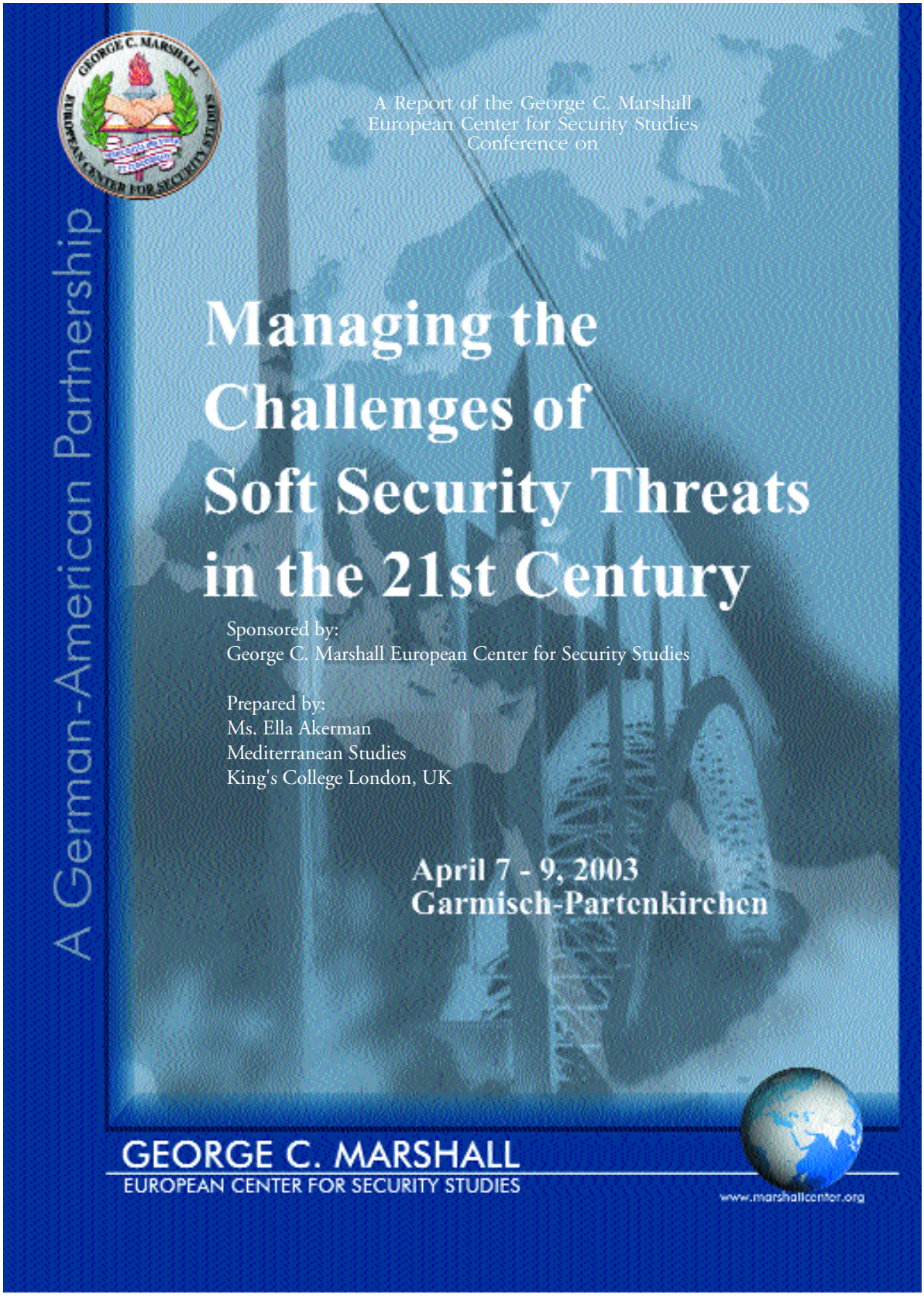
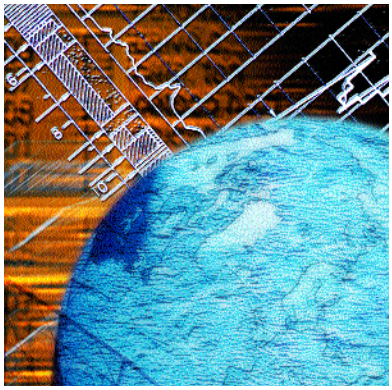


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A Report of the George C. Marshall
European Center for Security Studies Conference on

Managing the Challenges of Soft Security Threats in the 21st Century

7 - 9 April 2003

Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Germany

Sponsored by:

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Executive Summary

From 7 to 9 April 2003 the George C. Marshall Center for Security Studies sponsored a conference in Garmisch, Germany, which is to be the first in a series of seminars addressing cooperative security issues for Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, the Baltic States and Poland. The aim of this conference was to examine existing soft security threats on the regional and national levels, and more importantly to develop new approaches to manage the challenges posed by these threats. On a broader level, this event aimed at strengthening Euro-Atlantic ties with East European countries and exploring practical ways of enhancing regional cooperative security. In view of the eastward NATO enlargement and the future extension of the EU to post-Soviet space, the topic of the conference is particularly relevant and deserves increased attention from national governments and regional cooperative structures.

Over sixty high level experts from Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, the Baltic States and Poland participated in this conference, providing a wide spectrum of expertise and experience on the issues, and allowing for the elaboration of fresh ideas and approaches in debates that took place during the conference, as well as in private discussions.

The conference pursued the following objectives:

1. Examination of current soft security threats and challenges to European stability, their nature and the dynamics that sustain them
2. Analysis of the responses to these threats on national, regional and international levels
3. Proposal of new cooperative responses to combat and diminish these threats

The conference greatly benefited from the variety of approaches and different perspectives of the participants from academia, government, the armed forces and law enforcement, who by their expertise and practical experience pinpointed deficiencies in dealing with soft security issues and made suggestions to reduce the current threats.

This report highlights the main themes of the conference, summarizing the presentations given by the speakers and giving the flavor of the overall discussions by the conference participants. In addition, this report provides

recommendations for dealing with soft security threats prepared by the three working groups in separate sessions.

Appendices A and B outline the conference agenda and participant list respectively.

