
Policy paper

“Contemporary Global Security Challenges”

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1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In the last two decades, the architecture of global governance has significantly changed in terms that post-Cold-war system dominated mainly by Western countries is now facing fragmentations. New actors, new forms of governance and various forms of partnerships are shaping new multilateralism, which is challenged with many security issues and conflicting relations between global actors.

Most prominent challenges are climate change, terrorism, organised crime and international migration with transnational volume. These challenges demand consolidated and joint response and for that relations among main global actors are essential for security and international relations.

West- East tensions are intensifying with growing Russian influence in the international arena, and with restless Turkey that is also playing an important role in West-East relations. India and China are new global actors whose importance is rising, economically and in the field of security. With their numerous population and fast economic growth, they are becoming increasingly important in dealing with climate change as a top security issue.

The main arising question is how will divided actors with their opposed interests respond jointly on multiple and complex

security threats? The other question is how will already existing tools be put in use properly and what about efficiency of international organisations in dealing with security challenges?

This was precisely the reason why the Institute for Development and International Relations and Zagreb Office of the Hanns Seidel Foundation decided to launch a roundtable series entitled “*Global Political / Security Relations and Issues*” in 2016. Round tables have gathered representatives of the academia, state administration, non-governmental sector, media, international organisations and diplomatic community from Croatia, the region and beyond, which has ensured a substantial debate and wide range of well-grounded arguments from different perspectives.

The summary of main arguments we heard at our three round tables are presented in this paper. Of course, in order to make them more useful and policy-relevant, they were organised in three topical units – creating three main chapters in the body of the text – and are followed by concrete conclusion and recommendations.

2. INTRODUCTION

Contemporary international order where security challenges evolved and changed the environment as well, is different than the post-Cold-War one. New security

threats are unconventional and asymmetrical, where the source of threat cannot be easily targeted and therefore managed.

Security threats became so common in contemporary world that threats like migrations, natural disasters or terrorist attacks threaten to overcome the term of security challenges, and are being increasingly accepted as a natural part of the modern world.

There is still no unique and consolidated response to terrorism, the issue of climate change has been on the UN political agenda since 1992, while the number of armed conflicts has never been higher. Armed conflicts influenced the highest international migration flows ever recorded, as well as the highest number of displaced people. These problems are global, and no country can stand or deal with it alone, hence there will be no solutions and stability in the international system without co-operative approach.

United States still maintains the position of main superpower, mainly through its capacities to provide 'security assistance'. But, the domination of the US as the only global superpower is decreasing in the parallel with growing importance of global actors like Russia, China and, Japan. The relations between East and West still have high influence on global security, but also in determining of an appropriate approach to security threats

and challenges. Furthermore, new dynamics in international relations come with the shift of geostrategic focus from the Transatlantic region to Asia and Pacific that carries new challenges to global security.

Dealing effectively with contemporary threats means having the broadest cooperation possible between nations and organizations. Most important international organisations such as NATO, UN and EU have developed institutional frameworks for tackling different contemporary security issues, but the effectiveness of their tools and mechanism is questionable.

The growing importance of regional organizations is in addressing the security threats, prevention of conflicts, tackling unlawful migration, humanitarian assistance and comprehensive regional approach to cross-border issues. Another important role of regional organizations is in balancing the power system and providing a mechanism for small countries to influence international arena. Regional organizations such as the European Union or the African Union have undertaken some actions in the field of security, but the desired potential of regional organizations in mentioned context hasn't been fully reached.

This publication, based on conclusions from three conducted round tables on

different aspects of given topic, represents an attempt from the Institute for International Relations and Hanns Seidel Foundation to modestly contribute to the subject matter.

The core of the publication itself is divided into three chapters that were detected as the most important during our roundtable discussions. So, according to our argument, there are three main focal fields for our research interest in this topic: the main challenges of contemporary international relations, relations between leading actors and their specific policies. Therefore, wishing to foster the decision-making process and offer some assistance to the policy makers, hereby we made a modest attempt to analyse the aforementioned issues and accordingly provide some recommendations for the period to come.

