

**TURKISH CONTRIBUTION TO THE
ANNUAL SECURITY REVIEW CONFERENCE
(Vienna, 25-26 June 2003)**

WORKING GROUP C

SECURITY RISKS AND CHALLENGES ACROSS THE OSCE REGION

Nature of Threats – Discussion on OSCE Strategy

- Recent developments demonstrate that security cannot solely be equated to “military security”, as was the case during the Cold War.
- New risks and challenges that came into being towards the middle of the last decade are: terrorism in its wider implications, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD), xenophobia, racism, separatism and violent extremism, trafficking in human beings, drugs and small arms and light weapons and organized crime.
- These will most likely be acknowledged within the framework of the OSCE endeavours towards development of the OSCE Strategy to Address Threats to Security and Stability in the 21st Century.
- However, we should not attempt to prepare an exclusive and closed list of present and potential threats. In fact, by definition, it would be impossible to do so, given the multi-directional and highly unpredictable nature of these threats. In the end, any list of threats is bound to remain open-ended due to *inter alia* the evolving character of them. For instance, the risk of terrorist organizations having access to WMD has been conceptually envisaged, whereas the use of conventional technologies as “*weapons of mass effect*” is a novelty of the terrorist attacks of September 11th.¹
- Many of these threats involve (but are not limited to) non-state actors, such as terrorist organizations and other criminal networks. (Failed states may also pose such threats, for instance in their attempts to develop or acquire WMD.)
- A considerable amount of these risks and threats emanate from or have their roots outside the OSCE area. In particular, threats originating from adjacent areas must be considered.
- Most of these threats have been around for quite a long time. Terrorism, for example, is not a novelty of the contemporary world. However, in an increasingly global world, the nature and scope of these threats have significantly broadened. The terrorist attacks of September 11th should not be considered as the first, but perhaps the most vivid

¹This new terminology has been developed by Professor Michael Clarke, Director of the Centre for Defence Studies at King’s College, London.

manifestation of the fact that a new world has emerged with trans-national non-state actors, having full access to all the fruits of globalization and able to instrumentalize already existing means to terrifying ends.

- To illustrate, *Al Qaeda* terrorists had received safe haven in some non-OSCE countries and were in action also in the OSCE region, with operatives arrested in nearly every European country. (As Simon and Benjamin have pointed out, “*Before Al Qaeda hijacked aircraft, it hijacked countries.*”²)
- *Al Qaeda* is a typical but not the only example of how a terrorist organization can establish global networks. In fact, many of the world’s known terrorist organizations have sought safe havens in countries other than those in which they perpetrate their acts and have circumvented national borders through illegal fund-raising activities in the form of drug trafficking, extortion, money laundering and other forms of organized crime. (PKK/KADEK is an example.)
- The asymmetrical risks and threats encountered today are global, transcending national borders and threatening international peace, stability and security. The complex nature of these threats require active interaction of all members of international community as well as a comprehensive, cross-sectional response based on increased cooperation.
- These risks and threats are frequently interrelated: For instance, one particular terrorist organization may simultaneously perpetrate terrorist attacks, paralyze critical infrastructure (e.g., energy, transportation, communications, emergency services and information infrastructure), contemplate obtaining WMD to use, or threaten to use them, while at the same time engage in different forms of trafficking (most notably, drug trafficking, trafficking in human beings, arms smuggling) with a view to *inter alia* finance its heinous acts.
- For this reason, no single nation – or international organization, for that matter – can effectively counter these risks and threats on its own. This calls for a concerted action of all members of the international community.
- Furthermore, in view of the pervasive nature and global reach of these risks and challenges, a strategic vision, shared by the world community, is critical in countering them. The strategic thinking necessary to prevail in the face of these security challenges needs to be as interrelated as these challenges themselves. It was in the light of these considerations that the OSCE has recently embarked on developing a Strategy Document to Address Threats to Security and Stability in the 21st Century. We see great merit in cross-fertilization between the 21st Century Strategy and the ASRC. We hope that new ideas and proposals that will be raised during the Conference will be duly taken into account during the drafting of that strategy. Having said that, we fully agree with the premise that a discussion on the relationship between the ASRC and the Strategy might be avoided since this will depend on the final strategy document and on the outcome of the ASRC itself.

² Steven SIMON and Daniel BENJAMIN, “The Terror”, *Survival*, vol. 43, no. 4, Winter 2001-2002, p.10

Police-related activities

- The OSCE is particularly well-positioned and equipped to play an important role in police activity areas, like border security, immigration and custom regulations.
- A key OSCE goal should be to help states develop efficient police, border and other law enforcement capabilities to address security risks and challenges across the OSCE area.
- We believe that these efforts should assist states to strengthen implementation of OSCE commitments, adapt themselves to new realities and counter above-mentioned risks and challenges.
- We look favourably to the further development of the important work of the Senior Police Advisor, with special emphasis on law enforcement capacity building, training, and border security.
- Furthermore, we would like to see more involvement on the part of the Strategic Police Matters Unit in the anti-trafficking work of the OSCE from the law enforcement perspective.
- In this context, we support the idea of organizing a police experts' meeting on the issue of preventing and combating trafficking in persons, especially women and children.
- We also support the draft OSCE Action Plan to Combat Trafficking in Human Beings and look forward to its implementation.

