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## Abbreviations

APC	armored personnel carriers
ARF	ASEAN Regional Forum
CAP	Common Agricultural Program
CARICOM	Caribbean Community
CFE	Treaty on Conventional Forces in Europe
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
C <sup>4</sup> ISR	command, control, communications, computers, intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance
CEC	cooperative engagement control
ECB	European Central Bank
EAPC	Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council
ECOMOG	Economic Community of West African States Cease-fire Monitoring Group
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EMU	Economic and Monetary Union
ESDI	European Security and Defense Identity
Eurofor	European Rapid Operational Force
FAWEU	Forces Answerable to the WEU
GCSP	Geneva Centre for Security Policy
GPS	Global Positioning System
IISS	International Institute for Strategic Studies
IMF	International Monetary Fund

IMSMA	Information Management System for Mine Action
ISN	International Relations and Security Network
ISS	International Security Studies (Yale)
IUHEI	Graduate Institute of International Studies (Geneva)
MAD	Mutual Assured Destruction
MAPE	Multinational Advisory Police Element for Albania
MNPF	Multi-National Protection Force
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NPT	Non-Proliferation Treaty
NUC	NATO-Ukraine Commission
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PGP	Pretty Good Privacy
Phare	Poland Hungary Aid for the Reconstruction of the Economy
PIGS	Portugal, Italy, Greece, and Spain
PJC	Permanent Joint Council
PSO	Peace Support Operations
RMA	Revolution in Military Affairs
SFOR	Stability Force
SIAF	Spanish-Italian Amphibious Force
UNMAS	United Nations Mine Action Service
UNSC	UN Security Council
WEU	Western European Union
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction

## Preface

This book addresses the issue of international security after the end of the Cold War. Thirteen renowned experts of five research institutes analyze the key changes in the field of international security since 1989, investigate the main security problems today, and offer their views on trends that are likely to shape international security policy in the coming decades. The contributions were presented partly at the *3<sup>rd</sup> International Security Forum*, held in Zurich 19-21 October 1998, partly at a preceding workshop jointly organized by International Security Studies (ISS) at Yale University and the Geneva Centre for Security Policy (GCSP).

The book contains articles by Dr. Mats Berdal (International Institute for Strategic Studies, IISS), Dr. Pál Dunay (GCSP), Prof. John Lewis Gaddis (ISS), Prof. Curt Gasteyger (Graduate Institute of International Studies, IUHEI), Prof. Victor-Yves Ghebali (IUHEI), Prof. William I. Hitchcock (ISS), Prof. André Liebich (IUHEI), Ambassador Yuri Nazarkin (GCSP), Dr. Fred Tanner (GCSP), Dr. Gregory F. Treverton, Dr. Marten van Heuven and Andrew E. Manning (RAND), and Dr. William C. Wohlforth (ISS).

The *3<sup>rd</sup> International Security Forum* brought together more than 200 researchers, civil servants, military officers, and media representatives to discuss various aspects related to the challenge of “Networking the Security Community in the Information Age.” The Forum was the latest in a series of similar events earlier organized in Zurich (1994) and Geneva (1996), then named “Institutes and the Security Dialogue.” The next *International Security Forum* will be organized by the Geneva Centre for Security Policy and will take place in the year 2000.

The *3<sup>rd</sup> International Security Forum* was at the same time the *1<sup>st</sup> Conference of the Partnership for Peace Consortium of Defense Academies and Security Studies Institutes*. The purpose of this important joint conference was to promote defense and security policy expertise within the government and private sector, contribute to the devel-

opment of professional military education, and encourage collaborative approaches to defense education. Participating at the conference were governmental defense academic institutions and security studies institutes as well as non-governmental institutes, universities and other similar bodies, particularly those with a focus on national security and foreign and defense policy.

The event was co-organized and co-sponsored by the Center for Security Studies and Conflict Research at the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Zurich, the Swiss Department of Defense, Civil Protection and Sports, the George C. Marshall Center for European Security Studies, and the NATO Defense College in Rome. It was conducted in cooperation with the Geneva Centre for Security Policy and the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research.

As co-organizers of the *International Security Forum*, the editors would like to thank all the participants of this successful conference. They express their particular gratitude to the authors of this volume for their important contributions. Furthermore, they recognize the generous financial and other aid by their co-sponsors and co-organizers. In this context, the editors would like to acknowledge especially the support of Swiss Federal Councilor Adolf Ogi and of Dr. Theodor Winkler of the Department of Defense, Civil Protection and Sports.

With regard to the organization of this book, Daniel Möckli merits special mention for his editorial assistance. Further thanks go to Marco Zanoli, Derek Müller and Kilian Borter who all contributed to the successful outcome of this publication. The editors would also like to thank Mrs. Iona D'Souza for her help with the manuscript.

The views expressed in the articles are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the opinions of the editors.

## **Introduction**





What better occasion is there to reflect on the notion of international security than the turn of the century? It is a suitable moment to pause and look back as well as ahead. This book both analyzes the development of international security policy since the demise of the Cold War in 1989 and discerns trends that are likely to dominate the security agenda in the coming decades.

While much has been written recently about post-Cold War international security, the unique advantage of this compilation of articles is its comparative approach. All the studies ponder upon and respond to the same set of questions. These are:

- What are the key changes that have taken place in the debate on international security policy since the end of the Cold War? What lessons can be drawn from that experience? What were the key factors driving change?
- Consequently, what are the main problems and issues to be addressed today?
- Based on this analysis, what are the likely currents in this area to be reckoned with at the threshold of the 21<sup>st</sup> century?

Considering the range of distinguished experts who present their views in this book, the method of comparison is a particularly fruitful way of figuring out trends that will shape international security in the decades ahead. But more than simply pointing to similarities among the respective analyses, the comparative approach will also provoke debate concerning the various discrepancies of interpretation that it will reveal. The following articles have thus the double aim of deepening our understanding of international security and at the same time drawing our attention to the many uncertainties left to us by the end of bipolar antagonism.

The book comprises two different kinds of studies. The first three articles are comprehensive surveys that deal broadly with the questions outlined above. Commissioned by the Swiss government, these papers were written by three of the leading institutes in the field of international security – the London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies, the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva, and

RAND – and presented at the 3<sup>rd</sup> *International Security Forum* in Zurich in 1998. Complementary to these surveys, the book contains eight case studies that deal with the same questions but approach them on an issue-specific level. These papers were presented at a joint meeting organized by International Security Studies at Yale University and the Geneva Centre for Security Policy in the run-up to the Zurich conference.

With regard to the surveys, although all three of them pursue their analyses along the given lines, there are obvious differences in their focal points. The first study, *International Security after the Cold War: Aspects of Continuity and Change*, by Mats Berdal on behalf of the International Institute for Strategic Studies, puts particular emphasis on the changing nature of conflict and argues that future conflicts tend to be intra-state challenges. It also examines issues such as non-proliferation, technological change in military affairs and the impact of globalization on security. Moreover, much thought is given to the role of institutions like the United Nations, the OSCE, and other regional organizations in international conflict management. The author holds that a growing number of multilateral conflict management interventions are based on an expanding normative agenda.

The second study, written by Curt Gasteyger of the Graduate Institute of International Studies, explores *Old and New Dimensions of International Security*. The author describes the world as an unruly place and reflects on the growing economization of politics that will have a profound effect on the notion of security and further increase the need for international cooperation on all levels. Other aspects of investigation include legacies of the Cold War such as nuclear weapons and the proliferation of conventional weapons, the mushrooming of actors, issues, and means in post-Cold War international security, and the future geopolitical structure of world politics.

Gregory F. Treverton, Marten van Heuven and Andrew E. Manning of RAND present the third article in this book, describing the *Driving Forces of International Security*. In their study, the authors pay particular attention to the triumph of the market, the decline of Russia and the rise of China. They also analyze the impact of the “information revolution” as well as the potential meaning of the “revolution in mili-

tary affairs.” The Balkans, Central Asia, the Caspian Region and the Middle East are defined as major geopolitical challenges, while proliferation and weapons of mass destruction used by terrorist groups are forecasted as key global issues on the future agenda of international security.

The case studies in this book all deal with *Future Challenges in European and American Security Policy*. Given the necessity of restricting the range of topics for the sake of coherence and in order to enable comparison, the decision to look in more detail at various aspects of these two key issues, which after the end of the Cold War stayed at the heart of the security debate, seemed obvious and rewarding.

While John Lewis Gaddis presents *A Strategic Checklist for the United States in the Post-Cold War World*, William I. Hitchcock describes the *Prospects for Europe and the Atlantic Alliance at Century's End*. Fred Tanner focuses on *Conflict Management and European Security: The Problem of Collective Solidarity*, whereas Pál Dunay investigates *the European Union Entering the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*. The elusive issue of *Ethnicity in International Conflicts* is discussed by Victor-Yves Ghebali, while André Liebich writes on *East Central Europe: The Unbearable Tightness of Being*. Yuri Nazarkin and William C. Wohlforth outline in their respective papers security challenges related to and affecting the Russian Federation in the new international context.

The book concludes with an analysis prepared by the editors who, taking into account and comparing all the studies, attempt to come up with discernible security trends and to raise those unsettled questions whose resolution will be decisive for the development of international security in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

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## International Security after the Cold War: Aspects of Continuity and Change

### Introduction

#### *The “Post-Cold War Era” in Perspective*

The study of international security policy during the Cold War focused, above all, on the stable management of relations between two heavily militarized blocs that shared a common interest in avoiding direct confrontation, but nevertheless remained deeply divided along ideological lines.<sup>1</sup> *Strategic Studies* was devoted primarily to the military dimensions of East-West relations, with a special emphasis on postures and strategies designed to ensure the continuation of a stable and predictable pattern of relations (hence the rich and sophisticated literature on arms control). Within this context, regional conflicts tended to be defined by reference to the global competition for influence between the superpowers, with only limited appreciation shown of regional dynamics and indigenous sources of conflict. The chief concern underlying this skewed, though understandable, focus of interest was the very real danger of nuclear confrontation.

By the late 1980s, it was apparent that the Cold War order, which had so permeated thinking about international security, was in the process

1 The author would like to thank research staff at the IISS (1998/99) for helpful comments on earlier drafts of this report. Special thanks go to Ellen Peacock, Deputy Librarian at the IISS, for her unfailing efficiency.

of disintegration. The speed and remarkably peaceful nature of this process, which saw the “velvet revolutions” in Central and Eastern Europe, the unification of Germany and the collapse of the Soviet Union, took Western policy-makers by surprise. It also fuelled expectations about the eventual shape of the post-Cold War international order. The belief of Western governments in a more rule-governed and centrally regulated world order peaked in the early 1990s and was further boosted by the unity of purpose which characterized the international response to Iraqi aggression against Kuwait in 1990.

The ensuing spirit of internationalism manifested itself in efforts to strengthen various forms of multilateral cooperation in the field of international peace and security. On the one hand, this has involved attempts to reinvigorate existing institutions (notably the UN and the CSCE/OSCE) and established practices (such as UN peacekeeping). It has also involved, however, the creation of new structures and the adoption of a more ambitious normative agenda by both governments and institutions, including the active promotion of human rights, multi-party democracy and various forms of “preventive action” and “peace support” activities. The focus on institutions has continued and remains one of the features of post-Cold War security environment. Indeed, in the words of one authoritative observer, it is “striking just how much the debate on international security in the 1990s has revolved around the competing claims of institutions as the providers of preventive diplomacy, crisis management, conflict resolution, and military action.”<sup>2</sup>

Yet, while the commitment to multilateral approaches and institution building has continued, in other respects much of the optimism of the early 1990s has dissipated. It has been replaced in part by a new sense of concern about the recrudescence of “traditional” threats to international security. These are exemplified by the prospect of a nuclear arms race in South Asia; by the emergence of “new” threats, including the

2 Freedman, Lawrence. “International Security: Changing Targets.” *Foreign Policy*, no. 110 (Spring 1998): 48-64, 58.

proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) to non-state actors; and by the manifest failure to co-ordinate multilateral responses to acts of aggression and internal conflict, with the international response to the wars of Yugoslav succession and the upheavals in Central Africa as the two most obvious examples. Moreover, while the specter of East-West military conflict may have disappeared, “sub-systems” of the international system – notably the Middle East, Central Africa, South Asia – remain unstable and are more easily understood in terms of the logic of power politics operating within those regions, than any shared understanding of “cooperative security.”

None of this should be seen as suggesting that important changes have not taken place in the field of international security after the Cold War and that these changes will not continue to shape the conduct of security policy in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. What is clear, however, is that the post-Cold War international system – whilst no longer paralyzed by East-West rivalry – remains divided by conflicts of both *interest* and *value* among states and non-state actors, and by the fact that the use or the threat of use of force is still an integral part of international relations. There is nothing to suggest that this will change in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

#### *“International Security” after the Cold War*

It was hardly surprising that the end of the Cold War should also have ushered in a debate about the meaning of “international security.” The immediate instinct of many analysts and policy-makers in the West was to call for a radical redefinition of “security studies.” The traditional focus on the role of force in international affairs, it was argued, failed to encompass the myriad of challenges and opportunities, which the post-Cold War world seemed to offer. The theme was picked up by distinguished politicians and made its way into influential reports. Foreign Minister Gareth Evans of Australia, writing in 1993, argued that threats to security also had to take into account the economic well being of a country, its political stability and social

harmony, the health of its citizens and the environment.<sup>3</sup> Others have added various domestic dimensions to the list, including education, crime and industrial competitiveness. Whilst these areas undoubtedly merit closer attention, there are at least two reasons why one should resist the idea that “international security” is no longer necessarily related to questions of the use or the threat of use of force in international affairs.

In the first place, there is a basic methodological problem whose policy implications are also readily discernible. Whilst the notion of “security” may fruitfully be explored from many perspectives, an all-encompassing and excessively broad definition of the term when applied to international affairs carries obvious dangers. As Lawrence Freedman puts it: “once anything that generates anxiety or threatens the quality of life in some respects becomes labeled a ‘security problem,’ the field risks losing all focus.”<sup>4</sup>

Secondly, while the context in which questions about the use and the threat of use of force are played out have changed, the questions themselves are still very much with us. Any consideration of international security policy towards the 21<sup>st</sup> century must take into account processes of change within the international system and the domestic setting of actors. We have not, however, reached the stage where the role of force in international relations can be discounted as a subject of inquiry and policy concern in its own right.

### *Scope and Structure of this Study*

Even with a restrictive definition of security, it would not be possible to cover the whole range of issues that may legitimately be addressed in a study of international security policy towards the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The choice of focus and the general approach taken by this paper is there-

3 Evans, Gareth. *Cooperating for Peace: The Global Agenda for the 1990s and Beyond*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1993, 5f.

4 Freedman, *International Security: Changing Targets*, 53.



fore necessarily selective. Whilst forward-looking and policy-oriented, it does not seek to draw up a simple “check list” of future security challenges. Instead, its approach is analytic and thematic. Specifically, an attempt has been made to explore the changing context of international security; to identify some of the central themes that are likely to remain high on the security agenda; to consider some of the major constraints on the formulation of security policy; and, finally, to evaluate the role of security institutions in international affairs.

To this end, this study first considers broader changes in the context of international security. It examines the changing nature of conflict resulting from the fragmentation of established political orders in various parts of the world. It also assesses the ambiguous impact on international security of transnational processes usually subsumed under the popular but ill-defined concept of “globalization.”

It then examines the security agenda of governments and international institutions more closely and explores how that agenda has expanded to meet some of the challenges raised by developments discussed in the first part. Three sets of issues are considered in greater detail: the debate about the emerging threat of weapons of mass destruction; the rise of “humanitarianism;” and the future of international peace support operations.

Next, the changing context of decision-making is examined, with special emphasis on the constraints imposed on decision-makers by the growing salience of domestic political considerations. This part also explores the impact of rapid technological changes on Western military thinking and options. With regard to both these issues, much of the discussion centers on the specific, but crucially important, case of the US. The final part critically evaluates the role of security institutions at the global and regional level. It analyses how organizations have sought to adapt to change and assesses, in general terms, the extent to which they will continue to play a central role in international security.

## Context and Trends

### *The Changing Nature of Conflict*

With the end of the Cold War, violence in the international system has shifted more markedly towards the intra-state level. A major reason for this has been the collapse of multi-ethnic federal state structures (the USSR and Yugoslavia) and the disintegration of fragile political orders in parts of Africa. The degree to which internal or civil wars have flourished in the post-Cold War period and the broader implications of this trend can easily, however, be exaggerated. Civil wars were widespread also during the Cold War. Moreover, the eruption of armed conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea in May 1998, mounting tensions in South Asia following the nuclear tests of India and Pakistan and, more recently, the possibility of armed conflict between Iran and Afghanistan, all serve to show that inter-state or international conflict is not necessarily a thing of the past. Moreover, the wars of Yugoslav succession and the resumption of large-scale fighting inside the newly established Republic of Congo in 1998 (involving reportedly as many as six African states<sup>5</sup>), highlight another feature of the contemporary scene: the difficulty of distinguishing clearly between international and internal conflict. In both these cases, the wars have had both an international and an internal dimension, a fact which has presented institutions and outside powers considering intervention with complex political and legal dilemmas.

In spite of these reservations about simplistic portrayals of the post-Cold War world as engulfed in civil violence, institutions and governments are, and will remain, focused on intra-state conflicts for two basic reasons.

5 Angolan, Zimbabwean and Namibian troops were reported to be fighting alongside the forces of Laurent Kabila against "rebel" forces supported by Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi.

In the first place, empirical evidence suggests that there has been an increase in the incidence of civil wars. In 1995, all of the most “serious wars” in the world were classified as civil wars, while a US government report in 1996 estimated that more than 40 million people were “directly threatened” by civil conflict.<sup>6</sup> The overwhelming majority of cases in the ICRC 1997 survey of “current ‘official’ and *de facto* humanitarian emergencies (39 cases listed) are linked to intra-state conflicts.”<sup>7</sup> The African continent in particular is likely to see more conflict, while the situation in the Balkans remains tense and may well spread beyond Bosnia. In both cases, the potential for regionalization of violent conflict, with the creation of new refugee populations, is all too real. This risk of internationalization of domestic conflict provides the most obvious link between civil wars and international security and is one reason why “no civil war today is ever wholly internal.”<sup>8</sup>

Secondly, civil wars will continue to figure prominently on the international security agenda, because the “international community” has chosen, through a variety of means, to be much more directly involved in addressing the political and humanitarian consequences of such conflicts. Between 1992 and 1996 alone, nine out of 11 new UN operations were related to an intra-state conflict

What, then, are some of the characteristics of modern civil wars?<sup>9</sup> Most of them have been identity-driven conflicts, involving the

6 See King, Charles. *Ending Civil Wars*. Adelphi Paper, no. 308. Oxford: Oxford University Press for the IISS, 1997, 17. This study includes detailed information and analysis about the incidence and significance of “civil war”-type conflicts in the 1990s.

7 *World Disasters Report, 1998*. International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 165.

8 King, *Ending Civil Wars*, 17.

9 Beyond what has already been said there is, for the purpose of this study, no need to enter into a discussion of the precise definition of what constitutes “civil war.” For the problems of definition see King, *Ending Civil Wars*, 18-23.

mobilization and exploitation of ethno-nationalist sentiment and violence, within countries and across regions that have been weakened by severe economic and social dislocations. In some cases, notably in former Yugoslavia and parts of the CIS territory, conflict has been linked to the breakdown of multiethnic federal structures. In other cases, notably Somalia, Liberia and Sierra Leone, violent conflict has been precipitated by “the collapse of State institutions, especially the police and the judiciary, with resulting paralysis of governance, a breakdown of law and order.”<sup>10</sup>

Sustained by a greater availability of light weapons and ammunition, contemporary civil wars have also been characterized by intense levels of violence, widespread destruction of economic infrastructure and substantial movements of refugees and displaced persons. According to one estimate, light weapons were responsible for over 90% of the deaths and injuries in the 90 armed conflicts that took place in 1993.<sup>11</sup> The greater availability of light weapons after the Cold War appears to be closely linked to a combination of three factors. Firstly, the manufacture of and international trade in small arms has become ever more decentralized. A growing number of potential suppliers means constant downward pressure on prices. Secondly, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the absence of effective export-control mechanisms in former Soviet republics where light weapon manufacturing has been extensive (Russia, Belarus, Ukraine and Georgia) resulted, in the early 1990s, in a “sudden availability of massive amounts of new and surplus

10 *Position Paper of the Secretary-General on the Occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the United Nations*. A/50/60-S/1995/1, 3 January 1995. Supplement to Boutros-Ghali, Boutros. *An Agenda for Peace*. 2<sup>nd</sup> rev. ed. New York: United Nations, 1995.

11 See *Small Arms and Intra-State Conflicts*. UNIDIR Research Paper, no. 34. Geneva: UNIDIR, 1995.

light weapons.”<sup>12</sup> Many of these have since resurfaced in areas of civil and regional conflict. Thirdly, large quantities of surplus weapons from past conflicts (e.g., in the Horn of Africa) make their way to zones of conflict through a variety of semi-official and covert arms pipelines.<sup>13</sup>

The levels of violence and the destruction of national infrastructure involved are linked to another trend in modern warfare and a particular feature of contemporary conflict: the blurring of the distinction between combatants and non-combatants and the tendency for civil society to become fully caught up in a conflict. The actual figures involved, which are always difficult to verify precisely, are truly staggering. More than 300,000 people are thought to have died as a direct result of the resumption of civil war in Angola in late 1992. At least 800,000 people lost their lives between April and June 1994 in the genocide of Rwanda’s Tutsi minority and moderate Hutus. An estimated 150,000 people have died since Liberia’s collapse into civil war in 1989.

A concomitant feature of these and other civil wars has been the creation of massive flows of refugees and, especially, internally displaced persons. In 1997, the total number of internally displaced persons was estimated to be 8,170,000 in Africa, 1,054,000 in South and Central Asia and 2,760,000 in Europe.<sup>14</sup> Such refugee movements not only place unprecedented strains on international bodies such as the UNHCR and humanitarian NGOs, but also often provide the basis for a further regionalization of conflicts.

12 Laurance, Edward J. “Surplus Light Weapons as a Conversion Problem: Unique Characteristics and Solutions.” In *Coping With Surplus Weapons: A Priority for Conversion Research and Policy*, ed. Edward J. Laurance and Herbert Wulf, 31. Brief Series, no. 3. Bonn International Center for Conversion, 1995.

13 For a more detailed discussion of these issues see Berdal, Mats. *Disarmament and Demobilisation after Civil Wars*. Adelphi Paper, no. 302. Oxford: Oxford University Press for the IISS, 1996, 18-20.

14 *World Disasters Report, 1998*, 150-159.

### *The Political Economy of Civil Wars*

Whilst much has been written about civil wars in recent years, relatively little attention has been given, especially in policy-making circles, to the political-economy of civil wars and the variety of “functions” which violence may perform, especially in politically fragile, ethnically fragmented and economically weak states.<sup>15</sup> The fact is, however, that much of the violence which the international community has sought to contain and alleviate, has been driven, not by a Clausewitzian logic of forwarding a set of political aims, but rather by powerful economic motives and agendas.

As David Keen notes in a study for the IISS:

[I]nternal conflicts have persisted not so much *despite* the intentions of rational people, as because of them. The apparent “chaos” of civil war can be used to further local and short-term interests. These are frequently *economic* (...). War is not simply a breakdown in a particular system, but a way of creating an alternative system of profit, power and even protection.<sup>16</sup>

Evidence of this can be found, to a greater or lesser degree, in most of the civil wars that have raged in the 1990s, with particularly striking examples being provided by Sudan, Sierra Leone, Liberia and Cambodia. In each of these cases, understanding the sources of violence requires an understanding of “the economics underpinning it:”

Conflict can create war economies, often in the regions controlled by rebels or warlords and linked to international trading networks; members of armed gangs can benefit from looting; and regimes can use violence to deflect opposition, reward supporters or maintain their access to resources. Under

15 Berdal, Mats and David Keen. “Violence and Economic Agendas in Civil Wars: Some Policy Implications.” *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 26, no. 3 (1997): 795-818.

16 Keen, David. *The Economic Functions of Violence in Civil Wars*. Adelphi Paper, no. 320. Oxford: Oxford University Press for the IISS, 1998, 11.

these circumstances, ending civil wars becomes difficult. Winning may not be desirable: the point of war may be precisely the legitimacy which it confers on actions that in peacetime would be punishable as crimes.<sup>17</sup>

These insights are of much more than academic interest since the existence of economic agendas inevitably affects the efforts of external actors to address intra-state conflict. Indeed, evidence suggests that the failure to account for the presence of economic interests by warring parties has critically undermined attempts to provide meaningful assistance. This has been particularly notable in two areas of external support: the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of combatants after conflict, and the restructuring of the “security sector” in war-torn societies.<sup>18</sup>

The role played by economic motives in warfare is hardly new. Nevertheless, economically motivated violence appears to have become increasingly significant. This trend is linked to processes of “globalization” that have made it easier for warlords and elites in war-torn societies to benefit from conflict. Specifically, war economies have been able to tap into global networks of production and exchange, the result of which has been to influence adversely the balance of incentives in favor of peace. The Cambodian Government and the Khmer Rouge have had few difficulties exporting rubies and high-grade tropical timber. Charles Taylor in Liberia has successfully sustained himself in power by exporting large quantities of rubber to Europe; and both UNITA in Angola and rebel forces in Sierra Leone have been kept going partly through the sale of diamonds and gold on the world market. These examples highlight just how complex is the relationship between globalization and international security.

17 *Ibid.*, 12.

18 Berdal and Keen, *Violence and Economic Agendas in Civil Wars*, 807-815.

*“Globalization” and International Security*

The term “globalization” is widely used to describe the cumulative impact of various transnational processes, especially striking within the world’s economic and financial system, that are thought to be transforming the international system. It is a notoriously imprecise term. Indeed, as Jean Marie Guehenno makes clear, “there is not yet an accepted definition of the word, and that uncertainty is probably a symptom of the conceptual uncertainties of our time.”<sup>19</sup> Yet, as Andrew Hurrell also notes, the term “has become a very powerful *metaphor* for the sense that a number of universal processes are at work generating increased interconnection and interdependence between states and between societies.”<sup>20</sup> Few would deny that both the intensity and variety of transactions within the international system are increasing and that these are contributing to greater “interconnection and interdependence” among states and societies; the difficulty lies in evaluating the precise effects of globalization on international security. Perhaps the most influential, essentially liberal, approach to globalization, sees it as largely a benign phenomenon that will eventually lead “to an unprecedented and growing consciousness of ‘global problems’ and of belonging to a single ‘human community.’”<sup>21</sup> On this view, globalization, driven by the “integrating and homogenizing influence of market forces” and the “increased flows of values, knowledge and ideas” across borders, is seen as a source of conflict mitigation that is hastening the emergence of a

19 Guehenno, Jean-Marie. *Globalisation and its Impact on International Strategy*. Paper presented at the 40<sup>th</sup> IISS Annual Conference, Oxford, September 1998, 1.

20 Hurrell, Andrew. “Explaining the Resurgence of Regionalism in World Politics.” *Review of International Studies* 21, no. 4 (1995): 331-358, 345. The article provides an excellent background to some of the debates surrounding the effects of globalization.

21 *Ibid.*, 345.



world society.<sup>22</sup> There is an unmistakable echo here of 19<sup>th</sup> century positivist social thinking; the views of men such as Herbert Spencer and August Comte who felt that industrialization and the growth of international commerce would eventually make war so evidently dysfunctional that it would simply cease to occur.

There is as yet, however, little evidence to suggest that globalization is having this effect. Indeed, developments in the 1990s point to a far from uniformly positive relationship between globalization and international order. The fact is that the impact of globalization varies from region to region and is determined, to a very large extent, by the state's capacity to adapt to change and thus to meet the specific challenges presented by the processes of globalization. Generalizing about the stabilizing or destabilizing consequences of these processes on international security as a whole is therefore likely to be hazardous. In technologically advanced and economically developed parts of the world, the effects of globalization may be to reinforce the power of the state; in weaker, less developed and economically fragile countries and regions, globalization is likely to undermine both the authority and autonomy of the state. Because the impact of globalization is so uneven, its relationship to international security is most meaningfully examined by reference to specific issue areas.