3. THE MAIN GLOBAL CHALLENGES

The current international environment is complex, challenging, fast-changing and it carries an unprecedented number of security threats. The new globalized world took the stage from post-Cold War order carrying multilateralism, globalization, and modernization of technology and communication that shaped the framework of appearance for new unconventional security threats.

Contemporary security threats are transnational, multidimensional and high in its range. In terms of transnational character, it means that the threat in one part of the world is capable of disrupting peace and stability in the country on the other side of the globe. For example, contemporary security threats like climate change influence the whole world and recognize no boundaries.

Systematization of threats is becoming highly complicated because of their overlapping in political, economic, military and environmental field that determines their multidimensionality. Also, they have a high range of impact with long-term and serious consequences on states' security and international relations.

Terrorism as today's most important global security problem has been on the political agenda for more than a decade, without comprehensive approach, right solution and with a lack of joint international action.

Terrorism is closely linked with organised crime where terrorist groups are often financed through organised criminal activities. The use of crime is an important factor in evolution of terrorism, where both activities evolved in similar operational and organizational way, creating converted and complex threat. Globalisation has simplified international criminal and terrorist operations: made

them more profitable, increased their volume and complicated their detection.

Most significant concerns are terrorist attacks that are getting more frequent worldwide, but especially shaking security in Europe with attacks in most prominent European cities, from the Paris attack last year till most recent attacks in Brussels, Nice, Munich, Istanbul and Berlin. Terrorist attacks directly threaten states' and nations' security and undermine perceptions of state capability to defend itself. It has consequences in creating fear and anxiety, but also changing the public perception towards the issue of migration. Migration crisis from 2015 and terrorist attacks made international migrations perceived as a threat to national security in certain part of society and politics-elites of western countries.

The migrations in general represent one of the main security challenges with the highest level of displacement ever. According to the UNHCR, at the moment of writing this paper there are 65.3 million people forcibly displaced from their countries, mainly from the Middle East and Africa. Massive immigrant flows challenge the recipient state's national identity and core values whose restrictive policies increase the number of migrant smugglers and human traffickers and contribute to anti-immigrant tendency.

These challenges and their effects highlight that one country alone, no matter how powerful, cannot cope with them solely. Migration crisis can potentially destabilize countries on its route and makes it clear that cooperation is crucial for managing it. Criminal and terrorist organisations are located in one country, prepare operations in second and act in third, which gives them highly transnational character.

Proliferation of weapons of mass destruction is another great security issue whose real danger lies in its connection with terrorist organizations. Countries of concern are undeveloped and unstable countries of MENA region who are rich with plutonium and uranium, but full of numerous religious, ideological and cultural divisions. Although big states, including big nuclear states, made a series of agreements on non-proliferation, the real threat is extreme violent groups and possible usage of dirty nuclear devices.

Internet and digitalization created a new dimension in the field of security and warfare, the cyberspace.

Cyber threats are mirror of a contemporary world, reflecting its transnationality, complexity and modernization. Through development, cyber-attacks are becoming more sophisticated, more common and damaging. Difficulties in

securitization of cyberspace lies in an actor's ability to operate from any place in the world, difficulties in reducing vulnerabilities and serious consequences in a complex cyber network.

The importance of cyber security can be clearly seen in NATO's inclusion of it as a core task of collective defence and recognition of cyber space as domain of defence equal as the air, land and sea. Also, the EU and NATO signed a Technical Arrangement on cyber defence cooperation in February in 2016 and cyber defence was on the agenda at NATO Warsaw Summit in 2016. Cyber defence is becoming a number one concern of the western world and will define the future security agenda.

