The application of preventive diplomacy in combating terrorism

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Abstract: The analysis conducted in this article is meant to raise the issue of the role of preventive diplomacy both in a historical context and in modern times as a tool for combating terrorism. At first, this article analyzes the development of preventive diplomacy and how it spread in the context of a post-cold war international worldunder the coordination of the united nations security council and the importance of the document later published"an agenda for peace". Also, it researches the means and ways through wich preventive diplomacy has evolved. The case study focuses on the means of preventive diplomacy applied in macedonia after the end of the cold war and the fall of the soviet union. The importance of preventive diplomacy can only be understood by evaluating the effectivnes of the un mesures in the balkan war with the close cooperation between n.a.t.o. o.s.c.e. the e.u. adopting a number of measures in order to reduce te eventuality of war. In the end, this research will show how this type of diplomacy can be developed and adapted to fight terrorism.

Keywords: Preventive, Diplomacy, Terrorism, Balkans, Macedonia, Kosovo, Serbia, Albania

Introduction

Diplomacy can informally be considered the cement that brings together, in a state of balance, interests, viewpoints and conflicting views. From the standpoint of the Oxford dictionary, diplomacy is the profession, activity or ability to manage international relations in general by the representatives of a certain state.[1]The term *"diplomacy"*, etymologically derives from the Greek *"diploo"* representing an act that certified the completion of studies or special courses, documents entrusted to messengers as a sign of empowerment. In the days of the Roman Empire, the same word of Greek origin was used to describe official travel documents such as passports or different seals for traveling in the empire that was issued usually on two metal plates.[2]

Although currently there are numerous elements, types, and subtypes of diplomacy, from the perspective of applying preventive diplomacy in combating terrorism, in both political and social actuality contexts, the following categories are relevant: defense diplomacy (a politico-military construct that includes all the elements of the national security mechanism and their impact on international relations) and its subcomponent: military diplomacy which consists in the inter-relationship between the military and political phenomenon.

As any other social science, diplomacy has a specific set of functions which determine the proper functioning of international relations. For example:

• Representing the interests of a state by promoting its political goals and objectives;

• Negotiation - discussions meant to identify both common interests and areas of conflict between two or more parties;

• Administrating current relations with third parties;

• Establishing and renewing the rules and procedures regulating the international system[3].

Taking into account the changes that have been occurring in the international security environment, new concepts, specific to the security domain, have been included due to the shifts in the very notion of security such as: power, military power, national power, politics of power, the balance of power, globalization, revolution in military affairs, preventive diplomacy, preemptive diplomacy, international actors, treaties, failed states, threat, terrorism, etc[4]

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[1] Oxford Living Dictionaries, *„Diplomacy"*, OxfordDictionaries.com, accessed December 13, 2016, http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/diplomacy

[2] Sergiu T. Medar, *„Diplomaţiaapărării"*, Editura CTEA, Bucureşti, 2006, p. 3.

[3] Evans Graham, Newnham Jeffrey, *„Dicţionar de RelaţiiInternaţionale"*, Bucureşti, Editura UniversalDalsi, 2001, p. 139-140

[4] Mariana Ancuţ, *„Problematicasecurităţiiglobaleîncontextultransformăriloractuale (2)"*, FORTER, nr 3/2009, accessed December 10, 2016, http://www.revista.forter.ro/2009_3_t/02-fm/01.htm

Preventive Diplomacy

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Preventive Diplomacy

With the end of the Cold War in the early '90s, most of international institutions and organizations began a series of discussions regarding certain approaches on conflict prevention, with the purpose of avoiding any other tense situations and thus was born the concept of preventive diplomacy. In an early meeting in 1992, attended by several heads of state, the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) asked for a series of preventive diplomacy recommendations in order to maintain and ensure peace operations.

