20s and 30s were highly motivated, but lacked experience as supervisors. Retired military officers were the exception. Some countries nominated retired colonels and generals to positions that involved dealing with civil authorities. This was not a good mix, and military officers were gradually phased-out except in the section of the mission that dealt with the Bosnian military.

While Americans were represented disproportionately at the beginning, the Bosnia mission evolved into a truly multinational mix reflecting the interest of OSCE member governments that paid the basic salaries of seconded mission members. The Head of Mission remained an American from 1995 to the present, with a German deputy. Other senior staff included Austrians, British, Canadians, Dutch, French, Icelanders, Irish, Italians, Norwegians, Poles, Russians, and Swedes, with more junior officials coming anywhere from Finland to Georgia. Although the gender mix varied depending on the seconding states, the number of women was in general about 40%, with a similar proportion in supervisory positions. This was a considerably higher number than in other international organizations or bilateral embassies in Bosnia.

The secondment system had its critics, but by at least the third year of the mission's existence, it was working reasonably well. Mission members were accepted for six-month periods, and mission management insisted on the right not to renew contracts where performance was poor or marginal. Thus when some countries seconded individuals who could not function adequately in English, or who lacked the skills described in the description of the position to be filled, their contracts were not extended. For most, however, contract extensions were routine, and many mission members have remained in the mission for five years or more. The requirement to commit initially for only six months also enabled the mission to recruit highly qualified experts who would have been unwilling or unable to commit for a year or more.

Over time, the greatest problem faced in Bosnia was that the most skilled personnel were recruited by newer OSCE missions, such as the one in Kosovo, or by other international organizations, such as the United Nations, which offered a career track. Sending experienced staff from Bosnia to other OSCE missions had the positive effect of improving their performance. The models developed in Bosnia spread to other OSCE field missions, for example, in election administration and democratization. As the large field mission that had been in operation the longest, the Bosnia mission became the training ground for others.

Seconded officials are more subject to pressure from their governments than permanent international civil servants, and so the mission staff kept their local embassy closely informed. In order to ensure a coherent strategy, the CiO and the Head of Mission needed to provide clear guidance to all mission staff and to make certain that locally based ambassadors be kept in the loop. In Bosnia, seconded mission members adhered closely to mission policies, even when those policies conflicted with the policies of the seconding government. On occasion, however, it became necessary to transfer or not renew the contract of those who were unwilling to follow mission policy.

From the outset, the OSCE Mission to Bosnia had experienced Russian diplomats in senior positions. Without exception, they followed the guidance of the CiO and the Head of Mission. The resultant display of mission solidarity enhanced the OSCE's credibility, especially with the Bosnian Serbs. In order to drive a point home, it was often useful to ensure that the message was delivered by someone of a nationality assumed to be sympathetic to the ethnic group concerned, for example, Germans to Croats or Russians to Serbs.

2.2 Programs Conducted by Long-Term Missions

Because OSCE "missions of long duration" typically remain in a host country for a number of years, they have the capability of managing programs that could not be handled by visiting experts. The mission members are able to develop personal relations with local officials and follow progress on a day-to-day basis. Some of the programs that the OSCE carried out in Bosnia illustrate this point.

2.3 Election Administration

The Dayton agreement was based on the optimistic assumption that an international presence would be needed for only a year or two. The OSCE was to establish the rules for and administer the first election within a year, after which the Bosnian authorities were to pass their own election law and take over the process. In fact, the OSCE supervised and paid for no less than six elections at municipal, entity and national levels between 1996 and 2000. As the Bosnian authorities proved unable to draft an election law, the OSCE mission and the Office of the High Representative (OHR) took on this task. After many false starts, parliament approved in 2001 a law that followed the pattern of the international draft. The first elections under this law are scheduled for October 2002.

While the delay in turning over responsibility for elections was frustrating, the long-term engagement of the OSCE made it possible to incorporate several important reforms in electoral practice. An imposed requirement that one-third of all candidates for public office must be women was eventually adopted in the election law. The concept of multi-member constituencies (as opposed to election at large without territorial connections) won favor and was included in the law.

Requirements for transparency of political party financing and the finances of individual candidates gained general acceptance and were incorporated in the law. Candidates illegally occupying others' housing were prevented from running for office. Notorious nationalists who violated the letter and spirit of the laws were excluded from political life, as were their affiliated political parties if those parties refused to remove them from leadership.

During the election process, the media were gradually pushed into more even-handed treatment of political issues. Serial violators among electronic media were denied broadcasting licenses.

The OSCE mission was deeply engaged in implementing the election results, especially in divided communities where power sharing could not have been achieved without intensive mediation.

Over the six elections managed by the OSCE, the mission worked with international NGOs to build a cadre of trained, non-partisan election officials and observers. The national election commission and its Secretariat were in large part recruited from mission election staff. An Association of Election Officials of Bosnia and Herzegovina was created, with support from the International Foundation for Election Systems in order to provide a team of professional election administrators. The Centers for Civic Initiatives was created, with support from the U.S. National Democratic Institute to sponsor civil society initiatives and to provide a cadre of several-thousand election monitors who could take over this task from internationals. These organizations, which were funded by a number of OSCE member states, played an important role in building the capacity of local NGOs to advance democratic causes. Through their election monitoring and interaction with NGOs in other states of the region, they have helped to forge a network of organizations designed to build civil societies. None of these advances could have been carried out successfully by short-term election monitoring missions or advisors who were not resident for a number of years.

Likewise, the OSCE mission was deeply engaged in implementing the election results, especially in divided communities where power sharing could not have been achieved without intensive mediation. For example, it took years to reach agreement on power sharing in Srebrenica, the town where Serb armed forces massacred 7,000 Bosnian Muslims.

2.4 Democratization

The Bosnia mission implemented a number of programs designed to promote democracy, ranging from organizing inter-ethnic chess matches to training for political parties. But only a resident mission could have organized the most novel and successful program. The Municipal Infrastructure Finance and Implementation (MIFI) program has been carried out in about one-fourth of all Bosnian municipalities, and has now been expanded to cover regional (cantonal) governments as well. The idea, which was based on a program that was first developed in mixed communities in Cyprus, is to provide technical assistance in budgeting for municipal projects, including capital projects such as schools and roads. Municipalities that wish to join the program have to sign a memorandum of understanding obligating them to open their accounts to public scrutiny and involve both municipal councilors and the general public in the decision-making process. In Cyprus, this kind of program encouraged cooperation among mixed ethnic communi-

ties, and it had the same effect in Bosnia. The program strengthened governance at the local level, where the nationalist political parties had each made budget and investment decisions separately in order to cement ethnic partition.

