

# The Security Times

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## Let Us Be the Catalyst for Peace

A word of welcome from Ambassador Wolfgang Ischinger

A most warm welcome to all readers of the "Security Times." As the new Chairman of the Munich Security Conference I am thrilled to welcome nearly 80 delegations from 55 countries, including 12 heads of states and governments and more than 50 ministers and other international decision-makers, to the 45th Munich Security Conference, the most important annual independent forum on European and global security issues.

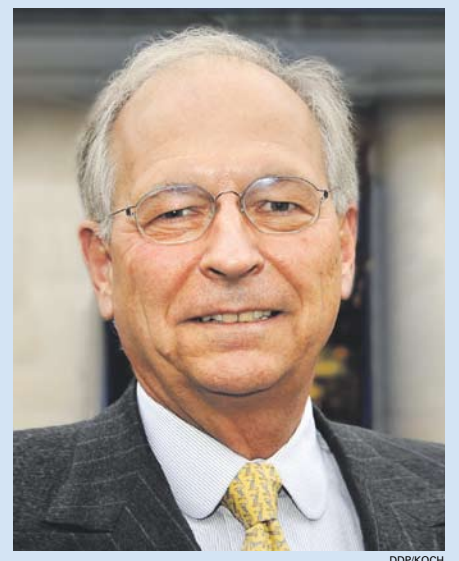
2009 offers not only serious risks, but also historic opportunities to shape a more stable global order. In a time of transition, we are facing a threefold crisis: a crisis of globalization, a crisis

of legitimacy, and a crisis in the shifting balance of global power. Never before has the growth of interdependence among our nations been so clearly demonstrated as in the current financial crisis. There are also no national solutions for global warming and other major security challenges.

The 21st century requires new approaches to manage global instability. If effective multilateralism is what we need, do we have the strong and legitimate international institutions and organisations required to prevent war and conflict, and to build peace? A range of issues will be debated here in Munich in this context: Europe's security architecture, the future of the inter-

national non-proliferation system, the role the EU can play in the international scene, NATO's mission in the future and the situation in Afghanistan, and the question of a genuine partnership with Russia, to name only some of the agenda items.

Munich, because of its unique, private and intimate nature, can be creative and thought-provoking. It can help build personal trust and understanding between decision-makers. In the recent past, trust, as the key to successful and sustainable conflict solutions, has too often been strikingly absent. I am confident the 2009 Munich Security Conference will be a catalyst of trust, and will help us build a more peaceful world.



## No Russian Roulette, Please

Security Challenges in the Obama Era | By John Chipman

As the Munich Security Conference convenes, global security problems are more diverse than at any time in the conference's history while the traditional instruments for dealing with them are in special need of rejuvenation. To meet these multiple challenges, North America and Europe must both cooperate more effectively and think more strategically.

The recent threats from international terrorism networks and nuclear proliferation risks persist, but they do so in an environment plagued by poor relations between the Western powers and Russia, diminishing willpower and capacity among European states for sustained projection of combat military power, and growing instability in the Middle East and Southwest Asia. The global economic crisis means additionally that financial resources for conflict prevention and reconstruction will not be abundant. This means that creative diplomacy must be an ever-greater component of good strategy.

In the wake of President Obama's inauguration, the NATO powers must find a way to develop a relationship with Russia informed by true strategic interests and a relationship that permits cooperation on wider security issues that affect the stability of the Eurasian geopolitical theater.

In the last few years, the West has approached Russia with perhaps careless indifference to the impact of its policies on Russian perceived interests. Asking Russia sequentially to accept Western policies on NATO enlargement, Kosovo recognition, prospective ballistic missile deployment, Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) treaty interpretations and on numerous other subjects, while perhaps individually justifiable in their own right, has cumulatively amounted to a process that encouraged resentment in Russia. As a result, while certain Western policies were advanced,

some larger strategic interests were sometimes sacrificed.

It is true that dealing with Russia in current circumstances is extremely difficult. Recently Moscow has sought to assert its interests widely and with greater force. It appears sometimes to take decisions based more on pique and anger than on strategic calculus and self-interest. The Kremlin has made bad temper almost an instrument of foreign policy. It often opposes Western initiatives beyond Europe more to prove its independence than to advance its genuine strategic interests. Yet it remains important for Western powers to define a specific Russia policy ensuring that important strategic interests are met, and that distinguishes between desirable and necessary outcomes.

For a brief period following the Georgia-Russia war the worst instincts of the West and Russia were accentuated, with some Western policy makers urging the need for a more robust and determined attitude to NATO enlargement, and certain Russian personalities advocating the militarization of Moscow's foreign policy towards its European neighbors. That moment of tension reminded cooler heads that the rhetoric of a new Cold War was misplaced, not least because neither side wants one and the stakes are too low to warrant one.