Part I: Introduction to the Conference

Following the opening remarks and a warm welcome by MG (Ret) Michael McCarthy, the Deputy Director of the George C. Marshall Center and Ms. Jone Gittinger, one of the main organizers of the conference, the first session chaired by Dr. Graeme Herd, Professor of Civil-Military relations at the George C. Marshall Center, examined the nature of soft security, highlighted the implications of soft security threats, and introduced the definition of the main concepts of hard and soft security.

The Dynamics of Soft Security Threats in the 21st Century

In his presentation Dr. Julian Lindley-French, a staff member of the Geneva Center for Security Policy, analyzed the underlying dynamics of soft security threats in the 21st century. With regard to soft and hard security concepts, the speaker emphasized that the nature of a threat requires a distinction between soft and hard security. The approaches to these issues are not about different tools to tackle them, but rather in their distinction. At present, there is no clear definition of soft security. In his view there appears to be a fracture in the transatlantic security community, with the United States primarily focusing on hard security issues, emphasizing national interest and pre-emption, and the European Union exposing Wilson's idealism, paradoxically demonstrating the role reversal in their approaches to security. In this context, soft security frequently means no security at all. In his opinion, governments will have to balance resources between hard and soft concepts of security. The speaker observed that soft security issues have dramatically changed over the last few years. One camp in view of the intent and capability of the threat, which results in strategic asymmetry, advocates the pre-emptive strike, and the re-interpretation of the Articles 5 and 71 of the United Nations Charter. However, for the opposing camp, including Germany, Russia and France, the intent must be addressed before the response. Accordingly, the role of the UN remains pivotal, and even if a regime is found in the material breach of a UN resolution, no automatic response is allowed to follow. For them, a constant process of engagement and re-evaluation of soft security is essential.

Despite differences in opinions within the latter camp, Western Europe in general appears to desire to distance itself from the United States and might look for an alternative, regardless of the fact that European

security was largely guaranteed by the U.S. Dr. Lindley-French noted that the gap between Europe and America exists because the U.S. tends to militarize security, whereas Europe tends to over-civilianize it.

In conclusion, the speaker pointed out that flexibility, consistency and patience are required to deal with soft security issues. Transnational cooperation and military intelligence need to be improved and governments need to work closer together. In addition, the role of NGOs and national governments will be vital in addressing these issues and creating a multi-national approach to soft security threats. Finally, distribution of aid, reconstruction of societies, and re-assessment of cooperation and coercion are essential for the successful fight against these threats. The term soft security must mean security and not be used as a slogan to avoid security.

The discussion following this presentation addressed a variety of questions raised by Dr. Lindley-French, including the role of institutions in dealing with soft security threats, the existing vacuum in international legitimacy following the war on Iraq, the role of the United Nations in the present international system, as well as terrorism as a part of both a soft and a hard security threat.

Soft Security Threats in the New Europe

In the second presentation of this panel, Dr. Fotios Moustakis, senior lecturer in Strategic Studies at the Britannia Royal Naval College, spoke on the title, 'Soft Security Threats in New Europe'. His presentation provided a generic picture of the Balkan security threats, providing a case study of a region suffering from a variety of soft-security threats, and assisted by the international community in creating a stable and peaceful environment. The speaker pointed out that although security is a central concept in International Relations, and general agreement exists about the definition of security as 'the freedom from threat', no consent has been reached about the means to achieve security.

According to Dr. Moustakis, the two concepts of security can be defined in the following way: hard security involves military defense of a state, whereas soft security as a non-military concept, focuses on political, social and economic threats to a state. The speaker highlighted the main issues facing the Balkans today, such as organized crime, drug and human trafficking, and demographic shifts, which have caused a change in the population structure of the Balkan states—specifically in Macedonia. The dilemma for the EU is to integrate the

Balkan states, and at the same time, isolate soft security threats predominant in the region.

In conclusion, Dr. Moustakis pointed out that the main challenges for the Balkans today are the Schengen enlargement, which required the harmonization of migration procedures, the prevention and combat of drug and human trafficking, and more importantly the integration of values that would lead to the creation of a stable region.

In the discussion following, some concern was raised about certain issues such as Kosovo as a concentrated example of regional problems, the impact of the demographics of the increasing Albanian minority in Macedonia and the role of the EU in the region. However, general optimism was expressed with regard to future developments in the Balkans. ■

Part II: Specific Soft Security Issues

Having provided the broad definitions of soft security threats, analyzed the nature of these threats and provided a concrete example of the ways to address or neglect soft security threats in Balkans, the second morning/afternoon session focused on particular soft security issues, such as illegal migration, drug and human trafficking, as well as weapons transfer, allowing the experts from the participant countries Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and the Baltic States to express their opinion and share their views on the major problems related to these issues in their respective countries.

1. Illegal Migration:

The first panel examined illegal migration as one of the main soft security threats faced by the international community. The first speaker, Mr. Leonid Polyakov, director of military programs at the Ukrainian Center for Economic and Political Studies in Kiev, focused on illegal migration in Ukraine. Since its independence, the Ukraine has increasingly become a transit country and source country for illegal migration to the West with growing potential to become a target country for illegal migration from the third countries, in particular, Asia. Mr. Polyakov pointed out that although there are no precise statistics regarding the number of illegal migrants in Ukraine, the estimates between official sources and independent experts vary up to seventeen times. In the last two years, 23,000 Ukrainians were deported from third countries, such as, Turkey, Hungary, Slovakia or Germany. Closely related to illegal migration is human trafficking. Around 400,000 women have left Ukraine for Turkey, United States, Czech Republic, Hungary or Germany, transported by the same criminal groups responsible for drug trafficking. According to the speaker, the importance of Ukraine as a transit country has dramatically increased since the early 1990s. So far, 40,000 illegal migrants have become subject of administrative punishment and corruption. In conclusion Mr. Polyakov pointed out that since the 1990s the Ukrainian government has had great difficulty tackling soft security issues due to lack of resources and appropriate legislative base.