Although advice from visiting experts in municipal finance plays a major role in the program, continuous monitoring by locally resident OSCE "democratization officers" keeps things on track. They attend meetings of the municipal council and are in constant touch with municipal executives. As part of the motivation for participation in the program, an annual competition is held and each participant is evaluated on the basis of the criteria set forth in the original memorandum of understanding. As success in this program generally brings more grants from the international community, the competition is a real one. In addition, the program criteria are closely linked to the World Bank's lending requirements, so that as the grant program phases into lending, program participants are more likely to be deemed creditworthy. The most successful municipalities have successfully downsized local government, established detailed and realistic budgets, held open meetings to decide what infrastructure projects to finance, and thus improved the quality of life and the degree of inter-ethnic cooperation in the area.

The cantonal program has also proven to be popular and effective, particularly so in the mixed Croat/Bosniac canton, where rival nationalist parties have begun to cooperate in the interest of good governance. Like many other similar programs, the OSCE initially financed the MIFI program. As the program caught on and other donors witnessed its effectiveness, some have become co-financers in order to allow it to expand. This has also facilitated the donation of computers and municipal finance software to the most successful municipalities. All in all, the MIFI program has made a major contribution to the process of return and to political and economic stabilization.

2.5 Human Rights

The Bosnia Mission also carries out a variety of human rights programs, ranging from support for domestic human rights organizations established by the Dayton agreement to efforts at judicial and police reform. But the central focus of the human rights officers in the field has been the return of refugees and internally displaced persons – the undoing of the efforts at ethnic cleansing during and after the war. The key to return has been the implementation of property laws, which would restore private and socially owned houses and apartments to their original owners. The dominant ethnic group often had forcibly expelled these owners. Mission officers conducted public educational campaigns to inform people of their rights under the property laws, conducted workshops to explain how to file claims, monitored the claims process and intervened personally with local authorities to ensure compliance. Where a pattern of non-compliance was found, the mission and the Office of the High Representative acted to remove obstructionist officials, up to and including entity ministers.

Thanks to a consistent effort over a number of years, return has gradually accelerated. By 2002, nearly half of refugee claims for return of property have been approved. This would not have happened without the unyielding pressure that only a resident mission could provide. Even when the property has been returned, the work of the human rights officers is not over. They must ensure that minority returnees are provided with security, that their water, electricity and phones are reconnected, and that they are not discriminated against by the local power structure. This is usually an uphill fight.

2.6 Military Stabilization

The Bosnia mission featured a military department charged with verification of the military provisions of Dayton. As the military implementation turned out to be fairly routine, the mission turned its attention to the reorganization and downsizing of the two entity armed forces after 1997. Again, only continuous efforts could produce results.

The post-Dayton Bosnian military was both potentially destabilizing and unaffordable. Two entity armed forces, each far larger than any external threat could justify, faced each other and prepared for the contingency that hostilities might resume after the NATO Stabilization Force (SFOR) left. As a proportion of Bosnia's gross domestic product, the cost of maintaining its forces was several times what NATO countries paid to defend themselves. The OSCE and SFOR, with the active assistance of the Office of the High Representative, set the goal of reducing the armed forces by half and restructuring them so that they could deal with potential threats from the outside. This meant the creation of a state defense policy and an integrated command structure, which could eventually lead to a single armed force under civilian control. As this was directly opposed to the ambitions of the separatist nationalists, a firm and consistent effort over time was required.

Thanks to a consistent effort over a number of years, return has gradually accelerated.

For more than three years, the mission, SFOR and the Office of the High Representative lobbied for force reduction and restructuring. Joint seminars were held for the military and civilian leaders from both entities, which was particularly useful because many of these leaders had never met one another. The International Monetary Fund and the international donors insisted on reductions in military spending. The World Bank set up a program to help demobilized soldiers. SFOR threatened to use its extensive Dayton powers to force restructuring. NATO insisted on integration as the price of inclusion in the Partnership for Peace. Reductions took place from 1999 to 2001, and there is now a consensus that the entity armed forces should be reduced to some 12,000 – one-third the size of the 1997 force. Some politicians still resist the requirement for an integrated command structure and a centralized civil command structure, but progress is being made here as well – thanks to long-term efforts on the ground.

2.7 Media Affairs

The wars that wracked the former Yugoslavia were in large part due to exploitation of the media by extreme nationalists. Much of the international community's effort at peace building was directed at changing the culture of the media. The mission played a key role, from establishing and enforcing rules for media conduct during elections to the protection of journalists from persecution. Over time, the combined efforts of the international community have produced a public broadcasting system, a licensing regime that denies licenses to those who indulge in hate speech, a Freedom of Information Law that requires transparency, and laws protecting journalists from politicians' efforts to silence them. All in all, this is a substantial result.

2.8 The OSCE and Other International Actors in Bosnia

The Dayton agreement gave many international actors roles to play in Bosnia, and these have shifted over time. The senior civilian official was the High Representative, and always a European. At first he was given a coordinating role rather than an operational one. Carl Bildt, the first incumbent, had a small staff. As the international community's impatience with the lack of progress grew, more and more operational tasks were vested in the Office of the High Representative. In order to meet tasks assigned by the international steering board, the OHR created a number of independent agencies charged with combating corruption, regulating the media, reforming the judiciary, etc. Thus it has become much more operational, and the OSCE and the United Nations have ceded responsibilities to the OHR. A recent consolidation has clarified the lines of responsibility and eliminated some of the overlap. The new High Representative, Lord Paddy Ashdown of the United Kingdom, is also double-hatted as the Special Representative of the EU. The U.N. mission's operational responsibilities focused on rebuilding the police. Their mandate will end in 2002, with responsibility for police training devolving to the EU.

Much of the international community's effort at peace building was directed at changing the culture of the media.

The NATO peacekeeping force, IFOR/SFOR, has been reduced from 60,000 in 1995 to 18,000 today, with a further reduction to 12,000 planned for the end of 2002. The successes of the OSCE, the OHR, and the United Nations have helped to create the improved security environment that has permitted these reductions, but the politically motivated failure of NATO to apprehend indicted war criminals Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic have delayed political and economic recovery.

Of course, the international effort has lasted much longer and has been more expensive than originally contemplated. A new international structure is now taking shape with a consolidation of civilian agencies. This consolidation will lead to a 30% reduction of international staff in the country by 2003 and the creation of "task forces" made up of the various international organizations, including the OSCE. According to outgoing High Representative Wolfgang Petritsch, the OSCE will have a special responsibility for the establishment of the rule of law.[8] Lord Ashdown has also suggested that the OSCE take on responsibility for the coordination of education reform and military stabilization measures.[9] The OSCE will incorporate Bosnian officials in these structures where they will take increased responsibility for decisions.