But to reduce tensions and invite more structured cooperation with Russia on important strategic issues, especially in the Middle East, it will be important to diminish the importance of enlargement policy in NATO's political stance.

NATO has no intrinsic need to expand in order to improve

its capacities to organize military power in the service of self-defense and stabilization missions. Good regional diplomacy, not just adhesion to an alliance, is the key to security for most countries. Strategic good governance is as important as economic good governance, and NATO should encourage aspirant countries to develop effective regional diplomacy to protect their interests, without suggesting that the only path to true security lies in NATO membership. In sum, NATO enlargement policy must be a means to an end, not an institutional goal in itself, and certainly not a game of Russian roulette.

While Russia has no veto on NATO membership, mere perception of a threat should not be considered an automatic ticket

as the French government has sometimes suggested, from the impressive intellectual sweep of the 2008 French defense White Paper, which admirably and pragmatically set out the threats to European security in both their thematic and geographic contexts. But the EU will need to more obviously set out its priorities for action, rather than simply advertise its availability to conduct ad hoc missions.

More important than enlargement politics for NATO is the consolidation of its capacities and a sense of current purpose in stabilization missions. That is why a review of NATO's strategic concept remains necessary, to align NATO strategies more obviously to the stabilization missions that are at the core of its current and likely future missions and pave

European politicians must be honest about the true capabilities of their armed forces. A recent essay published by The International Institute for Strategic Studies revealed that European nations possess 1,437 helicopters, of which 551 are "NATO deployable," yet only 44 of which could be identified by the 2006 NATO Defense Planning Questionnaire (DPQ) as potentially meeting the operational requirements of Afghanistan. European defense ministries need to look at the true effectiveness of their military power and prepare that power to meet likely future contingencies.

Threats today come largely from non-state actors, or indeed from states using non-state actors and their asymmetric techniques, to confront Western interests. Many of these threats are inspired and marinated in the Middle East and Southwest Asia. Combining effective diplomatic approaches to Afghanistan, Iran, and the Middle East peace process needs to be a core element of a strategic approach to defending Western interests. Munich participants need to suggest ways in which a more assertive joint diplomacy to these two areas can be developed. Statements of policy cannot be substitutes for strategy.

In the new partnership between Europe and America that the Obama administration invites, Europeans must play their role in shaping the strategic environment confronting the West, rather than find themselves, as they have in the past, sniping at the sidelines about a U.S. policy they disagree with. That extrovert attitude will be the recipe to more effective transatlantic co-operation. Strategic oblige.

Dr. John Chipman is Director-General and Chief Executive of The International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), headquartered in London.

### "Diplomacy has to be a core element of a strategic approach to defending Western interests"

to entry. In Munich, European leaders may want to invite the U.S. to think strategically, not nostalgically, about the weight it wishes to attach to NATO enlargement in its regional policy so that member states can concentrate more on developing common interests with Russia and addressing the widening threats to security. This means finding ways to resurrect NATO-Russia cooperation and being open to at least discussing President Medvedev's ideas, vague as they are, for new European security arrangements.

NATO challenges in the European near abroad remain substantial, and Munich participants should find inventive ways to establish more effective NATO-EU partnerships in conflict resolution. The EU would do well to develop a more robust strategic outlook, drawing inspiration,

the way for reforming the command structure to support this kind of activity. NATO leaders must accept that they cannot do everything and therefore limit talk of "global partnerships" that only expose the alliance's limitations. NATO is an enabler of military power; its communiqués and summits should emphasize that – rather than wider ambitions to play a global role.

Indeed, President Obama will want NATO to work not just in poetry but in prose.

Recently, the alliance has been stung by the serial exceptionalism demanded of so many coalition partners in the Afghanistan mission. An alliance that has caveats and special rules of engagement for every individual member involved in a mission as dangerous and complex as Afghanistan risks diluting the alliance concept beyond repair.



Eighty delegations from 55 countries are participating in this year's Security Conference – the 45th in the history of this annual assembly. They include 12 heads of states and governments and more than 50 ministers. Our photos show prominent former participants. From left to right: then Russian President Vladimir Putin and Germany's Chancellor Angela Merkel, U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert Gates, NATO Secretary-General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer and EU Foreign Policy Chief Javier Solana.



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# Four Little Words

President Obama must unify, enlarge, engage and pacify | By Zbigniew Brzezinski

The international challenge that confronts the new U.S. president is compounded in its complexity by the fact that it is occurring in the context of two simultaneous, and interacting, transformational developments on the world political scene.

The first concerns the emergence of global issues pertaining to human wellbeing as critical worldwide political concerns – issues such as climate, environment, starvation, health and social inequality. These issues are becoming more contentious because they have come to the fore in the context of a global political awakening.