All this is taking place in a changing environment with consequences in increased natural disasters, conflict over natural resources and refugee flows. Acceleration of climate change as a consequence of human actions represent one of the most pressing global problems. It has significant geopolitical implications in ensuring the flow of trade, new sea lanes opening and access to raw materials.

Environmental degradation has a direct impact on agriculture and water that damages the economy and disrupts people's lives as well as contributing to

deepening of poverty and political instability in fragile countries and regions. All this could lead to further marginalization of poor societies and stronger social and political disintegration. Climate change is not only affecting undeveloped countries, but most developed ones' experience serious natural disasters that shakes society confidence in state's ability to solve the problem. Most recent examples are earthquakes in the USA, New Zealand, and Italy.

Climate change is not a distant phenomenon, it happens here and now, and has a real effect on everyday life. It poses a challenge for security and can lead to conflict and violence, therefore it is crucial to treat it seriously and undertake cooperative actions.

Adequate response to all these contemporary security problems requires common, comprehensive and cooperative approach because of their transnational and multidimensional character. The response should consist of various fields and policies in order to cover all their aspects that are now overlapping in social, military and economy domain. It is evident that some of the security threats have priority status comparison to the others which are not directly impacting national security, but the global actors must be able to address them equally and adequately, which hasn't been achieved yet.

4. THE MAIN ACTORS

Contemporary international relations are very dynamic and we are stepping into new multilateralism, in which domination of the USA and the importance of Trans-Atlantic alliance is decreasing due to rise of diverse actors and growing accent on countries from Asia and Pacific. Security threats with their multidimensional and transnational character distort the leading role of the state and give the advantage to international and especially regional organizations in ensuring global security.

When we talk about new actors in international relations, China is gaining its position of global superpower through fast economic and technological development. The relations in Southeast Asia and its regional security heavily depend on China. Increasing its military spending, commitment to modernise its military capabilities and nuclear ambitions reveal China's aim to gain position of military, besides economic power. That could have implications in Southeast and East Asian security where the Chinese aspirations for regional domination increased, what is evident from territorial and juridical competition in South China Sea, China's relations with Taiwan and intensifying competition between China and the US.

The US recognized the growing importance of Asia – Pacific region and is

strengthening its position in new focal point of international relations through alliances with Japan, India and Vietnam. Presence of the US in the Pacific represents the obstacle for China's regional domination, but is also a reason for Chinese military boosting.

Alongside regional impact, China with its numerous population and fast economic development through heavy industrialization is a major emitter of greenhouse gases and carbon dioxide, therefore it is crucial in solving the climate change issue. China declared in 2014 a commitment to decrease greenhouse emission and to increase non-fossil sources to 20% by 2030, what was included in the 2015 Paris Agreement.

The US remains a key actor in international relations, especially in the field of security. In contrast of Russia, China or EU, the US has equally strong economic and military capabilities combined with political power that places it in a position of a global superpower. Terrorism is still a priority for the US security, therefore it is a country with strongest engagement in counter-terrorism. They lead more than 60 partners in the global campaign against violent extremism in Syria and Iraq and have 15,000 troops operating in Iraq and Afghanistan.

Other major concerns for the US are relations with Russia which, lacks economic

but possesses military capabilities. With recent actions in Europe and Middle East, Russia is gaining more prominent position in international relations what can be perceived in the eyes of the US as awakening of the old rivalry. Shift in American foreign policy and more economic based co-operational tone towards Russia and China can be expected with Donald Trump as new president of the USA.

The consequences of growing American orientation towards Asia and Pacific could influence the European Union which is representing a diplomatic and economic power, but still depending on the US when it comes to hard power. The EU is a global leader in humanitarian aid and development policy, economically they are the third largest member of the G20, and that's what shaped the EU as soft power.

Most important challenges for the EU are international migrations, followed by increasing Russian impact in the East, restless Balkan region and terrorist attacks. These challenges arise in challenging time when European Union's stability and credibility are being questioned, especially after Brexit.