On the arrival of Lord Ashdown, it was widely predicted that he would be the last High Representative and that his powers and office may end in 2005. SFOR should be reduced to a bare minimum by that time or sooner, with NATO forces over the horizon to intervene if necessary to preserve order. Some international civilian presence will be needed to continue the process of peace building, and the OSCE is the best candidate for this role.

CHAPTER 3: Other OSCE Missions

The Bosnia mission has been described in detail as a means of underlining the unique contribution of large field missions of long duration, but of course it is only one of 19 field missions. A brief description of the others is needed to give a full picture of OSCE field activities.

3.1 Southeastern Europe

The OSCE Mission to Croatia was created in April 1996, with a mandate to provide advice and assistance in the fields of human rights, democratization and rule of law. In the early days after the conclusion of the Dayton agreement, the United Nations dealt with security and human rights issues in Eastern Slavonia where Croats had carried out ethnic cleansing against Serbs. In mid-1998, with the phase-out of the U.N. police monitoring function, the OSCE mission took over this role. The police-monitoring mission was ended in 2000 and the mission staff reduced accordingly. With the death of President Franjo Tudjman in 1999 and the election of an anti-nationalist coalition, the main role of the mission became the ending of discrimination against non-Croats seeking to return and claim their property. This required changes in legislation as well as readiness at the local level to enforce the law and facilitate return. Nationalist officials at various levels continue to resist this change, and thus the mission will need to pursue these issues through the end of 2002.

The current OSCE Mission to Kosovo is the successor to the Kosovo Verification Mission, which lasted from October 1998 until the beginning of the NATO air campaign against Yugoslavia in March 1999. The Verification Mission was by far the largest mounted by the OSCE, with an authorized strength of 2,000 monitors to verify the withdrawal of Serbian military units as agreed by President Slobodan Milosevic in 1998. While the unarmed monitors were not successful in restraining Milosevic, the OSCE demonstrated agility and flexibility in fielding 1,400 monitors during those 6 months. The monitors compiled an extensive record of Serb violations of human rights, which is now a central part of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) indictment of Milosevic.

During the NATO campaign, the OSCE began planning to take responsibility for the civil administration of Kosovo after Serb withdrawal. But according to the terms of U.N. Security Council Resolution 1244, the United Nations took the lead role, with the OSCE as one of the “pillars” of the U.N. Interim Administration. The resolution gave the OSCE the lead role in building institutions and democracy, and ensuring human rights. In practice this meant that the OSCE trained the police, civil servants, judges, etc., while the United Nations administered the country. In addition, the OSCE prepared and administered municipal elections in 2000 and parliamentary elections in 2001, much as the mission to Bosnia had done.

When the Serbs pulled out of Kosovo, they left a vacuum behind as the entire administration of Kosovo had been in their hands. Kosovo Albanian paramilitaries quickly moved to fill this vacuum. As their democratic instincts were not much more developed than those of the Serbs they replaced, setting up democratic institutions proved to be a major challenge. The initial authorized strength of the OSCE in Kosovo was 700 internationals and 1,400 nationals, distributed around the country in 21 field offices - much as the Kosovo

Verification Mission had been distributed. While a local self-government took hold, the size of the OSCE mission was reduced and the 21 field offices were reduced to 9. The OSCE continues to train police and judges, monitor and license media, work with political parties and NGOs, combat organized crime and human trafficking, and prevent ethnic strife from spreading to Macedonia and Southern Serbia.

The OSCE will run one more municipal election in Kosovo in 2002 before turning the responsibility over to local authorities. As in Bosnia, implementation of election results is as much of a challenge as holding the elections themselves, which is evidenced by the difficulties in getting the newly elected parliament to agree on a government. The need for a continued robust NATO presence and a U.N. administration that maintains residual responsibility was underlined when the Kosovo Assembly tried to challenge a border agreement between Yugoslavia and Macedonia, a move declared null and void by the United Nations.

The delicately named OSCE Spillover Mission to the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia is the oldest continuous OSCE field presence, having been created by the CSCE in 1992 to prevent the conflict in Yugoslavia from engulfing Macedonia. At the invitation of the Macedonian government, the United Nations deployed UNPREPDEP, the U.N. Preventive Deployment to Macedonia, which rose to a troop strength of over 1,000. In 1999, the Chinese vetoed the extension of UNPREPDEP in retaliation for Macedonia's recognition of Taiwan. This veto occurred just as tensions between Slavs and Macedonians were on the rise in Macedonia after the Kosovo conflict and the return of the massive outflow of Kosovo Albanian refugees.

While the EU, the United States, the United Nations and NATO maintain a close watch on the situation, only the OSCE has a long-term field presence.

The role of the OSCE in Macedonia includes mediation, institution building, economic and environmental development, election monitoring, and combating human trafficking. With the outbreak of violence between ethnic Albanians and Slavs in 2001 and the conclusion of the Ohrid agreement with its emphasis on greater rights for Macedonian Albanians, the tasks of the OSCE mission escalated rapidly. The mission now plays the central role in conflict prevention, training Albanian police and integrating them into the force, monitoring borders, helping to strengthen local government and the judiciary and implementing agreed constitutional changes. The core mission was increased to 26 in 2001. Temporary police trainers and monitors are also available as the situation requires. NATO has provided a small military force to support and protect the OSCE mission.

Macedonia represents the most unstable situation in Southeastern Europe right now. While the EU, the United States, the United Nations and NATO maintain a close watch on the situation, only the OSCE has a long-term field presence. Lack of competition in the field presents advantages and disadvantages. The biggest disadvantage is that the mission is given more tasks than it can possibly perform with the personnel and resources at its command.

The OSCE "Presence in Albania" was inaugurated in 1997 in response to a complete breakdown of law and order. The initial OSCE mandate was to provide advice and assistance in democratization, media, human rights and the preparation of elections. Later in 1997, the "presence" was charged with coordinating the work of other international organizations and bilateral donors. Thus the OSCE became the core of "Friends of Albania," a group of donors working to stabilize the situation. As the situation in Kosovo unfolded in 1999, border monitoring was added to the OSCE tasks. The current mission staff is comprised of

