

many issues (e.g. soft power, land mines, child soldiers, small arms control), Canada and like-minded states such as Norway have taken the lead in pushing the human security agenda in the transatlantic context.

A key aspect of the new conceptual framework is the recognition that insecurity in Europe comes not only from a lack of "hard power", but also from political, economic and social weakness. As noted by the UN Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR), today's European security problems "have become both more decentralised *and* more specific". Not everyone is affected equally by threats. No single security body can manage all of the challenges to European stability. And the steps required for enhancing security are gradual rather than dramatic – establishment of the rule of law, conversion of military hardware and technology, and (perhaps most critically) economic development.<sup>3</sup>

Nonetheless, the 1990s have seen significant changes even in the military dimension of security. The biggest shift has been the transition from bloc-to-bloc confrontation and the doctrine of mutually assured destruction to nuclear disarmament and co-operation between former adversaries. Second, there has been a decrease in the risk of interstate war, but a simultaneous increase in the risk of intra-state conflict. And finally, while conventional military forces have been streamlined, they have seen their missions expand from the defence of national/allied territory to peacekeeping and peacebuilding under international command.

### **III. The OSCE in the New Europe**

The OSCE has had two main advantages in adapting to these changes in military security. First, its membership encompasses Atlantic, European, and Asian axes; therefore, it has been a natural forum for co-operative security among former adversaries. More importantly, the activities of its predecessor - the CSCE - prior to the fall of the Berlin Wall already incorporated many aspects of the new security agenda, such as consensus building, norm development, transparency, and human rights. The original goal of the CSCE during the Cold War was a relatively limited one: to develop coexistence in a climate of competition and minimal trust, thereby reducing the possibility of a military confrontation. Yet, the mechanisms that it used to foster trust – confidence building measures (CBMs<sup>4</sup>), arms control, and dispute settlement – are the tools that dominate much current discussion about European security.

The CSCE/OSCE has gone through a considerable evolution during the 1990s. At Paris in 1990, the CSCE institutionalised its security-building mechanisms with the formation of the Council

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<sup>3</sup> *European Security in the 1990s: Challenges and Perspectives*, UN Institute for Disarmament Research (Geneva, 1995).

<sup>4</sup> The first generation of confidence-and-security-building measures were called "confidence-building measures" (CBMs). They evolved into CSBMs in the early 1990s.