The next speaker, Dr. Irina Ivakhniok, senior researcher from the Faculty of Economics at Moscow State University, turned the spotlight on the illegal migration in the Russian Federation. First, she emphasized the new role that Russia is playing in the international arena since the break-up of

the Soviet Union. Dr. Ivakhniok said that the break-up of the Soviet Union greatly impacted migration processes in Russia. In fact, Russia became a new center of a new migrational system. According to official estimates, there are 1.5 million illegal migrants in Russia. However, it is uncertain how the term "migrant" is defined. In Dr. Ivakhniok's view the reason illegal migrants from the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) go to Russia is to engage in illegal labor. These migrants remain in Russia for several years without being able to legalize their status. Dr. Ivakhniok questioned the threat that these migrants represent for Russia. They cannot be counted, they contribute to the development of the shadow economic market and they provoke conflicts on ethnic grounds. She argued that, in reality, the negative impact of these migrants is even higher than most believe because they lead to the deformation of the labor market, posing a real threat to the economic security of Russia. At the same time, migration from CIS to Russia is of great importance since Russia is experiencing a dramatic demographic decline. It is estimated that in 2050, the Russian population might be reduced by half of its current numbers, and consequently Russia needs migration. The question remains in what form.

The speaker pointed out that there are also invisible aspects of migration. As the neighboring countries go through economic crisis, and their citizens migrate to Russia, they are creating a renewed dependency on Russia, even if this dependency is in a different form.

The speaker then turned her attention to Chinese migration, citing the great numbers of Chinese migrants to Russia. Chinese migration is well organized and greatly encouraged by the Chinese government. The migration is promoted because it helps extend Chinese political and economic influence. Against this background, Russia has become a new jumping board for economic activities and resources required by China, as well as the transit route for many Chinese who are on their way to Europe and America. At present there are 500,000 Chinese in the Russian Federation, and according to the speaker, their number will grow with the stabilization of Russian economy.

In conclusion, Dr. Ivakhniok noted that migration represents a threat, but at the same time constitutes a factor in regional stability.

The last presentation of the illegal migration panel examined the situation in the Baltic States. Dr. Olegas Skinderskis, Director of International Relations and EU Integration at the Ministry of Interior of Lithuania noted that developed countries need the import of labor force due to

population declines and age structure. Legal migration, as such, does not consume all resources of such countries, leaving enough space for illegal migration. The speaker pointed out that in 1997, Lithuania detained 1,500 migrants attempting to enter the country. This number is substantial for Lithuania, and as a result, relevant amendments have been made in the legislation to tackle this problem. However, the activities of the criminal groups continue to thrive. For example, before 1997 the average price for trafficking one person through Lithuania was around $1,000 – $2,000, following 1998 the price increased to up to $5,000. Permanent strengthening of border control and international cooperation are required to combat illegal migration. The speaker suggested it is also important to reduce the level of corruption of the officials and improve administrative capabilities.

2. Trafficking:

The next panel focused on trafficking as a soft security threat facing the international community and national governments. In this context, trafficking includes drugs as well as human trafficking-both a part of the activities of organized crime networks. The first speaker, Mr. Robert Cozzolina, Chief of the Non-proliferation and Border Security Team at the U.S. Department of State in Latvia observed that the crime pattern has dramatically altered in the last decade. EU extension has led to the decrease of border control, and therefore to the extension of the market for organized crime. As the Baltic States join the Schengen agreement, cooperation and joint operations must expand. The speaker emphasized that the Baltic States are transit states for drug trafficking. Heroin, together with opium, ecstasy and cocaine are transported through the Baltics to Russia and the Nordic countries. In Estonia, 70 per cent of drugs are destined for transit, while 30 per cent are for local use. In Latvia narcotics are smuggled over land in common hiding places by train, car, truck, and mail. Lithuania is also part of the major route for transport, and drugs are brought into the country for local use. In addition to drug trafficking, human trafficking also represents an important issue. According to the speaker, 500 women are annually deported from other countries back to Latvia. Finally, cigarettes appears to be another smuggled commodity. Fighting trafficking will require stricter measures to dismantle organized groups that control the traffic towards Western Europe, and in particular, to the United Kingdom.

In conclusion, Mr. Cozzolina pointed out that one common trend in transit countries is corruption. Corruption needs to be addressed as the first step in combating trafficking as a soft security threat.

In his presentation Dr. Ramazan Daurov, Vice-President of the Moscow Center for Strategic and Political Studies, analyzed the global illicit drug trade, in particular, from Central Asia into Russia. Russia has became not only an important transit route for Central Asian drugs into Western Europe, but also one of the main destinations for drugs for local use. Since 1990 the number of drug users in Russia has increased by 400 per cent, and in 2001 625,000 drug addicts were enrolled in state-run drug treatment centers. There has also been a dramatic increase in drug related crimes and HIV cases. Drug trafficking, therefore, represents a major challenge for the Russian authorities for the years to come. In the view of the speaker, Afghanistan and Tajikistan are the main trouble spots for drug trafficking. The annual production of opium amounted to 2,200 metric tons in Afghanistan in April 2002. According to Dr. Daurov, drugs are currently stockpiled in northern Afghanistan near the border with Tajikistan. Similarly, as a result of the dismantlement of large laboratories in eastern Afghanistan, the heroin processing laboratories recently moved to the Afghan-Tajik border for easier access of raw materials and precursors, as well as for closer location to the major drug trade routes via Central Asia.

In conclusion, the speaker pointed out that there has been an increased cross-border movement in drug trafficking recently. This, combined with changes in the drug trade patterns, require new approaches not only on the part of the states concerned, but also well-concerted regional cooperation.

The final speaker on this panel, Colonel (Ret.) Nick Pratt, from the College of International Security Studies at George C. Marshall Center examined the nature and the operation of human trafficking. According to Colonel Pratt, organized crime tends to target countries in transition, undermining the trust in the government and destroying domestic stability. The speaker pointed out that there has been a major rise in human trafficking. One million people per year are sold into slavery as a result of globalization of the economy, demands for personal services and the increased need for organ transplants. In fact, human trafficking as the fastest growing criminal business in the world. Colonel Pratt especially focused on transplant mafia that capitalizes on the needs of the West, and endemic poverty that encourages people to sell their organs, for instance in India. However, human and organ trafficking is a dangerous business to expose, and therefore continues to operate unpunished.

In conclusion, the speaker emphasized the political criminal nexus that facilitates trafficking. Corruption within the government allows for infiltration of criminal elements, making the problem extremely difficult to tackle.