CURRENT OSCE FIELD ACTIVITIES*

LOCATION/ MISSION TITLE	*Year Started*	PURPOSE
Albania/ *Presence in Albania*	*1997*	Gives advice and assistance to Albanian authorities on democratization, development of free media, promotion of human rights and preparation of elections. Coordinates work of international organizations and bilateral donors. Supports weapons collection.
Armenia/ *Office in Yerevan*	*1999*	Promotes cooperation with Armenia in all OSCE dimensions, including human, political, economic and environmental aspects of security and stability.
Azerbaijan/ *Office in Baku*	*1999*	Promotes cooperation with Armenia in all OSCE dimensions, including human, political, economic and environmental aspects of security and stability.
Belarus/ *Advisory and Monitoring Group in Belarus*	*1998*	Assists Belarusian authorities in promoting democratic institutions and in complying with other OSCE commitments.
Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH)/ *Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina*	*1995*	Fosters democratic values, monitors human rights, and implements arms control and security-building measures. Enforces rules of media conduct and helps oversee military stabilization. Organizes and supervises elections until BiH Election Commission established. (Commission appointed in November 2001 and took over responsibility of organizing elections with support from OSCE mission.)
Croatia/ *Mission to Croatia*	*1996*	Monitors and assists return of refugees and displaced persons. Addresses human rights, repossession of property, local administration, democratization and rule of law.
Georgia/ *Mission to Georgia*	*1992*	Promotes negotiations aimed at peaceful settlement of conflicts in South Ossetia and Abkhazia. Liaises with government officials and NGOs. Coordinates work with other international organizations and monitors peacekeeping and elections. Helps establish democratic framework. Mandate expanded to include border monitoring between Georgia and Chechnya in 1999.
Georgia/ *Personal Representative of the Chair in Office (CiO) on the Conflict Dealt with by the Minsk Conference (Nagorno-Karabakh)*	*1995*	Represents OSCE Chairman-in-Office in issues related to Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. Assists CiO in achieving an agreement on cessation of armed conflict and creates conditions for deploying OSCE peacekeeping operation.
Kazakhstan/ *Center in Almaty*	*1998*	Maintains contact with government and its specialized agencies, such as Human Rights and Central Election Commissions. Works with NGOs, especially in environmental and human rights sectors. Coordinates activities with other international organizations.
Kosovo/ *Mission in Kosovo*	*1999*	Within framework of UNMIK, leads institution- and democracy-building, human rights monitoring, and election organizing. Also assists in media affairs, development of rule of law, and police education. (Previous missions conducted in 1992 and 1998-1999.)

LOCATION/ MISSION TITLE	*Year Started*	PURPOSE
Kyrgyzstan/ *Center in Bishkek*	*1998*	Fosters economic, environmental, human and political aspects of security and stability. Facilitates and maintains contacts with government, local authorities, and NGOs. Encourages cooperation between international organizations and Kyrgyzstan.
Macedonia, Former Yugoslav Republic of / *Spillover Monitor Mission to Skopje*	*1992*	Conducts border monitoring and mediation aimed at improving inter-ethnic relations. Assists in development of civil society and coordinates election monitoring and institution-building. Helps train Albanians for integration into police force.
Moldova/ *Mission to Moldova*	*1993*	Helps parties to pursue negotiations on a lasting political settlement and to consolidate independence and sovereignty of Moldova. Assists with withdrawal of Russian military forces and destruction of stockpiled Soviet weapons. Reach an understanding on special status for Transdniestrian region.
Russian Federation/ *Assistance Group to Chechnya*	*1995*	Promotes respect for human rights and freedoms. Facilitates delivery of international humanitarian aid. Provides assistance for speedy return of refugees and displaced persons. Encourages stabilization and peaceful crisis resolution. (Group withdrew to Moscow in 1998 for security reasons, but returned in 2001.)
Tajikistan/ *Mission to Tajikistan*	*1993*	Facilitates dialogue and confidence building between regionalist and political forces. Actively promotes respect for human rights. Assists in development of legal and democratic political institutions and processes. Monitors and reports on human rights situation of returning refugees and internally displaced persons.
Turkmenistan/ *Center in Ashgabad*	*1998*	Fosters economic, environmental, human and political aspects of security and stability. Facilitates and maintain contacts with government, local authorities, and NGOs. Promotes cooperation between international organizations and Turkmenistan.
Ukraine/ *Project Coordinator in Ukraine*	*1999*	Supports Ukraine in adapting legislation, structures and processes to meet requirements of modern democracy. Encourages cooperation with Ukrainian authorities to strengthen social and political integration in OSCE area. (Previous mission: 1994-1999.)
Uzbekistan/ *Center in Tashkent*	*2000*	Conducts early warning, conflict prevention, crisis management and post-conflict rehabilitation. Facilitates information exchange with government, local authorities, universities, research institutions and non-governmental organizations. Promotes cooperation between Uzbekistan and international organizations. (Liaison office opened in 1995 to conduct outreach to Central Asian countries. OSCE opened offices in those other countries, then changed mandate of liaison office in Tashkent to focus on Uzbekistan.)
Yugoslavia, Federal Republic of/ *Mission to F.R.Y.*	*2001*	Provides assistance and expertise in fields of democratization, protection of human rights and minorities, and judiciary and media development.

*Source: OSCE, "OSCE Missions and Field Activities," URL http://www.osce.org/field_activities/, version current as of June 6, 2002.

approximately 45 internationals and twice as many nationals, with headquarters in Tirana and others in 15 field offices.

The OSCE field staff in Albania, as elsewhere, is involved in implementing or supporting projects of concern to other OSCE institutions or bilateral donors. For example, weapons collection, preventing trafficking in women, strengthening the Albanian Parliament and electoral and media reform have been key OSCE activities of late.

The original role of the OSCE in Yugoslavia was ended when the Milosevic government was suspended from membership in 1992, but resumed soon after Vojislav Kostunica replaced Milosevic in 2000. The OSCE Mission to Yugoslavia was approved in January 2001, with a mandate to provide assistance and expertise on democratization, human rights, reform of the judiciary and law enforcement personnel, return of refugees and legislation on human rights. The mission was formally opened in March 2001 with an authorized staff of up to 30 internationals. Uniquely, the mission is collocated with a Council of Europe field office, signifying a new effort to cooperate more closely on the ground.

The OSCE mission has taken a lead role in planning the destruction of the huge stockpiles of Soviet weaponry in Transdniestria.

The initial focus of OSCE concern was in Southern Serbia, along the border with Kosovo, where the potential for Serb-Albanian violence was greatest. This became a significant success in conflict prevention, as noted by Yugoslav President Vojislav Kostunica in a 2002 presentation to the Permanent Council. The OSCE, together with the Serbian Ministry of the Interior, led an effort to train and integrate Albanian police into the force in Presevo valley. Also, they undertook border monitoring together with the OSCE in Kosovo and mediated negotiations on power sharing, which headed off the possibility of an Albanian-Serb conflict in the area. In the rest of the country, the mission has engaged in reforming media, law enforcement and the judiciary, and strengthening civil society in general. Progress is being made, but it is slow work in a country that was dominated by Milosevic for a decade.

3.2 Eastern Europe

The OSCE presence is much thinner in Eastern Europe, with two field missions of declining importance, one that has made real progress, and two successful, but closed, missions in the Baltics. The OSCE Mission to Moldova is a potential success story. The mission's key task is to consolidate Moldovan independence and regularize the status of the breakaway province of Transdniestria. In addition, the mission assists the withdrawal of Russian military forces and the removal and destruction of 40,000 tons of weapons stockpiled for the Soviet southwestern group of forces.