Three such areas clearly illustrate the ambiguous and often less than obvious connection between globalization and security:

- the impact of uneven rates of globalization on societal and political stability in the developing world;
- the impact of various globalizing trends on the growth of transnational criminal organizations;

22 *Ibid.*, 345. Susan Strange, for example, speaks of the "visible homogenisation of world society at the upper and middle levels of civil society." See Strange, Susan. "The 'Fall' of the United States: Peace, Stability and Legitimacy." In *The Fall of Great Powers*, ed. Geir Lundestad, 197-214, 208. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.

- the spread of technical know-how and enabling technologies to facilitate the manufacture and upgrade of weapons systems, including weapons of mass destruction.

Most writings about globalization have identified the international economic and financial system as the most startling area of transformation with several, closely related, processes at work. In the first place, the increasingly unencumbered flow of capital and services, powerfully boosted by the wave of financial deregulation in the 1980s, is being continuously stimulated by technological change, especially by the revolution in electronic banking and information processing. This in turn has facilitated the “internationalization of production,” reflected in the growth of foreign direct investment and an increasingly central role for transnational corporations in the world economy. All of this has provided the basis for rapid growth, wealth creation and an increasingly integrated world economy.

As indicated above, however, it is necessary to recognize that globalization is a highly uneven process which, at least in the medium term, is likely to accentuate and increase inequalities among states. As Hurrell and Woods point out, the “benefits of globalisation flow to those states with the greatest capacity to absorb and adapt to new types of transactions.”<sup>23</sup>

Moreover, as James Robinson makes clear, “having new technologies and being able to effectively use them remain largely the privilege of the advanced industrialised democracies.”<sup>24</sup> Thus, “to the extent that new information and communications technologies create new wealth and are adopted at different rates by different international actors, the ‘Information Age’ has the potential to lead to increasingly skewed pat-

23 Hurrell, Andrew and Ngaire Woods. “Globalisation and Inequality.” *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 24, no. 3 (1995): 447-470, 457.

24 Robinson, James. “Technology, Change and the Emerging International Order.” In *The Information Age: An Anthology on Its Impact and Consequences. Part IV: International Affairs*, ed. David S. Alberts and Daniel S. Papp, 591-638, 618. Washington, D.C.: National Defense University, 1997.

terms of distribution of wealth within and between international actors.”<sup>25</sup>

In the short run, as the financial and political turmoil in Indonesia in 1998 demonstrated, there is an even more direct link between economic globalization and security. The rapidity and ease with which capital now moves in response to market and other signals can be highly destabilizing in politically fragile and economically less mature economies. As many developing countries have opened their markets and accepted the strictures of IMF stabilization programs, they have also become more vulnerable to sudden shocks in the system. The extent to which such shocks can be absorbed without major social and political upheaval, possibly with region-wide implications, will clearly affect the international security agenda in the years to come. In its annual survey for 1994/95, the IISS highlighted the relationship between aspects of globalization and the operations and increased sophistication of transnational criminal organizations. It noted how the “growth of interdependence among states, the development of rapid transport and communications systems, the vast increase in international trade, and the emergence of a global financial market have dramatically changed the context within which organised crime operates.”<sup>26</sup> It concluded that “organised crime has taken advantage of new opportunities provided by globalism to become a transnational phenomenon that poses novel challenges to national and international security.”<sup>27</sup> Illicit drugs, for example, have become a “truly global commodity” whose associated trafficking industry has assumed stag

25 “Introduction.” In *The Information Age: An Anthology on Its Impact and Consequences. Part IV: International Affairs*, ed. David S. Alberts and Daniel S. Papp, 545-553, 552. Washington, D.C.: National Defense University, 1997.

26 *Strategic Survey 1994/95*. International Institute for Strategic Studies. London: Oxford University Press for the IISS, 25.

27 *Ibid.*, 25.

gering proportions.<sup>28</sup> Similarly, trafficking in people and, above all, money has been greatly facilitated by the globalizing trends outlined above.<sup>29</sup> Even more ominous is the evidence that has emerged about the trafficking in nuclear materials. Given the perilous state of the nuclear safeguards regime in Russia and the growth and sophistication of organized crime in that country, this is bound to remain an area of concern to Western governments.<sup>30</sup>

A striking feature of the “information revolution,” generally seen as a driving force behind globalization, is that it is “steadily eroding any clear-cut distinction between civilian and military applications in certain technological areas.”<sup>31</sup> In particular, technological developments, aided to some extent by the removal of Cold War export restriction regimes (such as COCOM), are gradually “reducing the barriers to the global diffusion of dual-use technologies.”<sup>32</sup> While there are still significant qualitative differences between military and commercial technologies, technical and manufacturing know-how have become much more widely dispersed.<sup>33</sup> Thus, the “global market place” in the 21<sup>st</sup> century will provide a number of capabilities that in theory should be available to “any country, group or even individual with the resources to finance their acquisition.”<sup>34</sup>

28 Williams, Phil. “Transnational Criminal Organisations and International Security.” *Survival* 36, no. 1 (Spring 1994): 96-113. According to Williams, “some estimates suggest that it is worth \$500 bn a year – larger than the global trade in oil.” *Ibid.*, 99.

29 *Strategic Survey 1994/95*, 28-31.

30 For details about the illegal diversion of weapons-usable material since 1992, see “Nuclear Security after the Moscow Summit.” *IISS Strategic Comments* 2, no. 5 (June 1996).

31 *Strategic Survey 1994/95*, 33f.

32 *Ibid.*

33 This is not exclusively a function of globalization; “leakage” of expertise and technologies from Russia’s military-industrial complex, for example, has facilitated the development of long-range missile development in Iran.

34 *Strategic Survey 1995/96*, 31f.

The specific capabilities listed by the IISS include, *inter alia*:

- Stealthy techniques that significantly lower radar signatures.
- Precision guidance provided by the US Global Positioning System (GPS) or the Russian GLONASS satellites.
- Ship- and land-attack cruise missiles using both of the above technologies.
- Sophisticated anti-ship mines and torpedoes which can be delivered by advanced diesel submarines.
- Upgrade packages for aging weapon systems that raise their standards to the best Western standards.
- High-resolution satellite imagery and sophisticated processing.
- Communications and computing technology.
- Enabling techniques – all dual-use – for weapons of mass destruction.<sup>35</sup>

None of this means that a country such as the United States is ever likely to be matched in a conventional set-piece setting. Its superiority may, however, be blunted in certain areas, while determined powers may significantly enhance the quality of their existing capabilities, thus affecting local and regional balances of power. As with other aspects of globalization, the effects of the proliferation of dual-use technologies are not necessarily all negative. For example, the application of new technologies, many of them commercially available, may improve the effectiveness of some types of peace support operations.<sup>36</sup> The point here, as the 1994/95 *Strategic Survey* makes clear, is that processes of globalization generate risks as well as opportunities:

35 *Ibid.*

36 See Gliksman, Alex, ed. *Meeting the Challenges of International Peace Operations: Assessing the Contribution of Technology*. Center for Global Security Research: Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, 1998.

[T]he global spread of dual-use technologies has *mixed* implications for the post-Cold War security environment, regional stability could be enhanced in some ways by commercially available technologies; higher-resolution imagery data and precision navigational data improve a nation's defensive capabilities. Access to such advanced technologies can strengthen the defensive military capabilities of local powers reducing their vulnerability to foreign military threats and diplomatic coercion. Similarly, civilian imaging satellites could be used to foster regional transparency in the military activities of potential adversaries (...). On the other hand, regional instabilities might be exacerbated by the unrestrained proliferation of certain dual-use technologies.<sup>37</sup>

## An Expanding Security Agenda

### *Weapons of Mass Destruction: New Actors and New Proliferation Threats*

In the collective memory of the Cold War, the specter of nuclear Armageddon was the defining and most unsettling feature of the conflict. Not surprisingly, release from the condition and "logic" of "mutual assured destruction" (MAD for short) was seen as the single most important consequence of the end of East-West confrontation.

The latter half of the 1990s, however, has seen a renewed concern about the threat posed by weapons of mass destruction (WMD), though the nature and perception of that threat differ from that of the Cold War period.<sup>38</sup> The nuclear tests by India and Pakistan in May 1998

<sup>37</sup> *Strategic Survey 1994/95*, 39f.

<sup>38</sup> The WMD category refers to nuclear, chemical and biological weapons. Although used as such in this paper, there are major qualitative differences between these categories of weapons that are to some extent obscured by lumping them together. The destruction from nuclear and, potentially, biological weapons is far greater than that of chemical weapons.

confirmed what was already known, namely that both countries have already developed a capability. Whilst these tests are worrying in terms of their potential impact on regional stability, renewed concern about WMD have centered less on the known “threshold” states than on other aspirants. Attention has focused, in particular, on the development of WMD capabilities by countries variously referred to as “rogue” or “maverick” states (notably Iraq, Iran, North Korea, Libya and Sudan), as well as on the proliferation of weapon systems, expertise and enabling technologies to other potential users, including non-state actors. The 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center in New York, the attack on the Federal Building in Oklahoma and the nerve gas attack on the Tokyo subway system in 1995, have raised concerns, especially within the US, about the dangers of WMD technology falling into the hands of state-sponsored and/or religiously motivated terrorist organizations.

One of the most important stimulants to the WMD-debate in recent years has been the experience of the United Nations Special Commission on Iraq (UNSCOM). Not only has UNSCOM raised awareness about emerging threats, but it has also highlighted the possibilities and limits of international efforts to confront actors determined, for whatever reason, to acquire WMD capabilities. It is useful, therefore, to examine the growing concerns surrounding WMD development against the background of the UNSCOM experience in Iraq since 1991.

UNSCOM was set up in the immediate aftermath of the Gulf War to ensure the destruction of Iraq’s capability to rebuild its weapons of mass destruction, specifically its chemical, biological and missile capabilities.<sup>39</sup> The significance of the UNSCOM experience in terms of the wider debate about emerging threats to international security is two-fold:

- What it has actually uncovered about Iraq’s WMD capabilities and, by extension, the wider dangers of proliferation in this area.
- What it has revealed about the difficulties, both technical and po-

39 See Section C of UN Security Council Resolution 687 (1991).

litical, of sustaining an effective control regime.

The policy response of governments to the WMD threat has been, and is likely to be, powerfully influenced by the lessons of UNSCOM in these two closely related areas. With unprecedented powers of monitoring and verification, UNSCOM has been able to reveal the extent of Iraq's WMD capability and the relative ease with which that capability was acquired. Throughout its work in Iraq, UNSCOM, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and the Security Council have been continually surprised, by the size and scope of Iraq's weapons programs: the advanced state of the nuclear weapons program; the scale of chemical weapons production and the range of modern agents involved (notably VX); the size of the biological weapons program and a larger than expected missile program.<sup>40</sup>

Of particular concern to the West, but above all to the US, was the discovery in 1995/96 of three biological weapons programs and evidence that large quantities had in fact been produced (specifically, 19,000 liters of botulinum toxin, 8,500 liters of anthrax and 2,200 liters of aflatoxin).<sup>41</sup> Substantial progress was also found to have been made in an area hitherto considered the most challenging aspect of biological weapons development: the weaponization of various agents.<sup>42</sup> The concern about an emerging biological threat has been powerfully reinforced by two other developments. The first of these was the sarin nerve gas attack by the Aum Shinrikyo sect on the Tokyo underground in March 1995 (killing 12 and injuring more than 5,000 people) and the subsequent revelation that this obscure religious

40 For a more detailed overview of what has been uncovered and destroyed, see *Strategic Survey 1997/98*, 62f. See also "Challenges Facing Verification: The UNSCOM Experience in Iraq." *IISS Strategic Comments* 3, no. 1 (January 1997).

41 *Ibid.* See also "Responding to the Threat of Biological Weapons." *IISS Strategic Comments* 2, no. 9 (November 1996).

42 *Ibid.* UNSCOM found that Iraq had prepared artillery shells, bombs and warheads as delivery means for biological agents.



sect had also experimented with anthrax bacteria.<sup>43</sup> Secondly, the admission by Russian authorities in 1992 that the Soviet Union had built up a very considerable biological weapons program (even though it was a signatory to the 1974 Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention) has also dented faith in the effectiveness of non-intrusive verification practices.<sup>44</sup> It is partly against this background that the IISS concluded:

Preventing determined proliferators from acquiring biological and toxin agents appears to be virtually impossible. The complexities associated with weaponizing and delivering biological and toxin agents might prevent large-scale attacks, at least in the short term. Nevertheless, these barriers are crumbling, and revolutionary advances in biotechnology will probably remove them altogether in the first decade of the twenty-first century.<sup>45</sup>

As indicated above, the reaction to what is seen as an emerging WMD threat has been particularly pronounced in the US, where it has been magnified by the fear that sophisticated ballistic and cruise-missile technology is becoming more readily available for those determined to acquire it.<sup>46</sup> In April 1998, for example, a panel of presidential advisers called for a strengthening of US defenses against chemical

43 As indeed have the revelations about South Africa's former biological weapons program, the full extent of which was uncovered by the South African *Truth Commission* in 1998.

44 Assurances to the effect that the vast Soviet effort has been finally terminated by Russia have plainly been less than satisfactory and concerns about "leakage" of both technology and expertise persist. See, for example, Quinn-Judge, Paul. "The Breeding of Death." *Time*, 16 February 1998.

45 *Strategic Survey 1996/97*, 41.

46 For the proliferation of ballistic missiles and technology, see the views of William Schneider, member of the *Commission to Assess the Ballistic Missile Threat to the United States*, in Schneider, William. "Europe comes into range." *The Financial Times*, 25 August 1998. For an assessment of the cruise missile threat see "Assessing the Cruise Missile Threat." *Strategic Survey 1996/97*, 16-31.

and biological attack, including the stockpiling of vaccines and emergency equipment throughout the US.<sup>47</sup>

But perhaps even more significant in the long run is the evidence of growing skepticism about the value of multilateral and consensus-based mechanisms, arrived at through the traditional “arms control” route, as a means of meeting emerging threats. Indeed, it is against the backdrop of the aforementioned developments that domestic political pressure in the US has mounted for unilateral responses to counter what are seen as immediate threats. Thus, the cruise missile attack against a plant in Sudan in August 1998 (now widely considered to have been launched on the basis of dubious intelligence assessments) was justified as a necessary defensive measure against an emerging chemical weapons threat. The willingness to contemplate unilateral actions of this sort is also likely to be reinforced by the second major lesson from the UNSCOM mission alluded to above, those relating to political difficulties associated with maintaining an effective control regime.

The operating procedures and activities of UNSCOM have clearly shown that an intrusive inspection regime, underpinned by solid political support from the UN Security Council, can achieve a great deal. At the same time, experience has shown that when these two conditions – a truly intrusive inspection regime and continuing political support – are weakened, the scope for successful evasion and cheating by the target country, in this case Iraq, is considerable. Indeed, in spite of UNSCOM’s undoubted achievements, it has proved exceedingly difficult to “destroy, remove and render harmless all chemical and biological weapons, and all stocks of agents and all related subsystems and components and all research, development and support and manufacturing facilities.”<sup>48</sup>

UNSCOM, established in the wake of Iraq’s crushing defeat in 1991,

47 For US concerns see, for example, “Pentagon to get tough on biological terrorism.” *Jane’s Defense Weekly*, 29 January 1997.

48 *Strategic Survey 1997/98*, 55.

has had unprecedented powers of inspection and monitoring. Its staff members have not only been competent and resourceful but have also been able to draw upon the intelligence assets of key countries in order to carry out their tasks (including access to material from U-2 high-altitude reconnaissance aircraft and high-grade satellite-imagery). These are conditions which simply are not likely to be reproduced elsewhere. But there is, arguably, an even more important reason behind the comparative success of UNSCOM: international consensus behind its activities and the continuing support it has received from the Security Council. Without a united and determined front in the face of Iraq's repeated attempts to circumvent and undermine its activities, the effectiveness of UNSCOM would have been much curtailed. There is now, however, growing evidence that this united front has cracked and that this, as much as any technical limitations, is likely to reduce the effectiveness of the control regime. Russia in particular has indicated that it wishes to relax the sanctions regime against Iraq (which is linked to compliance with UNSCOM demands). As a result, UNSCOM activities have been punctuated by periodic crisis and the overall quality of the inspection regime has been undermined.

The broader lesson here for international security is significant. It used to be said that with the end of the Cold War, the Security Council would finally be able to operate as originally intended and devote itself to measures that would maintain "international peace and security." The breakdown of consensus over Iraq – a country which has never cooperated with UNSCOM, which has worked hard to create a WMD capability and has demonstrated its readiness to use such weapons<sup>49</sup> – bodes ill for the future. It is difficult to think of another issue that could provide a better basis for building a critically needed consensus.

49 Iraq is known to have used chemical weapons in 1983 (mustard gas used in the Iraq-Iran war), 1987 (sarin and mustard on the Al Faw peninsula during the Iran-Iraq war), and 1987 against the Kurdish village of Halbaja.

*The Expanding Normative Agenda:  
Intervention and "Humanitarianism"*

The classical definition of intervention in international law refers to the "dictatorial or coercive interference, by an outside party or parties, in the sphere of jurisdiction of a sovereign state."<sup>50</sup> Since the end of the Cold War, however, much of the public and academic discussion about "intervention" has been linked not to coercion but, instead, to the provision of outside assistance designed to contain, mitigate and, where possible, resolve conflicts within states. The practice of such interventions, almost all under the auspices of the United Nations, has led some observers to talk of the "rise of humanitarianism." Associated with this development, has also been a greater emphasis on the active promotion of human rights, "good governance" and democratization by many governments and international organizations in the 1990s. The effectiveness of the UN and regional organizations in meeting new challenges in this field is discussed in greater detail below. The "humanitarianism" and the expanding security agenda of states and institutions in the 1990s, raise broader issues that are relevant to the assessment of future trends in international security. The experience of outside involvement on "humanitarian grounds" since the late 1980s is mixed and would tend to support three propositions:

- A "right of intervention" on purely humanitarian grounds by states, or even by the UN, cannot be said to have clearly emerged in the 1990s.
- The collectivity of states, as reflected in the diverse membership of the UN, has not reached a consensus about the basis for intervention in internal conflicts.

50 Bull, Hedley. "Introduction." In *Intervention in World Politics*, ed. Hedley Bull, 1-6, 1. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984.

- Evidence strongly suggests that some countries, most notably the US, are becoming more wary of involvement in internal conflict, even where a powerful humanitarian case for intervention can be made. All three propositions merit further discussion.

Surveying state practice and developments in international law in the 1990s, Christopher Greenwood, writing in 1998, concluded that “the proposition that States have a right of intervention in the territory of other States on humanitarian grounds remains intensely controversial.”<sup>51</sup> Whilst the UN Security Council in the 1990s has frequently authorized military action on humanitarian grounds (as it did in Somalia and Haiti), this is also a contested area. One difficulty, for example, has been the striking selectivity with which the Security Council has chosen to intervene in humanitarian emergencies around the world, raising questions in the minds of many member states about the wider legitimacy of Security Council action. This is closely related to the second proposition listed above.

The 1990s, as discussed in the first part of this chapter, have seen an increase in the incidence of violent conflict at the sub-state level. The UN Charter, however, is a document essentially about inter-state conflicts and member states have yet to examine how it may effectively intervene in “civil war”-type conflicts. The much-vaunted *Agenda for Peace*, presented by the UN Secretary-General in 1992, did not in fact address this issue since it placed its analysis squarely “within the framework and provisions of the Charter.”<sup>52</sup> There was an important reason for this, however. It reflected a deep concern, felt by many countries, about encouraging developments that would, ultimately, undermine the state-centric approach of the Charter and the rule of non-intervention on which it is based.

Writing on the subject of “intervention in world politics,” Hedley Bull argued in the mid-1980s that “if there is a way forward now, it lies not

51 Greenwood, Christopher. *International Law and the Conduct of War*. Paper presented at the 40<sup>th</sup> IISS Annual Conference, Oxford, September 1998, 8.

52 The *Agenda for Peace* and the debates surrounding it are discussed more fully below.

in seeking to replace the rule of non-intervention with some other rule, but rather in considering how it should be modified and adapted to meet the particular circumstances and needs of the present time.”<sup>53</sup> He added that “developments in international law in recent decades, especially in the field of human rights, and the wider changes in moral attitudes to international relations of which these developments are an expression, provide a wide mandate for legitimate forms of outside involvement in what was previously considered the sphere of jurisdiction of states, which the rule of non-intervention should not be allowed to obstruct.”<sup>54</sup> And he posed the question of how that rule could “best be formulated so as to meet the requirements of world order in the closing decades of the twentieth century?”<sup>55</sup> The pertinence of this question and the divergent responses it elicits among member states of the UN are just as striking at the close of the century as they were when Bull explored the subject in the mid-1980s.

The fact is that the revitalization of the UN in the early 1990s has been accompanied by a growing concern among non-aligned and developing countries about what they perceive to be a tension between the UN’s new role in internal conflict and the cardinal principle of international society, namely, the sovereign equality of states and its corollary that there is a duty of non-intervention by states in the internal affairs of other states. Some of these concerns are clearly self-serving and, in many cases, inspired by a desire to protect dubious human rights records. Nevertheless, the subject of intervention and “humanitarianism” remains controversial and there is very little evidence to suggest that a common and agreed set of criteria for intervention in internal conflict (as called for by some NGOs) will be arrived at in the near future.

The third issue that is likely to affect the future of humanitarian operations is the increasing reluctance of key UN member states to

53 Bull, Hedley. “Conclusion.” In *Intervention in World Politics*, ed. Hedley Bull, 181-195, 187. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984.

54 *Ibid.*, 189.

55 *Ibid.*, 187.

become actively involved in attempts to address both the causes and consequences of internal conflicts, as distinct from passing Security Council resolutions about them. Events in Somalia in 1992/93, Bosnia in 1992-1995 and Rwanda in 1994-1996 have dispelled some of the illusions about how an outside force can manipulate, let alone “resolve,” internal conflicts. But it has also made countries more reluctant to commit themselves. This can be seen in the growing unwillingness of Western countries in particular, to commit troops to situations which may involve casualties. This should perhaps not come as a surprise: it is difficult for any democratic government to explain to its electorate why its own nationals should risk their lives in conflicts where the warring factions themselves often appear less than anxious to end the fighting and where a clear-cut “national interest” is not easily identifiable. This diminishing political commitment has been most striking in the United States. For military, financial and psychological reasons this development is also certain to have the most far-reaching consequences for the future.

*Peace Support Operations:  
From Peacekeeping to Enforcement?*

The new-found activism of the international community in the post-Cold War climate of the early 1990s was most striking in the area of peacekeeping, or what is now more broadly referred to as peace support operations (PSO). The UN has launched the majority of these, though a growing number of other organizations, most notably NATO, have also moved into the field. A few figures suffice to illustrate the scale of the changes that have taken place. Between 1948 and 1987, 13 operations were launched by the UN; nearly 30 operations have been set up since 1988. The number of soldiers deployed has increased from 9,500 in 1988 to a high of nearly 80,000 in 1994, while the pool of troop-contributing nations has grown from 26 to nearly 80 (and now includes all five permanent members of the Security Council). This dramatic increase in the number of deployments has been accompanied by a proliferation of tasks assigned to military forces serving under the UN flag. Missions have become more complex (often involving large civilian components and close co-ordination with

NGOs) and multi-faceted in their objectives. Some of the new tasks include:

- Electoral support (e.g. Cambodia, Mozambique).
- Repatriation of refugees/displaced persons and humanitarian assistance (e.g. Cambodia, Bosnia).
- De-mining activities (e.g. Angola, Mozambique, and Cambodia).
- Observation and verification of cease-fire agreements, buffer zones, foreign troop withdrawals and human rights compliance (e.g. Central America).
- Preventive deployments (Macedonia).
- The separation of forces, their demobilization and the collection, custody and/or destruction of weapons (e.g. Angola, Mozambique, Cambodia).
- Disarming, demobilizing and support for reintegrating ex-combatants into civilian life (e.g. Namibia, Mozambique, Angola).<sup>56</sup>

But the revival of peacekeeping has also been characterized by another striking development: peacekeepers have become more involved than ever before in civil wars and internal conflicts. Only one of the five UN operations in existence in 1988 was related to an intra-state conflict. By contrast, nine of the eleven operations launched in the period 1992-1996 have been concerned with intra-state conflicts. One consequence of this has been that peacekeepers, as in the Congo in the early 1960s, have often been forced to operate with only partial or sporadic consent from warring parties. It has also meant that peacekeeping forces now face greater risks and are more likely to sustain casualties. Nowhere was the changing context of

<sup>56</sup> Many of these tasks overlap and are all discussed more fully in Berdal, Mats. *Whither UN Peacekeeping?* Adelphi Paper, no. 281. London: Brassey's for the IISS, 1993, 12-25.



peacekeeping more evident than in the former Yugoslavia, where a mixture of civil and international war, involving various armed factions and near-limitless quantities of weapons and ammunition presented the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) with a highly volatile operational environment in the period between 1992 and 1995.

The expansion of peacekeeping outlined above was closely linked to the post-Cold War improvement in relations between the major powers and the belief that the organization could be used more effectively as an instrument also for addressing intra-state conflicts, many of which had been fuelled by Cold War rivalry. The experience of the 1990s (especially in Somalia, Bosnia, Angola and Rwanda), however, has highlighted two issues that will continue to influence the discussion and practice of peace support activities in the future.

The first of these relates to the question of resources and capabilities for peace support; specifically, whether the UN is able effectively to mount, direct and sustain operations. Not surprisingly, the rapid expansion of activities discussed above has placed serious strains on the UN machinery for planning and supporting operations, as well as on the executive direction of peacekeeping. Deficiencies in areas such as logistic support and procurement; command, control and intelligence; training and the lack of specialized personnel (especially engineering and communications), have all, at various times, been cruelly exposed on the ground. Many of the deficiencies continue to be a source of frustration to troop-contributing nations supporting UN operations. This is also the one area where NATO's involvement in Bosnia after Dayton has made the most striking difference.

The second issue raised by the growth of peacekeeping and outside involvement in intra-state conflict, however, is in some ways more fundamental and has to do with the question of the use of force in peace support operations, specifically, whether or not the very concept of "peacekeeping" is outmoded and irrelevant to the kinds of conflicts the international community has been called upon to address.

The aforementioned changes in the context of many UN operations have contributed to a reassessment of the effectiveness of peacekeeping as an instrument to meet the challenges of contemporary, notably inter-

nal, conflict. The obvious shortcomings of the international response to the wars in Bosnia in 1992-1995 and, even more so, to the genocide in Rwanda in 1994, led some observers to suggest that traditional peacekeeping and the principles supporting it can have no relevance to contemporary operations. In particular, it has been suggested that *consent* and *impartiality* should be discarded in favor of a more forceful posture, though one which supposedly still falls short of traditional war-fighting. Whilst it is certainly true that developments in the 1990s have exposed deficiencies in existing structures for mounting UN operations, this is different from suggesting that the defining characteristics of peacekeeping – consent, impartiality and its essentially non-threatening character – should be discarded as determinants of operational activity. Indeed, there are very good grounds for maintaining a basic distinction between consent-based activities and enforcement.

The fundamental reason for this is that a peacekeeping force cannot and should not itself seek to impose a solution by coercive means. As events in Somalia in the summer and autumn of 1993 demonstrated all too clearly, peacekeeping and enforcement cannot be combined in one operation. Waging war and peace at the same time is bound to be operationally destabilizing. Although consent in civil wars is unlikely ever to be absolute, the activities of peacekeepers in the field should be geared towards sustaining, promoting and expanding the margin of consent that exists. To that extent, the principles underlying traditional peacekeeping, retain their viability, even though peacekeepers now engage in a wider and more multifaceted range of tasks. As long as the fundamental distinction between consent-based activities and enforcement is not blurred, peacekeeping will continue to be a useable instrument in some, though clearly not in all, circumstances.