3. Weapons Transfer:

Having examined trafficking as one of the major soft security threats, the next panel turned its attention to weapons transfer, in particular in the Baltic States and Russia. Ms. Jevgenia Viktorova, from the Department of International Relations at St. Andrews University in Scotland, first focused on the distinction between small and conventional weapons, which appears important for arms trade. Thus, it is easier to monitor the transfer of conventional weapons, as there are fewer manufacturers. In the case of small weapons, due to a much larger number of producers, is more difficult to control. The speaker then examined Estonia's national policies with regard to weapons transfer. She pointed out that although a Law on Import, Export and Transit of Strategic Goods has been enacted, there is a clear gap between policy and implementation. Officially, however, there are no arms exports. Unofficially, some cases in the recent year, such the 'Russian channel', the 'Finish affair' and the 'Polish affair' clearly demonstrated that the problem exists, even though on a limited scale.

The next speaker, Dr. Leonid Ryabikhin, Senior Research Associate at the Institute for World Economy and International Relations in Moscow, examined the implications of the weapons transfer for the international community. In his opinion, weapon transfers undermine the balance of power posing a threat to the international community. At the same time, it is extremely difficult to trace these transfers due to the existence of black market channels and well-organized crime networks that operate on a large-scale. According to Dr. Ryabikhin what is needed are initiatives on three levels – international, regional and local, as well the establishment of international norms, transparency and accountability. In addition, cooperation among intelligence and diplomats, and more importantly the availability of information appears vital for successfully combating this soft security threat.

PART III: International and National Responses

The analysis of the nature of the specific issues and the roots of the problems caused by the major soft security threats – illegal migration, trafficking and weapons transfer would not be complete without the examination of the international and national approaches to these issues. The following two panels therefore present the current responses of international community and national governments, and more importantly point out deficiencies in the ways these threats are dealt with.

In the first panel, Colonel Oliver Macdonald, School Commandant at the United Nations Training School in Ireland provided an analysis of the security responses on the part of the OSCE. He pointed out that at present the OSCE is the only mechanism to encompass all Europe, and that deals with issues that concern all European governments. In his view security cannot be divided in 'soft' and 'hard', as in the final analysis 'soft' security could develop into a security threat that requires a military response. There are many examples of situations where 'soft' security issues became 'hard' security issues.

The effectiveness and the achievements of the OSCE in addressing soft security threats have been well documented. Colonel Macdonald emphasized that with increased awareness of the risks of soft security threats, as well as determination and political will of the international community, and improved measures to regulate trafficking, we can continue to "inch forward" to solve these problems.

International Responses:

Turning to other international responses, Mr. Robert Cozzolina examined the responses of the Baltic States to soft security threats. In his view, cross-border cooperation requires a concrete commitment on the part of the governments involved. The need to utilize the investigative tool of "controlled deliveries" needs to be encouraged. Utilizing this methodology will lead to the identification of those individuals who are controlling the smuggling operation rather than arresting and prosecuting low-level couriers. Cross Border Cooperation, utilizing this tool, should be increased, as different organized criminal groups have no regard for national sovereignty. Task force operations should be increased and all entities should work to enhance cooperation, however,

prosecutors are still left out of the loop, often leading to failed legal processes. The speaker pointed out that one American strategy is to follow the money. This effort tends to cause greater disruption and harm to criminal organizations, more so than just seizing the contraband. By following the profits of crime, law enforcement can identify a variety of illegal criminal activities. In the United States, confiscated money can be used to acquire more instruments/tools for law enforcement; for example, confiscated monies can be used to fund expensive wiretaps. In Mr. Cozzolina's opinion, therefore, one crucial task, in the fight against trans-national criminals, is to undermine the financial basis of the criminal net works.

The next speaker, Dr. Leonid Polyakov analyzed Ukraine's and CIS policies with regard to soft security threats. First, the speaker noted that proper assessment of the problem is required in order to develop appropriate responses. According to Mr. Polyakov, the following factors characterize the current security environment:

- there is post-Cold War security vacuum filled by non-state actors
- areas suffering ethnic conflicts and separatism became hostages to criminal groups
- the democracies in most countries of the former Soviet Union are weak and susceptible to criminal elements
- there are outside security interests in the regions: EU, NATO, United States

The problem faced by the CIS appears directly related to Russian predominance, lack of resources, and lack of commitment. However, cooperative arrangements do exist between the EU and Ukraine, and assistance is provided from individual countries, such as USA, Germany, United Kingdom and Turkey.

With regard to weapons transfer, public and parliamentary control is currently absent.

Mr. Polyakov suggested three types of responses: accountability (tracking the weapons officially sold to governments), conversion (as along as there is demand and supply there will always be trade); and disruption (measures directed at limiting and combating the criminal activities in this field).

In conclusion the speaker argued that in order to provide an effective response, shared responsibility is required on the part of the civil socie-

ty and the multi-lateral organizations. The CIS countries must find mechanisms to regulate and coordinate their responses on the regional level.

National Responses:

The following panel focused on the national responses, in particular on the part of Belarus, Estonia and Russia. General Col. Pavel Kazlouski, President of the International Fund for the Rehabilitation of Former Servicemen, argued that due to numerous factors, Belarus is losing its international status and attraction for regional cooperation, investments and economic development. The population does not have the trust in the government, and there is no legislative framework to tackle issues of great importance. In this situation, national responses to soft security threats appear ineffective.

In contrast to this pessimistic picture, Jevgenia Victorova acknowledged the pursuit of the Baltic States to update legislation in response to soft security issues. She cited a number of laws adopted by Estonia for this purpose, such as the Aliens Act in 1993, the State Border Act in 1994, the Refugees Act in 1997 and the Obligation to Depart and Prohibition of Entry Act in 1999. In addition, Estonia's security concept identifies a shift in the security risks from the traditional military to non-military and the so-called asymmetric threats: organized crime, international terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, trafficking of arms and drugs across borders and illegal migration. The interconnected character of many of these threats is recognized, and their trans-border, trans-global reach has prompted the development of international measures to combat them. Hence the Government of Estonia has accomplished several of the security priorities of Estonia – political and economic integration in the Euro-Atlantic structures, NATO and the EU, as well as participation in the respective international conventions and agreements. The development of adequate legislation and administrative skills is considered as important as establishing military defense capabilities. Once the accession negotiations with the EU have been completed in December 2002, Estonian legislation can be considered compatible with the EU standards.

