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## Preface\*

I am pleased to present the first edition of an OSCE Yearbook to our readers. The publication of this Yearbook occurs at a time when we can celebrate the 20th anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki Final Act. In 1975 the Heads of State or Government of 35 European and North American states initiated the CSCE process. The Final Act has provided millions of people with hope for a better future and with the courage to stand up for their human rights and for liberty. This was the most important contribution of the CSCE process to a peaceful democratic change and to the overcoming of the bloc confrontation. Back in 1989, however, the CSCE States already realized that after the end of the East-West confrontation a pan-European security space would need new comprehensive security arrangements. Therefore the basis for a new, operative CSCE was created by the Charter of Paris in 1990.

Twenty years after the signing of the Helsinki Final Act we must not restrict ourselves to a mere reflection of the past. We have to look into the future, at the tasks confronting the OSCE today as well as tomorrow. Europe and the whole OSCE area are facing serious challenges. During half a century the East-West conflict was the decisive factor of almost all our problems, starting with local conflicts up to questions of world economy. Now, however, we are confronted with a great number of conflicts and crises that are caused by a multitude of local or regional problems. How can we find answers to these new - and in many cases very old - questions? Which standard should be applied to decide what is important enough to involve the international community? These questions elude a uniform, general answer. We need specific case-to-case-solutions. At the moment we are in the middle of a process of development and adjustment of the instruments and institutions, that are necessary to find such solutions. The OSCE is no exception to that rule. It is also still defining its role in the identification, prevention and overcoming of crises. Yet, crisis management actually is not the central task of the OSCE. The great political challenge nowadays rather is to create a new and permanent stability in the OSCE area as a whole.

The fundamental principle of the OSCE's activity is its substantially and geographically comprehensive concept of security. It takes into account the connection between human rights, democracy, economic prosperity, and military security. The geographical aspect of a new understanding of security is of

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similar importance. The OSCE endeavors to contribute to the prevention of new divisions, it is obliged to follow the principle of indivisible security from Vancouver to Vladivostok. Based on such a comprehensive security concept, the OSCE makes its contribution especially in the following three crucial areas:

- the strengthening of the human dimension and of the principles of a social free market economy as the foundations of a civil society;
- preventive diplomacy, conflict prevention and crisis management;
- the development of a cooperative security order in the OSCE area.

These focal points have emerged since the Charter of Paris. What can be considered to be new in that respect is the widening of the traditional CSCE frame from a mere forum for negotiations to a place for continuous political consultation and operative action. The 1994 Budapest Summit marks the beginning of this new era. The CSCE changed its name into OSCE, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. The changing of the name bears in mind the growing number of activities over the past years as well as the desire of the participating States for a central role of the OSCE in the building of a secure and stable OSCE community.

The European security landscape is so diverse, the challenges are so complex, that one institution alone can hardly cope with them. Rather, the cooperation of a multitude of institutions is necessary. The OSCE is one of them. The United Nations, the European Union, the NATO, the WEU and the Council of Europe as well as other organizations make specific, indispensable contributions to the consolidation of the European security structures. Stability and security can be created and preserved by the coordinated cooperation of these institutions, each possessing its own characteristic profile.

In order to fulfill its new function, the OSCE needs the continuous support of its participating States. As a community of democratic states it especially needs the attention and the understanding of its citizens. Activities in the sectors of the human dimension and of preventive diplomacy do not hit the headlines. Therefore an OSCE Yearbook is important. It paves the way to public opinion. It gives opportunity to an open and critical analysis of the tasks and activities of the OSCE.

Anybody who deals with the OSCE daily needs to take a distant view once in a while - reminiscent as well as foresighted. In view of the current credibility crises of all international organizations nothing is as important as a realistic evaluation of their possibilities and limits.

Therefore the Yearbook on hand is of high value.

Furthermore, the Yearbook is an example of fruitful cooperation of the OSCE with research institutions, a cooperation that both sides urgently need. I wish to thank the Director of the publishing institution, the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg, Dieter S. Lutz, and the Editor-in-Chief, Kurt P. Tudyka, as well as the responsible persons at the other participating institutes for their initiative. The OSCE Yearbook is their work and it is published in their responsibility. I also wish to thank the authors of the different articles who have contributed to a constructive, critical, and pluralistic dialogue.

All of them is to be wished that the OSCE Yearbook 1995 will have a wide circulation. This will widen the circle of those who, even acting from different positions, strive for a just and lasting peaceful order in Europe.