Regional Zero anytime soon. Europe is unlikely to achieve constructive objective. Chris- 

says Global Zero is a long way 

and new challenges

Old and

By Wolfgang Ischinger

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February 2011

Munich, Germany

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and its being cut down to 125,000, because of the current financial crisis. But Europe has only deployed force nations for the use of force. Europe has decreed for itself. Europe? Will it develop the appro- 

European Defense

A great continental seeking a grand strategy

Europe’s role in 21st century international security policy

By Josef Joffe

Europe has only deployed force

veterans within the framework of the “European Security and Defense Council,” as he has put it. No, Europe is not the Franco-German version, is not to be 

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The term is probably used too often in conversation with international observers, but I have no hesitation in describing the latest NATO Summit as truly historic. At Lisbon November 19, 2010, the heads of state and government of the 28 allies agreed on a new Strategic Concept. For the alliance – a genuine action line for the 21st century, with a coherent vision of how to explore together in which other areas we need to take into account emerging threats, such as terrorism.

That does not mean that, in the space of a few hours in Lisbon, NATO and Russia have overcome all their differences. On issues such as Georgia and NATO’s open door policy, we continue to disagree on points of principle. However, we manage to sustain our dialogues, and to focus on what we agree on in far or after other we can together, then Lisbon has agreed on a distinct running start.

At Lisbon, the NATO allies decided to give a boost not just to the NATO-Russia partnership, but to the more modern, complex and flexible, while also reaching out to new partners around the globe. NATO aims to become a hub of a global network of security partnerships, offering enhanced political consultations, as well as greater practical co-operation. Special focus will be given to cooperation against emerging security challenges, such as cyber defence and the protection of our civilian infrastructures, but also issues like maritime security and counter-terrorism. We will also increase our support to developing partners’ capabilities, and to training indigenous security forces. We want to give our growing number of operational partners a structural role in shaping our policies on security and security.

And we are determined to act in key areas all across the globe. Work is actively underway, here, both in preparing to consult with all our partners on how we would like to further our security partnership in a more effective way. With this input, we will approve a new partnership policy all foreign Ministers’ meeting in Brussels in April. It will be a part of a fundamentally new approach to the way NATO works in the 21st century.

Our engagement in Afghanistan has taught us that today’s context of regional and global challenges requires us to modernize and adapt NATO’s mission. So the transition process will be determined by conditions on the ground, not driven by dates in a calendar.

However, our commitment to Afghanistan will continue beyond the end of 2014. But transition must be orderly, and done in a way that best serves our interests and the interests of our Afghan partners.
The international security environment is subject to constant change. Since the end of the Cold War our world has become less stable, and the threat of our citizens has meaningfully been determined by a complex interplay of forces and its mutual dependencies.

Globalization has become a major factor in the political, economic and social change. It is changing the nature of security. The resultant world-wide disorganization of knowledge, an increasing sharing of markets and the decreasing significance of geographical distance. Globalization also leads to global shifting of power – between states, but also toward non-state actors – involving the potential risk of new crises for resources. Hence governments and nations, often collaborating internationally with organized crime networks, pose direct threat to Germany.

Disruption of transport routes, the free flow of goods and raw materials, as well as a breakdown of critical national infrastructures, for instance through cyber attacks, could seriously jeopardize Germany’s prosperity and its performance as an export power. This would directly affect our economic stability and hence our national security.

Germany’s multilateral role – community and reliability

The goals of German security and defense policy

Germany pursues its legitimate national interests on the basis of the values embodied in our Basic Law, in the spirit of a "culture of responsibility" and the framework of international law. Responsible German security and defense policy must ensure and further develop the security of energy resources to the world, the provision of food, the security of our water resources and the security of our information infrastructure.

The resulting inter-state and regional conflicts, as well as the collapse of government structures, even in countries geographically distant from Germany, place the potential to destabilize entire regions.

The German army faces its most fundamental change in 65 years

By Karl-Theodor zu Guttenberg

The NH90 - Ready to meet the future challenges of the Armed Forces.

The German Defense Ministry (Karl-Theodor zu Guttenberg, Federal Minister of Defense) unveiling German NH90-models.

February 2011

The strategic environment

Our world is less stable than it used to be, security risks are less predictable but could well have potentially serious consequences. Germany, despite its favorable geo-political position, is in a situation of strategic uncertainty.

Germany is conscious of its multilateral role and is prepared to fulfill its international obligations. Freely embedded in the Euro-Atlantic security architecture, we pursue a comprehensive approach to security policy. Its credibility relies on both the willingness of the political will and the military capability to maintain or restore freedom, human rights, stability and security – including by the use of armed forces if our own security is at stake.