In the report entitled "An Agenda for Peace", the Secretary-General of the United Nations Boutros-Ghali published a chapter defining the basic elements of preventive diplomacy. Thus for the first time diplomacy was based on prevention, equality, consolidation maintenance and strengthening of peace. This report was welcomed by the General Assembly of the UN who managed to see its usefulness in a post-Cold War world and so preventive diplomacy had become one of the priority policies of the organization. This fact was strengthened by the later resolutions 47/120 A and B adopted by the General Assembly on December 18, 1992 and later December 20, 1993.

This concept has been adopted by the State Administration of the United States of America through the "Crisis Prevention program" which added preventive diplomacy among its external policies. This program was later developed into a number of prevention strategies for war situations. After the U.S. adopted this concept, this discussion and policies were joined by several states who understood their utility. This concept had also been supported by members of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, which, on November 21, 1990, stipulated within the Paris Charter that identifying preventive diplomacy as a form of cooperation for preventing conflicts by political means is the top priority. The Organization of African Unity also established in 1993 a new mechanism that aimed to anticipate and prevent conflicts.

According to the United Nations, preventive diplomacy is the most desirable and effective implementation of diplomacy, its role being to reduce tensions that can lead to conflict and where there is conflict, preventive diplomacy's role is to act quickly in resolving and understanding the causes.[5]

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[5]UN Documents, *„An Agenda for Peace- Preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping. Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to the statement adopted by the Summit Meeting of the Security Council on 31 January 1992"*, published June 17, 1992, accessed December 12, 2016 as PDF, http://www.un-documents.net/a47-277.htm

The task of preventive diplomacy rests on the Secretary-General of the U.N. (personally or through representatives, specialized agencies and specific programs), the General Assembly Security Council and regional organizations in cooperation with U.N. So preventive diplomacy is broadly a specific set of measures meant to generate trust. In order for this process to be efficient, there is a necessity for measures of prevention such as gathering information and documenting phenomena and events that can generate vulnerabilities and security risks in order to inform future decision-makers. In rare cases,it can also involve counteractionbymilitary interventions of prevention and demilitarization.

From the perspective of achieving a high level of trust, preventive diplomacy's role is to ensure the existence of mutual trust between states in order to reduce the likelihood of conflicts. In this matter, there are many measures that governments or different states can implement within their policy. For example systemic exchange of military missions, forming regional and sub-regional risk reduction, agreements on information exchanging, transparent monitoring of arms agreements, etc. In this situation the UN Member States also have the possibilities:

• To find new ways to increase the level of trust specific to the geo-political space to which they belong.

• To consult in matters of increasing trust with U.N.

• To consult through developing regional conflict resolutions.

From the perspective of collecting information, for preventive diplomacy to exist it is necessary to know the exact facts and circumstances. It is also necessary to develop an understanding of global geopolitical developments based on a clear analysis. Only through this real vision on the politico-economic factors and social reasons behind various conflicts can there be a methodological involvement from U.N. In the absence of information and related analysis, there is a greater likelihood that tensions between states will reach alarming levels, which can then degenerate into conflicts that have results that often turn out to be tragic.

The Secretary-General of the United Nations, between January 1, 1992, and December 31, 1996, Boutros-Ghali, believed that preventive diplomacy acts as a wall, in order to limit, alleviate and resolve violent conflicts, not only in a developing stage that can be isolated but in all their stages. Thus he believed that there were three forms of preventive diplomacy:[6]

• Early - when preventive diplomacy focuses on dispute reasons;

• Late - when preventive diplomacy seeks to prevent disputes from escalating into conflicts;

• Much later - when preventive diplomacy seeks to stop the expansion of the conflict.