The Ukrainian crisis made clear that transatlantic partnership is necessary for European security, therefore the EU obviously needs more credibility in its

own territory and neighbourhood. Enlargement and partnership programmes are tools for stabilizing the Balkan region which is an EU's closest neighbour and is important for European security in terms of possible violence escalation and increase of Russian impact.

Although Russia is frequently perceived as a threat in western countries, its importance in global security and international relations is undisputed. Russia is and will continue to be an important player in addressing the security issues: combating terrorism, preventing of development of the nuclear weapons, especially in Iran and North Korea, stabilizing the MENA region.

Russia is taking back its position in the international order with increasing influence in Europe and Middle East, posing a challenge for the West. The challenge is in finding a way to accept Putin's Russia, which proved not to be a short-term phase, and to create a cooperation with maintaining credibility and values.

Russia and its actions in Ukraine represent a fundamental challenge for NATO, hence it was the main concern of NATO's last 2016 Summit in Warsaw. It was stressed that Russian hybrid warfare and actions on the border of Europe, support to the Syrian regime, military presence on the Black Sea and projection of power in the East Mediterranean are posing

further risks and challenges for the Alliance and others.

The issue of terrorism and violent extremism is another security priority that NATO resolves mainly through cooperation with partners and other organizations such as supporting the UN Global Counterterrorism Strategy and working closely with various OSCE and EU counter-terrorism departments.

Although NATO remains the most prominent organization for ensuring global security, in the face of new challenges, political and military reforms were necessary to improve its effectiveness and efficiency.

When it comes to the effectiveness in ensuring the world's security UN showed its limits and disadvantages. The UN still represents the world forum for discussing global issues, especially the Security Council, where every important issue that is influencing global security always comes on the agenda. The UN supposed to be the reflection of the contemporary international relations, but the UN's structure is 'out the date' where states with relevant position in contemporary international relations, such as Germany, do not have the same relevant position within the UN. Therefore, with non-binding resolutions and exclusion of important global players from the main decision making process, the UN

relevance is furthermore undermined. Unification of opposing countries' interests, solid bureaucracy and strict rules of selection proved to be other obstacles to UN effectiveness. Some reforms, that are highly needed should include a political strategy before the action, deeper cooperation with regional organizations and more political will of its state members, because the UN is what states want the UN to be.

Regional organizations have occurred as a new relevance during the last two decades and they have the potential to be important actors in stability, peace and security through conflict prevention and resolution. Because of proximity of their members they have a strong interest to avoid or contain the conflict and create a comprehensive approach to deal with cross-border issues. Although UN promotes the strengthening role of regional organizations in conflict management, most of them haven't fulfilled the expectations. While the EU, the OSCE and the AU undertake the security interventions and manage to gain relevance as international players, the role of regional organizations in Asia and Middle East remained less relevant.

The diversity of global actors and their complex relations make international arena complex and dynamic. Global consensus, therefore, remains unreachable with main actors' different views,

interests and goals. There is a cooperation among actors, such as Trans-Atlantic Alliance, which is still holding the most prominent position in addressing global security threats, but the main point is to achieve global cooperation and action. There are many unpredictability's about the way international relations will look in the future, but certainly global issues and actors described here will be in focus.

5. SPECIFIC POLICIES

Multidimensionality of contemporary security threats means that they occur in many diverse fields, creating an unstable environment that cannot be handled in one stroke. A crucial component in addressing the global security is various policies that actors are undertaking to cope with security issues and challenges to ensure global stability. These policies cover different fields with sometimes indirect, but important impacts on national and global security.

The US as a world superpower has the biggest **defence** budget, which had a 4% annual increase in 2016 occurring for the first time since constant decline from 2010, amounting 595 billion \$ (SIPRI). The 2015 National Military Strategy outlines four fields of action in addressing the most important security issues, including deterring aggression on the US and its partners, combating extreme violent

organisations, involvement in globally integrated operations, strengthening the alliances and working with partners.