The consequences of the liberalization in future, the Bundeswehr will have a troop strength of up to 180,000, including up to 270,000 professional soldiers. From July 1, 2013, conscription for compulsory military service will be replaced with a new volunteer military service offering young men and women an opportunity to serve in the armed forces for a period of 12 to 23 months. This will be a commitment to the true sense of the word, giving young Germans a chance to make an important contribution toward safeguarding the freedom and security of our country.

With the transition to a fully professional army, the Bundeswehr is both responding to the security requirements of our times and at the same time breaking new ground. We will have a Bundeswehr capable of successfully containing the threats to our territory and to the alliance.

Germany’s multilateral role – community and reliability

NATO continues to be the strongest anchor of security and defense policy. The new Strategic Concept adopted in Lisbon forms the basis for the transformation of NATO from a defense pact into a security alliance. The goal is to adapt the alliance to coming and foreseeable challenges, orienting it toward the role of an actor in a global world without reflecting the importance of collective defense. By achieving strategic consensus on this fundamental concept, the alliance has reunified different national positions to a common framework of action for the decade ahead. Success may be sufficiently assured to assume responsibility for coping with the challenges to common security within and beyond its borders, it must be strong and capable of taking action on security policy matters. In future, there will be a need for greater emphasis on joint task accomplishment and role sharing between allies. Germany and Sweden have proposed that each EU member state should assign which military capabilities need to be maintained at national level and where there is potential for even more intensive cooperation with partners. However, cooperation will reach its limits if it creates a political complication to go or not to go to mutual defense.

NATO and the EU are part of a global security network under the aegis of the United Nations. As a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council, Germany assumes additional responsibility for global peace and security for the next two years. Germany is conscious of its multilateral role and is prepared to fulfill its international obligations. Freely embedded in the Euro-Atlantic security architecture, we pursue a comprehensive approach to security policy. Its credibility relies on both the willingness of the political will and the military capability to maintain or restore freedom, human rights, stability and security – including by the use of armed forces if our own security is at stake.

The desertion of routes, the free flow of goods and raw materials, as well as a breakdown of critical national infrastructures, for instance through cyber attacks, could seriously jeopardize Germany’s prosperity and its performance as an export power. This would directly affect our economic stability and hence our national security.
The Big Reset

Russia and the West are working to put their relationship on a different footing.

By Alexander Rahr

The reset button was released and Moscow and Washington are both trying to make sure that the button is unused. The reset concept, which started as a public relaying of an idea between both states in February 2009, has now been transformed into something more stable.

On the official level, the reset concept was based on the assumption that the Cold War ended in 1991 and that Russia continued to change. However, it was not a transformation of the state itself, but a process where some values and some systems kept on living. In 2009 both states started to claim that the Cold War was over, but now they are working on the process of creating a new period.

There were some positive steps: The new member states of the West were welcomed as part of the EU and NATO and the Russian-Georgian War in 2008 was not the beginning of a new Cold War in the Georgia region. However, the reset process was not as successful as expected.

The reset process started with a statement by the Russian President Dmitry Medvedev, who proposed a new start in the relations between Russia and the West. However, the reset concept was not as successful as expected and it did not bring the desired results.

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A breakthrough is possible

The EU-Russia “Partnership for Modernization” can succeed if Russia is integrated into Western economic, political and security institutions  

By Nadia Arbitova

In the early 21st century, debates on international security are inseparably interlinked to global economic and environmental challenges. The terms “security” and “climate protection” are at the top of the international agenda. In times when natural resources are diminishing, we need to find new ways to tap alternative, reliable sources of energy and simultaneously reduce our CO₂ emissions. As a world-leading gases and engineering company, Linde offers groundbreaking sustainable technology. At our Linde Hydrogen Center near Munich, low-emission hydrogen technology is already in daily use, proving that hydrogen is ideally suited to meet the clean energy needs of tomorrow's world.

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Japan, Korea, China: the troubling triangle

Security relations in Northeast Asia | By Bernt Berger and Gudrun Wacker

North Korea’s missile tests in the summer of 2010, which led to resolutions at the United Nations, were a reminder that the country was again seeking a confrontational role on the world stage. China, South Korea and Japan have their own reasons for increased tension with North Korea. For China, a key reason is the desire to exert influence over the peninsula. For Japan, the motivation is to prevent North Korea from becoming a military threat again. For South Korea, the focus is on denuclearization and a future of peace and stability on the Korean Peninsula.

In order to achieve these goals, China, Japan and South Korea need to cooperate closely. The United States is also a key player in the region. It is important to recognize the unique role each country plays in the region and to work together to achieve common goals.