To stress the importance of clearly separating peacekeeping (or more broadly, consent-based operations) from war fighting is not tantamount to ruling out enforcement as an option available to the international community. Indeed, in many cases peacekeeping will not be the appropriate instrument to meet a particular contingency. Yet, enforcement action requires political will (and willingness to accept casualties), as well as proper military resources to prosecute it. These

conditions were not evident in the case of the former Yugoslavia until the summer of 1995.

Thus, clearly distinguishing between consent-based activities and enforcement makes the choice of instrumentality starker by stressing that in a number of cases, peacekeeping will not be appropriate and hard decisions regarding the use of force will have to be made. These decisions rest ultimately with governments and depend therefore on the wise and skilful exercise of political leadership. There can be little doubt that the lack of such leadership has in the 1990s often clearly undermined the quality and effectiveness of international responses to conflict. The attempt to exercise leadership has also, however, been complicated by other developments and new constraints.

## Factors Affecting Policy-Making

### *The Primacy of Domestic Politics: The Case of the United States*

It has long been understood that domestic considerations influence the foreign policies of states and that policy outcomes cannot be fully explained without reference to such factors as the structure of government, the role of pressure groups and electoral politics. This was quite clearly also the case throughout the period of the Cold War. Nevertheless, with the removal of a concrete, central and unifying threat, the domestic dimension has become more pronounced in the foreign and security policies of Western governments. This is true especially with regard to the US and the following observations will focus on that case, even though the growing importance of domestic politics is clearly a wider phenomenon. There is an obvious reason, of course, for devoting special attention to the US. As the IISS *Strategic Survey* of 1996/97 concluded: "it is as true as ever that if the United States does not lead,

very little is done globally. For this reason, ubiquitous domestic political struggles ripple out from Washington and cause heavy waves elsewhere.<sup>57</sup>

There are at least three aspects of the growing salience of domestic considerations that need to be distinguished. First, there is the straightforward process of displacement: domestic concerns – the state of the economy, health care, education, law and order issues – take precedence over international issues. Within government, the domestic agenda is prioritized at the expense of foreign policy. This was particularly evident during the first two years of the Clinton presidency, when the administration's focus on domestic issues adversely affected the development of a coherent policy towards such conflicts as those in the former Yugoslavia.

Secondly, the formulation and adoption of specific policies towards the external environment have become, to a greater extent than they were during the Cold War, influenced by domestic linkages and political struggles at home. In the case of the US, the unspoken assumption of the “imperial presidency” that “partisanship stops at the water's edge,” is no longer automatically accepted. Again, linkage politics is not a new phenomenon, but it has assumed new forms and has become more endemic. One striking example has been the insistence by the Republican-controlled Congress that any repayment of dues to the UN would have to be linked to a ban on “international family planning groups receiving US aid for promoting abortions overseas.”<sup>58</sup> The American stance towards so-called “rogue states” – Cuba, Iran, Iraq and Libya – have also been powerfully influenced by domestic politics in the US. The *Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act* (otherwise known as the Helms-Burton act) passed by Congress in March 1996 and the D'Amato Act (intended to further isolate Iran and Libya)

57 *Strategic Survey 1996/97*, 15.

58 The US and the UN had reached a tentative deal for repayment of \$926 million but it stranded on Congressional linkage to the abortion issue. See “UN Officials Fear Lasting Rift with U.S.” *International Herald Tribune*, 4 May 1998.

passed a few months later, were both reluctantly approved by the President as the presidential election began to loom larger. Similarly, the veto wielded against the re-election of Boutros Boutros-Ghali as UN Secretary-General in 1996 was also very largely the result of domestic political considerations.

There is a third, less direct, way in which domestic politics have increasingly come to impinge upon the foreign policies of Western governments, namely that “such foreign policy as is developed concerns the domestic policies of other states.”<sup>59</sup> As the IISS *Strategic Survey* concluded in 1997 “foreign policy, like domestic policy, now has a twin meaning, and this is perhaps one of the genuinely new characteristics of the post-Cold War world: in some way or the other, domestic politics has become the concern of other countries, even if that concern does not always translate into action.”<sup>60</sup>

The significance of these developments for the future of international security policy is evident in at least two ways. In the first place, they increase the risks of policy paralysis with regard to international issues that need urgent attention and leadership. Thus, for the last four years, the role of the UN in international affairs has been at the mercy of US domestic politics. Similarly, there are those who argue that President Clinton’s preoccupation for much of 1998 with his personal integrity at home has diverted attention away from the international financial crises, continuing turmoil in the Balkans and the stalemate in the Middle East peace process.<sup>61</sup>

Secondly, domestic-driven policies threaten to harm relations between allies at a time when several international security issues require a joint

59 *Strategic Survey 1996/97*, 6.

60 *Ibid.*

61 The issue here is not just, of course, that the administration is unable to pay sufficient attention to international issues. US introspection allows foreign leaders, especially the likes of Saddam Hussein and Slobodan Milosevic, to pursue policies inimical to US and Western interests, policies that would hopefully otherwise have met with firmer and more calibrated response.

and coherent approach. Disagreements in one area may poison relations more generally, thus undermining the scope for effective multilateral action. For example, the introduction in 1996 of “secondary boycott” legislation by Congress – i.e. the Helms-Burton and D’Amato Acts which are designed to punish any businesses, whether US or not, dealing with Cuba, Iran and Libya – are seen by European governments as ideologically-driven and harmful to European interests. Sir Leon Brittan, speaking on behalf of the EU, described both US Acts as “objectionable in principle, contrary to international trade law and damaging to the interests of the European Union.”<sup>62</sup> While disagreements of this nature sour relations and may weaken the transatlantic ties in the long run, in other cases the link between domestic politics and effective policy responses is much more direct. The gradual weakening of the UNSCOM inspection regime alluded to above is, at least in part, linked to differences among the permanent five members of the Security Council that can be traced to domestic interests, as much as to any change in the perception of the Iraq WMD threat.

The role of domestic factors in US foreign policy raises the broader issue of the role of public opinion in the shaping of foreign and defense policy after the Cold War. The absence of a concrete and easily identifiable threat has made it more difficult to evoke “national interest” as a basis for long-term and costly commitments outside the US. The growing salience of domestic considerations has meant that explaining why the US might be better served by engagement, rather than disengagement, is a much more difficult task. Developing a foreign policy that can command support at home now places a premium on effective leadership at a time when the “imperial” character of the presidency (which evolved in response to the exigencies of the Cold War) is being challenged.

The attention that has been given to destructive humanitarian consequences of civil wars in the 1990s does not appear to have made the task of mobilizing public support any easier. Indeed, there is a post-

62 Quoted in *Strategic Survey 1996/97*, 45.

Cold War paradox here in that we have witnessed a greater declaratory concern about the consequences and scale of suffering generated by civil wars but less willingness by major powers, especially the United States, to become directly or deeply involved over the “long haul.” The US decision to continue with its SFOR deployment beyond 1998 is an encouraging exception. Indeed, even in Bosnia, where the “national interest” of the US could most plausibly be invoked as a basis for involvement, the US armed forces were initially extremely reluctant to become involved after the UN’s withdrawal in 1995.<sup>63</sup> Developing a policy that can command support at home places a premium on effective leadership in rallying public support for particular policies. And many feel that the extreme sensitivity shown by the US with respect to the issue of casualties has hampered the effectiveness of its operations; especially its support for the civilian side in implementing the Dayton Accord.

*Technological Change and Military Developments:  
A “Western Way of Warfare”*

The passing of the Cold War overlapped with the onset of what is often described as the “information revolution,” a phenomenon widely seen as a major force behind the processes of globalization discussed above. The technological basis for this revolution lies in the major advances that have been made since the 1980s in a number of enabling technologies, including semiconductors, computers, fiber

63 See Holbrooke, Richard. *To End a War*. New York: Random House, 1998, 216-20.

optics, cellular and satellite technology.<sup>64</sup> Improvements in each of these areas have dramatically enhanced our ability to transmit, process and store large amounts of electronic data. According to one group of analysts, these developments are helping “humankind to overcome the barriers imposed on communications by time, distance, and location and the limits and constraints inherent in human capacities to process information and make decisions.”<sup>65</sup>

The wider ramifications of the “information revolution” are beyond the scope of this paper. There is one important area, however, that does need to be addressed more closely: the impact and significance of these changes on military affairs.

It has become increasingly apparent throughout the 1990s that the United States is indeed the sole remaining superpower. Its position of military preponderance in particular is growing and unlikely to be challenged for the foreseeable future. The US is now the only power with a truly global power projection capability and in high-intensity warfare it simply has no “peer competitor.”<sup>66</sup> In areas such as global communications, strategic mobility and intelligence, the assets of the US are and will continue to remain in a league entirely of their own.

This unique position has been reinforced by the application of advanced information and communications technologies to warfare,

64 See Alberts, David S., Daniel S. Papp and W. Thomas Kemp. “The Technologies of the Information Revolution.” In *The Information Age: An Anthology on Its Impacts and Consequences. Part I: The Information and Communication Revolution*, ed. David S. Alberts and Daniel S. Papp, 83-116. Washington, D.C.:

National Defense University, 1997. The other key technologies where major advances have, according to Alberts, Papp and Kemp, contributed to the on-going “information revolution” are “advanced networking, improved human-computer interaction, and digital transmission and digital compression.” *Ibid.*, 85.

65 Alberts and Papp, *The Information Age: An Anthology on Its Impacts and Consequences: Part I*, 1.

66 Freedman, Lawrence. *The Revolution in Strategic Affairs*. Adelphi Paper, no. 318. Oxford: Oxford University Press for the IISS, 1998, 33.



giving rise to what is now commonly referred to as the Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA). This involves, on the one hand, the application of technologies to improve the performance of specific systems and capabilities and, on the other, the effort to integrate these various systems with a view to achieving “dominant battle knowledge.”<sup>67</sup> It is this prospect of complete integration through effective “command, control, communication and computer processing” which justifies the term “revolutionary” since it promises, at least in the eyes of the most enthusiastic proponents of RMA, to do away with Clausewitzian “friction” altogether.<sup>68</sup> An essay on the RMA in the IISS *Strategic Survey 1995/96* offers a glimpse of its potential impact on the future of warfare:

With the level of situational awareness potentially available through advanced information technology, firepower can be brought to bear simultaneously throughout the theatre of operations, denying an enemy the ability to recover from the kind of sequential attacks that formerly characterised attrition warfare. With respect to manoeuvre-dominated operations, the linear battlefield with its front, rear and flanks will dissolve into the non-linear battle-space – wherein small, highly mobile, and extremely lethal forces can create operational and strategic-level effects against larger, traditionally equipped and led opponents.<sup>69</sup>

From a military-technical point of view, these developments (RMA) reinforce what Professor Lawrence Freedman, in an important study for the IISS, has described as the “key features of the developing Western Way of Warfare:”<sup>70</sup> a growing reliance on professional armed forces, *intolerance* of casualties and “collateral damage.”<sup>71</sup> It is hardly

67 Nye, Joseph and William Owen. “America’s Information Edge.” *Foreign Affairs* 75, no. 2 (1996): 20-36, 24.

68 *Ibid.*, 23. See also Owens, William A. “Introduction.” In *Dominant Battlespace Knowledge: The Winning Edge*, ed. Stuart J. Johnson and Martin C. Libicki, 3-8. Washington, D.C.: National Defense University Press, 1995.

69 “Is There a Revolution in Military Affairs?” *Strategic Survey 1995/96*, 32.

70 Freedman, *The Revolution in Strategic Affairs*, 15.

71 For a detailed discussion of each of these features and their relationship to

surprising that the promise of RMA has been embraced most enthusiastically in the US.

Yet, as Freedman also notes, the aspirations embodied in this way of warfare “may not necessarily be shared by others” and the “Western Way of Warfare” may well prove to be of limited relevance to the kinds of conflicts that characterize the contemporary era.<sup>72</sup> While the Gulf War demonstrated that the US cannot be matched in a conventional set-piece setting, the American debacle in Mogadishu in 1993 showed the limits of US military power when the terms of engagement and degree of commitment differ. The problem with so much of the RMA debate is that it has been divorced from any discussion of the political context in which force may be used.

As Freedman perceptively notes, “when facing Western states with overwhelming strength but underwhelming commitment, it will always make sense to avoid open battle and concentrate instead on raising the costs to the point where Western losses outweigh potential gains.”<sup>73</sup> “If the problem for the West is not the ability to prevail as such, but to do so at tolerable cost, opponents may need to do little more than keep going, avoiding a definitive defeat while continuing to cause pain.”<sup>74</sup> Seen in this light, commitment to the “Western Way of Warfare,” especially strong in the US, may become a major constraint on the deployment of Western military power in the kinds of conflicts that have come to characterize the contemporary strategic environment.

RMA, see Freedman, *The Revolution in Strategic Affairs*, 15-17.

72 Freedman, *The Revolution in Strategic Affairs*, 15.

73 *Ibid.*, 40.

74 *Ibid.*, 41.

## The Role of Institutions

### *The United Nations (UN)*

As relations between former East-West adversaries began to improve in the late 1980s, it was widely assumed that a major beneficiary of any lasting *rapprochement* would be the United Nations, an organization set up at the end of World War II to “save succeeding generations from the scourge of war.” It was hoped that with the end of bipolarity, the world body would cease to be what Hans Morgenthau had once derided as little more than a “new setting for the old techniques of diplomacy.” Willy Brandt expressed the wish of many when, in 1991, he called for a serious effort “to enable the United Nations to identify the complex sources of conflicts and to control security risks at an early stage.”<sup>75</sup>

The record of UN involvement in the settlement of regional and internal conflicts between 1988 and 1992 appeared to support the view that the UN’s role in international peace and security had been transformed by the end of the Cold War. The UN’s role in facilitating the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan (1988), its involvement in the transition process from South African rule to independence in Namibia (1989), and its contribution to the peace process in Central America (1987-1992), were seen as foreshadowing a more prominent role in the organization of international security. Even more significant in this respect was the UN’s legitimizing role in support of allied military action against Iraq in 1991. Taken together, these developments convinced many that the paralyzing influence of the Cold War would no longer impair the effectiveness of the Security Council as the organ with “primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.”

It was against this background, that the Security Council, at its first ever

75 Brandt, Willy. “The Aftermath of the Cold War.” In *Beyond the Cold War: New Dimensions in International Relations*, ed. Geir Lundestad and Odd A. Westad, 1-5, 5. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.

meeting at the level of heads of government in January 1992, asked the new Secretary-General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, to prepare an “analysis and recommendations on ways of strengthening and making more efficient within the framework and provisions of the Charter the capacity of the United Nations for preventive diplomacy, for peacemaking and for peace-keeping.” By the time this report, known as *An Agenda for Peace*, was completed in June 1992, the Council had already authorized two of its most ambitious field operations in Croatia and Cambodia.

This early optimism, however, has been profoundly shaken by the experiences of UN involvement in the former Yugoslavia, Angola, Somalia and Rwanda. The African continent, in particular, has in the 1990s witnessed political, economic and social dislocations on a scale unsurpassed by the independence struggles and drawn-out proxy wars of the 1960s and 1970s. To many, the course of events in these places has been taken as evidence of a broader failure on the part of the UN to adapt to the changing circumstances of the post-Cold War era and, in particular, to develop the skills and management practices needed for more complex military operations to be launched and sustained. Continuing financial problems and the dramatic swings in American commitment to the organization have also added to a general feeling that the organization is facing a near-permanent crisis of credibility. Some of the specific difficulties encountered by the UN in areas such as peacekeeping and conflict prevention have already been alluded to. The more general criticisms leveled against the organization, however, raise important issues about the role of international organizations in the field of international security and needs therefore to be considered.

It is in fact much too convenient to view the failure of the UN to satisfy the expectations placed on it in the immediate aftermath of the Cold War simply as the fault of the organization itself. While the UN’s record of reform leaves much to be desired, the difficulties it has encountered reflect an international political system which continues to be divided by conflicts of *interest* and *value*, even though the workings of its organs may themselves no longer be subject to the vagaries of East-West tension. The post-Cold War spirit of cooperation notwithstanding, the Security Council remained deeply

divided over policy throughout the conflict in the former Yugoslavia. More recently, divisions have surfaced over the crisis in the Serbian province of Kosovo, and it has been clear for some time (as noted above) that Russia, France and China do not see eye to eye with the UK and the US on policies towards UNSCOM and Iraq.

Even where there is agreement in principle about the seriousness of a situation, it is no guarantee of politically effective and practically meaningful action on the part of UN member states. The failure to heed Willy Brandt's call for action to deal with "security risks at an early stage" illustrates part of the problem. Much of the work on conflict prevention in recent years has emphasized the need to develop early warning mechanisms that will allow for a timely and appropriate response to crises. The fact is, however, that there is very rarely a lack of warning about impending conflict. Certainly, none of the international security challenges facing the UN in the 1990s can be attributed to lack of advance warning and information. Instead, effective responses usually depend on a combination of two factors.

In the first place, information needs to be "read" and analyzed correctly before a consensus on how best to respond can be agreed. As Christopher Cviic observed with respect to former Yugoslavia, "the slow-motion dissolution had been in progress for a long time, but international mechanisms for understanding and decoding the situation were not working; those studying Yugoslavia (and there were many) were not concentrating on the right issues and were not asking the right questions."<sup>76</sup> Similarly, there were more than enough indicators suggesting that Rwanda might be heading towards a catastrophe in 1994. Secondly, there is the problem of generating sufficient political will for effective preventive action to be taken.

The deployment of a small UN force in Macedonia along its border with Albania and Yugoslavia in late 1992 shows that this is possible. The case of Burundi since 1994, however, shows just how difficult it is

76 Cviic, Christopher. "Review Article: Perceptions of Former Yugoslavia." *International Affairs* 71, no. 4 (1995): 819-826, 823.

for the UN Secretary General to persuade the Security Council and member states to take preventive action even when the case for it is overwhelming. As Jonathan Eyal has perceptively noted, Western democracies may in some respects be particularly ill-equipped to take early preventive action since “foreign policy issues are usually viewed by electorates as a diversion from the government’s real task of improving economic wealth; they only assume importance once crisis is acute.”<sup>77</sup>

These cautionary and sobering remarks should not, however, be taken to suggest that little has changed and that the UN cannot or should not take on new tasks. Indeed, in some of the areas indicated – most notably election monitoring and various humanitarian relief operations – the UN has been both innovative and highly effective. What it does mean, however, is that a centrally regulated world order based around the UN is simply not on the agenda and that many of the obstacles in the way of a fully functioning “collective security” system have not disappeared with the end of the Cold War.

#### *Regional Organizations and International Security*

The idea that regional and sub-regional groups ought to play a more central role in the security field has been a constant theme in the international security debate of the 1990s. For his part, the UN Secretary General called on member states in 1992 to examine the role of “regional arrangements and agencies” in the field of peace and security, observing that regional initiatives “as a matter of decentralization, delegation and co-operation with United Nations efforts” would

77 Eyal, Jonathan. “No one cares until it’s war.” *The Independent*, 10 March 1994. As Eyal adds: “No politician has won votes by claiming to have prevented a conflict which, by definition never existed because it was prevented.” *Ibid.*

lighten the burden on the UN.<sup>78</sup> A number of organizations have indeed taken up the challenge and explored ways and means of expanding their activities into the field of international security. Activities have ranged from low-intensity fact-finding missions to large-scale military involvement at the high-intensity end of the spectrum (e.g. NATO's IFOR and SFOR commitments in Bosnia and ECOWAS's "peacekeeping" functions in West Africa).

While the range of activities has varied, the rationale for engaging regional actors usually rests on a combination of arguments. First, as a global organization the UN is overloaded and unable to meet the demands placed on its under-funded and over-stretched Secretariat. This was certainly a valid argument in 1994/95 when the number of soldiers and civilians deployed world wide was nearly 80,000. Even though this figure has come down, there are still significant constraints on UN capacities. Above all, the financial crisis facing the organization remains unresolved and will inevitably limit the scope for UN-sponsored action and initiatives into the next century. Secondly, the members of a regional organization (or even of a looser grouping or coalition of states) close to a conflict, are likely to have a more direct stake or interest in the resolution of that conflict.

To the extent that this is the case, a regional initiative is likely to be underpinned by a higher degree of political support than is usually found in UN operations, and this in turn should facilitate speedy and resolute action. Italian concerns about the continuing influx of refugees from Albania was undoubtedly a major reason for taking the lead in organizing *Operation Alba* when, in 1997, its Adriatic neighbor to the East appeared to be on the verge of a full-scale civil war. Thirdly, a regional organization may be better equipped to deal with a conflict whose complex roots require a politically nuanced and sensitive approach.

78 Boutros-Ghali, Boutros. *An Agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy, Peace-making and Peace-keeping*. New York: United Nations, 1992, 35-37.

Although there is some merit to each of these arguments, the promise of regionalism has clearly not been entirely fulfilled. The performance of institutions has varied considerably and significant obstacles to effective action have been highlighted. These fall broadly into two categories:

- Uneven capacities of regional organizations.
- Political constraints on effective action.

Since both of these factors will undoubtedly continue to influence the scope for regional action, they require more detailed consideration. Although much attention has been given to the institutional and financial constraints facing the UN, it is often forgotten that most regional entities, especially outside Europe, are in fact less well-endowed in terms of capabilities, financial resources and even decision-making structures.

As far as capabilities are concerned, only NATO is in a position to conduct a full range of military operations. Equally important, NATO is in possession of a tested decision-making structure and a planning mechanism which allows it to respond, at least in theory, to changing mandates and developments on the ground. In former Yugoslavia, once the political decision had been taken to support the UN, common NATO assets were rapidly employed alone or alongside UN and WEU forces in several parallel operations, including the monitoring of the air space over Bosnia-Herzegovina and maritime operations in the Adriatic. Additionally, NATO provided both staff and equipment from its NORTHAG headquarters in Germany to support UNPROFOR's headquarters in Bosnia. Throughout the UN's presence in Bosnia, NATO became ever more deeply involved in planning for operations in the former Yugoslavia, focusing initially on enforcement of the air-exclusion zone, the establishment of safe havens inside Bosnia, the prevention of the expansion of the conflict to Kosovo and Macedonia and the measures necessary to secure the implementation of a peace settlement in Bosnia. With the signing of the Dayton Accord in late 1995, NATO assumed the central role in the implementation of the Bosnian peace accord. It was able to do



so because it had the military resources and appropriate planning mechanisms.

By contrast, the more than 50 states that make up the OSCE lack the instruments and the organizational machinery required for large-scale operations. Moreover, whilst “mechanisms” and “concepts” for preventive action have been agreed by member states, a detailed study of conflict prevention in “the political practice of international organizations” by the Netherlands Institute of International Relations (Clingendael) arrived at the following conclusion:

[T]he effectiveness of the OSCE response to possible conflicts is, in general, restricted because of the nature of its decision-making. With few exceptions decisions can only be taken with the consent of all member states. While consensus is necessary to obtain political support for a response to signals of (impending) conflict, it hinders timely and effective decision-making. Thus a procedure such as the Berlin mechanism is not very effective as the decisions taken by the Senior Council in the final stages of this procedure have to be based on consensus. The same is true for the mechanism on unusual troop movements (...).<sup>79</sup>

This does not mean, however, that the OSCE cannot and has not made a very valuable contribution to certain aspects of conflict prevention. The *OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities* and various OSCE missions have shown that when consensus for action is obtained and when the OSCE staff are able to work in a low-profile and unobtrusive way, a real contribution to mitigating tension and facilitating dialogue can be made. Even so, as the Clingendael study also notes, the work of the Commissioner on National Minorities “is seriously hampered by limited resources and the small size of his staff. The same is true for OSCE missions, which never exceed more than a dozen functionaries despite the demanding nature of their mandate.”<sup>80</sup>

79 Walraven, Klaas van and J. van der Vlugt. *Conflict Prevention and Early Warning in the Political Practice of International Organizations*. Clingendael: Netherlands Institute of International Relations, 1996, 19.

80 *Ibid.*

Similarly, little real effort has been made to buttress the capacities of the Western European Union to take a more direct role in the field of security and this, despite considerable debate in the early 1990s about the future role of the organization.

Outside Europe the resources available to regional organizations and the sense of corporate identity required for collective action is even more limited. One example is the Organization of African Unity (OAU). Its weaknesses were first revealed in late 1981 when it decided to send a peacekeeping force to Chad. The force took nearly a year to organize and, once deployed, suffered from an acute shortage of military expertise, logistic and financial support. These deficiencies contributed to its early withdrawal in 1982. In spite of this setback, in the 1990s the OAU has attempted to strengthen its capacity for security-related activities, focusing specifically on early warning, conflict prevention and peacekeeping activities. Significantly, it has also indicated that internal conflict is no longer automatically outside the purview of the organization. Still, the OAU remains financially and organizationally poorly equipped to address African conflicts, even though the domestic nature of a conflict is no longer, at least in principle, a barrier to involvement. Its record of achievement in the 1990s is deeply discouraging, though Africa's woes can hardly be placed at the hands of the OAU.

The OAU is far from being the only regional body whose aspirations in the security field are bound to be limited by resource constraints. In fact, the majority of organizations whose representatives met formally with the UN Secretary-General to discuss relations with the UN in 1996 – including the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), the Caribbean Community (CARICOM), the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference – suffer from resource and decision-making constraints that are bound to limit their ability to assume security functions.

The second and, arguably, more fundamental limitation on regional action is political in nature and stems from the difficulty for regional powers – even when operating at the behest of the UN – to maintain impartiality in the eyes of the parties to a particular dispute. Thus, paradoxically, proximity to a conflict, one of the supposed virtues of

regional initiatives, may sometimes be a major obstacle to effective action. For example, the effectiveness of EC involvement in the Yugoslav conflict in late 1991 was critically undermined by the local perception that individual EC members, for historical and political reasons, were taking sides in the conflict.

In other cases the perception of partiality is more clearly justified, as with the so-called “peacekeeping” activities of Russian-dominated CIS forces in places such as South Ossetia, Eastern Moldova and Tajikistan in the 1990s. Similarly, since its arrival in November 1990, the West African peace force (ECOMOG) in Liberia, established by the Economic Community of West Africa (ECOWAS), has been viewed by neighboring states not as an impartial third actor but as an instrument furthering the regional interests of Nigeria. In 1992 the UN Security Council endorsed a peace plan put forward by ECOWAS, and the UN has since referred to the relations between the UN and ECOWAS as a model of cooperation between global and regional organizations. The record of achievement, however, is decidedly mixed, with some neighboring states continuing to see ECOMOG as a vehicle for Nigeria’s pursuit of regional hegemony. This specific case supports Paul Diehl’s observation, made in a study of institutional alternatives to UN-sponsored peacekeeping, that “one often finds great splits among members of regional organisations when dealing with regional conflicts.”<sup>81</sup>

#### *Wider Implications for the Role of International Organizations in the Security Field*

This admittedly brief survey of the record of the UN and regional organizations after the Cold War points to some general conclusions.

81 Diehl, Paul. “Institutional Alternatives to Traditional UN Peacekeeping: An Assessment of Regional and Multinational Options.” *Armed Forces & Society* 19, no. 2 (Winter 1993): 209-230, 212.

Organizations are most likely to make a contribution to international security when they concentrate on tasks and activities in which they have a comparative advantage, a track record of experience and adequate resources. The OSCE has been relatively successful in its low-profile monitoring and fact-finding missions, while the UN has perfected an efficient machinery for organizing and monitoring elections. Both organizations should be encouraged to strengthen their activities in these areas and there is little value added in having these functions duplicated by other bodies.

One of the principal advantages of the UN as a vehicle for collective action remains its ability to dissociate an intervening force from the politics of a particular conflict. Whilst regional action should be encouraged for reasons discussed above, the experience of the 1990s suggests that such action should seek to draw on the legitimizing authority of the UN. Finally, it needs to be stressed that there will always be limits to the effectiveness of international organizations in the field of international security. Not only are limited resources and political constraints of different kinds likely to influence their performance, but the resort to multilateralism may itself reflect an unwillingness to take hard decisions about appropriate action. The search for consensus, as several peacekeeping operations in the 1990s have shown, is often also a search for the lowest common denominator. For this reason, the creation of “coalitions of the willing” designed to overcome precisely the kind of problems discussed above (lack of political will and insufficient resources to act) may well be required to meet future challenges in the field of international security. Both the protection of values and the pursuit of interests by states will play a role in determining what challenges to confront and whether effective coalitions will be formed.