The second pertains to yet another fundamental change: a shift in the distribution of global power from the West to the East. The 500-year-long domination of the world by the Atlantic powers is coming to an end with the new political and global pre-eminence of both China and Japan (respectively, the world's number three and number two economic powers). Waiting in the wings are India and perhaps a recovered Russia, though the latter is still restless and unsure of its identity, ambivalent about its recent past and very insecure about its place in the world.

The monumental task in foreign affairs for the new president of the United States (beyond coping with the immediate financial crisis) is to regain global legitimacy for America by spearheading a collective effort for a more inclusive system of global management. Four little but strategically pregnant words define the essence of the response required: to unify; to enlarge; to engage and to pacify.

To unify means to re-establish a shared sense of purpose

between America and Europe (more specifically, between the United States and the EU), as well as in NATO, pointing towards more truly shared decision-making. To that end, informal but frequent top-level consultations are badly needed, especially after the last eight years of sloganeering under the banner “If you are not with us, you are against us.”

However, it is much easier to define this as a desirable goal than to accomplish it. Americans and Europeans alike are very well aware that there is no such thing yet as a politically unified Europe.

Therefore, the only practical solution in the near future is to cultivate a more deliberate dialogue between the United States and the three European countries that have a global orientation and, in varying degrees, global interests: the United Kingdom, France and Germany.

To enlarge entails a deliberate effort to nurture a wider coalition of principal partners who are committed to the principle of interdependence and prepared to play a significant political, as well as economic, role in promoting more effective global management. The partners have to be genuine practitioners of interdependence and be ready to participate in the necessary consultations, in the required institutionalization of the process, and in the assumption of some jointly determined burdens.

It is evident by now that the G-7, subsequently enlarged to G-8, has outlived its function. Accordingly, some formula for regular consultations ranging in composition from G-14 to G-16 should be devised to bring together countries that possess

not only economic and financial weight but also regional geopolitical significance.

To engage means the cultivation, in addition to a wider circle of partners, of regular top-level but informal dialogues among the several powers of the world that are crucial to global geopolitical stability: specifically, the United States, the European Triad, China, Japan, Russia and possibly India. A regular and mutually confidence-building personal dialogue between the top U.S. leader and the top Chinese leader would be especially beneficial to the development of a shared sense of global responsibility between the only current global superpower and the most likely next global power. China is the most important rising power in the world, and without China many of the key problems we face collectively cannot be effectively tackled.

Admittedly, China is economically nationalist, and that is a problem, but it is also a fundamentally cautious and a patient revisionist power. It wishes to change the international system as “China rises peacefully,” but it is cautious in the way it pursues that objective.

Russia, like China, is a revisionist power in that it wishes to revise the existing international patterns; but in pursuit of this end it tends towards impatience, frustration and sometimes even posturing in a threatening fashion. Nonetheless, it is in the interest of the United States and of Europe to engage Russia, with regard to the larger strategic issues as well as more specifically European geopolitical dilemmas.

The current financial crisis may create conditions for a gradual improvement in relations with Russia. That financial crisis has made the Russian elite aware of

a circumstance unprecedented in Russian history: Russia today is in fact interdependent with the rest of the world.

To pacify requires a deliberate American effort to avoid becoming bogged down militarily and politically in the vast area ranging from east of Suez to west of India. An America bogged down in this area will be an America engaged in a protracted post-imperial war in the post-colonial age, a war not easy to win against aroused populations. The United States could even find itself confronted simultaneously with an escalating Israeli-Palestinian conflict (if the peace process falters), continued instability in Iraq impeding military disengagement and (possibly) the eruption of a conflict with Iran, as well as a deepening and widening war in Afghanistan and Pakistan. It follows, therefore, that urgent decisions need to be made by the United States,

with the help of Europe, regarding these critical and potentially interactive issues.

Finally, the strategy guiding America's response to the increasingly linked security problems involving Afghanistan and Pakistan needs to be fundamentally reassessed. The United States and its allies should strive to avoid the mistakes that the Soviet Union committed in Afghanistan.

While some additional troops may be necessary, the emphasis should be shifted from a military engagement to a more subtle effort to seek a decentralized political accommodation with those portions of the Taliban prepared to negotiate in a constructive fashion. In areas controlled by the Taliban, a mutual accommodation should involve the willingness of the Taliban to eliminate or terminate any al Qaeda presence in return for Western military disengagement from the pertinent territory.

The process should also be accompanied by intensified American-European efforts to help with the reconstruction of Afghanistan's society and economy, both devastated by the extraordinarily brutal war that the Russians conducted for a decade. Such reconstruction should not be confused with “nation-building,” which in the case of Afghanistan is unlikely to be achieved if the Western presence becomes increasingly viewed by the Afghans as a hostile military intrusion.