To better understand this concept we need to differentiate it from conflict prevention, crisis prevention, and crisis management, since although they share similar elements, the differences consist of applicability and conceptualization. Chapter 3 of the 1992 Helsinki Document adopted at the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe distinguishes between "conflict prevention", "crisis management" and "the peaceful resolution of disputes". Therefore resulting in three specific situations with three different operating modes:

• Disputes to be resolved;

• Conflicts that need to be prevented;

• Crises that need to be managed;

A clear differentiation comes under a definition of Michel S. Lund in his work, "Preventing violent conflicts". He believes that preventative diplomacy includes diplomatic activities of governmental or non-governmental nature, political, economic, military or other efforts that are being deliberately undertaken at an early stage to retain certain states or social groups from threat of force, use of force or coercion as a means of solving political disputes arising from the debilitating effects of national or international changes.[7]Thus, from this point of view, preventive diplomacy aims to deter and minimize hostilities and if the conflict escalated to create communication channels to solute. We can see therefore three elements that arise from this definition that include early action orientation (basic to preventive diplomacy), methods of preventive diplomacy and non-aggression or coercion in resolving political differences. Based on this utterances Michael S. Lund argues the existence of the following forms of diplomacy:

• Traditional diplomacy;

• Crisis and war diplomacy;

• Preventive diplomacy.

Preventive diplomacy is the most complex, humane, and effective way for the international community to resolve conflicts and it must not be confused with other means of prevention, there must be a clear conceptual

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[6]Ibidem 5,

[7] Michael S. Lund, „Preventing violent conflicts-A strategy for preventive diplomacy", United States Institute of Peace, April 1996, p 203-205,

distinction between preventing war by military means and preventive diplomacy. Such a conceptual delimitation regarding the military support's vision in Romania claims:

"So by deterring the outbreak of war we understand determining the opponent to give up certain goals, actions, public fear and risk retaliation and the risk that would be attracted by their use. If war deterrence involves mainly military means, a violent reaction, war prevention requires policy measures without being specific to military actions, but to measures of preventive diplomacy, political and economic".[8]

Preventive Diplomacy in Macedonia

The ending of the Cold War did not bring peace and prosperity throughout Europe. Even after this intense period, in Eastern Europe and especial the countries that had belonged to the Soviet Union, there were elements of instability and even wars. The Yugoslav Republic's disintegration in multinational states bore numerous challenging transition processes to democracy and free market economy.

Another factor that contributed to the unstable climate was the re-emergence of statenationalism in the Balkans. Tensions grew gradually and ominously in the area which became a reason of concern to the international community. Geopolitically, during the Cold War, ethnic and tribal conflicts in this area were understood only as a result of conflict between the two superpowers. In the Balkans, it was now obvious that homogeneity could not be maintained by repressing ethnic differences. Thus realizing all these facts, the international community understood that it had to respond quickly to these problems. Neil Kritz indicated that about 98% of wars were determined by ethnic and religious conflicts, or disputes over self-determination and secession.[9]So, for the first time, they understood the usefulness of preventive diplomacy, and theinternational community was forced to treat the causes of conflicts. After the analysis, it was concluded that neither the strengthening of human rights obligations nor any traditional process used to maintain peace during the Cold War would have worked.[10]

Macedonia is a country in Southern Europe with a population of about 2.3 million inhabitants. 64.2% of them are of Macedonian nationality and 25.2% of Albanian nationality. At the end of the Cold War, after the disintegration of the Republic of Yugoslavia, among the states which declared their independence, one was the Republic of Macedonia. However, on the territory of this new state, strong tensions appeared between the Slavic and the Albanian population about each other's role in the new society. Another problem was also the possibility of extending this typology of conflict in Kosovo that would heave conflicted with the Serb leaders' ambitions for expansion.[11]There were also other issues such as strong conflicts with Greece over national symbols and identity, threats from Bulgarian irredentism, etc.