As a result, increasing the efficiency of border control constitutes an important policy direction, as it reduces the opportunities for the traffickers to engage in their illegal activities. Here, national efforts are built into a wider framework of the EU measures, such as Schengen Information System (SIS) and the proposed establishment of European

Border Police and European Corps of Border Guards, which span the areas of national and European jurisdiction, in administrative as well as financial terms. Illegal migration threats must be addressed in a wider framework of issues which serve as causes for migration, e.g. social deprivation, lack of economic opportunities, environmental degradation, and political discrimination.

In the speaker's view, although it would be far-fetched to speak of ubiquity of criminalization and corruption, it is difficult to assess their actual scope. Two factors allow for a shade of optimism here. First, the development of political culture and second, a greater international transparency of legal measures is likely to make the delineation between legal and illegal activities clearer, and reduce opportunities of manipulating the law.

The final presentation in this panel examined Russian national responses to soft security threats discussed in the earlier sessions. Ella Akerman from King's College London argued that throughout the 1990s Russian policies towards these issues were characterized by three main factors: lack of coherent approach, lack of a legislative framework and a proper law enforcement regime, as well as lack of governmental capacity and funds to address these problems. Whereas some issues, such as illegal migration and drug trafficking received some attention on the part of state authorities, others, such as human trafficking and prostitution did not prompt responses on the federal level. Turning to the specific responses, the speaker noted Russia's responses to illegal migration should be viewed against the background of the country's demographic decline and the new role of Russia as a migration magnet. In fact, Russian migration policy went through several stages throughout the 1990s in an attempt to adapt to the new challenges posed by this phenomenon. Several laws were adopted to regulate migration. However, their implementation appears hampered by the lack of a proper law enforcement regime. In particular, this issue received increased attention from President Putin who is determined to effectively regulate migration. The first step was the adoption of a new Law on the Legal Status of Foreign Citizens in 2002, which was aimed at the improvement of governmental control over migrants from abroad. Similarly, drug trafficking has received a great deal of attention from the state authorities, expressed not only in national legislation, but also in broad regional collaboration in the framework of the CIS, as well as in close cooperation with relevant international bodies. In contrast, human trafficking has not been addressed adequately, as there are no specific laws dealing with this major issue.

In conclusion, Ms. Akerman noted that the successful regulation of soft security threats in Russian in the 21st century requires the improvement of the legal framework together with the uniform implementation of the law, better coordination of activities between federal and regional agencies, as well as broader regional and international cooperation.

PART IV: New Ideas for Practical Security Cooperation:

The second part of the conference focused on the elaboration of concrete measures to address soft security threats discussed in the plenary sessions. For this purpose, three working groups were formed to concentrate on a specific issue and suggest new approaches in small group discussions.

Each working group presented their proposals to the plenary session later in the conference. Summaries from the workshops follow:

Workshop Illegal Migration:

The report of the first group, presented by Dr. Irina Ivakhniok emphasized that group members unanimously agreed that international migration as a social process, plays an important positive role in the development of world economy, as well as in the enrichment of cultures. However, no mechanisms for effective regulation of migration on the inter-state level have been developed so far, allowing for illegal migration to thrive.

The group members also agreed that when dealing with illegal migration on the state-level, the following two distinctions should be applied:
1. illegal migration as a particular form of labor migration
2. the criminal activities of organizations specializing in the illegal human trafficking

The regulative measures should take into account these two, different categories. With regard to illegal labor migration, an alternative solution could be a balanced long-term migration policy on the national and regional levels aimed at the extension of legal migration.

The group members observed that in their respective countries there is not only a lack of mechanisms regulating migration, but more importantly, no clear concept of migration policy that would take into account the contemporary context of national and regional security. At the same time, the impact of illegal migration on national security is obvious:

■ Deformation of the labor market and economic losses as a result of the exclusion of illegal migrants
■ Contribution to increases in criminality

■ Potential for increased ethno-social tensions in the form of national intolerance and migranophobia

Concerning human trafficking, in particular women and children, the fight against this phenomenon should proceed on the most serious level in combined efforts of law enforcement agencies – border forces, police, migration agencies, and other state authorities, as well as NGOs.

The success of these measures largely depends on the joint activities of states on the regional level. Only through close collaboration and cooperation, will the dismantlement of the financial basis of this well-organized business be accomplished.

Group members suggested a set of practical measures on the national and regional levels:

I. Regional Level:

■ Improvement of cooperation between the law enforcement organs and other state structures responsible for the regulation of migration
■ Establishment of regional mechanisms for regulation of illegal migration and its transition into the legal field
■ Creation of a complex informational and analytical system providing the relevant law enforcement agencies with information concerning the data related, for instance, to the illegal crossing of the border and the means of illegal transportation
■ Coordination of activities of the customs, border control and police of the state of the region
■ Conclusion of relevant agreements by the states involved

II. National Level:

■ Improvement of national legislation aimed at the reduction of illegal migration, illegal attraction and use of illegal labor, facilitation of transport of illegal migrants
■ Better coordination of activities of state institutions
■ Collaboration with non-governmental law organizations
■ Search for the mechanisms to combat corruption in the early stages
■ Persecution of activities of criminal groups specialized in illegal migration
■ Public awareness campaigns related to the risks of illegal migration
■ Development of special agencies for psychological and other support for the victims of trafficking and their rehabilitation into the society

In conclusion, the working group emphasized the lack of activity in the field of combating illegal migration and human trafficking cannot be justified, and the lost time might lead to the appearance of new, more serious threats to the security of the state, the society and the individual.

Workshop Trafficking:

The report of the second working group was presented by Jevgenia Viktorova and focused on the design of measures that can be enforced by the Baltic States. The opinion of the group is that not only national and international measures should be discussed, but also attention should be paid to individual involvement. Participants agreed that people can't hide behind official mechanisms. Regulatory frameworks are designed to encourage individuals to actively participate in policy formation.

However, in the case of Eastern Europe most structures for dealing with these problems are inherited from the Soviet past and the change is slow. Would adapting the judicial systems to the Western standards be a solution? Those who have determination can circumvent any system, however strict, especially where money is involved. The Western structures are not a safeguard against corruption; otherwise the problem of trafficking would be limited to Eastern Europe. Trafficking problems existed before the communist regime collapsed, but officials did not admit the problems. It is important to bear in mind that in the case of human trafficking we are dealing with the same criminal structures that started with smuggling cigarettes, alcohol and, later, drugs, and switched to human trafficking as soon as it was discovered that human trafficking is a more profitable business. The nature of organized crime is to explore new sources of income when the old avenues dry up, due to whatever reason, including the introduction of stricter legislation.