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## Old and New Dimensions of International Security

### Introduction

As the next millennium approaches, forecasts and speculations abound about what mankind might or should expect. Of course, we already know that most of these predictions and expectations will be faulty, wrong or, even worse, misleading. This much we should have learned once we realized how precious little our hopes were fulfilled after the end of the Cold War. Neither the “new world” nor the “end of history” nor even the “clash of civilizations” came about, for better or worse. The result was at best relief, at worst disappointment. There emerged a feeling of resignation that, however positive the event, mankind did not really take advantage of it.

Today, we seem to be on the verge of a similar experience, albeit under rather different auspices. “Globalization” has become the keyword for conjuring up either the world’s long awaited material blessing for everybody or the abysmal failure of its unending search for purely material gain. Two other specters are presently haunting today’s world. They are “internal wars” with scores of innocent victims, refugees and widespread destruction on the one hand and economic-financial crises sweeping over entire continents on the other. Both are unexpected and unpleasant. They are seen as serious obstacles to what many had already perceived to be the dawning of an era of ever wider prosperity, healthy competition and unhindered communication. Instead, we seem to be back to parochial nationalism and economic protectionism. The effects of both are made even worse by a lack of leadership and strategic vision.

Perhaps – who knows? – the current crises in Asia, Russia, the Middle East and large parts of Black Africa are only what the French call “*un accident de parcours*,” a passing hick-up, unpleasant, perhaps, but soon to be overcome. “Progress,” defined by re-election-seeking politicians and profit-seeking businessmen, may be slowed down but eventually cannot be stopped as it is bound to benefit everybody.

What does “international security” have to do in all this? Obviously less, it would seem, than during the Cold War. Back then, notions like “strategic deterrence,” “regional security systems,” armament and disarmament had operational meaning. As such they made headlines. They made publications like defense “White Books,” the *Military Balance* and the *SIPRI Yearbook* indispensable reading when it came to take the temperature and state of international security.

No longer. International security – or concern over it – has either moved into the background or is overshadowed by local or regional concerns principally of “non-military” nature. Given the topicality of the latter and the inadequacy of the United Nations as the guarantor of global security, this was probably inevitable. But there remain global “security regimes” that are meant to maintain a global security consciousness such as the Non-Proliferation Treaty, the Chemical Weapons Convention and, hopefully, the ban of anti-personnel landmines. Few would dispute their utility. But important countries either stay out or challenge them. The reason for their doing so may vary. But they share one argument, namely that their understanding of their own national security needs does not, or only partially, coincide with that of “international security.” The United States for instance, has made this clear with regard to the landmines convention. More recently India and Pakistan demonstrated, with their nuclear tests, their disagreement with the NPT philosophy.

In this sense, if in no other, we must recognize that the notion of “international security” is still far from being universally shared. “Globalization,” however defined, has not yet helped; some people may even contend that it is making consensus more, rather than less, difficult. However that may be, the fact remains that the sense of “security communality” is still underdeveloped worldwide. Even in Europe the search for common and undivided security has only begun.

Perhaps, or hopefully, the upcoming century will prove us to be too pessimistic or prudent. If progress towards a wider and more widely shared concept of international security is to occur, the global community will have to tackle three very demanding tasks at the same time. Firstly, it will have to cope with the legacies of the preceding generations. Secondly, it will have to decide who the responsible actors on the world stage will or should be. Finally, it will have to promote and strengthen those institutions that are not only essential to prevent the kind of wars that have bedeviled the twentieth century, but also assure its own survival in the next.

## The Legacies of the Cold War

### *The Loss of an Order*

There is certainly more than one legacy that forty-five years of East-West confrontation with its struggle for ideological superiority and weapons supremacy has bequeathed to “the world after.” This double competition was global only in the perception of the erstwhile leaders. Reality was more complex. In many parts of the world people’s lives and thinking were hardly or only marginally affected by it. And yet, it had a disciplining effect: it structured the political thinking and strategies of the main actors along some organizing principles: “containment,” alliances and balance of power on the one hand, “socialist internationalism” and its concomitant, the “Brezhnev doctrine,” on the other.

There was little doubt about the necessity, if not pre-eminence of military power. The very notion of “mutual assured destruction” implied a clear division of the principal actors into two camps. The idea of a “zero-sum-game” in more distant fields of global competition suggested again that there were only two players in town, all others being little more than spectators or side-shows at best. All this found its numerical expression in what was then labeled the “First” (i.e. Western), the “Second” (i.e. communist) and the “Third World” (i.e. the developing and/or non-aligned countries).

For all intents and purposes, this seemingly clear and unchangeable order has gone for good. Its demise was caused by that of the standard-bearer of the “Second World,” the Soviet Union. However, some communist countries still find it difficult to say good-bye to what would seem to be a by-gone era. There is troublesome Serbia in Europe’s Balkans; and there are what we may call the three last musketeers in Asia, i.e. China, North Korea and Vietnam. Each of them represents a different brand of communism. They thus demonstrate that a once unifying doctrine is now divided into very diverse off-spring. This is one more demonstration of how pluralistic the world has become.

After a brief spell of optimism in the wake of the Gulf war we were soon to discover that the much hoped-for “new world order” was not to be. Once the barbed wire at the Austrian-Hungarian border had been cut and the Berlin wall fallen, most of the indicators and measurements by which strengths and weaknesses of each player could be judged had gone as well. Political frontlines, military balances and trade barriers lost their erstwhile and long cherished significance and symbolic value. The much consulted and quoted *Military Balance* of the IISS descended from the rank of a political document to a simple collection of military data.<sup>1</sup> However useful the latter may still be, it no longer reflects – at least not in Europe – military structures in a landscape where the notion of “East” and “West” has lost much, if not all, of its political connotation.

All this is not necessarily bad, nor should it cause a loss of orientation. The sudden disappearance of so many cherished or despised taboos, borders, restrictions, interdictions and impositions can, on the whole, only be welcome. It opens the door to a “free for all” and – almost – to an “everybody with everybody.” A handful of voluntary or exorcised outsiders apart – North Korea belonging to the former, Libya and Cuba to the latter – countries are free to choose their friends and partners, to

1 Gasteyger, Curt. “Neue Konturen europäischer Sicherheit.” *Internationale Politik* 51, no. 12 (1996): 21-28.



witness the proliferation of “partnerships” of all kinds and contents. The only visible restrictions would seem to be those imposed by sanctions and their various off-spring (e.g. embargoes, boycotts, credit denial, etc.), imposed either by the United Nations or by a single country, today principally by the only remaining superpower, the United States.

### *International Organizations*

Above and beyond that, the international community breezes freely without fear of serious political, let alone military punishment or retribution. It has preserved most of the international institutions that were created immediately before or during the Cold War. Many of them grew almost exponentially by admitting new members (the UN, NATO, OECD, ASEAN, the Council of Europe and OSCE). But rarely was there sufficient consensus, or courage, to adapt these organizations to a still changing international environment or to new requirements.

Most of these institutions were created either under the impression of a devastating World War or as an instrument to fight the Cold War or, at least, moderate its stifling effects. The United Nations belongs to the first category, NATO to the second and the OSCE to the third. With a major war having become, at least for the time being, unlikely and the end of the Cold War, these institutions are in search of new functions, if not more legitimacy. The United Nations (and some of its offspring) made valiant attempts at reform so as to adjust itself to newly emerging tasks or perform better when it comes to dealing with traditional ones. Some of these attempts succeeded. The majority of them however stalled or stalemated. At best, they generated the kind of semi-reform that nobody is really happy with.

Many regional organizations sought their salvation or new justification in opening up their doors to those countries which, in Europe, had been “on the other side of the fence” or, as in Asia, were considered to be on the way to becoming at least economically “papabile” as partners. There is little evidence that these two kinds of enlargement were based on well thought-out strategic design or political vision as to what the

end product or final destination of such open-ended enlargement process should or could be. The Partnership for Peace program is useful and historically and conceptually unique. It promotes cooperation and possibly concertedness. However, because of its very informality and flexibility, it does not and can not pretend to promote structures on which a more broadly based and solid security order can be built.

“Peace and stability” in Europe is too vague a slogan to satisfy political rhetoric. It is surely not sufficient if called upon to cope with the new challenges that European countries – and surely many others – will be faced with in the future. It can be argued that the existing and currently enlarging organizations are neither appropriate, nor in fact entitled to take on such new tasks. In this case they should either say so much more clearly or find the necessary means to make themselves “fit for change.” The third alternative is a much closer concertedness and coordination with other bodies. Experience tells us, however, that neither has been a brilliant success so far. International organizations, are, like governments but possibly even more so, in constant need of justifying their utility and hence legitimacy. This makes them usually very reluctant to share whatever responsibility and authority they were given at their creation.

And yet change and reform there should be. The second half or the outgoing century is replete with what we call “unfinished business.” Some have their origins in the Cold War; others are due to reasons partly related and partly the result of other developments. We name here but three such “legacies” that, in one way or another, have some relevance for security in its broader sense.

### *Weapons of Mass Destruction*

The first “legacy” has to do with the unfinished business of disarmament and its counterpart, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, particularly nuclear weapons. The double event of multiple nuclear tests by India and Pakistan reminded the world that the Pandora box of nuclear proliferation that the Non Proliferation Treaty

(NPT) was supposed to have closed is still open. Whether or not other countries will also want to get out of the box is uncertain. It remains a possibility. An Indian scholar, in his understandable pride about his country's technical achievement and political bravura, declared the Cold War nuclear age dead and proclaimed the arrival of a "second nuclear age."<sup>2</sup> Such an announcement may seem rather premature. It still warns us against being complacent about the declining military role and political value of nuclear weapons. It is true that India and Pakistan are among the very few countries that have always left the door open for nuclear armament by signing neither the NPT nor the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. Thus, they remain outside the legal framework of international interdiction and renunciation. But the case of Russia and her reluctance to ratify the START-II agreement reveals that "to sign or not to sign" remains a means of pressure or protest of last resort. Countries in a position of real or perceived weakness may still feel tempted to have recourse to it.<sup>3</sup>

By one of the ironies history still holds in store for us, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, prompted and assisted by the United States, agreed, in mid-July 1998, to another bailout package to Russia. It decided to inject \$17.1 billion in new loans into the beleaguered Russian economy only a few weeks after having threatened, again encouraged by the United States, to punish India and Pakistan for having dared to carry out nuclear tests. Of course, the near-simultaneity of these two decisions is a coincidence. But it does create the impression that Russia is being bailed out because her breakdown is feared to be a political and economic disaster for the world at large whereas that of India and Pakistan is not. This may be so. But Russia is also a major nuclear power and as such deserves special consideration. India and Pakistan – and possibly others – on the other hand have

2 Chellaney, Brahma. "India as a Nuclear Power." Lecture at the Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva, 8 June 1998.

3 We leave out here considerations of the massive problem of probably deteriorating nuclear stockpiles and unsafe fissile materials in Russia.

to be punished because they purport to attain, though on a smaller scale, such an obviously privileged status as well. Candidates for nuclear armament could, in the light of what the world is prepared to grant nuclear Russia, come to the conclusion that, besides becoming nuclear powers, they will have a better chance of being helped than if they renounce such an ambition.

Admittedly, such a conclusion is somewhat flawed. It is more emotional than rational. But as emotions run high in countries like India and Pakistan – and possibly elsewhere later – we cannot dismiss them as simple posturing and, as such, ignore them. International security is made – and unmade – not just by facts. Perhaps more than in any other sector of international relations it is moved and steered by perceptions. If delicate issues like financial assistance are perceived to be conditioned by the way a country handles the no less delicate issue of acquiring or possessing nuclear weapons – a rather new linkage in international politics – then we have to watch out. Without wishing to over dramatize the two events, let alone construe a possible link between them, we have to take the possibility of double standards seriously.

Nuclear disarmament is still a long way off. The “happy few” are reluctant to part with it. Others may want to keep it as an option, and again others may, if the international environment deteriorates, feel even obliged to withdraw from the NPT. Whether we then will still be in the “first” or by now in the “second” nuclear age is not relevant as long as we must assume that nuclear weapons remain an important factor of international politics. It is, incidentally, worth noting that, in terms of weapons proliferation and its prevention there was “globalization” *avant la lettre*: the concern about such an uninhibited spread of weapons of mass destruction (nuclear, chemical and biological) was global in scope and prompted global negotiation to prevent such a spread.

### *Conventional Weapons*

A second legacy of the Cold War has to do with the enormous stockpiles of conventional weapons. Most of them were accumulated

during that period. To be sure, a substantial number of these weapons were either destroyed or removed on both sides of the East-West divide, either because of their obsolescence or as a result of disarmament agreements. Thus the Treaty on Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) of November 1990 brought substantial numbers of heavy weapons down to lower levels. But many of these weapons were transferred, either for free or at a reduced price, to third countries.

One single example may illustrate this point: in order to meet the CFE's weaponry limits, the United States donated nearly 2,000 tanks and more than 600 armored personnel carriers (APC) to some of its less well endowed allies. Germany in turn exported 500 tanks and 1,400 APCs, most of them to Turkey and Greece. It is, as one source calls it, a negative (and certainly controversial) by-product of disarmament.<sup>4</sup>

Such spill-over effect of arms reduction finds its prolongation in the excessive and almost unlimited arms sales to many regions of the world. During the Cold War it was the result of mutual competition in regions considered to be of political or economic importance. Conflicts in the Middle East, Africa, Central America and South Asia left the parties with an abundance of conventional weapons of all kinds. From Mozambique via Angola to the Horn of Africa, from Afghanistan via Kampuchea to Sri Lanka, from Colombia via Nicaragua to, most recently, Kosovo, we find Kalashnikovs in the tens of thousands, landmines and Stinger missiles, more often than not in the hands of rebels or private "armies" rather than under government control. If there is one threat to personal and national security, it is this indiscriminate and uncontrolled availability of so-called light weapons – a task for arms control for years ahead.

4 *Conversion Survey 1997: Global Disarmament and Disposal of Surplus Weapons*, Bonn International Center for Conversion Yearbook, 103. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.

### *Mercenaries*

There is a third legacy, still widely ignored but closely related to what was just mentioned. It is the appearance of modern mercenaries. Some are recruited by private, still mostly American firms;<sup>5</sup> others are freelance volunteers joining resistance movements either out of idealism or, more frequently, for money. To the latter belong, for instance, the Islamic volunteers who joined the Afghan resistance groups fighting the Soviet occupants and the Afghan communist regime. They were reported to have been paid for mainly by Saudi Arabia and the US, with Pakistan often providing the home base. After 1989, these volunteers were sent to North Africa and the Near East where they now seem to form the “backbone of Islamist terrorist acts.”<sup>6</sup>

It would be all too simple, if not even misleading, if these three – and possibly more – factors (i.e. nuclear weapons, the proliferation of conventional weapons and volunteer armies) were solely attributed to the Cold War. Still, this “triad,” whatever its precise origin, makes us aware that the world of today is confronted with developments that are bound to shape the nature of international security, and threats to it, for a long time to come.

### *More “Unfinished Business”*

But there is more. Turning to the situation in the industrialized societies themselves – still the backbone of the post-war and post-Cold War international system – we recognize a disquieting amount of

5 See Shearer, David. *Private Armies and Military Intervention*. Adelphi Paper, no. 316. Oxford: Oxford University Press for the IISS, 1998, 17.

6 See Hartmann, Angelika. “Die Islamisten – Reformier oder Ewiggestrige?” *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 10 June 1998.

“unfinished business.” There is no doubt that forty years of economic growth on the one hand, and social competition with the competing communist system on the other, have left their mark on the respective societies and their social and political fabric. Placing the central emphasis on external defense and on socio-political resilience at home, governments either did not feel the necessity of, or shied away from, major reforms of the system that were supposed to support both.

Today, in a new and much more demanding international environment, this system is coming under severe stress. It turns out to be inadequate when it comes to dealing with the mostly new challenges of technological, demographic and social developments. It is felt to be inadequate when it has to confront less traditional threats to security than were classic war and external aggression. This inadequacy is now seen as a source of insecurity: the state with its regular armed forces is perceived by large sectors of the public as lagging behind in adjusting its protective role to new security threats. Unless this gap between people’s expectations and government’s performance, between the former’s anxieties and the latter’s assurances is closed, we must fear that it develops into a serious source of insecurity.

“Unfinished business” is also when governments are expected to cope with such conflicting developments as demographic change (or, in most of Europe, decline) vs. providing social security for the growing number of elderly people; the rationalization and mergers of firms vs. job security; and the still growing output of academics vs. scarcer opportunities of employment. It can – and is being – argued that such contradictions or insufficiencies are neither dramatic nor in fact a serious threat to security.

This may be so if one’s understanding of “security” is strictly limited to physical protection against acts of violence. It is not, however, if security is seen as a function of a viable and credible state capable of providing its citizens with the feeling of being protected, physically as well as socially at home, while simultaneously being capable of defending its corresponding interests abroad. Without predicting the doom of the nation-state, we must nevertheless note the fact of its weakening. The ever stronger dominance of market forces, pushed by privatization at home and, in the words of Arthur Schlesinger Jr.,

“computer capitalism”<sup>7</sup> in a globalized economy, are in fact perceived as undermining the regulating function of the state. Some would even go as far as to conclude that the nation-state’s chance of surviving is due only to the fact that there is so far no viable alternative in sight. In a sense, that may also hold for the state’s prolongation on the international level, meaning the international governmental organizations. Indeed, some of them appear to have outlived their usefulness as indispensable tools for handling issues of global or regional importance, while others are incapable of overdue reform. The Geneva “Conference on Disarmament” would seem to be the example for the first (its year-long stagnation has become a general embarrassment); institutions like UNCTAD, ASEAN, the OSCE and even partly the European Union might be seen as examples of the latter.

Thus, there is much, too much unfinished business both within states and on the international scene. Some, but by no means all, is no doubt due, directly or indirectly, to the Cold War and its legacies. It is likely to stay with us for quite a while, either as a sheer fact or as a way of habit, thinking and perception. It may gradually disappear. But it can also come back with a vengeance. We are not talking here about a return to the schematics and semantics of the Cold War. Rather, we suggest that the fluidity of the present power constellation – to which we will come later – is such that new antagonisms and rivalries, new regional groupings defending specific interests, may emerge. The temptation then to resuscitate successfully tested devices like “containment,” “engagement” or “dominance” could become almost irresistible. We should not forget that the end of the East-West “blocs” has made several important countries international orphans or simply lonely. In their search for a new role or attachment, they may antagonize others. Russia could be one of them. But there are others like Turkey, Ukraine, Vietnam and Yugoslavia. All of them are mostly, through no fault of their own, unpredictable as regards their final destination. As such they

7 Schlesinger Jr., Arthur J. “Hat die Demokratie Zukunft?” *Europäische Rundschau*, no. 1 (1998): 19-27.



remain a source of uncertainty, if not insecurity.

The upshot of it all is that, at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, after murderous wars of all kinds, with an accelerating technological revolution of global dimension, an as yet unstopped demographic growth in major parts of the world, and inextricable economic interdependence, the international system still resembles, or resembles again, the one that emerged in the 19<sup>th</sup> century with, as its central pillar, the nation-state. This tells us much about the resilience of the latter and the insufficiency of the former.

### An Unruly “World After”

The not too surprising conclusion is that the Cold War has left us with more, and more lasting, legacies than many of us would have thought. To this we must now add a number of basically new developments in the “world after.” Some have their origin in a more or less distant, even pre-war past. Others are of more recent date. Taken together, they show us that, besides the traditional players – the nation-state and the international organizations – the global stage is becoming ever more crowded, the “script” more complex and diversified, and the instruments for action more varied. The combination of all makes the “concert of nations” more cacophonous and concertedness, if not consensus, ever more demanding if not outright impossible.

#### *A More Complex International System*

We have tried to systematize – surely incompletely – this newly emerging scenery in the form of a table on page 80. It lists the multitude of actors on the various levels, the issues at stake and the means by which the actors can pursue their specific interests. From this admittedly simplified picture we can draw at least three conclusions relevant for our analysis. The first conclusion would be that the number of actors, issues and means has substantially increased. Thus,



the break-up of the three more or less artificial “federations” (the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia) is largely responsible for adding some twenty new-old states to the international community; the OSCE alone has grown from 35 to presently 53 members. Also, while not being entirely new sources of tension or conflict, issues like water, migration and access to technology and information are likely to become more acute, affecting more “actors,” states and non-states alike. As regards the means by which these actors, be they governments, drug cartels, Greenpeace, or a multinational company, pursue their specific objectives, they, too, offer a widening gamut on ever more levels with often more lasting consequences (not counting the actual use of force).

### *Soft Power*

The second conclusion relates to the multiplication of means. With major wars – or war in general – becoming a less promising or at least useful option for foreign policy, states look for other means to pursue their interests. We thus note a clear shift from “hard” to what is now called “soft power.” The first obviously refers to military hardware with its wide range of tools and applications; the second to whatever other means a state may have at its disposal to pursue its interests, impose its will or, if need be, punish those unwilling to comply with it.

The gamut and number of such “soft” instruments has substantially widened over time. As the table shows they can be found in all fields that affect the status and well-being of a state and its ever more vulnerable society. With a still growing economic, social, financial, technological and ecological interdependence this vulnerability tends to grow as well. It needs surprisingly little to hurt entire regions by, for instance, cutting off their water supply or their electricity grid. Sanctions and their “offspring” or “relatives” (such as boycotts and embargoes) too can take many forms and have many effects. From the denial of financial assistance to reducing economic and development aid, from raising import and export barriers to banning investment or withdrawing funds – the possibilities of making “one’s point” are unlimited.

Unfortunately, it is only the stronger player who can make his point and use these instruments. Today, the United States stands out as the principal “sanctioner.” In the period between 1993 and 1996 alone it has imposed sanctions of various kinds and duration on 35 countries. Their results are mixed. They occasionally hurt the “sanctioner” almost as much as the “sanctioned.”

Most recently, Japan and Australia, for reasons of their own joined the United States in its sanctions against the “nuclear sinners,” India and Pakistan. The European Union, in turn, has been trying to force, by way of sanctions, Serbia to the conference table – to little avail so far. The problem with sanctions has not only to do with the somber conclusions that their success is, at best, tenuous and uncertain, at worst counterproductive. It has also to do with the fact that there are few, if any criteria by which to decide with any precision if and under what conditions sanctions should be lifted. In most cases there remains a fuzzy area between compliance and cheating or eventual accommodation. Conditions for the ending of sanctions against Iraq have been exceptionally clearly spelled out by the UN Security Council. But even here their precise interpretation is left to those who, in the end, take the final or fatal decision. “To end or not to end” becomes a matter of feelings rather than facts to those who have imposed sanctions in the first place.

The case of India and Pakistan is likely to illustrate this point: it will not be easy to determine the exact conditions which the two countries have to fulfil in order to be exonerated and thus qualify for re-admission to the international community.

The value of sanctions in their various forms and applications for international security is therefore at least debatable. They are, as mentioned before, a privilege of the stronger, or one of the few instruments an international organization like the UN has at its disposal to exert pressure. In the first case there is much, possibly too much room for arbitrariness and unilateralism; in the case of the latter sanctions are mostly weak or short-lived or both, being inevitably the result of compromise on the lowest common denominator.

The panoply of means, as described here, while broadened in many directions and on many levels, does, on balance, not seem to be a guar-

antee that international security is being better served by such “soft powers.” To be sure, it may be less destructive and hence more acceptable. But it gives us little assurance that those who are capable and willing to use it, will necessarily do so in the name and for the benefit of the international community at large. Nor indeed can we be sure that these means will be adequate to cope with the many sources of conflict that our “multiplied” or unruly world has in store.

### *Growing Dissent*

The third conclusion is a simple one but not particularly uplifting: the triple “multiplication” of actors, issues and means renders consensus on even seemingly simple issues more difficult or tenuous. Perceptions and interests diverge, short-term interests conflict with long-term strategies, parochialism contradicts globalism.

Such dissent or even conflict may not necessarily occur along cultural or ethnic fault lines. It may be simply due to the multitude of parties concerned and the issues at stake. They often make a quid-pro-quo impossible or unlikely. It is true that, unanimity and thus formal equality of members in the UN General Assembly notwithstanding, power and influence are unequally distributed in the world. Besides the United States, regional groupings or blocs are gaining more weight. Financial clout still does count. And so does the capacity to deploy military power over long distances. But a broad-ranging consensus on such delicate issues as environmental protection or disarmament is difficult to arrive at even under the best of all circumstances.

Such circumstances are, however, extremely rare. Some would pretend that they are becoming even rarer. This forebodes ill for bringing issues of international security to the global conference table. One possible explanation for this has to do with the fact that security, even widely defined, ranges today far behind other, seemingly more immediate concerns. Economic downturn is one of them, political reform another.

### *How Many Asian Crises?*

The changes described make indeed for an unruly world. It appears so far to lack the kind of consensus – or even the willingness to search for it – that would bring us safely into the next millennium. It is thus not the much celebrated Gulf War that is representative for this “new world” which was expected to emerge after the Cold War. Rather, it would seem to be the “Asian crisis” or perhaps, more correctly, the proliferation or accumulation of several economic crises at almost the same time. This for at least two reasons.

Firstly, the Asian crisis (singular or plural) demonstrates how a continent (or, to be precise, a very important part of it) that was hailed to become the dominant player in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, can be brought to heel not by arms but by money (Schlesinger, cited above, might even say “computers”), if not, as many Asians contend, by mere speculation.

Secondly, the crisis revealed the fragility of the political system of many, if not most Asian countries, whether democratic, authoritarian, or a combination of both. The test for their resilience lies, one would think, in their capacity for reform, be it political, social, economic, financial or institutional. No country is more important here than Japan. Who, only a few years ago, would have dared to think that, when it comes to testing the strength and determination of a country, Japan would not be in front? Today, some observers are inclined to place it in terms of its “reformability” even behind countries like China or Thailand. But the jury is still out. It is too early to say how each country will perform under pressure from both inside and outside, the World Bank and IMF included. One thing, however, would seem evident: that the manifold economic and financial ties among the Asian countries are no guarantee for either mutual political support or solidarity amongst them. Perhaps quite the contrary is the case: as long as these economic linkages are not sustained by some kind of political communality or solidarity, the individual countries will remain vulnerable. Economic interdependence has thus a political price: either that of increased vulnerability or of delegating some national authority to a common international institution.

This leads us to the third and probably most important conclusion: the Asian crisis can be seen as a watershed in our thinking about international security and global order. The reason for saying this lies in the realization that we have no guarantee whatsoever against a recurrence of a similar crisis situation in the foreseeable future. It need not happen in Asia nor in the same manner. The mere fact, however, that its repetition sometime, somehow and somewhere cannot and should not be excluded is cause for serious concern. How many crises of this dimension can the world economy and finance, nay, world stability, absorb without deep and lasting repercussions for practically everybody? It is both the possible recurrence of such crisis and the possibility of its global repercussions that gives the recent experience its full meaning.

Nobody dares to predict the consequences should China collapse or disintegrate or, for that matter, India. Nobody wants to envisage the possibility of another crisis in Mexico or, for that matter, Brazil or Argentina. Nobody can be sure that the Russian Federation will remain intact or will pursue successfully its economic reforms, including the complete overhaul of its derelict and still deteriorating infrastructure. In sketching out these or other scenarios we still operate with the assumption that these various crises do not happen simultaneously, nor will they affect the rest of the world. It is a major assumption indeed.

#### *The "Economization of Politics"*

The upshot of all this would seem to be fairly clear: globalization is declaring its price and the price is called unpredictability and vulnerability. Both are, in some ways, a function of what might be called "the economization of politics." Perhaps the most visible and lasting symbol of this trend will be the Euro. It gives, or forces on, the European Union a monetary solidarity and discipline that, until further notice, is not backed up by anything like a political unity or authority. Even assuming that within the foreseeable future all present members will have joined the Economic and Monetary Union (the Central Eastern European newcomers will have to wait a long time for that moment to ar-

rive), we simply do not know what politically unifying effect this will have.