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*This article is an abbreviated version of a speech given by Dr. Brzezinski, former U.S. National Security Adviser, at Chatham House.*



U.S. ARMY/STAFF SGT. MICHAEL NAS

*GIs in Iraq: The U.S., argues Brzezinski, must not get bogged down militarily in the vast area east of Suez.*

# Europe's Strategic Equation

A new security architecture must be hammered out between the U.S., the EU and Russia | By Nicole Gnesotto

Security in Europe, as in the wider world, has become more complex, more unstable and more uncertain. Contrary to former expectations, a democratic, stable, prosperous and reconciled European continent remains elusive. The fall of the Soviet Union, the political impact of globalization, the new economic crisis and the longstanding environmental challenge all impact European security in complex and unpredictable ways.

Three main dynamics can be detected in the evolution of the European strategic equation: transatlantic partnership, growing insecurity, Russian unpredictable challenge, and the EU's emergence as a security actor.

## Transatlantic partnership

Many positive trends are expected on the transatlantic scene. The end of the Bush era certainly opens new avenues for positive Euro-American partnerships, including on Iran, Afghanistan and perhaps Iraq. Pragmatism will replace ideology and authoritarian decisions. France, under Nicolas Sarkozy's leadership, will return to the fold of NATO's military structure and hail the Atlantic alliance as a foundation of European security.

But even in an ideal scenario with no further disagreements between Americans and Europeans, they will remain largely incapable of solving anything. Actually, the West alone is no longer powerful enough to make a difference on Iran, on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, even Kosovo. No durable peace or solution can be achieved without involving non-Western powers, especially Russia and China. What is true for security issues has become all the more relevant for the global economic and financial crisis. As stated by

Pierre Hassner, we have entered an era of “relative” Western power, and the others know it.

## Insecurity is growing

Europe has known all kinds of insecurity, from the bygone Soviet nuclear threat to post-communist conflicts in Europe and the new phenomenon of international terrorism. In its recent security assessment, the EU expects some deterioration in its security environment for the years to come. But for the first time in the last 30

years, the evidence of European continuing prosperity is now being challenged too. Born in the U.S., the economic recession will rapidly impact all European economies, putting at risk both public perception of globalization – which may become a political problem – and the availability of public resources for external security issues.

Setting priorities in the fight against the economic crisis, prevention of domestic social unrest and European contributions to international security will become a serious challenge. Even though a direct military threat against Europe is not a likely scenario, many different and related challenges are affecting European security. New threats are emerging, from energy security to cyberterrorism, from nuclear proliferation to the potential impact of global warming. For its energy needs, for instance, the EU is becoming increasingly dependent (70 percent of fossil energy is imported) on an increasingly

unstable eastern and southern neighborhood. The continuum between internal and external security is obvious in many scenarios, for example terrorism, while the issue of European boundaries, especially in the former Soviet space, has been reopened. The European security order is neither a stable nor a consensual one.

Although strategic experts point out the novel connections between most security challenges – poverty feeds terrorism which feeds regional conflicts which feed

usually Russian arguments will have to be seriously considered. At the same time, Russia is still an indispensable partner for the West – whether for Iran and the nonproliferation agenda, the effectiveness of the UN Security Council, European energy security or for European stability and prosperity as a whole.

These three factors will affect the evolution of European security and impact international security as well. Beyond these basic constraints, several other

are insufficient and the political momentum of the EU itself is going through internal challenges (institutional deadlock, uncertainty on its future enlargement, especially regarding Turkey). But the number of security demands to the EU, from the UN, from NATO, the African Union and other organizations is undoubtedly increasing. Simultaneously, the growing importance of “soft,” non-military security issues, together with the difficulty of the U.S. to do everything everywhere, will further reinforce the EU's security role in and beyond Europe.

NATO may gain a new momentum, but the Atlantic alliance has suffered during the last decade. The legacy of Bush's policy toward NATO has not been a constructive one. The military effectiveness of NATO is seriously challenged in Afghanistan, the priority of which absorbs all NATO momentum, while its acceptability in several regions of the world remains uncertain. A new paradigm has also emerged over Georgia, with NATO enlargement simultaneously becoming a problem and a solution for Europe security.

But positive trends are also emerging. France is returning to the military organization, putting an end to a long-perceived ambiguity of French policy. The French president has constantly reaffirmed the indispensable complementing role of the Atlantic alliance and the political responsibility of the EU. On the U.S. side, we can reasonably expect President Obama to reinvigorate some sort of Atlantic multilateralism.

Two conclusions can be derived from this analysis. First, the transatlantic partnership needs a multifaceted structure. In a globalized world, where non-military security issues play a more prominent role, both the

## “The growing importance of soft power will enhance the EU's security role”

poverty etc. – this perception has not yet informed policymaking in Western democracies. The U.S. may be sorely disappointed if it expects Europe to provide extensive financial contributions to peace processes, reconstruction and crisis management operations.