In 2010, the United States, China and South Korea signed a joint statement on the denuclearization of North Korea. This agreement was a significant step forward in the region. It is important to continue to build on this momentum and to work together to achieve a lasting peace and stability on the Korean Peninsula.

Japan has been concerned about the development of North Korea’s nuclear and missile programs. In response, Japan has increased its defense spending and has sought to strengthen its military capabilities. South Korea has also increased its defense spending and has sought to strengthen its military capabilities in response to the threat from North Korea.

China has been concerned about the development of North Korea’s nuclear and missile programs. In response, China has sought to engage North Korea in diplomatic negotiations and has sought to encourage denuclearization on the peninsula. China has also sought to improve its relations with Japan and South Korea in order to increase its influence in the region.

In order to achieve these goals, it is important to recognize the unique role each country plays in the region and to work together to achieve common goals. The United States, China and South Korea should continue to work together to achieve a lasting peace and stability on the Korean Peninsula.

Bernt Berger and Gudrun Wacker are researchers at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs.
India and China: pitfalls on the path ahead

Asia's giants oscillate between rivalry and rapprochement  |  By Jonathan Holslag

When Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh called on China two years ago, he met with a pleasant surprise of pink. While the United States backed the same Chinese economic-geographic model, China and India were seemingly set to become the new engines of a new Asian Golden Century.

When Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao recently left India after a three-day visit, the mood was much less upbeat. Both sides had dug into another failed round of border negotiations, prostituting trade disputes and tension over Kashmir. While that has been the normal state of things between China and India for two decades, both leaders should understand that their muddling through like this undermines the prospects for lasting peace.

Obviously, Chinese and Indian leaders have to bear a heavy historical burden. The border conflict, with two strategically located arrivals of land at stake in the western and eastern part of the boundary, is a huge legacy of the imperial wars against the British Empire and the rulers of the late Qing Dynasty. China's quasi-alliance with India's arch-enemy Pakistan has deep roots in the Cold War. The same goes for Beijing's notorious support for India's arch-enemy Pakistan in the nuclear conflict of 1998.

The same goes for Beijing's nuclear support for India's arch-enemy Pakistan in the nuclear conflict of 1998. The previous two decades, the two countries' strategic behavior have been an important variable that repeatedly undermines the prospects for lasting peace.

A provocation for China: The Dalai Lama during his visit to the Tawang Monastery in disputed territory (Mixshield D835) in northeastern India. November 2008. China has also recently recognized the 1914 McMahon Line and claims 90,000 square kilometers of Indian territory – mainly at Arunachal Pradesh, which the Chinese call South Tibet.

Should such incidents matter?

Not really. Do they matter? Yes, a lot. They cloud public perceptions and reduce the space for cooperation.

A status of quasi war will prove to be impossible to balance the power between the two countries and continue to alter China's advantage. As China develops faster, Tibet becomes more densely populated, better con- nected to the rest of the country and more deeply intertwined with the government. Consequently, the risk of a strategic buffer develops, which, in turn, makes India more concerned about securing the border.

Likewise, India has been alarmed by China's growing economic influence in neighboring countries and the decision to discontinue the Chinese currency to the Indian Rupee to guard its merchant fleet. Beijing is the balance of power inevitably affects trade perceptions and maritime strategy.

Economic interests have an important driver of pragmatism in Sino-Indian relations, but the Chinese are not always taken for granted. Whether Beijing decides to trigger its industrialization, it will become a formidable competitor for China as an international market that suffers from oversupply and uncertain demand. Both countries will have to use a lot of political leverage to work out export markets and raw material supplies.

If India fails to build a stronger economic, domestic, and social union, it will become the ideal substrate for a negative kind of nationalism that could turn into a private threat perceptions.

Shifts in the balance of power and the changing economic conditions that lie well beyond the current superficial economic interests. India's modernization and the decision to discontinue the Chinese currency to the Indian Rupee to guard its merchant fleet. Beijing is the balance of power inevitably affects trade perceptions and maritime strategy. Consequently, the Chinese are not always taken for granted.

While crooked regimes in Paki- stan, Nepal, and Myanmar have only played Sino-Indian rivalry, no one knows how the two giants will interact should one of those countries experience a political meltdown. For all the contemporary peoples' measures and discussions, this remains a matter of assessing the cross-border and even domestic leaders from addressing the shop- ping scenes of distant. Asia's future might be no different from its turbulently past after all.
More than a military challenge

US strategy in Afghanistan: on the brink of disaster or the coup of victory?