Some observers have already pointed out that the strategic implications of the Euro will be both far-reaching and, as yet, unmeasurable. This is even more likely if and when the Euro should (as can be expected) become, after the Dollar, the second reserve currency. This could radically transform the relationship between the United States and the EU. It can, for instance – as François Heisbourg has pointed out – raise expectations with oil producing countries with regard to the Union's strategic responsibilities towards them. After all, with major deposits from these countries, the Union should be as interested in their stability and security as the United States has been so far. This, however, would require the availability of strategic forces that the Union is desperately short of. Or else it has to prove that being financially and economically strong is sufficient for also playing a commensurate political role. Such a test has yet to be passed. To date, the EU has failed it on almost all accounts.<sup>8</sup>

Simply put: even in a world where great wars seem, for the time being, unlikely, economic muscle will not do. To rely forever on the policing and ordering mission of one single power, i.e. the United States, is expecting too much from the latter and underestimating the vagaries and fragility of the international system just described. But unipolar systems are, as past experience shows, either unstable or hegemonic. At some point their capabilities abroad will be overstretched or their support at home will be overestimated. The result is either fatigue and retraction, or arrogance and overbearing on the part of the "hegemon," and growing irritation or resistance on the part of its friends or rivals.

The logical conclusion – if there is such a thing in international politics – from all this would be, simply phrased, to move from an almost anarchical situation to a minimum of shared political leadership. It would

8 See Gasteyger, Curt. *An Ambiguous Power. The European Union in a Changing World*. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann Foundation, 1996.



have to go beyond the increasing blandness of a G-7, G-8 or G-X (meaning, for instance, the inclusion of countries like China or India) and the strengthening of regional cooperation beyond sheer economics. But where would such new “political blood” come from? Where are the candidates able and willing to share not only power, but also the responsibility for political order and security that goes with it? As we are going to show, it will simply not do to go to “big” countries. Not all of them are at the moment “great.” Nor are some of them prepared to support concepts of an international order that go beyond an often narrow interpretation of their own national interest. At best, they may be in a learning process. Experience shows that such process can be longwinded and is bound to experience some *accidents de parcours*: the bigger the pupil, the greater may be the damage of such “accident” for the international community. International security would most likely be one of its first victims.

### Inflated Institutions, Reduced Armies

But a reformed or expanded G-7 is only one possible remedy. We can, and probably must, also refer to the United Nations, unreformed and in all likelihood unreformable in its fundamental structure and philosophy. However, in spite of its limitations, some notable progress was achieved in peacekeeping and even peace-enforcement. We can also mention a sort of come-back of the Organization of African States that many believed to be defunct. In a different vein, the Atlantic Alliance with its rather ambitious plans for enlargement had a come-back not expected by many. Other efforts at regional political and security cooperation are, however, still either in their infancy (such as in the Baltic region and in South-Eastern Europe), simply inadequate (ASEAN and the Gulf Cooperation Council) or practically obsolete (the CIS).

What is puzzling here is the plenitude rather than the scarcity of such and similar organizations. It shows a definite concern for a certain mode and degree of cooperation, though mostly in the economic field,

political-military cooperation being the rare exception. We can also detect a prevalent trend towards fragmentation or a rather narrow regionalism. As if to compensate for both, various kinds of duplication in functions and an overlapping of competence exist; there is thus more “interblocking” than “interlocking.” Inevitably, such a proliferation of institutions diminishes their efficiency or credibility. It overburdens the ministries and the ministers in charge, and it confuses an already confused public.

Enlarging existing organizations can have a stabilizing effect for those countries which are included in the process. But it inevitably creates new dividing lines. Whether they are really divisive will largely depend on the way the expanding organization defines its geographic limits and the way this is seen and understood by those likely to remain outside. NATO with its eastward enlargement is probably the most controversial case of all. First, because, until further notice, this enlargement ends where in fact the problems begin. This is particularly true for the Balkan region and, in a very different way, for many parts of the former Soviet Union. Secondly, because this enlargement signals an open-ended process, its final destination is not known, nor is the impact which such enlargement is likely to have on the political cohesion of the erstwhile alliance and on the role of its armed forces, their status and interoperability.

#### *The Revolution in Military Affairs*

One of the great unanswered and possibly unanswerable questions for democratic countries in the Northern hemisphere is in fact going to be the one about their future mission and hence legitimacy. The trend towards professional armies is not yet shared by all countries, Germany being perhaps the most important exception. But even professional armies, however small, efficient and technically sophisticated, do not provide the full answer. Clausewitz, as it seems today, is “dead.” Wars – at least global or major wars – as a continuation of politics

may still not be totally unthinkable, but have become unlikely. In the “Western” or “Northern” part of the world the notions of violence and conflict seem much more appropriate than the narrow one of “war.”<sup>9</sup> Such a change of parameters when it comes to defining security inevitably has wide-reaching implications, most of all for those institutions whose foremost, if not only mission was, and still is, to prevent or, if need be, fight war. Inevitably, a much wider definition of “security” raises the question if and under what circumstances even modern armies can be legitimized and put to use.

The so-called “revolution in military affairs” (RMA), so much *en vogue* in the United States, can at best provide only a partial answer. It is even possible that the answer is wrong or, worse still, misleading.<sup>10</sup> Overstating the role of technology even in modern warfare is a temptation indulged in particularly by American strategists. It is all the more debatable if they come to the conclusion that instant information and precision-guided weapons could make “high-tech war” more effective, less costly in human lives (on both sides, probably) and hence again more acceptable. The philosophy underlying such an assumption, namely “war without dead soldiers,” is, even from a humanitarian point of view, questionable in general, and for a superpower in particular. It leads to a slippery road. It conveys the idea that war can be turned into hardly more than a technical enterprise, available only to the technologically most advanced countries.

The bottom line of such thinking could be that war, given the necessary technology, remains an essential backbone of international security. The capacity actually to fight it, will, however, be reserved for those countries which can afford the technology that makes it acceptable.

9 Hassner, Pierre. “Jenseits von Krieg und Frieden.” *Internationale Politik* 52, no. 9 (1997): 21-26.

10 Van Riper, Paul and Robert Scales. “Preparing for War in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century.” *Strategic Review* 25, no. 3 (Summer 1997): 14-20. See also Malis, Christian. “Signification et portée de la révolution militaire.” *Les Cahiers de la Fondation pour les études de défense*, no. 13 (1998): 31-45.

Such a new divide between “war capables” and “war incapables” could induce the latter, i.e. the poorer and technologically less advanced countries, to look for alternatives. These can be found with those weapons that are within reach technically and more affordable financially. Chemical and biological weapons are amongst them.<sup>11</sup>

We already know that, when it comes to middle- and even long-range missiles, the entire region from the Near East via the Gulf to the Indian subcontinent, not to forget North Korea, is rapidly being armed with these. They were used in the Iran-Iraqi war in the Eighties; and by Iraq in the Gulf war. When and by whom they may be used again, is a matter of conjecture. Perhaps never. But the uncertainty as to their possible use and diffusion introduces an additional element of insecurity into a region that nobody would dare to call particularly stable, let alone predictable. Fears that at some point in time these missiles might be directed against the “West” seem, for the time being, unfounded. Experience so far has shown that their main targets are neighboring countries, including, inevitably and almost fatally, Israel. That is sufficient reason to worry. In part, however, this apparently excessive armament is the result of a widespread feeling within the Arab world of lagging technologically and politically behind the West. The latter’s debate about RMA is almost bound to fuel the sentiment further.

#### *The Problem of Dealing with Non-Traditional Security Threats*

However fascinating the RMA may look to its proponents, it is unlikely to assuage current and, most likely, future security fears. The idea of a dangerous “rogue state” leading the rest of the world into the abyss of a generalized catastrophe is very much American inspired. Even if one should not dismiss it entirely, the fact remains that this view is scarcely, or not at all, shared by the majority of countries in the so-

11 Delpech, Thérèse. *La guerre parfaite*. Paris: Flammarion, 1998.

called South, perhaps not even by some Europeans. This is not to say that we should take ruthless dictatorships lightly. They are, and will remain, a threat, first of all to their own people and their immediate neighborhood, if not to the world as a whole. Beyond such a statement of fact much is left to guess work and speculation rather than to hard facts. The more immediate, if not almost exclusive, security concerns of the industrialized part of the world – if not of mankind in general – lie elsewhere. They have little to do with aggression from outside and very much with internal conflicts of all kinds on the one hand, and threats to society on the other. The latter we know now almost by heart: they cover the whole range of indiscriminate violence, illegal immigration, drug dealing and organized crime, and whatever misdeed is associated with these that goes beyond customary criminality.

On both accounts – internal conflicts and threats to society – the international community is lagging far behind when it comes to joining forces in order to deal with them. The former is still considered by the rules of international law as a “domestic issue.” This makes external intervention if not impossible then certainly delicate and difficult. This is the lesson we had to learn, or re-learn, in Bosnia and are presently struggling with in Kosovo. Dealing effectively with the new threats to security again turns out to be a steeple chase run as many national, regional and local sensitivities and habits have to be overcome. Transborder cooperation is still slow and hence often ineffective.

This is surprising. Barring very few exceptions, all European countries are today confronted with similar security concerns. They may differ in dimension and intensity according to the size and location of the country. But beyond such differences, European states, for the first time since their creation, find themselves in the same boat. Logic would have it that they therefore formulate and implement a new kind of common security policy. It would no longer have to follow national lines but be defined by the nature of the common threat and the necessary means to deal with it. At the end of the day this is, barring unforeseen events, what should and in all likelihood will happen. As of today, it has not or only very incompletely. Europol, a recent child of the European Union, is still in its infancy. And so are the various at-

tempts at cross-border or trans-European measures to control organized crime and to stop illegal immigration. These two (as well as other illegal activities) have at their disposal the most modern means of communication. Unlike state organs, they are highly mobile, not bound by any legal or political restrictions, and thus rapidly adaptable to changing circumstances.

The shift from concepts of coping jointly with traditional defense to new methods of cooperation in the field of non-traditional security threats is, as of today, still extremely slow. It certainly is too slow compared with the rapidity and flexibility of modern criminality. The conclusion from this must be that the multi-dimensionality of security threats, their novelty and ubiquity are becoming in important parts of the world one if not the most serious concern.

There is therefore every reason to develop a common understanding of these new sources of insecurity. From it must emerge common policies (and the corresponding institutions) capable of dealing effectively with this challenge. Sooner or later other countries will follow suit. They will do so even if their main security preoccupation is likely to remain, for quite some time, the unpredictability and volatility of their immediate neighborhood.

## Back to Geopolitics

Indeed, this “neighborhood” is still in flux in many, if not most parts of the world. There is little chance of it becoming stable in the near future. Above and beyond the proliferation of actors and of controversial issues, referred to above, the world has recently experienced (and is still experiencing) tectonic shifts in and underneath the international landscape that seemed so frozen during the Cold War. It certainly no longer is. Some regions were marginalized, strategically or economically or both at the same time (like much of Black Africa). Others, long forgotten or suppressed, have re-emerged (like Central Eastern Europe and Central Asia). Others in turn remained as divided as before (as the Middle East).

### *European Security*

Europe has experienced a real “renaissance” of small states (there are now 17 states, each with a population of under seven million; i.e. one third of all states on the continent) and a geographic expansion spanning now by OSCE standards, from Spitzbergen to Tajikistan. All this may be welcome if it helps to promote democratic ideals and the protection of human rights. But in the field that concerns us here – security – things are more complicated. It is not easy to see what Norway should have in common with Tajikistan when it comes to defining, and agreeing upon, security concerns. “Conceptual overstretch” can also become a trap. It seems that the OSCE risks falling into this trap with its almost desperate search for a “common security Charter.”

The idea of such a Charter comes mainly from Russia. As such it suffers from a “birth defect.” This for the simple reason that Russia feared marginalization by NATO’s eastward enlargement. She therefore wanted the OSCE to become something of a counterweight or alternative to it. A counterweight, to be sure, to growing American influence on the continent; an alternative for those countries which did not, or could not, join NATO. Neither option turned out to be realistic, let alone operational.

At some point in the rather confused debate about Europe’s future security structure, the die in favor of NATO’s enlargement was cast. Russia was consoled with a “special relationship” with precisely the organization whose enlargement she had tried to prevent. The latter was a *pis aller*, a possibly pragmatic solution in a very fluid constellation over which Russia, weakened by its own retraction and dissolution, had no control and hence no other choice than to accept. Even protagonists of NATO’s enlargement process admit today that they are not sure where it eventually will end and what kind of new and costly responsibilities it will entail.

Given Russian acquiescence and no major turbulence in store, all may go fairly well. But we cannot be sure. First, because NATO may become either overextended or inadequate when it comes to dealing with such unfathomable regions as the Balkans and the Mediterranean, let alone the former Soviet republics, now called Central Asian and

Transcaucasian states. Secondly, NATO will and no doubt should remain an alliance of the traditional, military kind. As such it will serve well as a backbone of transatlantic relations. But it needs to be complemented by institutions capable of going beyond “Clausewitz,” i.e. dealing with violence and force that, more than wars, are on people’s mind today. In an ever more interdependent world, these threats can come from everywhere. The parameter of protecting societies against them will thus have to be widened, more in substantive than in geographic terms. If there is going to be enlargement, it will therefore have to be understood and promoted much more as a reaction to a rapidly changing “neighborhood” and the problems that go with it.

### *The Great Players of Tomorrow*

From here to the global stage is more than one gigantic step. One explanation for this has to do with the fact that, as of today, we do not even know who the great players on this global scene are going to be. One thing is sure: there are very few candidates likely to join, if ever, the super-league of the United States. If there are, it is not by accident that all of them are located on or near what Halford Mackinder once called the “world heartland,” i.e. Eurasia.<sup>12</sup> Moving from West to East, we recognize Europe (i.e. the European Union), Russia, India, China and Japan. Nigeria, Brazil, or Mexico, for reasons of geography, human and resource potential, are unlikely to move beyond the status of a regional player, however important.

The EU is, and will remain for the foreseeable future, a “civil-economic” power. With the help of the Euro it will, if all goes as planned (which in international relations is rare indeed), assume also the heavy responsibility of a reserve currency area. As mentioned

12 Mackinder revisited by Brzezinski, Zbigniew. *The Grand Chessboard: American Primacy and Its Geostrategic Imperatives*. New York: Basic Books, 1997. See also, more academically, Gallois, Pierre M. *Géopolitique. Les voies de la puissance*. Paris: Fondation des études de défense nationale, 1990.



above, the strategic implications of this development are as yet

unclear. Skepticism is in place. The mere fact that the Union's enlargement to some 26 or 30 members is bound to change its nature but also add to its weight remains relevant. How this will translate into actual power and power projection is as uncertain as the way other powers will react to it. But we can or must assume that as the EU expands and the Euro functions, relations with the United States will be different. And so will be those with Russia once the Baltic states and possibly even the Ukraine will have found their way to Brussels.

Indeed, Russia, diminished in size and humiliated in pride, finds herself in what one is almost tempted to call "an outlandish position." It is a position between a politically enlarging Europe and an economically growing China. Russia has lost her imperial role and much of her national identity. She has opted for what a prominent Russian politician calls "phony capitalism."<sup>13</sup> Her armed forces are in a state of moral, if not physical decay. The future of her huge nuclear arsenal is heading for an uncertain destination. Russia, as the most likely scenario has it, may thus be "struggling through years or even decades of muddle, always hanging on but never getting well."<sup>14</sup> If this forecast is true – nobody knows for sure – Russia in all likelihood must content herself with being an important regional power and nothing more.

India has been, not unlike Brazil, in the last forty years a "land of the future." In the eyes of many she seems doomed to remain so for quite a while. In any case, she has not succeeded in playing an international role commensurate with her size and growing population. Her attempt to be taken as seriously as her rival China has so far failed. The United States above all has, for reasons of its own, never shown much sympathy for what everybody, India included, praises as the largest democratic state in the world. It is probably this dual resentment *vis-à-vis* nuclear China and *vis-à-vis* arrogant America that has

13 Yavlinsky, Grigory. "Russia's Phony Capitalism." *Foreign Affairs* 77, no. 3 (May/June 1998): 67-79.

14 Hiatt, Fred. "Don't give up on Russia as It Muddles Through." *International Herald Tribune*, 13 July 1998.

fuelled New Delhi's desire to demonstrate its nuclear capability.

It will take much skillful diplomacy on the part of China and, above all, the United States, to lure India into the non-proliferation regime. Whether or not this regime is, as some Indian scholars contend, outdated, matters little when it comes to defining India's role in the world of tomorrow. It would be a cause for real concern if nuclear armaments were still considered to be the *sine-qua-non* for great power status. India's future role and strength should be sought and encouraged in other fields: by controlling with democratic means her demographic explosion, by exploiting her remarkable technological performance, and by encouraging her to play the role of pacifier in South Asia, first and foremost by settling her unending dispute with Pakistan. The reward for all this would be her inclusion in groups like the G-7 and, possibly even a permanent seat in the Security Council.

An internally stable and externally rewarded India could thus make a major contribution to the security of an area spanning from the Middle East to the Straits of Malacca. China so far does not have any qualms either about possessing and further improving her nuclear arsenal nor about her future role as one, or, still better, the dominant power in Asia. President Clinton's visit in early July 1998, arranged very much on Chinese conditions and concluded to China's advantage, visibly encouraged such ambition. One may even go as far as some observers in anticipating a major change in America's Asian policy: namely by opting for China as a principal partner instead of Japan. It is not just the alluring, seemingly insatiable Chinese market which could encourage such a major shift. It is an almost sentimental love affair that the Cold War and in particular the Korean war brought to an unexpected (and undesired) end. Japan, the aggressor in Pearl Harbor, was only the second choice. It may be on the way to becoming even more so in the future. As in Puccini's *Madame Butterfly*, divorce in a marriage with Japan is not totally unthinkable whereas relations with China, enriched by memories of American missionaries and novels by Pearl Buck, could lead to a new marriage. Geopolitical calculations would hardly stand in its way.

For the moment such considerations are if not sheer speculation then certainly premature. China is still seen in the United States as both a threat and a potential ally. Such divergence of views is not surprising. Nobody can foretell whether the Chinese experiment in its grandeur and ambition will succeed. Behind the still impressive economic data lure huge question marks about the future of basically bankrupt state industries, of environmental problems of gigantic proportions and of an ever widening gulf between the prospering coastal regions and the underdeveloped hinterland. These problems taken separately would seem manageable. What is, however, serious, is their combination as all of them demand attention and handling at the same time. And we know already today that success or failure of the latter will not only decide China's future alone but that of wide parts of the world.

There remains Japan. Not only in a geographic sense (as compared with the continental powers) Japan is something of an outsider. Her economic and financial weight – the second largest in the world – has never been matched by a corresponding political influence. She was – and still is – what a Japanese Prime Minister once called “the aircraft carrier for an American strategic presence in Asia:” useful, if not indispensable, yet still a rather passive actor playing a secondary role. Besides her more or less voluntary alliance with the United States, Japan cannot claim any “special relationship,” let alone friendship with her immediate neighbors: relations with the two Koreas, though obviously very different in nature and scope, are tenuous at best, overshadowed by still living memories of a difficult past. Relations are ambivalent with China and controversial with Russia, tainted by bitter memories of Japan's role as invader in China and a still unresolved territorial dispute with Russia over the Kuril islands. The twilight of memories here and unsettled scores there stands in the way to a closer and more intimate relationship that could transcend sheer economic interests.

Today, and possibly also tomorrow, it remains uncertain whether and how Japan, as a result of her internal reforms and a more active foreign policy, will emerge as a leading force in coping with the present crises in Asia and by assuming political responsibilities commensurate with her economic weight.

The upshot of this all too summary overview is that the future course and destiny of each of these Eurasian players is uncertain. The EU, despite or because of its “unfinished business” at home and enlargement abroad, is as yet far from being a united political actor though no doubt a powerful economic one. Russia is eager to resume her global role, including her “special relationship” with the United States. But she lacks the political cohesion and economic know-how to do so. India suffers from the – at least partly erroneous – image of being a hopelessly poor and backward country. Japan is undergoing an almost traumatic process of self-interrogation about her own political viability and her economic role.

China, finally, is still too often misunderstood in the way she sees her own role in the world. She is expected, both in America and Europe, to behave more or less in the same way the European powers behaved when they ruled the world. Such expectation is based either on the assumption that every power will do more or less the same once it has become really “big” or because of the impression that China is intellectually Westernizing and economically modernizing. From such a perception it is not far to conclude that China may be on the way to becoming today’s Soviet Union that has either to be “engaged” or, failing that, “contained.” And yet, as a Chinese expert contends<sup>15</sup> any such comparison can be dangerously misleading. China has never been an empire as was Tsarist Russia and its successor, the Soviet Union. It is older, less diverse and uninitiated in the kind of “expansionist” ideas European states (including, of course, Russia) have nurtured. Today, China is experiencing her first entry into the international system. So far she has demonstrated utter pragmatism, if not incoherence in both domestic and foreign policy. In this turbulent period of change, she is lacking any formula for political stability. When it therefore comes to forecast China’s future role in Asia and the world at large, we need a much more differentiated appraisal of her international ambitions and objectives. Under such circumstances, one conclusion seems inevitable:

15 Lanxin Xiang, Geneva, in his paper submitted to the author.

China will remain for quite some time more a factor of uncertainty than a stabilizing and reassuring player in the region.

## Towards Cooperative Security

This leads us directly to the question of regional security and cooperation in Asia. Again, Westerners should beware of too great expectations. Neither China nor any other country in Northeast Asia has a tradition of multilateralism and the kind of political cooperation that follows from it. All of them, and China in the first place, are reluctant to find themselves tied into a network of international obligations they cannot fully control.<sup>16</sup> From this we must conclude that anything like a loose “OSCE à l’asiatique,” let alone a regional security system, is highly unlikely to emerge in the foreseeable future.

The ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) is, at best, a timid beginning within the otherwise very informal ASEAN grouping. It is more a forum “for an exchange of views,” lacking the institutional knots and bolts, than a security or military alliance of sorts. Without the full participation of China, and possibly Japan, such fora will remain inadequate if they are expected to contribute tangibly to the pacification and stabilization of the area. So far, few, if any alliances in Asia, other than those concluded during the Cold War and under American leadership (if not pressure) were successful. China’s only alliance, that with the Soviet Union in the fifties, hardly serves as a model or promoter of new ones. Something similar can be said of South Asia. Here a kind of precarious balance existed as long as the Soviet Union supported India, and the United States had Pakistan as its ally. The end of the two wars, the one in Afghanistan and the Cold War,

16 See, for instance, Möller, Kay. *Sicherheitspartner Peking? Die Beteiligung der Volksrepublik China an vertrauens- und sicherheitsbildenden Massnahmen seit Ende des Kalten Krieges*. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 1998.

signaled also the end of this real or apparent stability. Neither Russia nor the United States has demonstrated great eagerness to resume a role of “stabilizer.” The region is, to date, left to its own device. With several wars on record and disquieting uncertainty about the effects of nuclear armament, a great deal of optimism is needed to predict tranquil times in the Indian Ocean region.

Possibly even greater caution is in place with regard to the Middle and Near East. As mentioned above, initiatives like the Arab League or the Gulf Security Cooperation have contributed little to promote the idea of workable security arrangements. Important players are left out, intentionally or by way of isolation. The future of Iran and Iraq is as uncertain as is that of what is now euphemistically called the “Near East peace process.” It may well be that the main threat to stability comes from developments within rather than outside the countries. And yet, they are in various ways linked with each other. The fate of Saddam Hussein, or indeed that of Israeli-Palestinian relations, will affect as much the entire region as it will affect the respective countries. And as long as the countries in the region can afford, either thanks to their oil revenues or to massive (mainly American) external assistance, a vast array of mostly superfluous armaments for themselves, they do not feel any pressure for a regional cooperation nobody trusts and likes anyway. Following this we must conclude that efforts at regional disarmament, including nuclear weapons in the Middle East, have very little chance, if any, to succeed in the years to come.

At the present juncture of economic crises and political reform it can be argued that regional security cooperation would seem to be of secondary importance. In some regions this may be so, in others no doubt less. Thus, if Asia, writ large or small, wants to become an area of stability, safe for foreign investment and capable of managing crises or even conflicts by itself, it will have to pay greater attention to this dimension of stability and predictability. As long as it does not, the “Asian century” will have to wait for a while.

The same, even more so, is true for the Middle East. It is a region that, with very few exceptions, has yet to develop appropriate ways of social-political reforms at home and workable options of cooperation amongst the countries in the neighborhood. Failing that, one cannot

exclude the possibility of a further, even more combative politicization of religion: Islam as the last hope to promote, if necessary with arms, overdue reforms. Much will depend here on developments in three countries, connected by geographic neighborhood and interlinked by their use of Islam as a political tool: Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan. In several ways they represent a rare mixture of change, conflict and communality. If one adds Iraq with its unpredictable future, and Syria, squeezed by the military cooperation between Israel and Turkey, one can easily measure the wide spectrum of potential instability and paucity of communality in this crucial region.

The return of geopolitics conveys the impression that the international system has regained a great deal of flexibility and, as the price, unpredictability. In the light of what was just said about the principal actors in this new game – for those located on the Eurasian continent – this is certainly true. It is true, however, not only in the traditional sense of power politics, alliances and balances. It is possibly even truer as regards the societies and political regimes that govern the external behavior of states, big and small. Nowhere is this more visible than in Washington's policy towards the Near East, more precisely; towards Israel. It is a policy deeply influenced, if not steered by, the Jewish lobby. It proves that democracy at home has its price in behavior abroad. This may matter less with small countries; it certainly matters in the case of the United States. When it therefore comes to gauge the nature and direction of international security, it becomes ever more important to find out whether the constituencies at home are prepared to stand and pay for it. It is true that the "present presumption against war (in Europe) is unprecedented."<sup>17</sup> But it is equally true that our concern for security – or threat to it – goes well beyond this presumption. These threats are multiple, not easily recognizable and even less controllable. Some of them were mentioned before. They are not linked to states or groups of states. The politiciza-

17 Stern, Fritz. "A Century of Building Blocks for the New Europe." *International Herald Tribune*, 8 July 1998.



tion of religion or the interference with an ever denser and vulnerable global communication system, not mentioned so far, are amongst them. They clearly demonstrate the insufficiencies of an international order whose major pillar still remains the nation-state. As long as this is the case, governments will have to promote much more systematically international cooperation on different levels than before, irrespective of national pride and false claims to sovereignty. They will also have to refer to the expertise and support of non-governmental institutions in all security-related fields: combating money laundering cannot be done without the active support of, above all, the banking community. Preventing massive migration requires cooperation with multinational firms. Controlling illegal traffic of small arms, as now on the international agenda, will have to include arms manufacturers and dealers.

We may – and certainly should – worry about the future distribution and exercise of power and its impact on international security. The more so, since the greatest challenge probably comes from those forces whose precise identity, purpose and “weapons” we find hard, if not almost impossible, to recognize and their actions difficult to anticipate and deal with. It is this uncertainty, by now almost global in scope and spread, that we should worry about most. In most instances it is the consequence of the triple multiplication of actors, issues and means that were earlier on identified as the most consequential change in world politics. In all likelihood they will remain on the top of the security agenda in the years to come.

## Lessons and Questions for Tomorrow's International Security

First, we have to recognize the clear shift from wars that the international community has the means and the legal basis to deal with, possibly prevent in time or control once they have broken out, to those conflicts it (almost) cannot control. The latter are particularly sensitive because of the gap between what is politically and militarily feasible and, in terms of human rights, highly desirable; between what we can

now know (by way, for instance, of instant information) and what we, on the basis of this knowledge, should do. Such a gap creates a two-fold insecurity: firstly, concerning the discrepancy between the available power potential and the impossibility of actually putting it to use; secondly, because the end of fighting does not mean the beginning of peace. The triple task of reconciliation, reconstruction and reintegration can be very long. As such it can become a strain amongst those who, having ended the war, want to disengage.

Second, industrialized countries in the first place should recognize the necessity of liquidating as much “unfinished business” as possible. This applies for instance to a reduction of nuclear armament, to the reform of international institutions and to a redefinition of the role of the state as a consequence of economic globalization.

Third, the international community should beware of overselling the overused concept of “partnership.” It is mostly devoid of any operational meaning. Symbolism is no guarantee for security.