Simultaneously with economic development, China's military spending has been constantly increasing in a last twenty years, reaching 150 billion \$ in 2016, placing the country in the world's second position. China excludes military procurement, government subsidies for military production and funds for nuclear and strategic forces from defence budget, what can make real China's defence allocations significantly higher. The increase can be connected to China's policy and actions in the South and East China Sea, where China's future military sharpening will have impact on an Asia – Pacific regional security.

Russian military expenditure decreased in 2016, making it fourth in the world with 66,4 billion \$, mainly due to energy prices decline, the EU/US sanctions and ruble inflation. With the strong growth of the military budget from 2010-2015 Russia's attempt was to reform its defence capabilities, rearm and remilitarize the Arctic territory.

Latest EU Global Strategy 2016 stressed out the need for the EU to take greater responsibility for the European security, strengthen defence capabilities and be able to act independently. When it comes to collective defence there is still

a call for a closer relation with NATO, that remains a most prominent defence organization with the US as main financier. The only EU member states whose defence expenditure were higher than 2% of its GDP in 2015 are Greece and United Kingdom, in comparison of USs 3,5%.

In responding adequately to unconventional security threats that occur in non-military scope, such as energy, environment or migrations, defence policies of the world leading actors showed insufficiency. Contemporary security threats need to be addressed comprehensively, more broad and they demand a response that goes beyond military capacities, reaching out to the field of cooperative international governance.

The energy sector is one of the most important fields for national and global security with the crucial impact in economic stability. Heavy dependency of national economies on unrenovable energy represents a security issue in terms of insufficient generation of supplies, expensive production and difficult availability because of restlessness in energy-exporting countries and transit regions.

According to International Energy Agency, world everyday consumes over 90 million barrels of oil what is a clear evidence of global dependence on it. High dependence on oil and unrenovable energy made major energy consumers turn

to alternative sources of energy and to decrease the oil demand.

Third largest producer of crude oil, the US, is world's biggest oil consumer and it covers only half of its demands. The US declared the *President's Blueprint for a Secure Energy Future* in 2011 and the "All-of-the-Above" strategy from 2012 as main documents that shape American policies for energy security improvement and low-carbon energy technology development.

Last decade, India and China exceeded North America's oil consumption and generally made global demand for energy far-reaching. China declared in 2016 its new Five-Year Plan for energy as part of its *Strategic Energy Action Plan* that will determine its actions regarding carbon emission, renewable energy and general energy development.

Stability in energy security is determined by principles of diversification of supply, stability of market, information sharing and securitization of crisis capacities. OPEC countries hold 80% of the world's oil reserves and 42% of world oil supplies, and therefore are in constant dispute over prices with non-OPEC countries gathered at the International Energy Agency as it counterweights.

Biggest proven natural gas supplier is Russia with an essential role in stabilizing

the energy market and in global energy security. Russia economically depends on energy sector, so every energy price declining is sharpening Russian attitude and actions towards OPEC and non-OPEC countries.

The EU import 90% of crude oil and 65% of natural gas what is an evidence of its vulnerability when it comes to energy security, especially when the major gas supplier is Russia. The EU's *Energy Security Strategy* from 2014 outlines the guidelines for ensuring a stable and plentiful supply of energy, with the main goal in increasing energy efficiency and production.

Other important issues for the EU are terrorist attack and **countering terrorism**. After the 2004 terrorist attack in Madrid, the EU adopted the EU Counterterrorism Strategy, which was revised in 2012 and 2014. One of the measures was to establish Counterterrorism Coordinator, with the aim to improve coordination with the Council, monitor the implementation of the Strategy, communicate with third countries and promote the EU in the global fight against terrorism. The main partner in combating terrorism for the EU is the US, with whom it cooperates through the Terrorist Finance Tracking Program, Secure Information Exchange Network Application and Europol.