Indeed Macedonia had been a testing ground for the effectiveness of preventive diplomacy and thus for avoiding armed conflicts the deployment of U.N. troops were required. In December 1991, during talks between Cryus Vance (U.S. Secretary of State) and Macedonian President KiroGligorov, the latter indirectly requested that U.N. observers be sent in Macedonia. On November 12, 1992, Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali recommended sending U.N. troops to prevent deterioration of the Kosovo situation and to strengthen Macedonia's defense against potential military attacks.[12]

Therefore on December 11, 1992, the Security Council of the U.N., through Resolution 795 authorized the deployment of troops (an infantry battalion and observers for monitoring). Later, on June 11, 1993, the U.S. also facilitated troops to Macedonia's defense to face certain threats which seemed inevitable.[13]United Nations Preventive Deployment Force came into existence on March 21, 1995, in order to replace UNPROFOR in Macedonia and had the purpose of monitoring and reporting on military developments at the borders and was in contact with O.S.C.E., N.A.T.O. and the European Union.

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[8]Col. dr. RomicăCernat, *„Operaţiile de menţinere a păciişidreptulinternaţionalumanitar"*, ARDUPH, accessed December 15, 2016, http://www.arduph.ro/domenii/operatiuni-de-pace/operatiile-de-mentinere-a-pacii-si-dreptul-international-umanitar/

[9] Chester A.Crocker& Fen OsIer Hampson and Pamela Aall (eds.), *"Managing Global Chaos: Sources of and Responses to International Conflict",* United States Institute of Peace Press, Washington D.C., 1996, p. 587

[10] Gareth Evans, *"Cooperating For Peace: The Global Agenda for the 19905 and Beyond, Australia"*, Allen&Unwin, 1993, p. 103.

[11]Eran Frankel, *"Intcrnational NGOs in Preventive Diplomacy and Early Warning: Macedonia"*, Rotberg (ed.), Vigilance and Vengeance:, Brookings Institution Press, Washington, p. 163

[12] Document O.N.U. nr.5/24923, 9 December 1992.

[13] Gabriel Munuera, *"Preventing armed conflict in Europe: lessons from recent experience"*, Institute for Security Studies Western European Union, Paris, June 1994, p. 53.

Although the mission was set to be completed in 1998, in response to the Kosovo crisis, the Security Council extended the mission's mandate for another six months until February 28, 1999. There was information that there were a number of risks, and also the Dayton Peace Agreement in Bosnia and Herzegovina had difficulties being implemented due to the return of refugees in Macedonia. On February 22, 1999, a renewal of the mandate was proposed, as violence had intensified in the area, but China rejected the proposal using its veto.

After the withdrawal of the U.N. troops, both N.A.T.O. and the European Union have been actively involved in resolving conflicts of lesser intensity. U.E. created through E.S.D.P. (European Security and Defence Policy) the European Joint Army to manage the Balkans security crisis. Also, Berlin Plus was created as an initiative between N.A.T.O. and U.E for peacekeeping programs, allowing the E.U. to access the capabilities for operational planning.[14]

Finally, the Macedonian government and Albanian leaders came to an agreement between the two countries, called the Ohrid Agreement, thus allowing N.A.T.O. to implement a plan for demilitarization (the task of preventive diplomacy). This operation was named Operation Essential Harvest (OEH)[15]. Other operations followed for demilitarization and peacekeeping.

Looking closely at the role of preventive diplomacy in averting armed conflict in Macedonia we can see the following completion points:

• Avoiding an armed conflict with Albania's ethnic population and reaching a political agreement between the government and PDP (Party for Democratic Prosperity / ethnic Albanian) which led to the unwinding of social tensions and the recognition of the Republic of Macedonia by ethnic Albanians.

• Avoiding military conflict as a result of the collaboration between UNO, O.S.C.E. and the European Union for defense and humanitarian aid.

• Testing deployments as a mean of prevention by implementing United Nations Preventive Deployment Force.

As it could be noted, in Macedonia the strength of preventive diplomacy shows that in any conflict between two sides, the best solution can only come when there is an active involvement of the international community facilitating both resources and polices. This involvement will undoubtedly generate trust between the two sides allowing the identification of a common ground to settle a conflict. In the absence of these discussions troop deployment as a singular measure can't achieve efficiency as it can't touch the structural cause of a conflict. This measure is also likely to delay reaching a political agreement

Preventive Diplomacy in O.S.C.E.