Fourth, Europe, instead of chasing after the chimera of an all-European security order, should eventually define its geographic limits – the unresolved and unsettling case of Turkey is a prime test case for this. It will have to review the role and future of the OSCE as well as that of NATO, with regard to both their possible complementarity and a clearer definition of their tasks. Sooner rather than later, the European Union will have to develop a clearer vision of how to deal with the new challenges to security that are basically common to all European countries. In this context, the status and future of neutrality, however defined, will also deserve a thorough review.

Fifth, the economic crises – from Asia via Latin America to Russia – have to be taken seriously also as a security issue. This for two reasons: they can occur again and they can get even more contagious. Their immediate effects seem to be more divisive than “integrative.” They can degenerate into a recession that, almost fatally, will have worldwide repercussions. This does not forebode well for any thinking about more concerted political and security cooperation. It should be one more and serious incentive to review the role of international organizations, both political and economic, and make them better

fit for coping with a globalized world.

Sixth, China is entering the international scene with “a grudge” (J.-P. Lehmann): she remembers the humiliation by Western powers and her questionable experience with the Soviet Union. Still, given her historic background, it seems unlikely that she will pursue an expansionist course. Yet, she will hardly become a great “stabilizer” in her own region either.

Seventh, the Middle East is likely to remain the central area of what we may call “traditional security problems.” But we do not know as yet what role and importance the newly emerging Central Asian/Transcaucasian region will play (or will be able to play): as a new battlefield of great power rivalry, as a link between Europe and Asia, and/or as another area of instability and local conflict (as is partly the case now).

Eighth, while many agree that the erstwhile role of the state as protector and regulator is on the decline, both internally and inter-nationally, we do not see a realistic alternative to it for many years to come. However, governments (as well as international organizations) will have to seek more systematically the advice and assistance of recognized non-governmental organizations as well as private institutions. It is only in this way that they will, at best, be able to deal with the mostly new threats to security.

Ninth, international security is, or has become, a multifaceted phenomenon. As such it is subject to ever more diverging interpretations, perceptions and interests. As a consequence, “international security” is of declining value as an operational concept. At least it calls for serious clarification. One practical consequence of this development is the realization that global security arrangements seem more and more inadequate. This may in fact argue for more sustained sectoral and regional approaches.

Tenth, in spite of the above, there is every chance that “international security” will remain on the global agenda, this for the apparently sim-

ple reason that the problems of others (and other countries) are becoming ever more our own.<sup>18</sup> If ever there was a “unifying factor” in world politics, this is the one.

18 Willems, Helmut. *Jugendunruhen und Protestbewegungen: eine Studie zur Dynamik innergesellschaftlicher Konflikte in vier europäischen Ländern*. Opladen: Leske und Budrich, 1997, 491.

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## Driving Forces of International Security

### Introduction

This study begins with an assessment of key changes since the end of the Cold War, identifying lessons that might be drawn from the past decade and the key influences shaping the future of international security.<sup>1</sup> It then addresses the main issues and problems; it does so with an avowedly global and American view, though it devotes attention to European concerns. It concludes with thoughts about near-term discontinuities that could disrupt the straight-line projections into the dawn of the new millennium.

The study seeks to underscore major features, trends and questions. It strives to be European enough to be recognizable, but American

1 This article draws on a wide range of RAND research and researchers. Paul Davis was principally responsible for the section on the revolution in military affairs and for much of that on technological breakthroughs. John Tedstrom contributed to the sections on Russia and the former Soviet Union. We are also grateful to Robert Anderson, Stuart Johnson, Robert Klitgaard, John (“Jed”) Peters, Roger Molander, Peter Wilson, Rachel Swanger, Kevin O’Connell, Rich Mesic, Robert Nurick and Jeff Isaacson for language, review, comments or participation in brainstorming about the paper. Jerry Sollinger applied his knowledgeable pen to the draft. None of these good colleagues should, however, be held responsible for any gremlins that remain in the study.

enough to be provocative, and provocative enough to illuminate thought about themes that are at once sensitive and controversial. Not every flank of every argument is covered, and we attempt, for the purposes of discussion, to err on the side of overstatement.

## Key Changes since the End of the Cold War

Since 1989 the world has both changed and displayed more clearly the changes that were afoot before 1989. The list of changes could be lengthy, and it could be tailored to suit many fashions. This discussion identifies six – the fall of the Soviet Union and then that of Russia, the triumph of the market, the rise of Asia, the reunification of Germany, the expansion but uncertainty of the European Union, and similar circumstances for NATO.

### *The Fall of the Soviet Union and Russia*

The impact can hardly be overstated. It is also worth underscoring that the change has been double – first, the demise of the Soviet Union, then the decline of Russia. The second, though perhaps not permanent, will also be transient, and it is as momentous as the first.

The changes hardly need to be spelled out. The two together meant that Russia was absent as a power in the center of Europe in a way it had not been since Peter the Great (or perhaps Napoleon). Russian influence declined apace, though any precise calibration is impossible. Surely, though, one reason NATO enlargement proceeded so smoothly was that Russia was powerless to prevent it. The younger generation in Russia understood that its future was with the West, not against it, and so NATO was for them at most a distraction. The old guard detested

the idea as an affront to the lost empire but was powerless to do much about it, just as earlier it had been powerless to prevent Germany's reunification.<sup>2</sup> Russian denouncements of NATO enlargement merely played into the argument for it as a prudent hedge against uncertain Russian futures. And more specific threats of retaliation would have been too visibly cutting off the nose to spite the face. What was Russia to do? Not ratify a strategic nuclear treaty whose limits were well above what Russia could afford or leak nuclear materials to Iran? The menu of the powerless was not appealing.

What was true inside Europe was also true outside it. Irritating America by supporting Cuba made little sense, and besides Russia could not afford it anyway. In fact, it had little money or military wherewithal to help anyone. One erstwhile ally, Iraq, made itself such a pariah that the best Russia could do was argue that it might be able to mediate between Saddam Hussein and the US-led coalition. In the Middle East, the European Union – long out of the game as it was so beholden to Arabs that it had zero leverage with Israel and thus was of no interest to the Arabs – supplanted Russia as America's junior partner. If Russia could not do much to harm the security of others, apart from leaking its nuclear capability, it could not do much to help either. The Soviet, then Russian demise also magnified the United States' position as the most influential military power in the history of the globe. America took the nineteenth century British naval standard and went much further: by 1995, the United States was spending as much on defense as the next five major powers combined.<sup>3</sup>

2 Kazantsev, Boris. "NATO Moving East: The Aftertaste." *International Affairs: A Russian Journal of World Politics, Diplomacy and International Relations* 44, no. 1 (1998): 32-38.

3 *World Military Expenditures and Arms Transfers, 1996*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

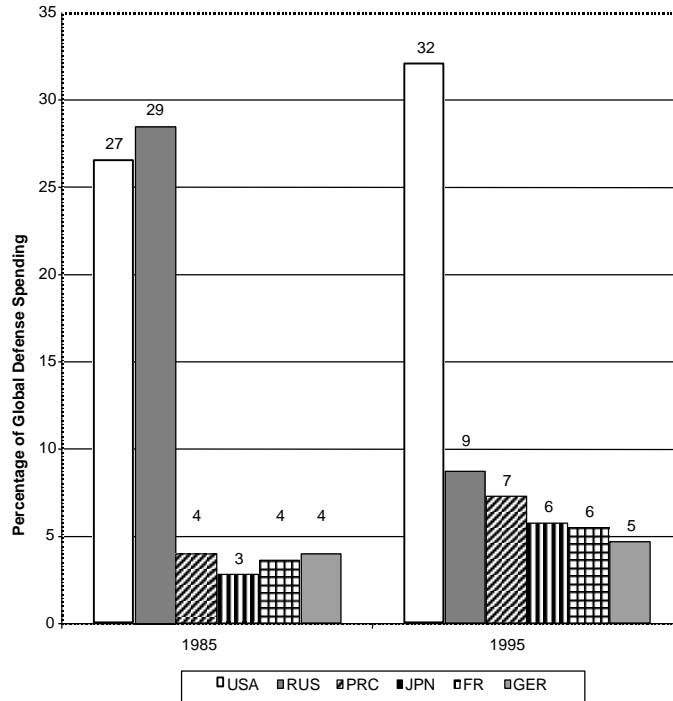


Figure 1 – Top Six Military Powers: Percentage of Global Defense Spending

American power and Russian weakness made possible a renaissance, actually a “naissance,” of multilateral cooperation in general, and the United Nations in particular – “Tom Pickering’s UN,” after the first US ambassador to preside there after the fall of the Berlin Wall. It actually seemed possible to make peace, not merely interpose between enemies who were beyond fighting anyhow.<sup>4</sup> The number of UN peace operations mushroomed, from five started in the 1980s to thirty in the 1990s. At this distance, that period seems a golden interlude, of Russian weakness, Chinese abstention, and American boldness.

4 Boutros-Ghali, Boutros. *An Agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy, Peace-making and Peace-keeping*. New York: United Nations, 1992.



### *The Triumph of the Market*

This was not caused by the Soviet Union's fall and was only slightly abetted by it. Communism, as a political-economic alternative to Western democratic capitalism, had long since been discredited. The end of the Soviet Union made it plain not only that communism was not possible in one country, but also that it was not possible in *any* country and removed any hints of support to would-be communists around the globe.<sup>5</sup> Hold-outs only demonstrated communism's emptiness: China attempting to remain Leninist while jettisoning communism, and North Korea and Cuba clinging to both at the price of brutal poverty. In fact, the triumph of the market – and the consequent reconfiguring of the state – had been going on since the industrial revolution, which both made the modern state and set in motion the forces that will transform it. The triumph was obscured for much of the twentieth century by the challenge of dealing with a series of particularly fearsome traditional states – Germany, Japan, Germany again, then the Soviet Union.

The implications of the “market state's” ascension to unchallenged primacy are far-reaching but are only just beginning to be discernible. The nature of both government and the private sector will be changed gradually but totally.<sup>6</sup> In the short term, what is apparent is not the end of history but a lull in ideological competition. Communism and state planning lost; democracy and free markets won.<sup>7</sup> Surely, an ideological competitor will again appear but not soon. The Soviet Union, long discredited as a model, is no longer a possible financier of would-be non-capitalists anywhere. The market's triumph has also discredited

5 Brzezinski, Zbigniew. *The Grand Failure: The Birth and Death of Communism in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1989.

6 Philip Bobbitt and Treverton came to similar ideas by somewhat separate paths, but the term “market state” is Bobbitt's. See his *The Shield of Achilles*, forthcoming.

7 Fukuyama, Francis. *The End of History and the Last Man*. New York: Free Press, 1992.

various “third ways” around the world. Most of these too had been in tatters for years: witness African socialism or Yugoslav worker management. What the fall of the Wall did was punctuate the demise of third ways. It was instructive, if entirely predictable, that the citizens of East Germany, initially tempted by some third way, would come to realize that they had a perfectly good social democracy on the other side of the erstwhile Wall, so why try to construct another one?

The demise of any third way in Western Europe had hardly anything to do with the end of the Soviet Union, but it is the substructure for the national politics of the European Union (EU) and thus for security. For states, the market imposes structural adjustments, which the lingering European fondness for state planning often instinctively opposes and for which the tradition of the generous welfare state undermines public support. For the Union, the next phase of the European process – economic and monetary union (EMU) – aims to create a giant regional state just as the market drives home the realization that regional solutions are inadequate and states outmoded. Trade within the EU is enormous but has been growing more slowly than both international and inter-regional trade among the advanced industrial economies.

The triumph of the market is not, alas, an unmitigated blessing. If economic plusses have gone global, so have its minuses, in the form of global markets in weapons, crime and money-laundering. And while the verdict is not yet in, globalization so far seems to increase the gap between winners and losers, both within and across societies. The gains to those nations that have embraced globalization, like the Asians, are enormous; the costs to those that cut themselves off or, domestically, are not equipped to reap globalization’s benefits are also large.

Moreover, globalization’s speed is truly awe-inspiring. International capital flows can bring what look like perfectly stable countries to their knees within a matter of weeks if investors got spooked, as they did in the Asian crises. Weak countries can be pushed over the brink, as Russia was. These flows will have profound effects on governance: those nations, like Malaysia, that resort to capital controls will run the risk of impoverishing themselves. All governments will acquire a powerful

new constituency. They will have to weigh every act not just in terms of local politics but also for how it affects the confidence of investors. Transparency of government decision-making will become imperative. This change already is reshaping Asia and it has been in motion for some time in Latin America. It also will affect Western Europe as EMU makes capital flow easier; Europe's regions will have to compete aggressively, in a way unseen before, to attract investment and jobs.

### *Rising Asia*

The growth of the Asian economies since World War II has been nothing short of remarkable, but when assessed relative to other regions, it is staggering. In the early 1950s, real per capita income levels in Asia were roughly equivalent to those in Africa, and the often-noted high savings rate of the Asian miracle economies had yet to surpass those of underdeveloped Latin American states.<sup>8</sup> Nearly one-half of Japan's labor force was engaged in low-wage agricultural production, and its industrial workers were less than one-fifth as productive as American workers were in the early 1950s. In international rankings of national wealth, South Korea was below Sudan.<sup>9</sup> Four decades later, the Asian countries are among the fastest growing, innovative, and dynamic economies in the world economy.<sup>10</sup>

8 Zoellick, Robert. "Economics and Security in the Changing Asia-Pacific." *Survival* 39, no. 4 (1997): 29-51, 30.

9 "Asia's Emerging Economies." *The Economist*, 16 November 1991.

10 *International Financial Statistics Yearbook (various years)*. Washington, D.C.: International Monetary Fund.

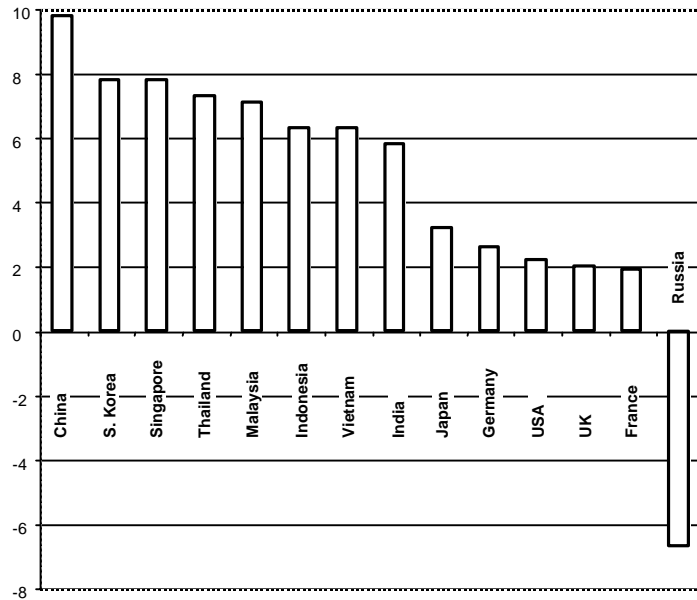


Figure 2 – Average Annual Economic Growth Rates 1988-1995

Talk of the “Asian miracle” is less in evidence after Asia’s crises of the last two years, but the crisis notwithstanding, this differential among the growth rates of the various regions in the world has generated a dramatic shift in the distribution of economic power. How governments respond to this global shift in economic power in favor of Asia will be a critical determinant of the shape and stability of the international order. Artificially delineated as a separate economic entity, Asia is now on a par or quickly converging with the European Union and the United States and re-emerging as the economic center of gravity at the dawn of the new millennium.<sup>11</sup>

However, the phenomenal leap in relative prosperity – and thus, perhaps, power – has not been equally distributed within Asia. Changes in

11 Betts, Richard. “Wealth, Power, and Instability: East Asia and the United States after the Cold War.” *International Security* 18, no. 3 (1993/94): 34-77.

relative position within the region may tempt states to try to alter the *status quo* or to settle old territorial disputes. What security institutions exist in Asia, such as the ASEAN regional forum (ARF), are a far cry from NATO and other components of the European security architecture.<sup>12</sup> The Asian arrangements edged cautiously towards security from economics and so were designed explicitly to be thin, informal, and consensual. They are not up to the task of coping with serious tension, let alone actual shooting.

Indeed, now that less is heard of the notion that Asian values or an “Asian way” created the economic miracle, it may be that if any values truly differentiate Asia from Europe, they are the primacy of community over the individual and of informal relationships over formal ones. As one observer put it, with the absence of the imported security guarantee of US forces and bilateral alliances, the “cultural predilection for hierarchy in power relations” would suggest a regional security pattern markedly different than Europe’s multilateralism – strivings for hegemony, perhaps, or for tight, hierarchical alliances.<sup>13</sup>

China’s post-Cold War transmutation poses three strategic questions. During the Cold War, China often played the role of junior partner or pivot in a strategic triangle with the Soviet Union and the United States. With the demise of the Soviet Union and the weakening of its Russian successor, China has emerged as a strategic player independent of any one given alliance or potential adversary. How China behaves as its power increases is the first question. How Japan, the region’s dominant power now, responds to China’s rise is the second. And how the United States, the extra-regional stabilizer, fashions its actions in relation to both China and Japan is the third.

12 Friedberg, Aaron. “Ripe for Rivalry: Prospects for Peace in a Multipolar Asia.” *International Security* 18, no. 3 (1993/94): 5-33.

13 Pollack, Jonathan. “Pacific Insecurity: Emerging Threats to Stability in East Asia.” *Harvard International Review* 18, no. 2 (Spring 1996): 8-11.

With regard to the ongoing financial crises, China could be the spoiler, a potential amplifier of Japanese irresponsibility. Devaluing the Yuan would strengthen its own current account but would also condemn the rest of the region to a prolonged downturn. This could set in motion another round of destabilizing, competitive devaluations and fuel the nationalistic paranoia of a region lacking the multilateral institutions present in Europe.

That said, China also faces strong incentives to be responsible. The crosscurrents in Chinese policy were displayed in the Sino-American summit in 1998. While economics will argue for devaluing, diplomacy militates against, for China not only repeated at the summit its promise not to devalue, but it also enshrined that promise as part of cooperation with the United States. It could thereby earn greater respect within and outside the region, thus removing some of the tarnish left by Tiananmen.

With respect to many territorial disputes, China is the *demandeur*, so its actions can more easily upset than reinforce the stability of the *status quo*. In both finance and diplomacy, the question is whether China will pursue its narrow short-term interests in the region or take a longer and wider view.

There are more than echoes in the Japan-China interaction of Britain and Germany in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Similar to Wilhelmine Germany, China is a dynamic economic power with great military potential; it also lacks the democratic institutions of its rival neighbor and has an eye for an altered regional order more suitable to its long-term interests.<sup>14</sup> Japan, like its British predecessor, depends on foreign trade and is increasingly wary of a neighbor whose rhetoric is not always consistent with that of a *status quo* power. The seeds of potential conflict are certainly there – the rapidly changing power balance, historical tensions, and the lack of

14 Kennedy, Paul. *The Rise of the Anglo-German Antagonism, 1860-1914*. London: Ashfield Press, 1980.

institutionalized security arrangements in Asia.<sup>15</sup> What might distinguish twenty-first century Asia from nineteenth century Europe is America, the presence of an external balancer engaged with both regional powers, though in different ways.

China's approach to Russia is also in question. At the present time, the Sino-Russian "strategic partnership" of the 1990s seems merely a weak marriage of convenience, rooted in Russia's need to sell arms and China's push for military modernization.<sup>16</sup> Yet it could bear ominous kinship with the 1922 German-Russian Rapallo agreement: serious losses in the West by a continental power (Germany 1922, Russia 1990) inspired it to turn towards the East and form a strategic partnership so as to halt the adverse trend in the correlation of forces.<sup>17</sup> To be sure, neither the Rapallo agreement nor the later Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact could bear up under the weight of mistrust and opportunism, but other Asian states will remain attentive to the technological and military cooperation between Russia and China.

If real cooperation seems unlikely, serious friction does not. Now, the Sino-Russian border evokes the US-Mexican frontier of the last century. A small population and poor economic activity on the one side confront a booming economy and growing population on the other. In the near term, the Chinese "incursion" will take economic forms, but in the longer run, given Russia's other woes, its energy-rich but population poor East must be a concern.

The rise of Asia can be expected to affect the globe's values. The conflict between the United States and China over human rights often appears as a test of power, but it also reflects a deeper difference in value systems. Asia and the West differ most clearly in the primacy of indi-

15 Kim, Woosang. "Power Transition and Strategic Stability in East Asia." *Asian Perspective* 21, no. 1 (1997): 153-170.

16 Anderson, Jennifer. *The Limits of Sino-Russian Strategic Partnership*. Adelphi Paper, no. 315. New York: Oxford University Press for the IISS, 1997.

17 Garver, John W. "A Far Eastern Rapallo: The Post Cold War Russian-Chinese Strategic Partnership." *Far Eastern Affairs*, no. 1 (1998): 53-62.

vidual or community. While these considerations are now muted in the Asian-Pacific correlation of forces, over time a more clearly delineated fissure may develop.<sup>18</sup> The previous two eras of hegemony, Britain in the late nineteenth century and the United States in the late twentieth century, were shaped by the values dominant within the leading countries. Over time, Asia's communitarian values no doubt will influence economic models and perhaps reinforce cooperation across societies, if not states.

### *Reunited Germany*

Germany's division solved the hundred-year conundrum of German power in the center of Europe, but created the most heavily armed fault-line in the history of the world. Unification has removed that potential flashpoint but, paradoxically, what has resulted is not a Germany that is too strong but one that is too weak. A weak Germany will mean a weak Europe.

By any yardstick, Germany is the center of Europe and of the European Union (EU) – in size, population, riches, currency and location. Liberated from the residual shackles of four-power control, Germany has been the driver towards European integration.<sup>19</sup> In doing so, it has retained the judgment that an American role in Europe, though modified, remains indispensable. This is a picture of a strong Germany. It is misleading. The country will remain preoccupied with its own problems. Formally united, Germany remains deeply divided. Differences between the old Federal Republic and the East – the so-called new federal provinces – persist. The differences run to experience, outlook, expectations, and perhaps even values. They will not be overcome soon. And one thing is sure. The millions of former East Germans will, at some

18 Huntington, Samuel. *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996.

19 Livingston, Robert Gerald. "Life after Kohl?" *Foreign Affairs* 76, no. 6 (1997): 2-4.



time, begin to affect how Germany plays its role in Europe and the West.

Nor are Germans finished with the question of how they see themselves and define their interests in Europe. It used to be enough to say that German policy was to strengthen the EU and support EU policies. But now Germany is clearly the leading country in the EU but not well positioned to provide leadership. It faces change, but change is difficult for a country burdened by a historical memory that deeply distrusts possible downsides. About a tenth of Germany's population is of foreign origin: Turks are the biggest "permanent" immigrant population, about a fortieth of the total population, but the country also is home to about twice that many refugees from Europe's Balkan wars. Social Democratic leader Rudolph Scharping now speaks of Germany as an immigration country. Yet Germans still define their state in ethnic terms, a self-definition that is at more and more variance with reality and with leadership in Europe.

The country has barely begun to restructure its economy. It recognizes that the expensive social welfare net must be pared down, but party platforms sound as if its preservation remains a holy grail. Increasing labor mobility faces the hurdle of local preferences. First attempts at educational reform run into an educational elite firmly entrenched in its ways. Meanwhile, unemployment surged from 7.7% in 1992 to nearly 12% in 1997.<sup>20</sup>

20 *Economic Outlook, June 1998*. Paris: OECD, 245.

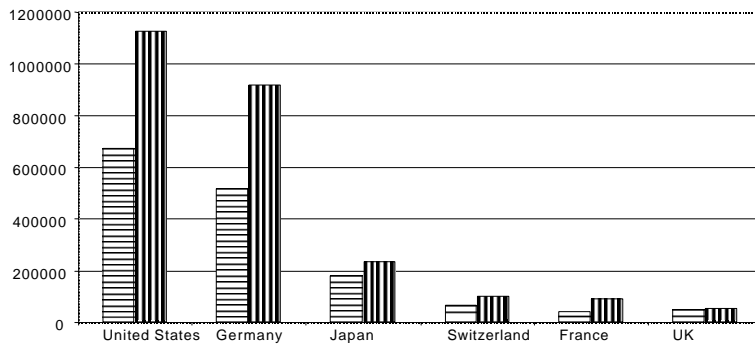


Figure 3 – Gross Immigration Inflows 1984-1989 and 1990-1995<sup>21</sup>

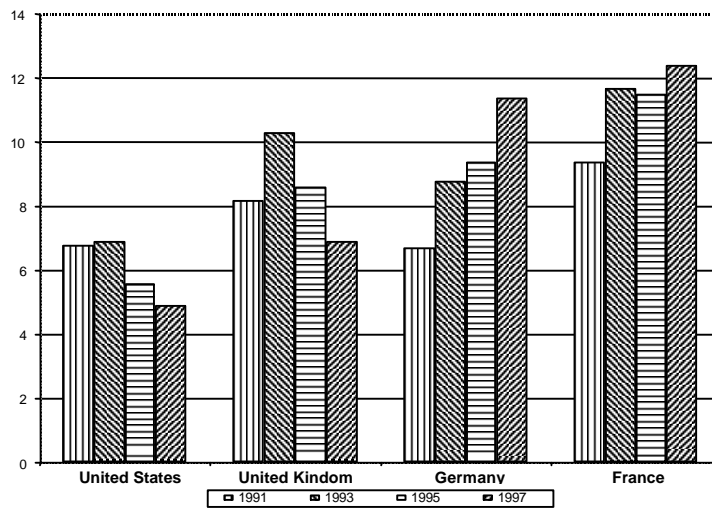


Figure 4 – Unemployment Rates of Selected Countries

21 “Who should be German, then?” *The Economist*, 4 July 1998. Source 1997 data: German Interior Ministry; Source 1990 data: *Trends in International Migration, 1994*. Paris: Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. Note: These figures do not include naturalized Germans.

Germany, like the rest of the EU, is betting that unemployment will decline now that the run-up to economic and monetary union (EMU) has passed. But EMU's stabilization will continue to require austerity in some countries. Unemployment will continue to contribute to political discontent and, perhaps, to undermining the existing political parties. Its 1998 elections will produce either more of the same but less energetic or, more likely, a new combination of parties in uneasy coalition and with untested leaders. The price will be an impression of growing German unpredictability.

German unification overturned France's conception of the Community (then Union) as a tool of French statecraft – German money and French diplomacy. Now the Union is plainly a German affair; virtually all the new members incline towards Germany (“we are English-speaking Germans” is how one Swedish diplomat put it). At the same time, on military matters Germany is, for all the historical and political reasons, out of the game. Major war comes to the Gulf, and Europe's major power contributes not force but cash, over \$6 billion.<sup>22</sup> That will change. Sooner or later the *Bundeswehr* will have to become a professional army, oriented outward, not inward towards German territory that is now two countries away from a threat that hardly exists anyway; already, measures to improve power projection are underway.

#### *A Larger but Less Certain European Union*

The EU's objective towards an “ever closer union,” remains Europe's goal, and the Union is one of two pillars of European security, broadly defined. Its 1992 program has made real strides towards overcoming the remaining barriers to an open market, and providing freedom of movement for goods, services, and capital (less so for people). These marked liberalization measures have created the basis for a

22 Asmus, Ronald. “Germany and America: Partners in Leadership?” *Survival* 33, no. 6 (1991): 546-566, 554. That was, to be sure, about 12% of the total cost of the war to the United States.

transformation of the EU from a conglomeration of national economies to a single European economy.

The next step, economic and monetary union (EMU) is more problematic.<sup>23</sup> The timing is awkward, for it has required economic stringency on the part of EU members seeking to meet EMU criteria at a time of high unemployment, thus accentuating domestic political stress. EMU does put the cart of economic unity before the horse of political union, and it risks exacerbating differences in economic conditions within the EU, particularly between the North and the South.<sup>24</sup> However, the political establishment in Europe has committed itself to EMU. So has the business community. Financial markets seem to anticipate a relatively stable adjustment towards EMU. Eleven countries joined the monetary union on 1 January 1999.