## The Russian challenge

One of the most striking developments in European security is the new Russian assertiveness. Russia has rejected the post-Cold War “Western” order. This goes particularly for the enlargement policies of Western institutions, the evolution of the Balkans (Kosovo), the Caucasus (Georgia) and maybe other parts of the former Soviet Union. Strategic revisionism and a more authoritarian nationalism have become the new pillars of Russian foreign policy, both in its commercial and strategic dimensions.

Without discussing why Russia has embarked on this new policy, there can be no doubt that even-

important trends apply more specifically to European security and have to be highlighted.

## The EU as a security actor

In the past decade, the EU has remarkably expanded its strategic and military role. A European Security and Defense Policy has been implemented, with the conduct of about 20 military and civilian operations worldwide (Sudan, Congo, Bosnia, Kosovo, Rafah, Georgia etc). The war in Georgia was dealt with successfully by the EU alone last summer. The EU has also become the first donor in economic reconstruction and reconciliation processes (in the Balkans, Afghanistan, Palestine, Africa notably), the first donor for humanitarian and development aid and a leader on several non-military security challenges (climate change, global pandemic, global economic governance etc).

Without a doubt, the EU's strategic emergence has its limits. Financial and military resources

Atlantic Alliance and the bilateral U.S.-EU relationship are equally indispensable.

The U.S. is already discussing many strategic issues directly with the EU (Iran, terrorism, global warming), recognizing the added value of the EU in several security matters, while NATO has an essential role to play for joint military operations, threat assessment, nuclear and disarmament issues and strategic modernization. These two channels of cooperation and partnership between Europe and the U.S. have their own added value. There are many security challenges Europe cannot deal with without NATO, just as the U.S. can tackle many strategic issues only with the EU's help.

Second, a new European security architecture must be hammered out between Europe, Russia and the U.S. The future of Europe is not a matter for Euro-American relations only. No European security order can be durably built, as a condition for mutual stability and prosperity, if Russia does not find and accept a place within it. Disarmament will be an important part of this new architecture, together with economic cooperation, strategic deterrence, and a balance between security interests and the respect of principles. The Russian question is certainly one of the most important and decisive issues for the evolution of European security. The West can neither ignore this issue nor pretend to solve it alone.

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*Nicole Gnesotto is former director of the European Union Institute for Security Studies and professor of international relations, CNAM, Paris.*



# Breaking the Taboos

NATO needs a new strategic concept and a redefined political purpose | By Ulrich Weisser

On April 3-4, 2009, NATO celebrates the 60th anniversary of its founding. But the Atlantic Alliance cannot be content with the success of maintaining security during the Cold War and overcoming the division of Europe. NATO today is in poor condition and lacks strategic orientation.

If the North Atlantic Treaty Organization wants to have a future and reinvigorate the foundations of transatlantic relations, it is in the fundamental interest of all to attempt to think the unthinkable. What is necessary now is an unsparring analysis of the deficits and mistakes of recent times. Only such an analysis can create the basis for a constructive dialogue about the future of NATO.

NATO did not cut a good figure during the Georgian crisis; its members failed to close ranks. The crisis made clear that a deep rift runs through the alliance – between the new members who define their security in opposition to Russia and the old members, who seek a policy of balance and partnership with Moscow. Already strained ties to Russia were further damaged by a refusal to engage in dialogue.

For years, the alliance has seriously neglected weapons proliferation and disarmament, eroding the foundation of European stability. The treaties guaranteeing nuclear stability between the world powers expire this year. The U.S. withdrawal from the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty (ABM) and plan to station components of its national missile defense shield in Poland and the Czech Republic are straining ties with Russia. Although the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) was adapted to the changed realities in 1999, it has so far been ratified only by Russia, Belarus,



The flags of twenty-six nations, amongst them seven formerly Communist countries, are flying in front of NATO's Brussels Headquarters.

Kazakhstan and Ukraine; the NATO states, on the other hand, have been delaying ratification for years. In the end, Russia lost patience and suspended implementation of the treaty for the time being.

The strategic concept adopted by NATO in 1999 is completely obsolete. It was drawn up before September 11, before the major enlargement round of NATO, before the alliance's engagement in Afghanistan and deployment to protect routes in the Mediterranean Sea and Indian Ocean and before the Iraq war.

German Chancellor Angela Merkel has repeatedly warned that the alliance must finally agree on a new strategy and find the answer to a number of important questions. What strategic concepts result for NATO from its members' experiences so far with asymmetric threats and in the war against transnational terrorism? What dangers emanate from failed or failing states? How can we counter those dangers where they arise before their disastrous consequences reach our own countries? What

can the alliance do to help secure important transport routes? How can the Alliance take a more intensive role in arms control and disarmament?

In a world where the potential for crisis becomes more apparent by the day, one need not be a genius to recognize the extent of the dangers we can expect to face. But nothing has been done.