The Mission in Moldova was inaugurated in 1993, and the OSCE opened a branch office in Transdniestria's capital, Tiraspol, in 1995. While its mandate covers traditional areas of human rights and democratization, the focus has been on dealing with separatism, where Russophile elements on the east bank of the Dniester River have refused to recognize the independent Moldovan government since the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991. The Transdniestrians were supported by the Russian 14th Army, which until recently, refused to withdraw to the Russian Federation.

The OSCE mission has become central to the mediation process, working with representatives of the Russian Federation, Ukraine, Moldova, and Romania. At the OSCE Istanbul summit at the end of 1999, Russia agreed to withdraw its forces by the end of 2002. But the task of bringing Transdniestria along and monitoring Russian compliance fell to the OSCE. A Communist victory in the 2001 Moldovan elections combined with Putin's personal involvement seemed to move things forward, but as a result, opposition in Transdniestria has redoubled. Currently, the Transdniestrian authorities refuse to allow OSCE mission personnel on territory they control and the negotiation process is stalled. Meanwhile, the enclave continues to be a destabilizing force, with arms smuggling, organized crime and trafficking in women supported by criminals centered in the Transdniestrian capital. Some of these arms go to terrorists around the world.

The OSCE mission has taken a lead role in planning the destruction of the huge stockpiles of Soviet weaponry in Transdniestria. The mission introduced a plan agreed by the parties in 2001, and sought voluntary contributions by OSCE member states to carry it out. The United States is the major contributor. Transdniestrian foot-dragging, however, has stalled this process. The attitude of the Russian Federation is key to the situation in Moldova. Only Moscow has the leverage to bring about Transdniestrian compliance, and the mission is working with the Russians under the mantle of the OSCE to bring about this end.

The OSCE Advisory and Monitoring Group in Belarus has made little progress in dealing with the authoritarian Lukashenka government since its founding in 1998. Following the OSCE refusal to certify the 2001 Presidential elections as free and fair, a new standoff has developed with the Lukashenka government insisting on a new, reduced mandate for the OSCE and blocking appointment of a new Head of Mission. Delegates of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly have suggested that failure to resolve this question could mean the suspension of Belarus from the institution. While an OSCE presence in Minsk has had some positive effects, for example, in its support of local NGOs, it is difficult to justify Belarus' membership when Lukashenka and his government increasingly undermine the organization's principles.

The OSCE has had some notable successes in Europe. In Estonia and Latvia, OSCE field missions brought steady pressure to bear, together with the HCNM, to protect the rights of the Russian minority. The ability to point to continued progress no doubt was a material factor in preventing a conflict that would have had serious effects throughout Europe. Given Russian/Soviet dislike of the Basket III (human rights) commitments of the CSCE, it was notable that the Russians were the strongest advocates of a lasting OSCE field presence in Estonia and Latvia. Now that these missions have been closed, the HCNM plays an important role in making sure there is no backsliding.

The OSCE had a full-fledged Mission to Ukraine from 1994 to 1999 that concentrated on managing the crisis over Crimea. As with Transdniestria in Moldova, the Russian population of the Crimea did not wish to become part of Ukraine, and the situation held the potential for serious violence. The OSCE mission mediated confidence-building measures and guarantees of autonomy, which permitted a peaceful outcome. The mission was closed in 1999, and an "OSCE Project Coordinator in Ukraine" was given a mandate to arrange projects of interest with OSCE institutions and member states. Such projects concern legal and judicial reform, media, military restructuring, ombudsmen's institutions, and trafficking in human beings. Again, had it not been for the OSCE, the situation in the Crimea could have had explosive consequences.

3.3 Caucasus

The OSCE Mission to Georgia is dealing with one of the most complex and challenging situations following the breakup of the Soviet Union. Founded in 1992 to deal with potential armed conflicts in the

area, its mandate has come to cover peacekeeping and conflict resolution with the breakaway provinces of South Ossetia and Abkhazia, as well as monitoring the border with Chechnya, to try to prevent the spillover of fighting. The mission has been active in efforts to close Russian military bases on Georgian territory and to destroy or remove weapons stored there. On top of this, the OSCE is dealing with a crisis within Georgia marked by the growth of organized crime and corruption, widespread violence, and a breakdown of the economy. If these problems continue, Georgia could end up as a failed state and a haven for the Taliban and al-Qaeda seeking a new refuge after Afghanistan.

With the addition of Chechen border monitoring to its mandate, the Georgia mission now has the status of a large field mission. It works closely with the United Nations and the EU, which have peacekeeping and economic reconstruction responsibilities as well. While some progress has been made in discussions with South Ossetia, the situation seems to be deteriorating in Abkhazia, where Chechen and Georgian guerillas have been attacking Abkhaz forces.

Some progress also has been made on closing Russian military bases in Georgia and the removal of arms stocks, as agreed at the Istanbul summit in 1999. The OSCE has called for voluntary contributions to help finance the destruction of arms supplies and the removal of Russian personnel.

The decision to send U.S. Special Forces to Georgia to train the Georgian security forces in counter-terrorism demonstrates the dangers of turmoil in this isolated corner of the world. If the parties reach some agreement, the OSCE may take on a larger role in monitoring the situation on the ground in Abkhazia.

Outside of Georgia, OSCE activity in the Caucasus centers on Nagorno-Karabakh where armed conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan has been going on for a decade. OSCE involvement began in 1992, with a call for an international conference in Minsk under OSCE auspices to resolve the conflict. No conference was possible, but the “Minsk Group” was formed under U.S., Russian and French co-chairmen, and an intensive search for a negotiated settlement was begun. While there have been periods when the Azeris and Armenians have seemed to be on the verge of agreement, for example, during a summit meeting in Key West, Florida in April 2001, both parties now appear to be retreating.

The OSCE has a number of people in the field to support the Minsk Process. A Representative of the OSCE Chair in Office and his staff, resident in Tbilisi, opened an office in 1997 to help with mediation. In 1999, the OSCE opened field offices in Baku and Yerevan, with six internationals in each. These offices carry out the usual range of field activities in promoting human rights and civil society. At the same time, they assist indirectly in the Minsk Process negotiations.

The OSCE has had an Assistance Group in Chechnya since 1995, which has attempted to deal with the human rights situation during the bloody war there. For security reasons, the group withdrew to Moscow in 1998, but returned to Chechnya in 2001 where they have been quartered in the Russian-controlled city of Znamenskoye.