Yet EMU is a leap into the unknown. It creates a single monetary policy without a common fiscal policy to match. Unlike the United States, the European federal level, the Union, is fiscally weak, so it will not be able to cushion downturns that affect particular parts of the Union. Beyond that, will EMU abet restructuring and enlargement, or will preoccupation with it impede both?

The EU also aspires towards the capacity of a single actor on the global stage. In trade, the European Commission now speaks for the EU countries. But aspirations towards a common foreign and security policy (CFSP), much less a European security and defense identity (ESDI), have remained just that – a goal but not a reality. By the same token, the aim of having the Western European Union (WEU) serve as the security arm of the EU, while at the same time constituting the European pillar of NATO is more imagery than reality. The arrangements for the European members of NATO to take common security action using NATO assets are in place. But in the Albanian

23 “An Awfully Big Adventure: A Survey of EMU.” *The Economist*, 11 April 1998.

24 Feldstein, Martin. “EMU and International Conflict.” *Foreign Affairs* 76, no. 6 (1997): 60-73, 68.

crisis of 1997 the WEU did not act; instead, a coalition of the willing led by Italy helped restore order.

Within Europe, the EU has not touched the Basque issue, nor that of Gibraltar. It was an American mediator – not the EU – that helped secure a breakthrough in Northern Ireland. The same pattern holds true with respect to issues involving potential EU members. Cyprus has been handled by the UN and a succession of American mediators. Greek-Turkish issues have been dealt with by NATO, supported by a large US role, as have issues of Baltic security (though non-NATO Sweden and Finland have also been important). In Bosnia and Kosovo, NATO has been the leading organization.

At the same time, internal reform of the Union is a necessity. The agenda is a long one – majority voting by the Council of Ministers, fewer Commissioners, an overhaul of the hugely expensive common agricultural program (CAP), reallocated member shares of the common budget, and a redefined power of the European Parliament. The EU is faced with no less a task than to redefine just what is meant by “an ever closer union,” the phrase in the Treaty of Maastricht. How large should the EU be? What are its geographic limits? How can the EU be subjected to democratic control? Is the EU to be a confederation of state communities to pool resources and policies in some fields, or should it become a form of pooled sovereignty of its members?

The recent additions of Austria, Sweden, and Finland have worked, though domestic opinion in these countries has been a roller-coaster. Negotiations with six other countries have not yet begun. It is doubtful that Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovenia, Estonia, or Cyprus will be in a position to join the EU before 2002-2004. The process is laborious and legalistic, and it will be slow if not tortuous. The EU cannot expand before it reforms, and thus it will disappoint the would-be new members who want to be at Europe’s top table soon. The EU’s capacity to provide security for Europe will remain hedged by these large question marks.

*NATO, Too, Is Larger and Less Certain*

NATO has been preoccupied with *who* is a member, but the debate revealed both how far the Alliance has come and how far it has to go in deciding *what* its purpose is.<sup>25</sup> Dissatisfaction lingers with the rationales advanced to demonstrate NATO's continuing relevancy in the absence of a specific adversary. The key argument has been that NATO enhances European stability and security.<sup>26</sup> This argument is broadly accepted by NATO governments even if not entirely by their public. At NATO's fiftieth anniversary party in 1999, Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary became the first three members to join the expanded alliance. While the door to further enlargement remains theoretically open, it will in effect stay shut, at least for a while. Other aspirants – Romania, Slovakia, the Baltics, and possibly Austria – will have to wait. Meanwhile, Partnership for Peace (PfP) will pick up the slack. It will try to resume its original purpose of drawing willing countries into limited cooperation, mostly of a military nature, with NATO. Once the first *tranche* of NATO enlargement became real, PfP came to be seen principally as a finishing school for future NATO members. The expectations this raised may not be met.

Meanwhile, as NATO rewrites its strategic concept, it has been defining its purposes through its actions in Bosnia and Kosovo. The experience with the intervention force (IFOR) – and now the Stability Force (SFOR) – has been highly successful, bringing in military forces of many partner countries, including Russia and Ukraine. However, these actions are only partial indications of NATO's future. NATO could move into Bosnia only because of the existence of a UN Security Council (UNSC) mandate. Even with UNSC blessing, however, NATO members may not agree again all that soon to use

25 Steel, Ronald. *Temptations of a Superpower*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995.

26 Blank, Stephen. *European Security and NATO Enlargement: A View from Central Europe*. Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, April 1998.

force “out-of-area.” Fear of a quagmire and loss of control over national forces in a complex political situation may inhibit unified NATO action. American aspirations for European help in future Gulf crises are more likely to be met by coalitions of the willing than by NATO.

NATO has created new bodies – known in the jargon as “security architecture” – to bring Russia into the European security system through the Permanent Joint Council (PJC), to assuage Ukraine’s security concerns through the NATO-Ukraine Commission (NUC), and to intensify cooperation, leading towards possible common action, by the Partners for Peace through the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC). How these bodies will work in practice remains to be seen. It is fair to conclude, however, that Partners will have a bigger say in matters affecting European security. In fact, the line separating NATO members from non-members may be blurring. A key question for the Alliance is whether to speed or retard that blurring. There, preferences will differ, for the new members are likely to want the line to be sharp.

What NATO continues to provide is the opening for the United States to play a role as a European power. On this point there is virtual unanimity among NATO members and Partners. Without NATO, it would be hard to imagine an effective US role in European security. *What* NATO will do is not yet entirely clear; *that* it will be the cornerstone of European security is.

## Lessons of the Past Decade

Drawing lessons less than a decade after events is a fool’s errand, but sometimes fools may instruct. The first two lessons are opposite sides of the same coin – the weakness of Europe-only institutions and thus the necessity of American engagement. The third reflects the ambiguous record of international law and institutions a decade after the fall of the Wall.

### *The Weakness of European Security Institutions*

The argument often turns into a caricature of European-American debate, but the central point is privately accepted on both sides of the Atlantic: Europe on its own cannot cope with major security challenges. The usual case in point is Bosnia, where there is plenty of blame to go around. But, for all the blame, “Europe’s” run at handling the problem until 1995 and Dayton was not impressive. So, too, Britain and France might earlier have mangled German re-unification without an American lead.

The reasons advanced for Europe’s weakness are many and include these speculations – that Germany, Europe’s core, is introverted; or that in a core Europe at peace, it is tempting to believe that broad, thin security arrangements like the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) might suffice. Yet the main reason is probably the most obvious – that the central European institution, the EU, neither has nor soon will have a strong security dimension, aspirations to so-called European security and defense identify (ESDI) notwithstanding. Some Europeans decry that state of affairs; others welcome it. For the latter, the American role is a security that must be preserved; for the former, sometimes, America is a security blanket that smothers while it protects.

### *The Imperative of American Engagement*

Whether it is deplored or applauded, the US role remains indispensable.<sup>27</sup> For security operations where significant force is required, it may be literally indispensable in its lift, surveillance, communication and intelligence. Experience in Bosnia also points to the political importance of American boots on the ground, as a guaranty that the US shares risks equally with its allies, and hence as a potent reminder of

27 Brzezinski, Zbigniew. *The Grand Chessboard: American Primacy and Its Geostategic Imperatives*. New York: Basic Books, 1997.



US commitment. Where it is not literally indispensable, it remains figuratively so, the one assembler of a coalition – including those Europeans who aspire to a security identity but are not close to the capacity of fielding one by themselves.

In military terms, it is literally indispensable. Desert Storm underscored that fact. It was the most stunning projection of power in the modern era. The United States transported 560,000 troops, 1,200 tanks, 1,800 warplanes, a hundred warships, and well over a million tons of supplies and equipment across 11,000 kilometers of ocean and desert within 90 days.<sup>28</sup> Only the United States can send two aircraft carriers and warships off the Southern coast of China while also keeping an eye on Saddam Hussein, participating in the post-Dayton Accords peacekeeping in the Balkans, and maintaining a 100,000+ deterrent in both East Asia and Western Europe.

The Cold War made a central US role inevitable. Western Europeans were only too glad to accept and follow it, though at times not without lively debate. The current era of reform still leaves a key role for the US as a promoter of market economies and a champion of human rights. In the absence of an existential threat, Europeans now see the American role less as imperative, though still desirable. Europe is discovering that rapid change requires leadership and that historic factors continue to require intricate compromises about the allocation of positions, weakening the prospect of effective European leadership. The American presence often means that in security policy things can get done. Europe may worry less about the possibility of American hegemonic behavior than about the risk that the United States may selectively reduce its engagement.

28 Pagonis, William. *Moving Mountains: Lessons in Leadership and Logistics From the Gulf War*. Boston: Harvard Business School Press, 1992.

*The Ambiguity of International Law and Institutions*

The third lesson of this era without a name and without a defined end is that international law and institutions have made progress but are not yet upholders of international order. International law never was very congenial to Americans. A product of the nation-state order after Westphalia, it was a reflection of state hegemony that the first European Americans had fled the Old Continent to escape. Now, though, international law has been moving in a direction much more congenial to Americans. People, not just states, now constitute fit subjects of international law. And the track over a generation from the rhetoric of absolute non-intervention in the domestic affairs of nation-states to the international tutelage of Iraq is stunning.<sup>29</sup>

At the same time, the paradox remains, for the instruments of enforcement remain in state hands – and Americans are, to be sure, as tenacious as any of the planet's citizens in requiring that they remain there. So interventions in states have to be accomplished by states, which are in turn ever suspect of using new legal currents, like the rights of citizens, as camouflage for national purposes.

International organizations such as the UN, for instance, are less and less able to act for the same national differences that made them impotent during the Cold War. Yet beneath the surface disagreement, a version of the deeper paradox is at work, for international organizations are themselves creatures of the nation-state. Nation-states are not about to go away but are being drained of authority by the transition to the market state. It is not just that the UN Security Council no longer reflects the global balance of (state) power. It is that fifty global corporations control more resources and that fifty non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have more legitimacy than fifty UN members.

29 Hehir, J. Bryan. "Intervention: From Theories to Cases." *Ethics and International Affairs* 9 (1995): 1-13.

There is a final paradox. In an increasingly interdependent world, not just international security but many other common interests and activities – health, postal systems, weather, development assistance, atomic energy, refugees, patent protection, narcotic drugs, atomic energy – must be tackled in an international context. This poses the operational question of how to get everyone into the act and still get some action.<sup>30</sup> This is true also for that most necessary and difficult objective of all – the gradual formulation of broadly agreed international standards, a kind of international common law, beginning in the UN era with the UN Declaration of Human Rights and focused now on urban, environmental, and population policies, land mines, and the creation of an international criminal court. For the near-term, despite laudable efforts, international capacities, based on institutions rooted in the nation-state, will lag behind the hopes of the globe’s citizens.

## Driving Forces of Contemporary International Security

The drivers are stated more than assessed, for they are the other side of the coin of key changes or lessons. Here, we offer five – the rise of the market state, the “information revolution,” America’s ambivalent leadership, Russia’s weakness, and China’s strength.

### *The Rise of the Market State*

Armies, borders, and passports will not soon become irrelevant. But what is loosely called the globalization of economics and technology are rendering them less and less important. The point is powerful

30 Cleveland, Harlan. *Birth of a New World: An Open Moment for International Leadership*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1993.

enough not to need overstating as in “the end of the nation-state.”<sup>31</sup> Japan demonstrated convincingly that riches depended on only one endowment, people; land or mineral resources were and are trivial by comparison. Whether Russia finds a niche in the global market will matter much more to its future than whether NATO enlarges. So, too, the European Union’s future as a security institution will depend more on whether EMU advances/fosters or retards the restructuring of the region’s economies than on whether members can find a creative way to meld the WEU with NATO. The mismatch between drivers and state instruments is pronounced for some of the new or newly salient issues that have security overtones. Emigration, for instance, is, aside from wars (a large aside), driven by economics, by the desire to live better. Yet the policy arsenal mostly deployed to deal with it is rooted in the Westphalian state – border controls, citizenship, and the like. Citizenship has been thought of as binary: one is or one is not. Already that is changing; American courts have gradually increased the rights of “aliens” permanently living in the United States. The next step will be to craft what one analyst has called “sojourner rights” recognizing that economics compels virtually free movement but that politics prevents it. Sojourners might pay basic taxes where they resided but neither pay for nor benefit from the special perquisites of citizenship, like social security or national health insurance.

Asia’s financial crises underscore the driving force of economics and the changed role of state and private power. Without intending to, George Soros and his fellow international financiers accomplished what governments had not even tried: they brought down superficially successful but corrupt and illegitimate governments in Asia. In trying to effect a rescue, the international organization charged with this responsibility, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) turned out to be somewhere between an irrelevancy and a positive nuisance. And so the responsibility, unsought and not always welcome, of international private

31 Guehenno, Jean-Marie. *The End of the Nation-State*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995.

banks for negotiating the terms of rescue programs became more and more evident.

If anyone needed a reminder, the financial crises drove home the fact that official government aid now is trivial by comparison to private capital flows. Governments and their institutions, like the World Bank and the IMF, may have some clout because of their official status, but the change in flows is dramatic. During the 1983-1988 period, the ratio of public to private flows of capital to the poorer countries averaged just under 2:1; over the course of 1989-1995, the ratio switched to almost 5:1 in favor of private flows.<sup>32</sup>

### *The "Information Revolution"*

This revolution is important first and foremost as the key enabler of economic globalization. European states traded nearly as much before World War I as they do now, so simple dependence on trade does not make for globalization. Rather, it is the flows of information that have made distance and location irrelevant. Scholars can work nearly as easily with colleagues across the world as across the campus. Corporations can organize production where it is most efficient, with communication linking the constituent pieces of their firms. Again, we overstate for effect. What could be often is not. RAND, a computer pioneer early in the Cold War, and a bi-coastal enterprise by both choice and necessity, sometimes demonstrates just how hard it really is to assemble teams over long distances.

The "information revolution" has a number of more specific driving implications. One set of these is military, to be spelled out below. A second is that the power of states to control information seems to be waning, for good or ill. A generation ago it was feared that computers would abet dictators; Big Brother seemed closer at hand. Now, the opposite seems true. Mr. Clinton's administration cannot control the

32 *World Economic Outlook, 1997*. Washington, D.C.: International Monetary Fund, 29.

“spin” on a news story; European governments could not control capital flows if they tried; and China seems less and less able to control what its citizens read and hear. To be sure, the effect is starker in some places than others. But at a minimum, governments face a Hobson’s choice: they can cut their states off from international communications but not easily and only at a high price. They may be able to have isolation but its twin is poverty; they cannot be both isolated and rich. The revolution also powerfully influences expectations all around the globe. The “CNN effect” seems to shorten time horizons; governments find it harder to plead for time to deliberate when correspondents report the latest unfolding tragedy minute-by-minute. Governments are expected to react, and to react to events as shaped by the media.

Those same communications technologies also shape expectations of citizens, for better or worse. Just as former East German citizens acquired their images of life beyond communism from West German television, so Bosnians today and Rwandans tomorrow will frame expectations about what other states will or will not do from what they see on TV or the Web, or what their kinsmen report from cellular phones.<sup>33</sup> To be sure, the possibilities of manipulating these images also abound. It turned out that some major events in Mexico’s Chiapas region during the 1990s were “virtual” happenings, not real ones; they never happened. But, impossible to check, they were reported through the network of Web-linked organizations sympathetic to the rebellion in the region.

### *America’s Ambivalent Leadership*

The world after 1989 was set up to be shaped in America’s image. Democracy and free markets, neither made in America but both identified with the United States, were triumphant. The UN was “Tom

33 Arquilla, John and David Ronfeldt. *In Athena’s Camp: Preparing for Conflict in the Information Age*. Santa Monica: RAND, 1997.

Pickering's," and international law was drifting in a direction very congenial to Americans. The strongest powers on the globe were all friends, and, with the existential threat from the Soviet Union removed, the United States had enormous strategic freedom – to engage in Bosnia or not, to build coalitions or not, to police this or that hot spot or not, even when and how to punish Saddam Hussein.

The United States has not exactly squandered that opportunity, for it was not 'its' to squander. Russia, predictably, turned from eager cooperation to sullen self-absorption, and China began to test its new weight. The United States had some successes, stunningly in Kuwait and impressively, if very late, in Bosnia. What American governments did not do, and have not yet done, is to rally the American people around anything more than a grudging, piecemeal conception of America's leading role.<sup>34</sup> Both the Bush administration "new world order" and Clinton's "democratic enlargement" vanished without a conceptual trace. The United States continues to speak unilaterally but wants partners, friends (or bill payers) in a crisis.

This ambivalence, hardly new in American history, will continue. Americans recognize the US interest in a peaceful and democratic world open to trade. Popular support for international organizations – many founded under American leadership – is widespread. American NGO involvement in the world is pervasive, as is private American willingness to support international causes outside America, from Peace Corps volunteers to George Soros and Ted Turner.

34 Haass, Richard. *The Reluctant Sheriff: The United States After the Cold War*. New York: Council of Foreign Relations Press, 1997.

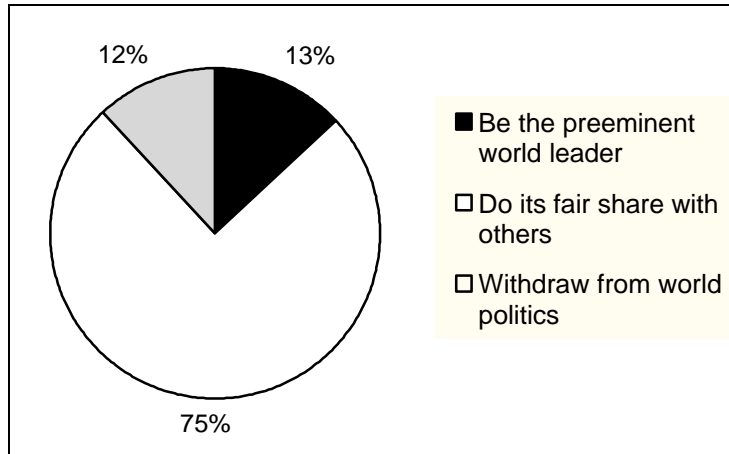


Figure 5 – America’s Role in the World 1996<sup>35</sup>

In the absence of a global threat, however, the American political process has turned domestic, and the American political system encourages particularism (for instance, Cuban sanctions and right-to-life issues) that merges into the presidential conduct of foreign affairs. Moreover, the American military leadership longs to keep its powder dry for major contingencies and worries that too widespread American involvement in piecemeal activities will undercut American military effectiveness.

During the Cold War, American interests were defined expansively to include allies and sometimes more, a creature awkwardly called the “free world.” Now, the area of interest might not so much contract as become more selective. Africa has fallen off the map of interest

35 Kull, Steven and I.M. Destler. *An Emerging Consensus: A Study of American Public Attitudes on America’s Role in the World: Summary of Findings*. College Park, MD: University of Maryland Center for International and Security Studies, 1996, 2.



except when humanitarian crises emerge; other areas of the world matter mostly for their rain forests. By contrast, North American free trade has produced renewed US commerce with and interest in Latin America. What good news has wrought, bad news might magnify: suppose real turmoil impended in Mexico, or terrorist violence expanded within the United States? The focus of US attentions would then turn much closer to home.

### *Russia's Weakness*

Who would have imagined that a scant decade after the fall of the Wall global strategy would be concerned not with Russia's strength but with its weakness? But so it is. And it will not change soon. Its military power may be near bottom, but there too "the country that could not invade itself" in Chechnya will recover only slowly. Russia's current position is the opposite of the old line about the success of NATO in making Germany strong enough to deter the Soviet Union but not so strong as to frighten Belgium. By contrast, Russia now is too weak to threaten Germany, and weak enough to be preoccupied with China, but still strong enough to frighten Finland, not to mention Latvia or Kazakhstan.

Russia's economic crisis of 1997/98 highlights the fragility of Russia's economic system and points to the degree to which Russia was and is susceptible to international economic shocks. Its GDP has fallen by at least 50% (depending on the estimate) since 1992. Even accounting for Russia's very large shadow economy, GDP per capita is dismal – by contrast, the Depression cost the United States a third of its output. Based on official estimates of national income, Russia's per capita GDP in 1996 was under \$2,000. Informal RAND estimates of the shadow economy increase that number only to over three thousand, still at the level of Mauritius and South Africa, hardly the income level of a superpower. Although 1997 appeared to be the beginning of at least stability in output, the fall in oil prices to under \$15 a barrel, a broken budget, and the flight of international investors from

emerging markets added up to another year of loss.<sup>36</sup> Then, the ruble crashed in 1998.

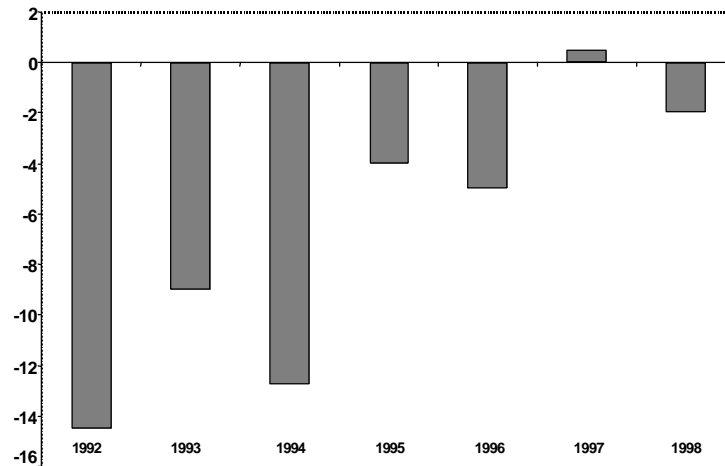


Figure 6 – Russian GDP per capita change from previous year

Russia's economic predicament is rooted in its political straits. Boris Yeltsin has alternated between periods of isolation and dramatic demonstrations that he is still in command. When Yeltsin has engaged, he has bullied his subordinates, often on Russian television, forcing them to adopt crude, ill-conceived "emergency" measures, which are either not fully implemented or too poorly designed to have much impact. When these reforms have failed, Yeltsin has threatened to dismiss the "guilty," which eventually he has.<sup>37</sup> When his lieutenants have attempted to push reform in Yeltsin's absence, they, like Kiriyenko, have lost their jobs.

Over the next ten years, neither the economic nor the political situations is sure to improve in Russia. On the economic front, Russia has yet to

36 *Russian Economic Trends, 1997*; and *Russian Economic Trends, Monthly Update, April 1998*. Stockholm: Stockholm School of Economics.

37 "The Strange Rage of Boris Yeltsin." *The Economist*, 28 March 1998.

come fully to grips with the concept of a free market, instead continuing to conceive of the state as the primary provider of jobs. The country's main assets have all been divided among a small group of oligarchs who compete with each other politically as well as in business.

Nor do successors now on the horizon offer much hope for real reform or for a more collaborative foreign policy towards the West. Aleksandr Lebed is popular because of his reputation in Afghanistan and in organizing a truce in the Chechen war, and because he was fired as Yeltsin's national security advisor. He has not spoken clearly on reform, and he has been unpredictable.<sup>38</sup> Yurii Luzhkov, the Moscow mayor, gets high marks for attracting foreign investment, keeping the city clean, and for standing up to Yeltsin, but does not have a broad base of support outside Moscow. More important, he is no champion of the free market, is clearly in the oligarchs' pockets, and is most likely to continue along the failed lines of top-down administrative reforms *à la Yeltsin*.

Russia's weakness, played out through its weak institutions and uncertain politics, is likely to drive it to erratic action. Sometimes it will cooperate, if its status as an erstwhile great power is respected. At other times it will object for the sake of not being taken for granted, or it will reach for a role beyond what its influence would grant or its capabilities would support, then sulk when it is denied that role. It is not hard to imagine a future leader with a fetish for Russian power on the global stage, one who would emphasize Russia's independence from the West and Russia's claim to great power status, perhaps in a style and tone that would make Americans nostalgic for the chummy days of Foreign Minister Primakov. Imagine that leader during the next round or two of NATO enlargement, when Brussels and Washington will be forced to deal squarely with the Baltic

38 Lambeth, Benjamin. *The Warrior Who Would Rule Russia: A Profile of Aleksandr Ledbed*. Santa Monica: RAND, 1996.

question. He would almost certainly take a tougher line on the conflict in the Balkans than did Yeltsin. But, like Yeltsin, he would be constrained by Russia's weakness.

### *China's Emerging Strength*

China is poised to emerge in the first several decades of the twenty-first century as the largest economy in the world. Of course, straight-line projections are suspect, and China could disintegrate into another period of warring states or, more likely, the exploitative relationship between the dynamic coastal and lagging inland regions could cause the country to splinter in fact if not in form. Yet with an economy growing at a sustained level of 8-9%, China's gross national product (GNP) has tripled in less than two decades.<sup>39</sup> Necessarily a significant portion of this wealth will be dedicated to the construction of military power capabilities commensurate with the return of the *Middle Kingdom* role of China. Whereas Aleksandr Lebed or Yurii Luzhkov may yearn for a Russian presence commensurate with its past, Chinese leaders will increasingly seek a great power role commensurate with China's future power.<sup>40</sup>

The current state of China's armed forces is not cause for hand-wringing on the part of its neighbors or the United States. Today and for the immediate future, the People's Liberation Army (PLA) is incapable of mounting a successful landing on nearby Taiwan or projecting Chinese power far beyond its shores. A RAND study of the PLA air force assessed it as largely obsolescent, though with some good aircraft.<sup>41</sup> Yet changes are underway that suggest China may no

39 Nye, Joseph. "China's Re-emergence and the Future of the Asia-Pacific." *Survival* 39, no. 4 (1997/98): 65-79, 67.

40 Holmes, Kim and James Przystup, eds. *Between Diplomacy and Deterrence: Strategies for U.S. Relations with China*. Washington, D.C.: The Heritage Foundation, 1997.

41 Allen, Kenneth, Glenn Krumboltz, and Jonathan Pollack. *China's Air Force Enters*

longer be constrained to operate only on its periphery in the early twenty-first century.<sup>42</sup> The recent visit to the Eastern Pacific coast by the Chinese naval fleet was a warning shot over the bow that a Chinese blue-water navy with power projection capabilities may not be decades away. Soon after the collapse of the Soviet Union, Chinese military officials were in Moscow purchasing modern MIG-31 and SU-27 combat aircraft, thereby vastly improving its offensive capability.<sup>43</sup> For China's neighbors and others, a consistent 10% increase in military expenditures over the course of the 1990s suggests that it is only a matter of time before China becomes a more formidable military power, if still far from an American peer.<sup>44</sup>

Prudence counsels that, given the cost of modernizing China's military, it may not follow the path other powers have trod. It may not need to construct a modernized military that is the battlefield equal of the United States. From its military journals, China is almost alone with the United States in taking the revolution in military affairs seriously. Still more ominously, Chinese military officials also take information warfare seriously, particularly in relation to the United States.<sup>45</sup> American reliance on high technology weapons systems and its requirement of "battlespace dominance," or its information-intensive

*the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*. Santa Monica: RAND, 1995.

42 Pollack, Jonathan and Richard Yang. *In China's Shadow: Regional Perspectives on Chinese Foreign Policy and Military Development*. Santa Monica: RAND, 1998.

43 Schilling, Walter. "Changing Power Structures in the Asia-Pacific Region." *Aussenpolitik: German Foreign Affairs Review* 48, no. 2 (November 1997): 158-165, 160.

44 Klintworth, Gary. "Regional Defense Budgets Slashed." *Asia-Pacific Defense Reporter* 24, no. 3 (April/May 1998): 12-14, 14.

45 Pillsbury, Michael, ed. *Chinese Views of Future Warfare*. Washington, D.C.: National Defense University Press, 1997.

banking system: all these suggest vulnerabilities.<sup>46</sup>

46 “CIA: Cyberattacks aimed at U.S.” Reuters, 25 June 1998. This *CNET NEWS.COM* article cites CIA Director Tenet.

China's objective need not run to defeating the military foe. Instead, if it seeks only to deter the United States from projecting power into East Asia, threats to use information warfare may be enough. The official People's Liberation *Daily* recently noted that information warfare "would disrupt and destroy the US economy. If we overlook this point and simply rely on the building of a costly army (...) it is just as good as building a contemporary Maginot line."<sup>47</sup>

## Current Problems and Issues

### *What to Do About Russia?*

The task in dealing with Russia is to move beyond the preoccupation with who Yeltsin appoints or who succeeds him. Much of the news from Russia will be bad. The best strategy is to continue to engage Russia along multiple fronts come what may. The challenge in doing so will be to fashion public support. At present for instance, US policy, the product of several administrations, has for understandable reasons vastly oversold what progress is possible in Russia. The country will not be a real democracy in the near future, but it is worth remembering that if most of us had painted, in 1991, a portrait of Russia as it actually exists now, we would have regarded the picture as hopelessly optimistic.