By William R. Smyser

P resident Barack Obama’s strategy in Afghanistan is comprised of many, political and diplomatic issues in a forbidding environment. Obama did not want to be a guerrilla president, yet he is now fighting a guerrilla war. The US public expects the US military to improve US relations with the Muslim world, yet he is fighting against a movement – the Taliban – which is part pursuing a struggle on Islamic grounds.

Obama also did not want to become a colonialist and he pledged to begin withdrawing US forces from Afghanistan by July. Yet, he must prepare to keep at least some there until 2014, they may be forced and perhaps united to resist longer in the face of a growing and potentially decisive threat from around a situation that many believe – and some still believe – to be the brink of disaster. He neither wants to, nor can afford to lose.

In 2010, Obama therefore reluctantly committed 30,000 additional US troops to Afghanistan – 10,000 less than the Pentagon wanted but enough to bring US forces to the 100,000 level.

The single most visible element in the military effort is the American military. White House advice is that the US military is a highly trained force, able to defend its own territory. The US military seems to be in control of the situation – yet the Taliban cannot be defeated or eliminated.

US military strategy has primarily a political purpose. It is not expected to defeat or eliminate Taliban forces – especially as there have been some successes, Pakistan is able to devise a commonly accepted strategy for the country.

Afghanistan

By William R. Smyser

Afghan President Hamid Karzai is ready to talk about foreign aid, but not to withdraw American military forces, which he says are necessary to establish a stable government.

Washington also hopes that only the Afghan Army will gain international approval, perhaps necessitating additional political influence for neighboring states to ensure that Afghan security forces are credible and competent. In part, that is why the US military is not expected to stay longer in Afghanistan.

US troops to Afghanistan – 10,000

US troops comprise about two-thirds of the foreign troops in Afghanistan and the US military is the single most visible element in the military effort. White House advice is that the US military is a highly trained force, able to defend its own territory. The US military seems to be in control of the situation – yet the Taliban cannot be defeated or eliminated.

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A lack of high-level initiative

Military advice is welcome, but political leaders must determine the course

By Walter Steinmeier

The US administration and its international allies have not yet succeeded in achieving a stable Afghanistan. The US administration is well aware of the problems and has already acknowledged the need for a new strategy.

Rumors are rife that the US government is planning to withdraw its forces from Afghanistan by 2012. This would be a great victory for the Taliban and a disaster for the international community.

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More sovereignty through joint solutions

February 2011

By Hilmar Linnenkamp

The Security Times

High EU hopes to remain relevant in defense and security policy, it needs to look for joint solutions

A 2008 report from the Bertelsmann Stiftung, a German foundation in the defense field, indicates that the European Union (EU) has been on the verge of becoming a European Defense Capacity (EDC). But how effective can such an organization be? And what are the prospects for the future?

The EDC was established in 2008 as a result of the EU's defense policy initiative. It is an umbrella organization for the defense industry, with the aim of reducing duplication and cost and increasing interoperability. The EDC has a budget of €1 billion per year, with €200 million allocated to research and development. It is co-chaired by the French and German defense ministers.

The EDC has implemented several joint projects, including the Pizarro and Aragon drones, the SAMP-T missile defense system, and the A400M military transport aircraft. The EDC has also established a joint air policing initiative, which involves French, German, and Italian air forces.

However, the EDC faces several challenges, including a lack of political will and a reluctance to share resources. The EDC's budget is also insufficient to cover the costs of joint projects.

The EDC's future is uncertain. The European Commission is currently reviewing the EDC's effectiveness and has called for a review of its activities. The EDC may be abolished or merged with other European defense organizations.

In conclusion, the EDC is an important step towards greater European defense cooperation. However, it faces several challenges, and its future is uncertain. The European Union must find a way to overcome these challenges and ensure that the EDC remains relevant in the years to come.
**Time to pool resources**

A new approach to military spending in an age of budgetary austerity

By Volker Ruhe, Klaus Naumann and Ulrich Weisser

With every new conflict that breaks out, it becomes clearer that arms cooperation is the only way to strengthen Europe’s effective combat and defense capabilities. Equally clear is the need to make full and efficient use of the EU’s considerable financial and technical resources. After decades of relative defense stability and budgetary restraint, under threat and pressure from the need for strategic and financial efficiency, as well as in light of repeated setbacks to the proposed European defense and security strategy, it is time to pool resources. For this to be possible, decisions must be made now about how to strengthen military capabilities and institutional structures in the EU, in order to ensure that the potential for conflict and crisis, as well as to confront the growing threat posed by ballistic missiles.