The women who fall victims of trafficking have little local knowledge and are totally dependent on the traffickers. Victims are left without documents or money to return to their homes. They are intimidated by what may happen to their families if they start cooperating with the police. The most effective way to contact these women is through NGOs, Christian organizations, and even ethnic emigrant societies. The women who work as prostitutes, for instance, almost never go to their embassies when in trouble, not trusting the representatives of their own states. Participants of this working group listed the following support mechanisms that should be in place to eliminate a significant part of the problem:

■ Monitoring the channels by which the people are deceived (e.g. newspaper adverts). Ensure the ability of immigrants to communicate with the authorities (their representations in the countries of destination) and return home.

■ Establishment of legal channels in order to assist the illegal migrants. There are few mechanisms in place to return the illegal migrants to the realm of legality. These mechanisms should be established in the source countries as well as destination countries.

■ Establishment of a common policy towards these issues in the EU. For example, in some of the member states, drug consumption, prostitution are not considered criminal offenses. When only part of the chain is criminalized (e.g., consumption is legal but trade is not), and the standards differ from country to country, it is difficult to address the problem legally as there is no agreement on what constitutes a crime.

■ The dilemma is whether to impose strict regulations on trafficking, with little hope of effective enforcement, or loosen the regulations/legalize as much as we can and try to eliminate the problem by letting the individual bear responsibility.

■ Confiscating the finances of the organized crime groups is important; however, officials have had difficulty in proving the illegality of the funds. Western governments have attempted to come up with different policy solutions and none have proven perfect. Officials recognize that it is difficult to tackle international crime when the mechanisms are restricted to national jurisdiction. One solution is to harmonize European legislation, devise Common European enforcement agencies and intelligence. Another solution is to stick to a policy of "case by case" cooperation, which has proven to be very successful, especially in information sharing, combating trafficking and production of drugs, and in witness protection programs.

■ Prevention is equally important. Raising awareness among the potential victims, either prostitutes or drug consumers, is being attempted through schools, churches, and sport societies. Prevention doesn't work as well as many would hope. Attitudes towards illegal immigrants (the victims) who bear no personal responsibility for their fate, don't help in tackling the problem.

■ The EU is perceived as an irrational entity. When Eastern European states turn to the EU for practical solutions, they often get inconsistent

responses. Without solutions, it is difficult to justify to the angry populations, the need for increased openness in Europe. This anger, whether a result of prejudice or frustration from inefficient policies, favors the fragmentation of Europe and the erection of new barriers.

■ Because of the differences in income that low-paid civil servants can make legally and through connections with criminal groups, these civil servants are an immediate security problem. On the other hand, if officials' salaries are too high, there is a danger of corruption involved in the very access to these positions. Therefore, raising salaries of civil servants would not be an instant solution. However, free movement of labor in Europe might solve some of the problem.

In conclusion, the group pointed out that the work in international frameworks should not preclude the governments from doing their best on the national level.

Workshop Weapons Transfer:

The report of the third working group, presented by Dr. Leonid Polyakov reflected the difficulties in dealing with weapons transfer, and the need to examine the nature of the problem. The group members focused on the nature of the issue and the political developments in weapons transfer, as well as possible consequences and recommendations for official policies. Accordingly, the root of the problem appears in the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the subsequent difficulties of the successor states to establish effective control over the weapons located on their territories. In addition, the legalization of private economic activity together with the collapse of the social system of the states has acted as a catalyst for weapons transfer. Finally, the double standards of the West involved in weapons transfer despite condemning it, provides skepticism on the part of the East European countries, discouraging them to tackle the issue in a serious manner. Although the group members agreed that dialogue is possible, they could not agree on cooperative ways to combat this soft security threat. New approaches and mediators appear to be required for the elaboration of effective measures.

Conclusions – The Way Ahead

In the final part of the conference, Mr. James Sherr, Fellow of the Conflict Studies Research Centre, UK Defense Academy, examined soft security threats and the future of the European Stability, highlighting the difficulties currently faced by the post-Soviet countries and outlining the requirements for successful reduction of soft security risks. In his view, the root of the problems faced by the post-Soviet states today, lies in a number of continuities between the communist and post-communist order. The official restrictions placed on private enterprises in the "socialist'(Communist) system inevitably produced illegal economic activity. Economic stagnation and perestroika expanded this illegal activity gradually transforming "shadow" individuals into "shadow structures", operating in illicit collusion with the state. The eventual collapse of the "socialist" system produced a collapse of authority, crating a vacuum and allowing these groups to dominate the "privatization" process. This heritage and transformation have created a distinctive business culture in Eastern Europe: collusive, based on networks, which remain unaccountable and opaque.

In Mr. Sherr's opinion, one of the fundamental errors of Western engagement in the post-Soviet space has been insufficient emphasis placed on the development of institutions, allowing people to think that democracy is simply about mechanics (e.g., free and fair elections), and not about a system of values underpinned by institutions willing and able to defend them. The result is a lack of legitimacy and trust between official authorities and socity. Without legitimacy, states will not be effective. Unless state structures become transparent, accountable and professional, soft security threats will develop and spread. In addition, non-recognized states, such as Prednistria, Abkhasia and Nagorny Karabakh pose a direct threat to regional security, weakening their neighbors and underming the policies as well as the law enforcement and security services of the neighboring states.

According to the speaker, there is a clear relationship to the international dimension, as the NATO and EU enlargements are designed not only to strengthen integration, but also exclude actors and entities that could undermine the enlarged Euro-Atlantic community. In the speaker's view, the EU's primary interest the foreign policies of the Eastern states, but their internal policies, judged according to the way in which institutions, security and law enforcement bodies behave in practice. As a result, EU policy, combined with differences in political and economic culture, are

creating new dividing lines in Europe. By seeking to contain threats, the EU is not only erecting barriers against harmful actors and practices, but also, neighboring states. In addition:

■ Several post-Communist states are forced to live with contradictory border regimes;

■ EU policy has been reactive, instead of pro-active;

■ Post-Communist states need the prospect of the EU membership in order to mobilize people to introduce courageous measures to democratize and modernize their political orders;

In conclusion, Mr. Sherr argued that the route to solving problems of soft security does not lie in strengthening international mechanisms, but in the implementation of practical internal and external political changes. Without real changes in the way institutions work and economies are run, it will not be possible to integrate states within themselves, let alone strengthen European integration and create a stable and peaceful environment.