The Trans-Atlantic cooperation is institutionalised in NATO, the most prominent

security organisation, with important role in counterterrorism. Since 9/11 and the first NATO operation against terrorism, the Allies adopted *Strategic Concept* in 2010, where terrorism is recognized as a direct threat, and policy guidelines for countering terrorism in 2012. At the 2016 Warsaw Summit, NATO member states decided to support the Global Coalition to Counter ISIL.

As the leading actor in combating terrorism, the US is ahead of the Global Coalition to Counter ISIL, having undertaken over 13.000 airstrike's in Iraq and Syria. It is building the capacities and training in Iraq, as well as training of the Iraqi officers in Jordan.

Russian major concern regarding terrorism for decades has been the North Caucasus and the Islamic insurgents in the region. Federal Law on the Fight against Terrorism from 1998, executive president's orders and the Constitution are the main regulations in antiterrorist operations. Since 2015, Russia has shown more aggressive actions in global counterterrorism regarding mainly Syria, where it more eagerly promotes global action and cooperation.

China just started to engage itself in combating terrorism, passing its first comprehensive anti-terrorism bill in the end of the 2015, which was found controversial in the US for possible violation of human rights.

Trade and economy are another important component in ensuring global security. Foremost, trade promotes economic growth, ensures more resources for defence and military, ensures stability in terms that two trading countries are unlikely to enter the conflict and it has a positive impact on regional security and integration.

The EU is in G3 and it is the first trading partner and first foreign investor for the majority of countries in the world. The EU has built its role on the global stage on behalf of economy and trade, what are the main tools of the EU's contribution to the global security. The European Security and Defence Policy is the main framework for the EU's external actions with trade policy set in the Treaty on the Functioning of the EU. With exclusive power in trade, the Commission is negotiating and making agreements with bilateral partners. The latest trade strategy, "Trade for All", was adopted in 2015.

Trade is playing an important role in the US economic growth, supporting employment with an export profit of 2.3trillion \$ and total value of exports and imports over 30% of US's GDP. The US is more and more turning to bilateral and regional trade agreements, latest signed with Colombia, Panama and South Korea. The US has signed in 2013 the Transatlantic Trade Investment Partnership (TTIP) with the EU and in 2015 Trans-Pacific Partnership

with Asian countries, but with new presidential administration the future of the TTIP is questioned.

The Russian economy is still struggling to surpass 2008 crisis. In 2014 new industrial policy was introduced, including import substitution programme, tax breaks, revision of government procurement contracts and subsidy for infrastructure. Currently, the Russian economy is revitalising mostly due to the oil and gas export revenues, expecting the GDP growth of 1.8% in 2016 and 0.8% in 2017, according to the IMF. Russia has ten regional agreements, of which most important is the Eurasian Economic Union. For Russian authorities, the main priorities are foreign investment, technology transfer and innovation that sometimes surpass the importance of economic modernization of the country.

The world largest export economy is China, who has had a decline in trade since 2014, but it is now turning to reforms, services and technology-oriented economic growth. China's third biggest trade partner, after the EU and the US, are the ASEAN countries who are in focus of China's **regional policies**.

Because of the complexity and the great importance of global actor's regional interests and policies for global security, we took the liberty to elaborate the subtopic more broadly and more detailed than others.

China and ASEAN countries are connected through various mechanisms such as ASEAN plus Three, Regional Forum, the East Asia Summit, ASEAN-China Free Trade Agreement etc., through which China is strengthening its position in the region to decrease the US influence. Moreover, China-ASEAN cooperation is blurring the aggressive China policy in *South China Sea* (SCS), enabling it to control ASEAN countries with whom it has disputes in SCS and prevent them in unifying on the matter.

Russia is supporting China's actions and policies in SCS by joint naval drill in order to increase its influence in this important region and to enter the US sphere of interest. Furthermore, Russia is turning more to China after the US and EU sanctions, finding in China an export partner for gas and weapons, as well as a partner for rebalancing Asia and the Pacific.