FIRST ANNUAL SECURITY REVIEW CONFERENCE

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SPEAKING NOTES FOR WORKING GROUP C
SECURITY RISKS AND CHALLENGES ACROSS THE OSCE REGION

- Security and stability in the OSCE region cannot be seen in isolation from global security and stability. The global and trans-national nature of threats, risks and challenges to security in the 21st Century, necessitate a holistic and integrated approach on the part of the OSCE to security and stability.
- Security is no longer the sole preserve of the military. Human, economic and environmental security have become complementary components of politico-military security.
- The transition from the Cold War period to an era of security and stability is not yet complete. The OSCE region faces two separate yet interconnected threats, risks and challenges to security. The one, emanating from the legacy of the cold war and the other, as a result of the vacuum that has emerged in the wake of its demise.
- Concurrently the impact of globalization has contributed to a widening of the gap between the poor and the rich, between the developing and the developed, thus becoming another, perhaps more indirect factor having a negative affect on security and stability in the OSCE region. Some countries around the world today, unable to contend with the fast pace of globalisation and the prosperity it confers on people, have increasingly found comfort by reverting to the more predictable forms of politico-military security such as through military arming and authoritarian rule. This lack of democratisation has in itself become a threat to security and stability.
- Threats, risks and challenges to security and stability in the OSCE area are also not limited by the actions of State actors. Uncontrolled territories which have emerged after the cold war era have provided breeding ground for non State actors to engage in

a plethora of activities ranging from terrorism, to all forms of trafficking and organized crime. Therefore, dealing with such threats, risks and challenges to security solely by conventional means of co-operation between States bilaterally is no longer sufficient.

- In line with the new emerging understanding of security whose focus is shifting from the security of the State to the security of the individual and the security of the prosperity of society, issues concerning the welfare of the individual such as environmental degradation and economic development which lie at the core of the OSCE acquis will acquire greater significance for the security and stability of the region.
- The multi-dimensional character of these threats, risks and challenges to security which cut across all three dimensions of security (i.e. the politico-military, economic and human dimensions), their trans-national nature which defy borders, their assymetric composition pitting State actors and non State actors against one another and their interconnection to each other defies attempts at classifying them under particular headings. Nor is it possible to establish any priorities among them. However, some of these risks and challenges to security may be classified as follows:
 - a) Threats arising from terrorism and organized crime, i.a. violence, all forms of trafficking (human, arms, narcotics and fissile materials), money laundering, illegal migration, acquisition of fissile material by terrorist groups.
 - b) Threats arising from regional conflicts, i.a. ethnic and religious conflicts, unresolved territorial disputes, aggressive nationalism and violent separatism, displaced persons, refugees.
 - c) Threats emanating from the internal fragility of States, i.a. lack of democratisation, non-respect of human rights and the rule of law, lack of good governance, corruption.
 - d) Threats emanating from Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) programs of certain States bordering the OSCE area.
 - e) Threats arising from intolerance, i.a. violent extremism, religious extremism, violations of the rights of persons belonging to national minorities and migrant workers, chauvinism, xenophobia, anti-Semitism.

f) Threats arising from economic hardships and environmental degradation, i.a. lack of sustained economic development and growth, social disintegration, negative effects of globalisation and the widening gap between rich and poor, environmental degradation and contamination sites due to nuclear and other hazardous waste disposal, conflicts arising from use of limited natural resources, tensions arising from diversification of energy transport routes, environmental catastrophe such as oil spillage, environmental hazards and health risks posed by aging nuclear reactors.

g) Threats arising from misperceptions about each other, lack of political and other forms of dialogue, i.a. school textbooks fomenting hatred and intolerance, falsification of history for political purposes, focus on historical enmities, lack of dialogue, lack of adherence to international norms and principles and principles of good neighbourliness in bilateral relations.

- All of the above are in one way or another part of the “OSCE Strategy to Address Threats to Security and Stability in the 21st Century”.
- While the OSCE is developing various tools and mechanisms to confront such threats, some areas such as human and small arms trafficking, as well as terrorism and Peace Keeping Operations has taken precedence over the last two years. Since it is impossible to confront all threats at the same time within limited resources it is important to bring those projects which have already been set in motion to fruition.
- One of the priority areas for the OSCE must remain the resolution of frozen conflicts. The uncontrolled territories in these areas where non state actors find the freedom to pursue all forms of illegal activities constitute “dark holes” and the “Achilles Heel” of OSCE wide security. An OSCE strategy to address these conflicts cannot be relegated to the political arena only. A comprehensive strategy which bolsters the authority as well as the democratic character of the central governments, helps restructure economic institutions and attract foreign investments, strengthens the ability of local law enforcement agencies to combat terrorism and organized crime and if necessary enforces punitive measures on intransigence towards a political solution is necessary.
- Another priority area for the OSCE if it is to continue to encourage a culture of mutual tolerance and respect for diversity in the OSCE geography is to focus on racism, chauvinism, discrimination and xenophobia. As has been pointed out by the High

Commissioner on National Minorities, today's migrant workers are tomorrow's national minorities. Therefore, in order to address these issues and to overcome the oft-cited divide between "West of Vienna and East of Vienna", OSCE institutions need to focus attention "West of Vienna" and initiate concrete projects.