The fight against terrorism and radical Islamism has not been won. The danger of cultural conflict is growing.

Without a fundamental change in strategy, Afghanistan is threatening to turn into a fiasco. The situation there increases the security risks in Pakistan and in India.

The proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) is not under control.

Even before Iran has become an actual threat, there are signs of a nuclear arms race in the Middle East. Israel is most at risk, while at the same time most tempted to seek its salvation in a military solution.

The potential for crises and conflicts as well as terrorist activities in the Middle East

is concentrated most strongly in the southern "arc of crisis" that extends from Northern Africa through the Middle East to Central Asia – a region with more than two thirds of global energy reserves. The most likely dangers for western security and economic survival in the next years and decades will emanate from this region.

Central Asia has all the ingredients for crises and conflict: immense energy reserves, numerous antagonistic ethnicities, corrupt regimes, Islamic fundamentalists and the diverging interests of the major powers determined by their need for oil. Anyone lighting the fuse under a powder keg like this can only lose.

And that's exactly what admitting Georgia to NATO would mean – the more so as we have no vital interests there that need to be defended militarily.

How will NATO cope with these challenges? Will it face up to the problems of the Middle East? What exit strategy does it have for Afghanistan? What

is the alliance's assessment of the security situation in India and what are the resulting conclusions for European security? Why is NATO refusing to discuss Russian proposals for a new European security architecture?

The members of NATO should be more than concerned with thoughts of how the alliance can fulfill its tasks if there is no longer a fundamental consensus about NATO's mission, its *raison d'être*. European public opinion remains unconvinced about the military deployment in Afghanistan and the need for ever more rounds of NATO enlargement. The people have not been given a plausible explanation.

As a result of this strategic aimlessness, the alliance is drifting into a situation defined by many uncertainties and threatening to slip out of control. The necessary answer to the West's precarious situation has not been found. Conceptually and institutionally, therefore, NATO needs a fresh start. The following needs to be done:

1 – The defining characteristic of NATO as a political alliance among equal partners needs to be brought back into the foreground. The end of the East-West confrontation was the result of a political strategy. Its highest aim was a just, peaceful and stable political order in Europe. A comparable political strategy must be developed for the new challenges. Russia needs to play a part in it as an equal partner, so repairing ties with Moscow is of paramount importance.

2 – The alliance must move forward resolutely with disarmament and arms controls and develop initiatives to secure the CFE regime as well as maintain the nuclear balance of power. It would serve European security and stability if the U.S. missile defense project were not implemented until the future security architecture of Europe as a whole has been discussed.

3 – It is in the vital interests of the U.S., Europe and Russia to jointly address the ethnic, religious and nationalist rivalries in the Middle East and ensure greater stability – stability that benefits the local populations while also securing future access to oil for the industrialized West. A new strategic consensus designed to deal with the challenges in the Middle East should not be militarily determined or restricted. We must find new mechanisms and instruments and apply them.

4 – NATO should restrict its peacekeeping measures essentially to the European area and not dissipate its resources in tasks such as helping with natural disasters or protecting major sporting events.

5 – With its limited resources, the alliance should confine itself to a realistic and affordable balance between a few highly-modernized, mobile, collective intervention forces that can be deployed swiftly, and maintaining enough troops to secure the peace for a limited time in the area of intervention.

Vice Admiral  
Ulrich Weisser (ret.) was  
chief of the planning staff in  
the German Defense Ministry.

# The Lonely Power

Russian security policy and the West | By Dmitri Trenin

The Kremlin felt stonewalled during the Bush era. With the inauguration of Barack Obama, Moscow hopes to engineer a new transatlantic security architecture built around three poles: America, Europe and Russia.

The current Russian leadership sees its country as an independent power center in a multipolar world. Moscow has once and for all abandoned the policies of Western integration promoted by former President Boris Yeltsin in the 1990s. Former President Vladimir Putin's own early attempts at alignment with the West – through a *de facto* alliance with the United States in the wake of the September 11 attacks and a concurrent rapprochement with Europe cemented by asset swaps – have been a failure.

Unwilling to join the West on Western terms and unable to do so on the terms of their own, the Russian leaders have opted for what had been a default position all the time: building a bloc of post-Soviet states in Eurasia, under the Kremlin's leadership.

In that quest for power and position, Moscow sees rivals and competitors all around but its top adversary has been the United States. In his 2007 Munich speech, Putin, having lashed out at the policies of the Bush administration, laid down conditions for mutual engagement between Russia and America. He demanded that Washington accept Russia as it is, treat it as an equal and do business with it on the basis of reciprocal interests.

In the Kremlin's analysis, that call has been largely ignored. Rather, the United States promoted NATO's Membership Action Plan for Ukraine and Georgia, trained and equipped Tbilisi but then failed to control it and concluded agreements with Poland and the Czech Republic on deploying U.S. missile defenses in Central Europe.