The US targeted SCS as region of national, strategic and economic interest. Partnership with the Philippines and their Expanded Defence Cooperation Agreement (EDCA) enables US to support one of the main China's competitors in SCS. The US has partnerships with Vietnam, Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore and Taiwan, its navy held three maritime operations and much more aerial missions in the region.

Sharpening of the situation in SCS will influence the EU in terms of the growing

risk of cargo ships and the possibility for turning to more expensive and longer trade routes. Also, the EU member states should most definitely define their position regarding SCS dispute, what will harm either relation with the US or with China, Europe's two largest trading partner.

Middle East still remains the most prominent region of concern with overlapping interest of main global actors. The US main interests in the region are ensuring the oil flows, whose importance was best expressed by Jimmy Carter in 1980, but remain valid till today, saying that an attempt by any outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region will be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the United States of America, and that those interests will be defended by all means necessary.

Oil generally plays a crucial role in regional confrontations and armed conflicts which opens another opportunity, the arms sale. After the 9/11, the United States got one more interest in the MENA region that is combating terrorism. Besides, its interests are prevention of nuclear proliferation, intelligence and security cooperation as well as diplomatic support.

With recent actions in Syria, Russia is increasing its influence and challenges the US's dominant role in the region.

Operating air strikes from a base in Iran and growing Russian-Iranian cooperation gives Russia important strategic position in the Persian Gulf. Also, with successful military operations, Russia gained the political power in the region as well, forcing US's traditional partners such as Egypt or Turkey looking more favourably on it.

Middle East represents a region of crucial importance for the European Union, especially regarding the migration crisis that is rooted there and increasingly frequent terrorist attacks. Another interest is Arab-Israeli conflict-resolution, where the EU is providing mainly political and economic support. European approach to the MENA region is determined with strategic documents that offers only guidelines and often are slightly off the date considering the dynamics of relations and developments.

After 9/11 and growing anti-Islamic sentiments within the US and other western countries, China occurred as open partner for Arabs. Therefore, Saudi Arabia and Middle East are China's most important oil suppliers with whom China held its first joint counterterrorism drills. China is investing in countries of the Middle East by building the infrastructure, not only for export of energy, but also in service sectors such as Algeria's East-West Highway. Also, Chinese-Arab

Friendship Association was established in 2001.

Regarding the *Eurasia region*, China is, according to the same principle, using deterioration of West-East relations after the Ukrainian crisis to take the best position possible. With same pragmatic views of politics and partnerships, China tightens its relations with Russia by closing the gas agreement and planning the Silk Road Economic Belt together.

Eurasia is of great importance to Russia, whose everlasting goal is leadership in the region as its closest neighbourhood. The first step in restoring its influence in the region was the annexation of the Crimea. That was trigger point for Russia to realize that West is unlikely to respond militarily and that its main source of development and modernization now is closed, and other alternatives should be considered. Therefore, Russia is changing its regional policy towards a more active approach and is putting stronger accent on it within its foreign policy.

Russia is perceiving the Central Asia as the region for possible territorial expansion, but also as the region of high risk because of destabilization coming from the Middle East. Underdevelopment, poverty, ethnic tensions and proximity made Central-Asian countries a fertile soil for Islamic extreme groups, which

can destabilize the entire region. Besides the partnerships with Commonwealth of Independent States, the Asia-Pacific and the South Asia, Russia made a shift towards more assertive regional policy.

United States held the influence in the region through leading NATO troops in ISAF mission. Remaining interests are supporting the Afghan government, trying to decrease the economic development of China and further dissemination of Russian influence. For increasing its influence in the Central Asia, the US needs broader and long-term strategy for this region in which transatlantic partnership could play a focal role.