3.4 Central Asia

In 1992, the first Bush administration strongly advocated including the newly independent states of Central Asia into the CSCE/OSCE as a means of promoting their integration into Euro-Atlantic structures and fostering political and economic reform. This was contrary to the advice of those like Max Kampelman who believed the organization would suffer from including countries that did not share Western values.[10]

Membership did not have much effect on governments that owed more to the tradition of Soviet repression than to the principles of the Helsinki Final Act. Membership did give the OSCE standing to act in Central Asia, however, and in 1993 the CSCE established a field mission in Tajikistan. Together with the United Nations, the CSCE/OSCE mediated negotiations that resulted in the Tajik Peace Agreement of 1997, ending the civil war that followed the breakup of the Soviet Union. After this, the focus of the OSCE mission shifted to legal and constitutional reform, preparation for elections, and the creation of domestic human rights institutions. Following the holding of multi-party parliamentary elections in 2000, the mission focused more intensely on property law, human rights and media reform.

With concern over stability in Central Asia growing, the OSCE opened a liaison office in Tashkent in 1995, which was designed to promote the integration of the four Central Asian states into the OSCE structure. In 1998, the OSCE decided that each Central Asian capital should have a permanent field presence, and so the organization closed the liaison office in Tashkent and opened "offices" in the capitals of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. The mandates of the four offices were generally similar, emphasizing the need to look at security, economic, environmental and human rights issues from a regional perspective. While these small missions implemented some worthwhile programs, they had little real impact on inward-looking societies that were marginal to U.S. and European concerns.

Now is the time to review what the Central Asian field missions are doing and to ensure that each has clear goals that stress the linkage of hard security and reform.

The September 11 terrorist attack on the United States and the military campaign in Afghanistan served to focus the attention of the OSCE member states on Central Asia. This was particularly the case in Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan, where the United States and its coalition partners were granted access to military facilities. Following the OSCE Bucharest action plan on counter-terrorism, a conference on stability in Central Asia was held in December 2001 in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan. Countries neighboring Central Asia, including China, India, Iran, and Pakistan attended, as did OSCE member states.

In the Bishkek discussions, as in other fora, the Central Asian states justified their harsh repressive actions on the grounds that they were necessary to deal with the terrorist threat from Muslim extremists. They requested military and financial assistance, and the strengthening of law enforcement and border controls. Other OSCE member states pressed the concept of comprehensive security, urging political and economic reform in order to deny a breeding ground for terrorism. As is the case in Macedonia, the OSCE has a unique role in Central Asia. Clearly, NATO, outside of the Partnership for Peace, will not be involved and no Central Asian state belongs to the Council of Europe. The EU considered becoming involved after September 11, but ultimately decided against participation.[11] If any regional organization is going to take on this challenge, it will be the OSCE.

The OSCE Mission to Tajikistan has demonstrated the organization's potential. In the rest of Central Asia, OSCE capacity is limited. In part, this is due to governments that tolerate little outside involvement. It is also due to the limited resources of the missions, which generally hold seminars and host programs mounted by the ODIHR concerning regional issues, such as human trafficking and minority rights. While such activities are useful, they are largely attended by those who are already converted to the cause or who have little power to influence events. In fact, the evidence of effectiveness of some OSCE efforts to work with pro-democracy forces has been that the participants were arrested and imprisoned.

One of the reasons for the marginal level of involvement in Central Asia has been that member states gave the region low priority. It is not clear that this has changed definitively since September 11, in either the OSCE or in bilateral programs carried out by the United States and Europe in the area. But it is hard to imagine the situation in Afghanistan stabilizing without reform in neighboring Central Asian countries.

Now is the time to review what the Central Asian field missions are doing and to ensure that each has clear goals that stress the linkage of hard security and reform. Drawing Russia into a dialogue with receptive Central Asian states, as was successfully carried out by the Kettering Foundation in Tajikistan, could be an important first step. More needs to be done on a regional basis, particularly in the Ferghana Valley. The OSCE could play a role in mediating the many border disputes that have emerged since the breakup of the Soviet Union, and in training border guards and customs personnel. A senior U.S. official recently called for the OSCE to train Central Asians in entrepreneurship.[12] There are plenty of activities the OSCE could do, and it is time to go beyond simply organizing seminars and holding meetings. However, the Bush administration's budget request calling for a major reduction in funds for peacekeeping operations suggests that U.S. policy makers do not see an increased OSCE role as a major element in their anti-terrorism strategy. Without U.S. leadership, it is unlikely that the OSCE will undertake a more activist role in the region.

CHAPTER 4: Prospects and Problems

During the 1990s, the CSCE, and then the OSCE, evolved to meet the challenges of internal conflict in the weak states that emerged after the breakup of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. Gradually the center of attention of the OSCE has moved eastward as concern over conflict in the Balkans has given way to conflict prevention in the Caucasus, Central Asia and Eastern Europe.

Field missions have turned out to be an effective tool for managing pre-conflict and post conflict situations because they put internationals on the ground for the long term, where they can understand the dynamics and build relationships with local officials. In the decade ahead, the combination of organized crime, religious extremism, economic collapse and terrorism suggests that the OSCE will be called on to play a greater role in Europe and Eurasia. Because of its presence on the ground in 19 successor states of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, the OSCE is uniquely positioned to implement regional initiatives that are required to deal with transnational issues.