Within O.S.C.E. (Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe) there is an effective tool in preventive diplomacy, namely the High Commissioner on National Minorities (H.C.N.M.). It aims to resolve ethnic tensions in their initial phase when there is the danger of developing a conflict that could endanger peace, stability or relations between participating states.

H.C.N.M. operates as a preventive diplomacy instrument in order to identify and promote solutions for an early resolution of ethnic tensions that may jeopardize peace, stability, and relations between O.S.C.E. participating States. It is also the only O.S.C.E. body that can initiate preventive diplomatic actions, independently from the executive branch of the organization, but having the consent of the states involved.

H.C.N.M. first limits the activity's temporal space to prevent the expansion of specific disputes and then redefines its conceptuality, distinguishing preventive diplomatic actions from other tools of preventive diplomacy or force. Therefore, it does not include humanitarian assistance actions or military actions. Another role of H.C.N.M. is strategic planning for short-term prevention (preventing or obstructing the escalation of immediate development) and long-term conflicts (involving reconstruction and support for the creation of an optimal social system).

It should be noted that this tool does not have corrective powers being an attribute of preventive diplomacy, so its effectiveness is determined by the capacity of representatives of different countries to cooperate, consider and implement the H.C.N.M. recommendations.

The High Commissioner, along with a number of experts, elaborates reports on various situations and potential conflicts whereof he was informed and conceives recommendations for all parties involved. Its recommendations are not of a mandatory or corrective nature, but weigh heavily in the diplomatic space. Their

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[14] Julie Kim. *"Bosnia and the European Union Military Force (EUFOR): Post-N.A.T.O. Peacekeeping"*, CRS Report for Congress, Updated December 5, 2006, accessed December 13, 2016 as PDF, https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RS21774.pdf

[15] Julie Kim, *"Macedonia:(FYROM): Post-Conflict Situation and U.S. Policy"*, CRS Report for Congress, Updated June 17, 2005, accessed December 13, 2016 as PDF, https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL32172.pdf

objective is to encourage the parties in finding amicable solutions to resolve problems in an optimal way in order to preserve peace. We can see that the role of O.S.C.E. is indispensable in maintaining a peaceful environment at an international level between participant States.[16]

Preventive Diplomacy - instruments to combat terrorism

Today's need for preventive diplomacy can no longer be doubted, proving its effectiveness in managing international conflicts. Starting with the end of the Cold War until the present, this kind of diplomacy has managed to maintain a geopolitical balance which provides security and safety to the citizens of democratic states of the world.

However, we must take into account that the problems for which this form of diplomacy was designed are no longer the main threat to world security. U.N. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon highlights this in a message addressed to the Meeting of High Representatives on Security Issues on September 21, 2011, stating that *"Prevention must include more than conflicts. Terrorism, nuclear proliferation, transnational organized crime, human, drug and arms trafficking are prevalent parts of it. The globalization of such risks is beyond our responsiveness. It is the duty of the international community to keep up with these risks. U.N. Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy and U.N.O.D.C.[17]are instruments against corruption, crime, and drugs."[18]*So for the first time, it is stated that preventive diplomacy must be adapted to the typology of current issues like terrorism.

In a practical sense, preventive measures become more diverse and complex now comprising: warning systems, intelligence, early deployment of troops, demilitarization, increasing levels of trust and capability, combating terrorism and attempts to destroy peace.[19]

On September 28, 2001, following the terrorist attacks in the U.S., United Nations Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 1373 to establish CTC-Counter-Terrorism Committee, which is a critical step from an legislative point of view, since for the first time, a mechanism for monitoring the universal implementation of legal obligations of UN States exists in order to fight against terrorism.