The main interest for the EU in Eurasia are stability and economic cooperation. The European Union has adopted last Strategy for Central Asia in 2015 and is holding regular meeting with Central Asian foreign ministers and is supporting them financially. The EU, in order to maintain its position of important global player needs more active policies, rather than strategies, for globally important regions that are not its closest neighbourhood, especially for the Middle East that is the source of two biggest challenges for the EU.

Also, when discussing the global security threats we highlighted the multidimensional aspect that leads to the conclusion

that in addressing global security issues, national states should put accent more on co-operation and multilateral governance, rather than to boosting defence budget. Furthermore, there is the spectre of existing policies and mechanisms for managing global security issues, but the effectiveness comes from the willingness of a nation state to undertake co-operative actions.

6. CONCLUSION

For certain, the environment in which we live is changing every day, being unpredictable and dynamic. Therefore, it carries numerous instabilities, threats and challenges that are questioning global security and influencing our personal safety. Today's security threats have some new characteristics, they are unconventional and demand more broad and comprehensive approach. Terrorism, climate change, cyber threats and migrations are reflection of the contemporary world, its transnationality, complexity and modernization.

Contemporary international relations entered new multilateralism with a variety of prominent global players, from national states, international and regional organization to individuals. The relations between main international actors are shaping the world we live in, they can be

source of instability, but their cooperation is essential for addressing new security threats properly, regardless of the differences in their power and capabilities.

With the most recent events in Syria, migration crisis in Europe, Ukrainian crisis and new presidential election in the United States, discussion about global political and security issues and relations impose itself. Therefore, we used this opportunity to define and point out global security issues, discuss the relations of main global actors, their actions and policies.

One can conclude that new security issues acquired transnational and unconventional characteristic, while all global security threats are not treated equally. Also, there seems to be a lack of commitment and will of some actors to handle global security issues if it is not in their direct interest. Furthermore, international relations became extremely dynamic and unpredictable, creating new multilateralism with increasing diversification of interest of international actors.

For the purposes of this publication, in an attempt to make it more comprehensible for our readers, we have 'compiled' the recommendations in three broader groups that we define as priority areas of focus in addressing the global political and security relations and issues.

The necessity to consolidate the text and to group the recommendations into three sections does not necessarily mean that there are no other areas that are relevant for our debate or that we failed to recognize challenges in the forthcoming period in other field as well. It actually reveals our intention to properly reflect the debates we had during our three round tables and to shape the publication before you on the basis of them. In that way we made sure that we transferred major messages and concerns of our debates to the publication for those who were not able to participate at our round tables.

Accordingly, the discussions offered **recommendations** in three fields:

The main global challenges - to address and manage them properly, it is required a comprehensive, broad and common approach of all international actors. An adequate response needs to go beyond military capacities and reach cooperative international governance. More binding mechanisms and policies are needed to ensure that all security issues will be address properly.

The main actors - dynamic international relations carries challenges in the form of new global governance and multilateralism that demand revision of the contemporary world order. Rising global players such as China should be given greater

importance and inclusion. The UN and Security Council urgently need reform in order to maintain relevant position. The regional organisations if given space can play important role in crisis management and in tightening the cooperation on different level. West should find a way to cooperate with Russia, whose current political order proved not to be a short-term phase, without undermining its credibility and values, and the other way around.

The specific policies - to revise already existing policies and tools that show ineffectiveness; to address security issues with policies from various fields in order to cover all their aspects. The national states should put stronger accent on policies regarding energy, economy and social sector, rather than defence, to respond adequately to the nature of new security issues. In order to remain a relevant global player, the EU should develop more concrete and active regional and defence policies.

This paper attempted to cover multiple aspects of today's international relations and global security problems. The goal was to raise awareness of our environment, to address properly the security challenges that we are facing, as well as the crucial elements for their management. Contemporary international relations are dynamic, fast-changing, the security threats are new and unpredictable,

and our environment is full of challenges. These new dynamics require swift reactions and adequate adjustments on the global level, which is barely feasible without a capacity to develop compromise solution and cooperative approach to regional and global governance.

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