4.1 Roles of Other Organizations

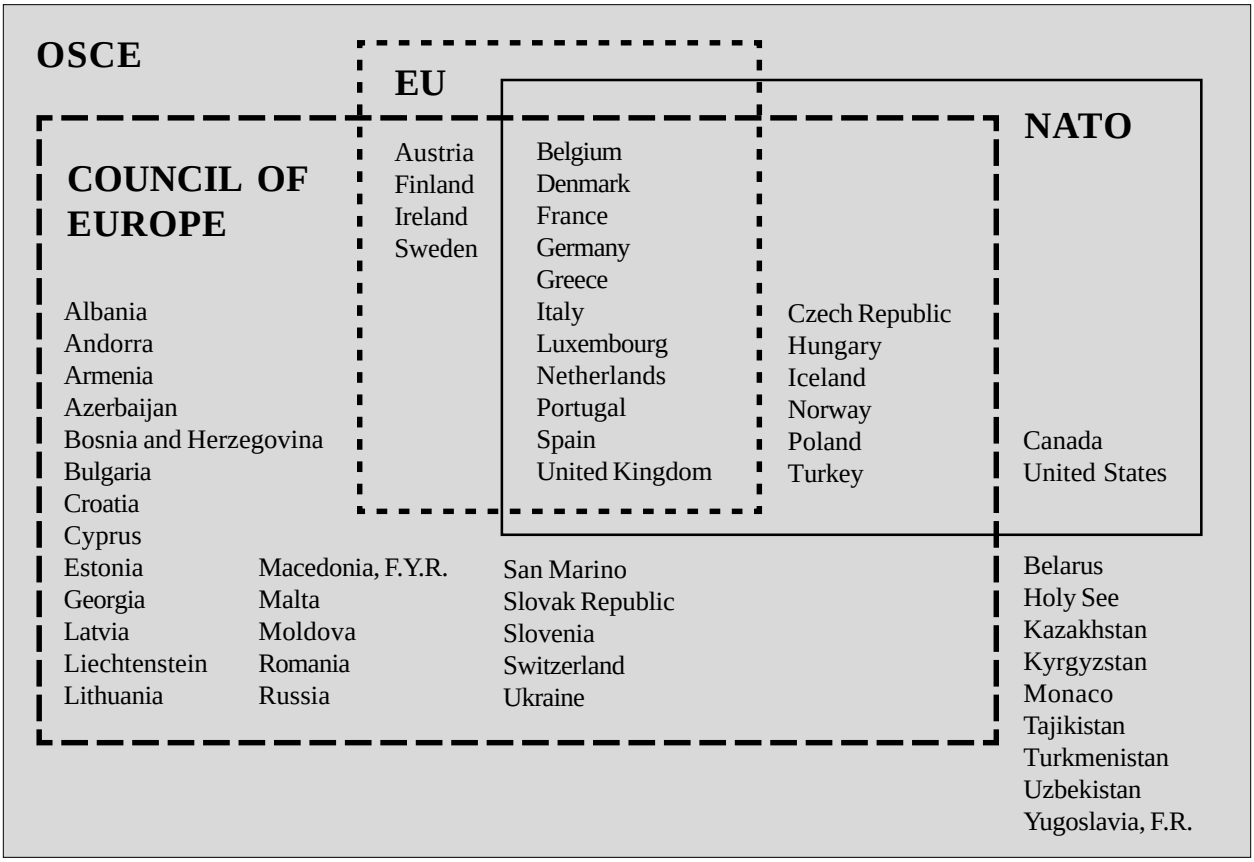
NATO will be looking for new things to do after the creation of the NATO-Russia Council and after the Prague summit in the fall of 2002, which will result in a major expansion of membership. Some have suggested that the organization will evolve into a loosely organized political talk shop.[13] But whatever direction NATO takes, it is in no position to undertake the kind of conflict prevention or post-conflict peace building that the OSCE has done in places such as Georgia, Macedonia, Moldova, and Tajikistan. Because these countries are members of the OSCE, the organization has standing that NATO would not have. However accommodating President Vladimir Putin has been about NATO expansion, there is no suggestion that this flexibility would extend to tolerance of NATO field missions in former Soviet republics that are not full members of NATO. In the political sphere, NATO might best concentrate on efforts at democracy building among the new NATO members, rather than carrying out programs among non-members. In other hard security areas, such as military support for peace building and counter terrorism, the new NATO will no doubt play a more central role.

The EU could conceivably play a larger role among non-members of NATO. Post-September 11, more efforts are being devoted to creating a mechanism for carrying out the European Security and Defense Policy. The first venture into field-based programs will come when the EU takes over the police training function from the United Nations in Bosnia in January 2003. The OSCE, which has carried out police training in Croatia, Kosovo, Macedonia and Serbia, had also been a candidate for this role, but the EU's strong political commitment won the day.

The tendency among some in the U.S. administration to assign military roles to itself, but to assign peacekeeping and nation-building to the EU, suggests that the United States may increasingly see Europe in this "cleanup" role. But it is probably beyond the EU's capability to take on such a role without the participation of Russia and the United States, to say nothing of such important non-EU players as Canada, Norway, and Switzerland. These countries have contributed significant resources to post-conflict reconstruction over the last decade, and they often have found it useful to do so through programs developed by OSCE field missions. Cutting out these donors would not be in the interest of the EU.

In recent years, the OSCE relationship with the Council of Europe has been particularly competitive and sometimes even snappish, though the two organizations have very different strengths. The Council has wide resources to draw on in areas such as legal reform, but no ambitions to send long-term missions to uncomfortable places. As noted, they have steered clear of Central Asia. There is plenty of room for the OSCE and the Council to work together, but the culture of the two organizations works against it.

Membership in Transatlantic Organizations



4.2 Need for Reforms

If the OSCE is to fulfill its promise and meet British and U.S. needs, some reforms are needed. A key factor determining the OSCE's effectiveness is the strength of the Chairmanship, which is held for one year by a foreign minister from a participating state. The record here is mixed, with some serving their one-year term with distinction and others treating it as an afterthought. Not only must the Foreign Minister and his staff devote full attention to OSCE issues and be prepared to intervene personally where high level mediation is called for, but there must be a highly competent representative of the CiO in Vienna to preside over the weekly meetings of the Permanent Council and to provide day-to-day leadership for the organization. When this element is lacking, the organization is adrift and field missions are left to set their own

priorities. This can lead to strange situations, as was the case some years ago when a Head of Mission in a strife-torn country decided that the focus of the mission's work should be the creation of a dictionary to improve communications with a very small minority group.

Lack of a strong chairmanship can also mean that the missions do not cooperate on problems that are regional in nature, and that there is little commonality in ways of dealing with similar problems, such as judicial reform. Since there is no way of ensuring that the rotational chairmanship will always be up to the task, two alternative remedies have been suggested.

As it is ultimately in Russia's interest to maintain the role of the OSCE rather than leaving security issues to the EU or NATO, they should be encouraged to take a new look at the organization.

One way ahead would be to strengthen the authority of the Secretary General and the Secretariat, giving them responsibility for political matters now reserved for the CiO. This centralized model would allow the Secretary General and his staff to provide political guidance for field missions, a task which has heretofore been reserved for the Chairmanship. To date, this has been resisted, particularly by the United States. Policy makers in Washington have seen the entrenched U.N. Secretariat as a particularly bad example, but they also have felt that NATO, EU and Council of Europe bureaucracies have stood in the way of effective action. Heads of OSCE field missions generally feel that the Secretariat can never develop the substantive expertise needed to deal with fast moving situations in a variety of countries. Indeed, one of the problems the organization has faced in the past is the tendency of the Secretariat and the central institutions to try to micromanage missions using their budgetary or personnel authorities to try to shape policy outcomes. This creates confusion and weakens the ability of the field mission to manage an evolving situation.

At the other end of the spectrum, many with substantive experience in dealing with the OSCE have felt that only a stronger Secretariat could provide a clearer sense of direction for the field. They have urged a collaborative relationship whereby the CiO would use the resources of the Secretariat for political as well as managerial tasks. Others have suggested that the proper answer is administrative decentralization and increased attention to developing the capacity of both the Chairmanship and the Secretariat. The Chairmanship could be reinforced by providing senior-level support from other member states to assist in carrying out the duties of the chair. This would resemble a kind of permanent undersecretary, to use the U.K. model, who would provide continuity without expanding the political role of the Secretariat. This senior official and a small staff could help to ensure that the field missions are setting the proper priorities and that the central institutions are not acting at cross purposes with those in the field.