In the Kremlin's view, the U.S. policies in Ukraine and Georgia are primarily aimed at derailing Russia's efforts to become an independent global player. Ukraine's proposed membership in NATO is seen as an act of hostile containment of Russia; Georgia's military action against the Ossetians and the Russian peacekeepers was considered a U.S.-inspired test of the Putin-Medvedev leader-

ship. Even as the Western world wondered during the Georgia war where Moscow might strike next, the Russian leadership feared that the United States could engineer another proxy conflict against Russia, to keep it in check.

Moscow fully realizes that it can only count on itself. The fact that not a single Russian ally in the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO), not a single integration partner in the Eurasian Economic Community, not even the "union state" of Belarus followed Moscow's recognition of Abkhazia and South Ossetia has weighed heavily on the Kremlin's mind.

That China, too, stayed aloof, deepened the impact. The late-19th century maxim, attributed to Alexander III, that "Russia had only two true friends in the world, its army and its navy," was strikingly confirmed more than a century later. Russia was not so much a power center as a lonely power.

No wonder Russia's reliance on nuclear deterrence has continued to increase as relations with the United States sour. The conventional forces, badly neglected since Soviet days, are capable of dealing only with insurgencies, such as in Chechnya, and small-scale conflicts, such as in South Ossetia. After

a long break, the Russian air force has resumed air patrols in the Atlantic and the Pacific and the navy is eyeing the possibility of a permanent presence in the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean but both remain shadows of their Soviet predecessors.

In an effort to upgrade the military's weapons and equipment, Russia recently allocated around \$100 billion – the biggest package in almost 20 years. In 2008, a plan was also approved for reforming the military itself. Yet results from these efforts will not be felt for many years.

Russia's security strategy has been complex. At one level, Moscow seeks to dissuade Washington from what it sees as unfriendly actions by pointing out the high cost of confrontation with Russia. With the arrival of the Obama administration, the Kremlin looks forward to resuming arms control negotiations and will explore the potential of reaching an accommodation on the issues of most concern to Russia: NATO enlargement into Ukraine and Georgia; Tbilisi's rearmament by the West; missile defenses in central Europe. In terms of carrots, Russia holds out the possibility of closer cooperation with the West on Afghanistan and Iran.

At another level, Russia relies on the major countries of continental Europe, above all Germany and France, to thwart American plans concerning Ukraine's and Georgia's NATO integration. In a Europe dominated by the NATO-EU duo, Moscow feels excluded and sidelined. Since coming to office in 2008, President Medvedev has been promoting the idea of a security dialogue in Europe that would ideally lead to the emergence of a new transatlantic security architecture, built around three poles: America, Europe and Russia.

At a third level, Russia is working to increase the cohesion and effectiveness of the CSTO: politically with an eye to the budding security dialogue with the West, and in actual security terms with a reference to the challenges of Islamist militancy, primarily in Central Asia. In a similar vein, Moscow has been cooperating with Beijing within the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation to bolster its own weight on the global scene vis-à-vis the West and to have a vehicle for joint action to uphold the balance in the center of the Asian continent.

The fundamental flaw of Russia's security policy has been its obvious obsession with the United States' power and role in

the world. Viewing America as the main adversary distorts Moscow's strategic worldview, leads to misallocation of resources and ultimate frustration over the essential disequilibrium between the two former Cold War rivals. Eventually, the Russian leaders must satisfy themselves with Schadenfreude, cheering every time America fails or gets hurt. It's a pathetic and miserable psychological condition to be in.

Expecting the optics to change overnight would be unrealistic. The best way to deal with the situation constructively is to negotiate a new treaty on strategic arms, reach an understanding on missile defenses, give Ukraine a solid long-term European perspective but desist from the NATO option rejected by the majority of Ukrainians, create a multilateral conflict-resolution framework for the Caucasus, work on a formula of transatlantic security that includes Russia as well as Ukraine, Georgia and others in the CIS and move to practical Russian-Western security cooperation on Afghanistan and Iran.

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# The Bundeswehr: A Peacekeeping Force

Seven thousand German soldiers serve in ten international missions | By Franz Josef Jung, Minister of Defense

The Bundeswehr is presently taking part in ten international missions. At the moment some 7,000 soldiers are serving in Afghanistan, in the Balkans, in Africa, in the Mediterranean, in the Gulf of Aden and in Georgia. They help wherever there is an urgent need. They protect German citizens and the population in the areas of operations, they act as mediators between conflicting parties. And they fight, if necessary, for peace and security.

These operations determine the daily routine of our forces. Over 250,000 military personnel have meanwhile served on operations abroad. Our international operations show that Germany takes its increased responsibility for peace and security in the world seriously.