General Conclusions:

Although there was no general agreement on the definition of soft security threats, there was unanimous recognition that the issues discussed – illegal migration, drug trafficking, human trafficking and weapons transfer – constitute a direct threat to national and international security and are major challenges for the 21st century. Among all the beneficial aspects and cultural enrichment of globalization, it has also brought about a universalization of security issues, which can no longer be contained within a defined territory. In the light of these developments, regional and international cooperation appears crucial for the attainment of stability and peace on the global scale.

In this sense, the conference allowed high-level specialists from Eastern Europe to share their views and experiences in dealing with threats faced by their governments and the international community as a whole. The conference provided a great opportunity to discuss common problems and seek new approaches to issues in the specific environment of the post-Soviet space.

In particular, the work of the three workshops allowed for focused debates on the major soft security threats, resulting in well-presented recommendations for practical measures that deserve the attention of the relevant national and regional policy-making bodies. The development of new approaches towards these threats should be regarded as an important step towards greater cooperative security on the East European and Euro-Atlantic level.

Appendix A: Agenda

Sunday, 6 April - Arrivals

Monday, 7 April

0900-0910
Opening Remarks
MG (Ret) Michael McCarthy,
U.S. Deputy Director,
George C. Marshall Center for Security Studies
Mrs. Jone Gittinger,
Conference Center, George C. Marshall Center

Session 1:
SOFT SECURITY ISSUES:
THREATS & SECURITY IMPLICATIONS
Moderator:
Mr. James Sherr, Senior Lecturer,
Conflict Studies Research Centre, (CSRC), UK Defence Academy

0910-0945
Hard and Soft European Security Dynamics in the 21st Century
Dr. Julian Lindley-French,
Faculty Member,
Geneva Centre for Security Policy,
Geneva, Switzerland

0945-1015
Open Discussion

1015-1030
Coffee Break

1030-1110
Soft Security Threats in the New Europe
Dr. Fotios Moustakis,
Senior Lecturer in Strategic Studies,
Britannia Royal Naval College, UK

1110-1140
Open Discussion

Session 2:
ISSUE PANELS
Moderator: Professor Natalie Hassman,
College of International Security Studies,
George C. Marshall Center

1140-1225
Illegal Migration Panel
Dr. Leonid Polyakov, Director, Military Programs, Ukrainian Center for Economic & Political Studies, Kiev, Ukraine
Dr. Irina Ivakhniouk, Senior Researcher, Faculty of Economics, Moscow State "Lomonosov" University
Mr. Olegas Skinderskis, Director, International Relations & EU Integration, Ministry of Interior, Lithuania

1225-1300
Open Discussion

1300-1310
Group Photograph

1310-1430
Lunch

1430-1510
Trafficking Panel
Mr. Robert Cozzolina, Chief, Non-Proliferation and Border Security Team, U.S. Department of State, Riga, Lativa
Dr. Ramazan Daurov, Vice President, International Center for Strategic and Political Studies, Moscow, Russia
Col. (Ret) Nick Pratt, College of International Security Studies, George C. Marshall Center

1510-1540
Open Discussion

1540-1600
Coffee Break

1600-1630
Weapons Transfer – Full Spectrum Panel
Ms. Jevgenia Viktorova, Department of International Relations, University of St. Andrews, London, England

Dr. Leonid Ryabikhin, Senior Research Associate, Institute for World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO), Moscow, Russia

1630-1700
Open Discussion/Workshop Introduction

1700-1730
Marshall Center Briefing

1900-2000
Hosted Reception

Tuesday, 8 April

Session 3:
INTERNATIONAL AND NATIONAL RESPONSES
Moderator:
Mrs. Anne Aldis, Research Manager,
Conflict Studies Research Centre, (CSRC), UK Defence Academy

0900-0930
Security Responses - OSCE
Colonel Oliver A.K. Macdonald, School Commandant, United Nations Training School, Ireland (UNTSI), Ireland

0930-1000
Open Discussion

1000-1030
Coffee Break

1030-1110
Other International Responses - Baltics and CIS
Mr. Robert Cozzolina, US Department of State, Riga, Latvia
Dr. Leonid Polyakov, Ukrainian Center for Economic & Political Studies, Kiev, Ukraine

1110-1130
Open Discussion

1130-1215
National Responses Panel – Belarus, Estonia and Russia
Gen. Col. Pavel Kazlouski, President, International Fund for the Rehabilitation of Former Servicemen
Ms. Jevgenia Viktorova,
University of St. Andrews, Kingdom of Fife, UK
Ms. Ella Akerman,
Mediterranean Studies, King's College London, UK

1215-1240
Open Discussion

1240-1400
Lunch

Session 4:
WORKSHOP/DISCUSSION
(1520-1540 - Coffee Break)

1400-1700
New Ideas for Practical Security Cooperation
Group A: Migration/ Illegal Migration
Moderator: Colonel Oliver Macdonald, UNTSI
Group B: Trafficking
Moderator:
Mrs. Anne Aldis,
CSRC, UK Defence Academy
Group C: Weapons Transfers

Moderator:
Mr. James Sherr,
CSRC, UK Defence Academy

1830
Bus transportation to Bavarian Night (1900-2130)

Wednesday, 9 April

Session 5:
WORKSHOP REPORTS

Moderator:
Dr. Graeme Herd, Professor,
College of International Security Studies,
George C. Marshall Center

0900-1030
Sub-Regional Group Reports and Discussion

1030-1050 Coffee Break

Session 6:
CONCLUSIONS: THE WAY AHEAD

1050-1130
"Enforced Partnership"
or "Partnership of the Willing":
Soft Security Threats and the Future of European Stability
Mr. James Sherr, CSRC, UK Defence Academy

1130-1145
Final Discussion

1145-1200
Closing Remarks
MG (Ret) Michael McCarthy, U.S. Deputy Director, George C. Marshall Center for Security Studies

APPENDIX B: Attendees

ALBANIA

REPUBLIC OF BELARUS

Ms. Iryna A. CHUTKOVA
Ministry of Labor and Social Protection
Head
Family Policy and Gender Issues Department