The OSCE should steer clear of creating an inner directorate consisting of the larger European states and the United States – a "quartet" or "quintet" – of the more influential. Not only does such a tendency create deep resentment among the smaller nations, but also it would serve to isolate Russia and thus neutralize the advantage of a security forum in which Russia can participate as a full member. It would also alienate some of the smaller OSCE members who have made some of the greatest contributions to the organization, such as Canada, Ireland, Poland, Scandinavian countries, and Switzerland.

The OSCE also suffers from a lack of creative Russian involvement. While the Soviet Union, and later the Russian Federation, once preferred the CSCE and the OSCE to other fora, their enthusiasm declined as the organization took on missions that touched Moscow's sensitivities, as in Georgia or Kosovo. Feeling left out

of the decision loop, the Russians resorted to foot-dragging as a strategy, particularly on budgetary issues. Russians seconded to the OSCE sometimes seemed more interested in the per diem than the policies, and exercised little positive influence in Vienna. As it is ultimately in Russia's interest to maintain the role of the OSCE rather than leaving security issues to the EU or NATO, they should be encouraged to take a new look at the organization. In order to encourage this, it should be made clear that they will be full partners in the decision making process if they come to the table ready to make a positive contribution. One place to begin this could be in Central Asia, where a dialogue and a greater Russian contribution to reform efforts could be effective and reassuring.

It must also be noted that the field structure is becoming very large and diverse. The closure of the Latvian and Estonian missions in 2001 was a positive step, and would have happened sooner but for the fact that the Russian Federation insisted that the OSCE should stay longer to protect the rights of the Russian minority. Now the OSCE needs to close others where the job is largely done (Croatia), or where accomplishing it is impossible (Belarus).

Small missions are being asked to do too much. There is a tendency to create vague mandates that suggest that all missions should deal with the full range of civil society activities, from electoral reform to protection of minority rights. OSCE member states should insist on setting narrow priorities for small missions that answer the needs of the host country. If the international community wishes to write a broad mandate they must be ready to provide more staff and resources to implement it. Otherwise the missions simply adopt ineffective but cheap ways of dealing with an issue, such as holding a seminar or bringing in a visiting expert.

One means of improving the OSCE's effectiveness while reducing the budget would be to shift the emphasis from elections to strengthening the rule of law.

Thanks in large part to the United States, the OSCE has placed too much emphasis on holding and monitoring elections. As evidenced by the experience in Bosnia and Kosovo, elections demand huge resources and do not necessarily help build civil societies. Most weak ex-communist states would be better served by creating an independent judiciary than by holding early and frequent elections. The approach being experimented with currently in Bosnia removes judicial appointments from the political process and requires that sitting judges be vetted for suitability and not reappointed if they do not pass muster. Similar approaches should be used elsewhere in transitional societies. One means of improving the OSCE's effectiveness while reducing the budget would be to shift the emphasis from elections to strengthening the rule of law.

In Vienna, there has been much discussion of the legal status of the OSCE. Because the organization has no founding treaty that could act as a basis for its existence, it lacks a "legal personality" under international law, which creates problems in contracting and procurement. Some have suggested that this gap be filled by a treaty, an approach resisted by Washington because of the difficulty of getting such a treaty through Congress. Many agree that such a time-consuming process would divert attention from substantive issues and leave the OSCE behind in the search for policy relevance. While the system of seconding officials from OSCE governments works reasonably well, there is a gap to be filled in terms of middle managers with experience. One approach to deal with this problem would be to create a small cadre of professionals who would be hired by the OSCE and be expected to work their way up a management career track. In fact, this has already happened in a few cases, often in personnel and fiscal management jobs.

4.3 Conclusion

The OSCE is uniquely suited to deal with some of the key threats facing the United Kingdom, the United States and their allies: terrorism, organized crime, the illegal arms trade, political repression, refugee flows and the denial of human rights. Most of these problems cannot be solved by military preemption. In order to deal with immediate challenges, such as the growth of terrorism and Islamic extremism, we must pay more attention to advancing our long-term values: democracy, the rule of law, development of market economies, modernization and education. The OSCE is the instrument of choice in dealing with these problems, particularly in Central Asia where it has no competition. But the OSCE is underused and relegated to the margins by policy makers. This is no time for the United States or the United Kingdom to reduce financial or political support for an essential multilateral organization.

Endnotes

[1] "Basket III" issues refer to Europe's cooperation in humanitarian and human rights fields. The CSCE originally developed three areas, or "baskets," on which to focus activity. Beside Basket III activities, Basket I refers to European security and Basket II refers to economic, scientific, technological, and environmental issues.

[2] See Kissinger, Henry, *Years of Renewal* (Simon and Schuster: New York, 1999), pp. 636-665.

[3] Kissinger, pp. 663-665.

[4] Dobrynin, Anatoly, *In Confidence* (University of Washington Press: Seattle, 1995), p. 346. Dobrynin says that the Politburo was stunned when the final text of Basket III came before them for approval, fearing, correctly, that this would open the door to foreign interference in Soviet internal affairs.

[5] For example, the Istanbul summit documents of 1999 and the Bucharest ministerial documents of 2001 include action plans, with specific commitments and deadlines.

[6] OSCE, "Parliamentary Assembly," *OSCE Fact Sheet*, URL http://www.osce.org/publications/factsheets/pa_e.pdf, version current on July 24, 2002.

[7] Istanbul Summit Declaration, November 19, 1999.

[8] High Representative Petritsch's farewell speech to OSCE Permanent Council, Vienna, May 9, 2002.

[9] Statement of Lord Ashdown to the OSCE Permanent Council, Vienna, July 7, 2002.

[10] Kampelman, M., Private communication with the author, April 2002.

[11] Report of High Representative Solana, SN 4369 11/01, October 26, 2001.

[12] Statement of Assistant Secretary of State Anthony Wayne to the OSCE Economic Forum, Prague, May 31, 2002.

[13] See International Crisis Group, "EU Crisis Response Capabilities: An Update," International Crisis Group *Issues Briefing*, April 29, 2002. The comment by a NATO official was not for attribution.

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Lafone House • 11-13 Leathermarket Street • London SE1 3HN • UK
T +44-(0)20-7407-2977 • F +44-(0)20-7407-2988 • basicuk@basicint.org

1012 14th Street, NW • Suite 900 • Washington, DC 20005 • USA
T +1 202 347-8347 • F +1 202 347-4688 • basicus@basicint.org

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