**Innovative solutions**

Steckvorrichtungen für die Welt. Fiches pour le monde. Tomas de corriente

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**Bundling EU Capabilities**

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**Steckvorrichtungen für die Welt. Fiches pour le monde. Tomas de corriente**

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With every new conflict that breaks out, it becomes clearer that arms cooperation is the only way to strengthen Europe’s effective combat and defense capabilities. Equally clear is the need to make full and efficient use of the EU’s considerable financial and technical resources. After decades of relative defense stability and budgetary restraint, under threat and pressure from the need for strategic and financial efficiency, as well as in light of repeated setbacks to the proposed European defense and security strategy, it is time to pool resources. For this to be possible, decisions must be made now about how to strengthen military capabilities and institutional structures in the EU, in order to ensure that the potential for conflict and crisis, as well as to confront the growing threat posed by ballistic missiles.

**Bundling EU Capabilities**

Innovative solutions

By Volker Rühe, Klaus Naumann and Ulrich Weisser

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A Long Way Off

No Nukes? Not Yet

Neither the US nor Russia are in a hurry to free Europe of nuclear weapons | By Christopher Bertram

As the word goes out of the wake of Global Zero, the international community is left wondering: What now?

As first glance, this might appear as a somewhat odd question. Barack Obama, as US President since the inauguration of Global Zero (goal early in his presidency), and his Russian counterpart, Dmitry Medvedev, have already taken significant steps to reduce nuclear arsenals between NATO and Russia. The deployment of nuclear warheads now is lower than it was during the Cold War.

However, as the wake of the Global Zero campaign, all the obvious questions still remain unanswered. In the midst of this discussion, a question often comes up: "Where do we go from here?"

The concept of Global Zero would embrace a number of steps to reduce the nuclear arsenals of the US and Russia. Among these are:

1. A reduction in the nuclear arsenals of the US and Russia to no more than 1,000 nuclear warheads each.
2. A verification process to ensure compliance with the limits set by the agreements.
3. The establishment of a new United Nations body to oversee the implementation of the agreements.
4. The establishment of a new international organization to monitor and enforce the agreements.

As first glance, these steps might seem daunting, but they are necessary to ensure the long-term stability of the international system.

In the face of the, European region would be particularly vulnerable to the collapse of global cooperation in nuclear disarmament.

The concept of Global Zero is thus an important step forward in the long-term goal of achieving a nuclear-free world.

In the end, however, there will be no regional or global nuclear zero.

Regional nuclear disarmament is the raison d'être of nuclear powers to falling states or states of any kind.

Ironically, however, the existing nuclear states will play a critical role in the future of nuclear disarmament. The global community must work together to ensure that the existing nuclear states are committed to the goals of nuclear disarmament.

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The US and Russia are modernizing their nuclear arsenals. End of a dream?

By Oliver Thränert

No farewell to arms

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Cyber attacks are becoming more frequent, more organized and more costly in the damage that they inflict on government administrations, businesses, economies and potentially also transportation and supply networks and other critical infrastructures. They can also be a threshold issue that threatens national and Euro-Atlantic prosperity, security and stability. Foreign intelligence and surveillance services, organized criminals, terrorist networks and other groups can each be the source of such attacks. [...]

We will ensure that NATO has the full range of capabilities necessary to detect and defend against any threat to the safety and security of its populations. Therefore, we will:

- Develop further our ability to prevent, detect, defend against and recover from cyber attacks, including by using the NATO planning process to enhance and coordinate national cyber defense capabilities, bringing all NATO allies under centralized cyber promotion, and broader integration NATO cyber awareness, training and response with member nations;

- Ensure that the Alliance is at the front edge in ensuring the security impact of emerging technologies, and that military planning takes the potential threats into account.

On Cyber War

Cyber attacks are becoming a major part of the war effort. They are more frequent, more organized and more costly in the damage that they inflict on government administrations, businesses, economies and potentially also transportation and supply networks and other critical infrastructures. They can also be a threshold issue that threatens national and Euro-Atlantic prosperity, security and stability. Foreign intelligence and surveillance services, organized criminals, terrorist networks and other groups can each be the source of such attacks. [...]

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Investing our entire energy into the future

As power pioneers within the energy industry, we are working on numerous projects relating to lower-emission generation and use of energy. These projects range from the construction of offshore wind parks in the North and Baltic seas to the expansion of the Rheinfelden hydroelectric power plant, one of the largest projects for renewable energy in Europe. The introduction of smart electricity meters represents another step taken towards the energy of the future. By providing transparency for consumers, these meters help to achieve targeted reductions in energy consumption and, as a result, in CO₂ emissions.
WE SUPPORT THE PEOPLE WHOSE MISSION IS TO PROTECT THE WORLD.

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AND WE WILL CONTINUE DEFENDING WORLD SECURITY.

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