In the Balkans, we have made considerable progress over the past few years. Operation ALTHEA in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the KFOR mission in the Republic of Kosovo are examples of successful and meaningful stabilization operations. The Bundeswehr has played a significant role in them.

Progress in the region will permit us to reduce our military presence in both these areas of operations in the foreseeable future. This is an important outward demonstration that we are making allowances in military terms, too, for the fact that the situation in the areas of operations is more stable.

There are new tasks to be dealt with. The wide-ranging activities to repress piracy show that the international community is prepared to take a firm stand and effective measures to counter this new threat. The situation off the Somali coast could no longer be tolerated and action had to

be taken. In the context of the EU-led operation ATALANTA the Bundeswehr is contributing to this.

Of all our operations and international commitments, Afghanistan is right at the top of the list. ISAF is one of NATO's greatest practical challenges.

Our joint commitment for Afghanistan has achieved a great deal. Together with the Afghans we have made security, development and reconstruction possible in their country.

Developments are not irreversible, though, as the past few months have shown. In many parts of Afghanistan, the security situation is a cause for concern. The greatest danger is in the south and east, but the other regions also face serious challenges. There are just a few extremists who are fighting against the Afghans and our soldiers, but they are using the perfidious means of terror to do so. They are bombing against the future of Afghanistan with no consideration for the civilian population, for women and children. They are well aware that they cannot achieve a military victory, so they use the means of unnerving and disheartening people, destroying their hopes and denying them prospects for the future.

Our soldiers are facing these dangers with courage and resoluteness, for which they deserve our utmost respect and our gratitude. A lot is demanded of them.

Our joint commitment in Afghanistan admirably underlines just how important and correct the international approach of networked security is. Germany has steadfastly championed this comprehensive approach. For the challenges in Afghanistan



Putting an Afghan face on things: Minister Jung visiting the German ISAF contingent in Afghanistan.

cannot be tackled with purely military means or with civilian commitment alone. The key to success lies solely in the balanced interaction of all players and instruments. The principle applies that there is no development without security, no security without development.

Germany's commitment in Afghanistan with both military and civilian assets is considerable. At present, we are the third largest troop provider for ISAF. Last fall, the German Bundestag decided to raise the upper limit for the German contingent by a further 1,000 soldiers. With up to 4,500 German soldiers we have the joint responsibility with our partners in the north of Afghanistan for a region that is half the size of Germany and

inhabited by some 30 percent of the Afghan population.

We guarantee security there, facilitate reconstruction and support the Afghan security forces in their fight against rebels. But we are making a military contribution in other areas of the country, too. For example, the German Air Force provides over 50 percent of airlift support for all of Afghanistan and contributes some 45 percent of all reconnaissance for ISAF. Over 55 percent of the air reconnaissance sorties flown by our planes are for our partners in southern and eastern Afghanistan.

We are placing special emphasis on the development of the Afghan National Army. We shall have tripled our commitment in that field by 2009. We

will then be providing seven teams of instructors and mentors for the training of up to 7,500 Afghan soldiers. We are helping to establish important military schools for the Afghan National Army. We have the primary responsibility for the logistics school of the Afghan National Army. We are providing military police to support police training.

Training Afghan security forces is an important investment in the future of the country. Our joint training measures are taking effect. Today, the Afghan National Army is able to take on more and more operational responsibility, for instance for key districts of the capital, Kabul. We aim to achieve self-sustaining stability as a vital

prerequisite for reducing our joint international military commitment. We still have quite a way to go, though, to reach this goal.

Good governance, establishing the rule of law and fighting corruption and drugs are the main challenges facing us there. At the same time, we shouldn't relieve the Afghans of too many tasks just for the sake of achieving supposedly quick successes. We must put an Afghan face on security and governance.

The next challenges are foreseeable: With the presidential elections in 2009 and the parliamentary elections in 2010, the Afghans can show that ballots are more powerful than bullets. This will call for an enormous effort on the part of the Afghan government, the international community and the Afghan people. We must also manage to integrate Pakistan in the stabilization process.

Germany maintains a constructive and reliable commitment in Afghanistan. We will not let setbacks put us off. For in Afghanistan, accepting responsibility, sustainability and continuity are the guarantors of success. Our joint efforts are paving the way to a better future for the country and its people with enhanced democracy, rule of law and human rights. At the same time these efforts are preventing terrorism, extremism and intolerance from regaining a hold.

Once again: Our international operations show that Germany takes its increased responsibility for peace and security in the world seriously. These operations determine the daily routine of our forces. Our commitment within the international community is successful. ■



German troops of the ISAF Quick Reaction Force returning from maneuvers in the Marmal Range near Mazar-e-Sharif. Germany took over command of the QRF from Norway in 2008.



German troops from the frigate Karlsruhe demonstrate operations in a speedboat near Djibouti. German warships take part in the EU's anti-pirate Operation Atalanta to safeguard shipping off the Horn of Africa.

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