Ms. Raisa V. DYMKOVA
Ministry of Labor and Social Protection
Head
Migration Department

Ms. Larysa N. ISTOMAVA
BPW Brest Belarus
President

Ms. Natallia A. PAULOVA
YWCA of Belarus
Manager Assistant
Social Assistance Campaign - La Strada Belarus Program

Ms. Natalia V. ZHAK
International Organization for Migration
Program Manager

REPUBLIC OF ESTONIA

Mr. Juri KAHN
Estonian Parliament (Riigikogu)
Director
Foreign Relations Department

Ms. Siiri KONIGSBERG
Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Estonia
Second Secretary
Policy Planning Department

Mr. Jaan KUKS
Ministry of Defense, Estonia
Deputy Director
International Cooperation

Mr. Ahto KUUSEOK
Ministry of Defense, Estonia
Deputy Secretary General for Military Service

Mr. Andrus NORMET
Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Estonia
Director of Division

Ms. Pille PAKANE
Ministry of Defense, Estonia
PfP Coordinator

Mr. Arvi UUSTALU
Ministry of Internal Affairs, Estonia
Chief Specialist

REPUBLIC OF LATVIA

Mr. Raimonds BLUKIS
Ministry of Interior
Deputy State Secretary

COL Juris DALBINS
Saeima (parliament) Of The Republic Of Latvia
Member of Parliament

Ms. Evija DUMPE
Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Latvia
Head of International Law Division

Mrs. Ieva JIRGENSONE
Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Latvia
3rd Secretary-Arms Control Division

Mr. Paulis KLAVINS
Saeima (Parliament) Of The Republic Of Latvia
Member of Parliament

Mr. Dzintars RASNACS
Ministry of Defense, Latvia
Parliamentary Secretary

Mr. Juris REKSNA
Ministry of Interior, Latvia
State Secretary

Dr. Alberts SARKANIS
Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Latvia
Inspector General

REPUBLIC OF LITHUANIA

Ms. Dalia G. DAVIDENIENE
Seimas (Parliament) of the Republic of Lithuania
Senior Advisor
Committee on Foreign Affairs

Mr. Julius DIRMA
Lithuanian Parliament
Advisor
Committee on Legal Affairs

Mr. Mantas LAPINSKAS
Ministry of Defense
Head of System Planning Division
Policy & Planning Department

Mr. Marius PUODZIUNAS
Ministry of National Defense
Senior Executive Officer

Ms. Ramute STANKEVICIUTE
Ministry of Defense, Lithuania
Senior Specialist/Desk Officer

Dr. Irena VALAINYTE
Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Lithuania
Head of Consular Assistance Division

Mr. Deivis VALIULIS
Seimas (Parliament) of the Republic of Lithuania
Senior Advisor

Mr. Vilmantas VITKAUSKAS
Ministry of National Defense
Head of Division
Second Investigation Department

REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA

COL Victor MACRINSCHI
Main Staff of the National Army
Chief
Operations Directorate

COL Victor MURZAC
Ministry of Defense, Moldova
Chief
Military Policy and Foreign Relations Directorate

REPUBLIC OF POLAND

Prof. Jaroslaw BRATKIEWICZ
Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Poland
Deputy Director
Strategy and Policy Planning

Mr. Marek J. SZCZYGIEL
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Deputy Director
Department for Security Policy

RUSSIAN FEDERATION

Prof. Dr. Alexander N. CHUMAKOV
Russian Philosophical Society
First Vice-President

CDR Alexander V. MILANOV
Ministry of Defense, Russia
Main Specialist International Treaty Department
Main Department International Military Cooperation

Prof. Dr. Yuri Y. MOROZOV
International Center for Strategic & Political Studies
Senior Expert
Institute of Europe, RAS

MG Sergey L. NIKOLENKO
General Staff of the Russian Federation
First Deputy Chief of the Department

Gen Lt Nikolay PERSHUTKIN
Head
Main Directorate for Security

Gen Maj Evgeniy SEMENCHENKO
Deputy Director
Main Directorate for the Fight Against Organized Crime

UKRAINE

COL Oleg S. ALEKSANDROV
National Security & Defense Council, Ukraine
Assistant First Deputy Secretary

Gen Lt Oleg I. BYTSIUK
Ministry of Defense, Ukraine
Deputy Chief of General Staff
General Staff of Ukrainian Armed Forces

Mr. Yuri O. HONCHARYK
Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ukraine
Chief of Directorate

COL Volodymyr A. KOSHKYN
Ministry of Defense, Ukraine
Chief of Military Technical Cooperation Department

COL(Ret) Andriy S. SHAPOVALOV
International Anti-terrorist Unity
Secretary of Executive Committee

COL Victor TSYMBALIUK
Embassy of Ukraine in Germany
Military Attache

Gen Lt Grygoriy V. YEPUR
Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ukraine
Deputy State Secretary

COL Mykola K. ZAKORCHEVNKI
Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ukraine
Chief of Criminal Investigation Section
National Central Bureau of Interpol of Ukraine

COL Anatoliy M. ZARYTSKY
State Border Security Committee, Ukraine
Chief of Department
International Cooperation

CONFERENCE SPEAKERS & MODERATORS
Ms. Ella AKERMAN
Kings College, University of London

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Conflict Studies Research Center
Research Manager

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Embassy of the United States of America
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Non-Profileration and Border Security Team

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Professor
College of International Security Studies (CISS)

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Int'l Fund for the Rehabilitation of Former Servicement
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Dr. Julian LINDLEY-FRENCH
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Director, European Security Policy

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Ukrainian Center for Economic & Political Studies

COL(Ret) Nick PRATT
The George C. Marshall Center
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CAPT(Ret) Leonid F. RYABIKHIN
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Mr. James SHERR
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Mr. Olegas SKINDERSKIS
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Ms. Jevgenia VIKTOROVA
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THE MARSHALL CENTER

Ms. Michelle DURIG
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COL (GEAF) Franz-Xaver LAUTERER
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Director
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The George C. Marshall Center
Deputy Director, US
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CSM (GEA) Walter VIESSMANN
The George C. Marshall Center
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INTERNATIONAL
Ms. Ludmilla MULLOVA
Conference Interpreter

Ms. Marina SCHLICHTER
Ms. Marina Schlichter
Interpreter

Mr. Vitaly SURKOV
Mr. Vitaly Surkov
Interpreter

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