The European Union recognizes the role of the Terrorism Prevention Branch of the International Centre for the Prevention of Crime, as well as the unit's contributions to increase international efforts for terrorism prevention.[20]

I. In February 2005, at the first Counter-Terrorism International Conference in Riyadh, King Abdullah Bin Abdulaziz Al-Saud of Saudi Arabia asked the attending representatives of world countries to create an international center to combat terrorism. On September 8, 2006, the General Assembly of U.N. adopted unanimously the Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy. In the action plan, annexed to the decision, there were a series of measures focused on four pillars:

II. I. Measures addressing the conditions that lead to the expansion of terrorism.

III. II. Measures to prevent and combat terrorism.

IV. III. Measures to develop the capacity of states to prevent and combat terrorism and strengthening the U.N. system in this case.

V. IIII. Measures to ensure respect for human rights and the rule of law as the fundamental basis for the fight against terrorism.[21]

The General Assembly of the United States, under Pillar II of the UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy, considered that the establishment of an international center to fight terrorism would increase the international capacity to prevent attacks of this nature. So in September 2011 the U.N.C.C.T. – United Nations

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[16]OSCE, *"Conflict prevention and resolution"*, accessed December 14, 2016, http://www.O.S.C.E..org/hcnm

[17]United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime

[18]UN, *"Preventive Diplomacy Encompasses More than Conflict, Secretary-General Tells International Meeting on Security Issues, Citing Terrorism, Organized Crime"*, accessed December 13, 2016, http://www.un.org/press/en/2011/sgsm13824.doc.htm

[19]UNITAR, *"Counter-Terrorism as a tool of Preventive Diplomacy: The United Nations Centre for Counter-Terrorism Preventive Diplomacy as it is displayed by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia"*, published November 11, 2011, accessed December 15, 2016, as PDF, https://www.unitar.org/ny/sites/unitar.org.ny/files/PresentationSAonCounterterrorism.pdf

[20]OPNCSB, "Ghidulprivindabordareacomuna in luptaimpotrivaterorismului", accessed December 15, 2016 as PDF, http://www.onpcsb.ro/pdf/Ghidul%20privind%20abordarea%20comuna%20in%20lupta%20impotriva%20terorism.pdf

[21]Ibidem 19,

Counter-Terrorism Centre is founded in order to promote cooperation and counterterrorism support set out in the UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy. It became operational in April 2012.[22]

On 25 January 2015 at the EUROPOL the European Counter-Terrorism Center was established due to alarming reports of I.S.I.L. threats in the European community space. The role of this center is operational coordination and access to centralized information on terrorist potentialities. It also seeks cooperation between national agencies and organizations competent in this area. The establishment of this center was the result of an E.U decision in November 2015.[23]

Conclusions

With the end of the Cold War, the international community has realized that old methods of preventing conflicts and military actions didn't have a high degree of efficiency. Intense Cold War tensions led to the existence of an economically and politically vulnerable space where the safety and security of states were questioned. Using military force to secure for example the Balkans would have led to a disaster.

Thereby preventive diplomacy came as an institutional solution, with clear objectives onmanaging conflict in a constructive way, by increasing trust between countries situated on opposite positions, by collecting information and sending troops for peacekeeping. Of course,this form of diplomacy also means adapting to the present facts situation and the nature of current conflicts, so today three instruments that fight against terrorism were also added. This adaptability has allowed the creation of institutions and tools which enable a better international cooperation against terrorist militant groups.

Of course, it does not always work, because although we can cite the case of the Republic of Macedonia where preventive diplomacy has not only managed to reduce tensions but also to settle the conflict, leading to a political agreement between the Albanian minority and the government, in the Gulf War, however, preventive diplomacy ultimately failed and Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait.

In conclusion, the greatest achievement of preventive diplomacy is not the capacity of solving regional conflicts, but its ability to facilitate effective cooperation between the U.N. Member States which find new methods and tools to apply the requirements of this type of diplomacy. Today, when the world faces an unprecedented terrorist threat, due to inter-governmental and inter-institutional cooperation counterterrorism receives more and more resources and capabilities, thus becoming more effective.

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