The most important front is the "under thirty" crowd. These are the people who will define Russia in the next century. They understand their future is in the West, with openness, not autarky. Given time, they will define Russia in tomorrow's terms, not yesterday's. The policy of the West must shift from being consumed by the crisis of the moment and the meeting of the month to the challenge of the decade and indeed

47 Dobb, Paul. "The Revolution in Military Affairs and Asian Security." *Survival* 39, no. 4 (1997/98): 39-116.

the century. That requires a degree of patience, in the face of inevitable setbacks in Russia, that politics does not make easy, especially in the United States. There is also the chance that Russia's paradoxical weakness will drive Europe and America apart in dealing with it. Americans, for all their nostalgia about the era of superpowers, will discount Russia. The burden of this analysis, after all, is that Russia will not matter all that much; it will have the capacity neither to threaten much nor help much, and the more threatening it becomes, the less capacity it will have. Yet for reasons both historical – recall Napoleon that “Russia is never so strong or so weak as she seems” – and prudential, Europeans will be tempted to accord their large neighbor a status, at least in discussions of European security, which Americans do not reckon it is entitled. Indeed, the scary Russian future is not a resurgence, which is vanishingly improbable, but the opposite, a Russia that came apart, bleeding refugees and perhaps nuclear wherewithal all over.

#### *What to Do About China?*

For Russia, the challenge is coping with weakness; for China it is dealing with strength. For both, engagement and patience are the requirements. For neither is it easy to sustain the political constituency at home. Russia is likely to disappoint through its uncooperativeness, while China will annoy through its actions. Over the past 150 years, Sino-American relations have followed a path of mutual misperception.<sup>48</sup> Current American policy emerges from skirmishes along the frontier of “containment” and “engagement.” Both the left and right join in opposing existing policy, which might be described as measured “engagement.” The left because of human rights, the right because China remains undemocratic. Sustaining support for “engagement” is easier now only because the business community is itself more engaged.

48 Puska, Susan. *New Century, Old Thinking: The Dangers of the Perceptual Gap in U.S.-China Relations*. Carlisle: U.S. Army War College, 1998.



The demise of the Soviet Union and the subsequent end of the Cold War era set in motion currents that have yet to be clearly understood. The uncertainty of the new era has been exacerbated in Asia by the severe financial crises afflicting many previously-dynamic economies, and also by the recent nuclear testing in India and Pakistan. Uncertainty can fuel insecurity; risking mobilization or arms races, thus increasing the chances for armed conflict. Thucydides remarked nearly two and a half millennia ago that the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War resulted from the rise of Athenian power and the fear this created in Sparta. Similar dynamics are certainly not out of the picture in Asia.

Issues of sovereignty and territory, as well as unstable regimes, exist along the periphery of the rising China. It does not take much of an imaginative leap to realize how concerned Japanese are about the rise of China. Japan is not tempted to organize a peripheral coalition to contain China today. It is constitutionally constrained, and it plays good cop to America's slightly more menacing one, but it could consider its own version of "containment" within a decade.<sup>49</sup> In all the discussion of China, especially in the United States, it is easy to overlook that Japan remains Asia's most important country; how it responds to China will be at least as important as how China acts.

The United States is the final factor. The Asia-Pacific security and economic environment for the next decade or so will remain dominated by the interests, capabilities, and intentions of the United States. No power in or outside the region has the necessary force projection or economic might to challenge this dominance. Russia is mired in economic disarray and political uncertainty and thus is patently unfit to serve the role that only the United States can play in relation to China – at the same time strategic partner, economic competitor or political ally.

49 It should be remembered that Japan, despite its unofficial cap on military spending at 1% of GNP, spends more on defense than all but three countries in the world – China, the United States, and perhaps Russia. *World Military Expenditures and Arms Transfers, 1997*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

Playing this role while sustaining a strong US connection to Japan, including the security tie, will be a neat trick. Engagement with China will remain controversial in the United States while engagement in Japan will seem unnecessary. Opposition to the United States presence on Okinawa has more to do with Tokyo than America: it seems to Okinawans that yet another burden has been inflicted on them by Tokyo. Yet Japanese politicians may become less willing to pay the price of keeping the US presence.<sup>50</sup> The unification of Korea, when it happens, will both increase the need for the presence, as a guarantor of stability, and undercut the basis of support for it by removing the last vestige of the Cold War that justified it.

Optimists argue that the increasing prosperity and growing integration into the world economy will transform China irreversibly. These economic forces will make China if not soon democratic, then at least more pluralistic and cooperative. This is the logic of “engagement.” It is, however, a long-term bet, not a short-term surety. The challenge will be to hold on to it through the certainty that China will not just, like Russia, be disappointing, but may also from time to time look menacing and will, in any case, become stronger.

#### *Whither the Revolution in Military Affairs?*

Whether a true “revolution” is underway is debated but not especially relevant. Real change is afoot, driven by the innovative application of technologies which, combined with dramatic shifts in military doctrine, and operational concepts, fundamentally alters the character and

50 Hosokawa, Morihiro. “Are U.S. Troops in Japan Needed?” *Foreign Affairs* 77, no. 4 (1998): 2-5.

conduct of operations.<sup>51</sup> Future uses of military power will take one of two forms – extended “stabilizing operations” like the one in Bosnia; or prompt responses to crises that will require force to be brought to bear rapidly and precisely. Both argue for specialized, well-trained and “ready” units that can be deployed over distance and sustain themselves. They argue against conscription, numbers and mass.

The history of RMA is as rich as it is richly debated.<sup>52</sup> So is the recent past, at least beyond the advent of nuclear weapons. For example, some observers treat stealth technology as central to the continuing RMA, while others dismiss it as merely further patchwork on old systems.<sup>53</sup> It is perhaps not surprising that what is associated with “the RMA” often depends on whether the commentator’s pedigree is air, naval or ground force. The debate aside, the principal enablers are distributed, ubiquitous and immensely powerful information technology; precision weapons; and what some call systems of

51 A good general reference is Barnett, Jeffery. *Future Warfare: an Assessment of Future Aerospace Campaigns in 2010*. Maxwell AFB, Ala.: Air University Press, 1996. Much of this study reflects work done for the Office of Net Assessment in the Department of Defense. Official discussions of the RMA and the related need to “transform the force” can be found in the Department of Defense’s 1997 *Quadrennial Defense Review* and the Joint Staff’s *Joint Vision 2010*. A forward-leaning article on what the RMA might mean if fully embraced is Blaker, James R. *A Vanguard Force: Accelerating the American Revolution in Military Affairs*. Washington, D.C.: Progressive Policy Institute, 1997. See also Arquilla and Ronfeldt, *In Athena’s Camp: Preparing for Conflict in the Information Age*.

52 Krepinevich, Andrew F. “Cavalry to Computer: The Pattern of Military Revolutions.” *The National Interest*, no. 37 (Fall 1994): 30-42.

53 Stealth technology illustrates that time scales for change are large, and that even major changes involve evolution. It was twenty years ago that the Department of Defense announced the existence of stealth technology rendering traditional air defenses obsolete. Some stealth aircraft already existed at that time, although they had been highly classified. As of 1998, only a small fraction of even US air forces are stealthy. How much stealth is enough is a raging debate in ongoing US discussion of modernization options.

systems.<sup>54</sup> The current “tokens” of defense – divisions, wings, and carrier battle groups; or, worse, numbers of personnel – are rapidly becoming less relevant, while globally netted command, control, communications, computers, intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance (C<sup>4</sup>ISR) is becoming a dominant factor in capability.

The most important changes are likely to be organizational and doctrinal – especially the networking of forces to permit dispersed yet integrated operations. The goal is allowing smaller, dispersed but lethal forces to operate together and quickly with excellent awareness of the battlespace. New weapons will develop over time – for instance, aircraft with much greater range, unmanned combat aerial vehicles, relatively stealthy surface ships operated with small crews, lighter and faster combat vehicles, new varieties of vertical-take-off-and-landing aircraft, and both stand-off and direct-attack precision weapons. But pride of place will go to organizational and doctrinal changes driven by information technology. In the short run, the task for American forces is to mitigate their Achilles’ heels in both Persian Gulf and Korean conflicts, particularly the need for access to forward bases and the vulnerability to threats from weapons of mass destruction, especially chemical and biological attacks. These changes will require modernized forces but not drastically new platforms. The stealthy F-22 Air Force fighter, advanced Comanche helicopter, long-range rotorcraft V-22, and the Navy’s planned new cruiser are by no means dinosaurs merely because they are aircraft and ships.

Over the long run, both possible risks and opportunities increase. For instance, China might be able to interfere with US operations in East Asia, and rogues could pose threats to the US homeland in hopes of undermining American will to intervene against their misconduct. The

54 Some of the following material is adapted from Davis, Paul K., David C. Gompert, Richard Hillestad, and Stuart Johnson. *Transforming the Force: Suggestions for DoD Strategy*. Santa Monica: RAND Issue Paper, July 1997. See also, e.g., Johnson, Stuart E. and Martin C. Libicki, eds. *Dominant Battlefield Knowledge: The Winning Edge*. Washington, D.C.: National Defense University Press, 1995.

long-run transformation will require radical experiments, “skunk works” and “exotic” concepts such as speed-of-light defenses against large cruise-missile attacks, large submarines with land-attack capability and amphibious troops, more long-range bombers and possible “arsenal aircraft,” and much more use of space and unmanned combat aircraft.

Making the revolution will be no mean feat, for history suggests that the United States possesses few of the drivers of previous revolutions, save a forward-looking officer corps.<sup>55</sup> The American military faces neither dramatic failure, nor formidable foe, nor imminent poverty. A cynic looking into the US five-year defense program might fairly say there is not much revolution yet visible. The services are mostly buying what they have been buying. The rhetoric of RMA runs far ahead of reality, with many viewgraphs but little depth.

Nonetheless, RMA’s implications for the US military and for would-be US coalition partners are profound. Instead of massive concentrations of armies or navies at the point of battle, the emphasis will be on concentration of fires, coupled with simultaneous operations in cyberspace (for instance, information warfare attacks on command and control). Forces ordinarily will be dispersed, not only because they can be – promoting efficiency – but also because they will become vulnerable if not. For the army and marines, this “demassification” as some have called it, will mean new and smaller units, and it will call command hierarchies into question, leading to a thinning out of intermediate levels that do not pay their way – much as industrial reengineering has cut middle management. Moreover, RMA will both propel and require jointness that is more real than mere coordination of air force, naval, and ground-force operations: what is needed is something much closer to true integration. For militaries organized by separate services, this is a formidable challenge.

55 For historical insights we have drawn on work for the Army and OSD by RAND colleagues Jeff Isaacson, Christopher Layne, and John Arquilla, and by Richard Hundley.

No nation will choose to match the US capabilities for C<sup>4</sup>ISR, and none is pursuing RMA as avidly. Indeed, based on their military journals, only Russia, China, Israel and perhaps Australia take RMA very seriously.<sup>56</sup> So the question arises: will would-be coalition partners be able to operate effectively with the United States? Here it is useful to distinguish between smaller contingencies such as peacekeeping and even peacemaking, and major wars like that against Iraq in 1991.

Peacekeeping operations should pose less difficulty. They will take close cooperation at the political level so that objectives and rules of engagement are agreed upon, and they may also require opportunities ahead of time for the senior military figures to meet and to know each other well. Communications interoperability will be imperative. In contrast, it is less critical that weapon systems and low-level units be as closely matched across the board. As some special capabilities emerge, such as the capability to track sniper fire to its source or detect human-sized movement behind walls, it is likely that US allies will either have access or will be able to provide for it themselves, without having to re-equip or retrain entire armies.

In major wars, however, the gap between US and allied forces will matter much more. For example, the US military seeks “full-dimensional protection” for next-generation forces, but the task will require a complex of defenses in depth that probably cannot be achieved without a high degree of interoperability all the way down to particular platforms and small units. By the same token, future maneuver warfare will involve rapid parallel operations; not only would the concentrating force render it vulnerable, new doctrine will emphasize shock rather than gradual attrition. For allies to participate

56 Andrew Marshall, director of the Defense Department’s Office of Net Assessment, makes this point based on his office’s research.

in such operations will require not just shared radios but shared doctrine and roughly equal tactical prowess.<sup>57</sup>

The politics of coalition may be perilous even for smaller contingencies. If the United States proved to be the only nation able to conduct some of the more dangerous operations, that could be politically divisive in a crisis. Or suppose the opposite were the case: witness current European worries that Europe would wind up providing the soldiers on the ground while the United States supplied the communications in the air. An American president might find it politically difficult to employ US forces in potentially dangerous, manpower-intensive patrols – the only operations in which allies could fully participate. The United States might prefer to depend on long-range standoff weapons, armed unmanned aerial vehicles, or highly dispersed forces that massed only fires. Thus, even when traditional operational procedures “ought” to be sufficient, there could be quarrels about presence and risk if US forces were “present at a distance,” while allies had “numbers of bodies” on the scene.

Europe’s armies are now postured to defeat the threat that has vanished – an attack on their own territory. The aggregate number of Europeans in uniform thus greatly exceeds the military need.<sup>58</sup> Embracing RMA would let Europe cut force structure and save money to modernize in order to project power in military operations “out-of-area” – to Europe’s fringes or beyond. Currently, European forces cannot move quickly to a crisis area without relying on US airlift and, in some cases, sealift. While there is no reason to turn European armies into expeditionary forces, much less duplicate US capabilities for wide-C<sup>4</sup>ISR, Europe does need to be able to project power to participate in

57 Some allies are more sensitive to these issues than others. The British, for example, have followed the US Navy’s developments in cooperative engagement control (CEC) and plan to equip some of their ships accordingly.

58 See particularly papers on the subject by Reiner Huber of the German Armed Forces University.

coalitions dealing with larger regional security issues.<sup>59</sup> Europe has the strategic breathing space to carry out experiments and watch American initiatives with new types of organization and doctrine, while limiting its own level of investment.

For Asia, the RMA may make it easier for Japan, a unified Korea, and Taiwan to contribute more effectively and efficiently to their defense with the assistance of the United States. Certainly, large-scale long-distance invasions by concentrated armies seem likely to be a bad idea in the next millennium, and huge amphibious invasions still more ridiculous. That said, missile duels, information operations and other new forms of conflict will pose threats to US dominance in the region.

*The Shadow of Weapons of  
Mass Destruction – or Mass Disruption?*

This shadow falls in three ways. One arises from the paradoxical logic of war: because the United States is so dominant in conventional force, only a fool would repeat Saddam Hussein's mistake and take it on directly. Rather, future opponents will pursue asymmetric strategies, seeking to attack the United States and its allies where they might be vulnerable.<sup>60</sup> Because the United States is physically distant from most likely conflicts, it must project power. That, in turn, produces vulnerabilities in lines of communication, at ports and airports where troops and weapons disembark, and, especially, among allies and coalition partners whose own ports and bases are critical to American access.

As would-be foes contemplate exploiting those vulnerabilities, weapons

59 Some of these issues have been discussed by Richard Kugler and others in a variety of RAND works such as Gompert, David C. and Stephen Larrabee, eds. *America and Europe: a Partnership for a New Era*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

60 Khalilzad, Zalmay and Ian Lesser, eds. *Sources of Conflict in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Regional Futures and U.S. Strategy*. Santa Monica: RAND, 1998.



of mass destruction, especially chemical and biological weapons, look attractive.<sup>61</sup> The United States would both need and have air superiority in almost any conflict. For an opponent to try to take out with conventional weapons the airbases from which the United States operated would be well-nigh impossible in almost all contingencies. However, attacking with chemical weapons would dramatically complicate the US problem. Even if US troops donned protective suits, their ability to operate would be degraded, especially in hot weather. Moreover, at present, both protective suits for civilian (and mostly non-American) workers and collective protection for people off duty are in short supply.

This form of asymmetric threat will drive the United States to rethink how it projects power, thus providing additional incentive to make a revolution in military affairs. It will induce continued interest in the range of defensive measures, especially theater missile defense. More important, it will impel the United States to find ways to avoid massing troops or logistics and to reduce dependence on vulnerable bases or ports. This threat will also become, alas, less and less abstract for Europe as well.

The second shadow of WMD falls on people, not armies. It might grow out of armed conflict, for among the asymmetric threats an enemy might employ, one could be an attack on the US homeland or the territory of allies. But terrorists, including home grown ones, may also resort to such attacks: witness the 1995 gassing of the Tokyo subway with sarin, a chemical agent nerve gas, by Aum Shinrikyo, an obscure religious group.<sup>62</sup> In one sense, there is nothing new about this threat, for fabricating the agents is little more difficult than, say, brewing beer. If terrorists have not used such weapons in the past, that may be mostly because they have not needed them; “conventional” explosives have given them all the violence they needed. If anything has changed, it may

61 Bennett, Bruce and Gregory F. Treverton. *Integrating Counterproliferation into Defense Planning*. Santa Monica: RAND, 1997.

62 Van Breima, David. “Prophets of Poison.” *Time*, 3 April 1995.

be the motivations of would-be terrorists. Past terrorists were political, using violence in pursuit of particular aims. The Aum group, and perhaps also the bombers of the World Trade Center in New York, were more apocalyptic than specific in their objectives; they sought revenge or vengeance more than any specific political goal. This may be a particular concern for the United States, as the world's pre-eminent power, the "Great Satan," but the bizarre illogic of these groups may make almost any state a target.

What the United States and the other industrial democracies share is the need to try to prepare for the unthinkable. In the United States, for instance, the first responders in the event of an attack would be state and local officials with hardly any preparation for dealing with WMD. At the federal level, authority is scattered, and most of the capacity is in the hands of the military, which is not, however, by either mandate or custom the lead agency in responding.

The third shadow of WMD is newer; it is the shadow of mass disruption more than mass destruction. The industrial economies depend more and more on critical infrastructures – power, air traffic control, banking and telecommunications – and information lies at the core of all of them.<sup>63</sup> Thus, an adversary, state or terrorist group, might seek to disrupt those networks either physically by destroying particular stations or nodes, or indirectly, by getting inside the information systems. Mother Nature provided North America a foretaste of those vulnerabilities during the winter of 1997/98 when ice storms broke power lines, which in turn disrupted water supplies; Canada came within hours of evacuating Montreal.<sup>64</sup>

The infrastructures, especially information, are global, so protection can be only as good as the weakest link. The policy problem is compounded because the infrastructures are increasingly in private, not

63 Molander, Roger, Andrew Riddile, and Peter Wilson. *Strategic Information Warfare: A New Face of War*. Santa Monica: RAND, 1996.

64 "Canada: After the Storm, the Clearing-up." *The Economist*, 17 January 1998.

public, hands. In the United States, moreover, those private sector managers, especially in telecommunications, have spent their careers breaking free of government regulation. They will not easily accept government intervention to safeguard their networks even if they might privately acknowledge that competition drives them to invest too little in protection.

*How Important Is the “New Security Agenda?”*

During the Cold War “security” came to acquire a double meaning. One sense was “national security,” oriented outward, especially towards the Soviet threat. That sense came to supplant, for a time in the United States at least, the older meaning of security, “social security,” oriented inward towards citizens’ safety from crime and unemployment. With the end of the Cold War, that older agenda is coming to the fore, albeit in new forms.

There are two forms. One is the underside of the market state, the recognition that the tails of “domestic” ills, like crime, overlap national boundaries and that existing institutions are more and more mismatched to the task of coping with them. Policing, for instance, derives from state authority and is usually defined geographically, often in small units (like cities). Yet crime cuts across those jurisdictions.

The other form might be thought of as “threats without threateners.”<sup>65</sup> If they are a threat, the threat results from the cumulative effect of actions taken for other reasons, not from intent that is purposive and hostile. Those who burn the Amazon rain forests or try to immigrate illegally or even those who traffic in drugs to the United States do not necessarily wish Americans harm; they simply want to survive or get rich. *Their* self-interest becomes *our* threat. The logic of these threats without threateners is different from traditional security issues. They

65 Trevorton, Gregory. *The Changing Security Agenda*. Santa Monica: RAND, 1995.

are chronic and long-term, not acute and short-term. They are not necessarily “zero sum” in the way traditional threats were. Some of them, ecological damage, for instance, may not be reversible to the extent that even (pre-nuclear) wars were. They may be less susceptible to unilateral approaches than traditional security issues. Some of them may lie beyond the domain of government. The Cold War was a government monopoly; many of these issues are not.

Finally, these issues may be neither cheap nor unifying as Cold War security threats. Bernard Brodie, the father of nuclear strategy wrote of the nuclear danger that perversely it united the Soviet Union; it would unite in death “men, women, children and the KGB.” The same was true in spades for the United States. By contrast, immigration affects different citizens quite differently. For the most part the Cold War was just that, cold, not hot, and so Americans fought it mostly by paying their taxes. The new agenda may require more changes in behavior. At this distance, the issues of this newer agenda do not yet seem likely to dominate the older security agenda. But that is a bet to be hedged. The Mexican and Asian fires of the late 1990s provided a foretaste of just how riveting the “new” issues could be. And imagine what two Chernobyls in one year would do to the security agenda.

### Scanning the Future for Near-Term Discontinuities

This paper inevitably portrays the near-term future, at the next century’s opening, as more of the same. 2010 is, after all, not that far away. The major trends are known, if not precisely how they will play out: the people who will shape 2010 are here, and the weaponry they will have is ordered. Yet even in a period as short as a decade, the world will be surprised. Thus, much as no one got rich by betting on the market price, so strategy based on straight-line projection is bound to be wrong, even if it may be the most prudent course.

We conclude with three categories of possible discontinuities – technological breakthroughs, major challenges to existing order and major failures. None of these, perhaps, is probable, but none is out of the

question, and so that one or two might occur becomes likely. These are suggestive, hardly exhaustive; the list could easily be lengthened, but these comprehend the major categories of discontinuity.

### *Technological Breakthroughs*

Most of the technology that will be here a decade hence is already here. Yet that future will be overhung by technological developments, if not breakthroughs, that had not yet come fully to fruition. For instance, at this distance, hydrogen-propelled automobiles seem more feasible by 2020 or 2030 than 2010. Yet their prospect might become real enough by 2010 to drastically affect the geopolitics of global energy. Advances in genetic engineering or further cascading of information technology might have comparable effects. Most would further erode state authority, create a greater need for global management, and enhance the role of the private sector. Commerce in cyberspace is growing geometrically; most estimates put it in the range of \$8 million in 1994, perhaps \$30 billion in 1998 and \$300 billion by 2002. As commerce shifts to cyberspace, more and more of it will elude government taxation.

A related development, encryption technology, will directly affect financial centers. Many computer scientists believe that “strong” encryption that is essentially unbreakable, even by government agencies, will come into widespread use within the coming decade. Already, privately developed encryption systems, such as Pretty Good Privacy (PGP), are widely available for downloading from Internet web sites, and can be configured to use large encryption keys. As these tools become used by transnational criminal organizations, terrorist groups, and others, large flows of “digital money” could take place outside the cognizance of law enforcement agencies. “Digital cash” based on strong encryption, whose provenance is untraceable, could be used for transactions. True privacy in banking may take place increasingly in cyberspace, bypassing normal controls, procedures, and players such as those traditionally provided by financial institutions.

Another set of possible breakthroughs is more specifically military. Within a decade, the strategic implications of RMA, unclear now, will

be clearer. For instance, defense may dominate because even small or medium-size states will be able to raise the costs and risks of traditional mechanized invasions.<sup>66</sup> Relatively inexpensive indirect-fire weapons, coupled with suitable terrain and adequate C<sup>4</sup>ISR, could profoundly reduce the confidence of would-be invaders interested in quick and painless victory.<sup>67</sup> Notions of “defensive defense” – that is, military postures that lacked the capacity to invade, for instance tanks – were discredited during the Cold War, but might be resuscitated by RMA.

Or the opposite might turn out to be the case, the ascendancy of offense, quickly collapsing an entire nation’s defense. This image emphasizes missiles, first strike opportunities (for instance, to destroy the opponent’s air forces and close air fields and ports), and very rapid operations in parallel, including information operations. This implication would be destabilizing. It is the parallel of nuclear era vulnerability: in this case, a nation might invite attack by depending on but not adequately protecting state-of-the-art technology systems, such as aircraft with precision weapons.

The outcome of RMA will also bear on the possibilities for peace operations. Now, RMA appears to have the least dramatic effects in conflicts involving urban sprawl, jungles, or rugged mountains with cover. Aggressors will both avoid exposing themselves in open terrain and exploit the cover of rugged terrain (including that of cities) as quickly as possible. If aggressors could control warning time, conquer neighbors with little depth, avoid open terrain, and either deter or delay intervention forces with WMD, and if high-confidence defenses

66 For general discussion of deterrence, see *Post-Cold War Conflict Deterrence*. Naval Studies Board, National Research Council. Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press, 1997.

67 This observation is based in part on the work of colleagues Randall Steeb and John Matsumura, some of which is included in a Defense Science Board report on Technology for 21<sup>st</sup> Century Military Superiority, 1996 (2 volumes).

against ballistic and cruise missiles proved elusive, multilateral intervention might become too risky to contemplate.

On the other hand, while it now seems unlikely, RMA could produce technology and tactics for very effective intervention in unpromising circumstances. This might be based on the proliferation of small and inexpensive sensors, netted information systems, capabilities for rapid and precise raids on enemy forces (even terrorists or guerillas), and close cooperation with friendly, local ground forces providing the manpower needed to secure territory. It is plausible, at least, that to survive, enemy forces would have to disperse so much that they would be ineffective as military forces, and effective only as occasional terrorists. None of these strategic implications of RMA may be decisively apparent within a decade; however, the trend will be clearer.

### *Major Challenges*

*The Balkans.* This area is now a present challenge and likely to remain so. The breakup of Yugoslavia was followed by the Bosnia conflagration and the Dayton rescue. Now Kosovo is the focus but the larger involvement of Albania, Macedonia, Greece, and Turkey remains a real possibility. So is extended armed conflict between Albanians and Serbs.

American interests are indirect. The most powerful is what finally moved the Clinton administration: the credibility of NATO and of American leadership, for the earlier UN involvement in Bosnia by UNPROFOR nearly caused a rift in the Alliance. Other US stakes are on not letting European allies fall out or fail, and not alienating Russia.

The Balkan crises also comes as the international community moves, haltingly, from the established view that states may not intervene in affairs essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of another state, to the proposition that the international community has an interest bordering on a right to engage itself in the protection of human rights. There is another paradox: the OSCE principles do not permit change of borders except by common consent. Yet they implicitly recognize the right

of people to self-determination.

What was in the end impossible to deny to Slovenia and Croatia, then Bosnia, will be hard to resist conceding to Kosovo. The existing formula – greater autonomy within Serbia, not independence – probably has been overtaken by events. The likelihood is that the West will have to play a protector's role with respect to a *de facto* if not *de jure* independent Kosovo.

Ultimately, a lasting settlement in the Balkans will not be obtained until the West, with Russian and other support, faces the issue of Serbia, and the role of that truncated but still key country in the Balkans. Endless sanctions are not the basis for a sustainable policy. A more viable approach needs to recognize Serbia's role in the Balkans and secure Serbian cooperation rather than opposition to European security. Such an approach is not yet on the horizon.

*Central Asia and the Caspian Basin.* The states in this region are different enough so that generalizations may mislead. But almost all run the risk that reform may produce neither market economies nor democracy. Many are rather tribes than nations, their leaders only partly sheep-dipped former communists. The Caspian Basin is torn by multiple interethnic and inter-state conflicts, Russian's heavy-handed mischief, and international competition for energy resources from a variety of players as far flung as the United States, Turkey, China, and Russia, to name a few. The region has all the makings of the twenty-first century's Middle East.

The region's energy reserves are not large by comparison to the Gulf, but they are new. The stuff for serious conflict is present in the mix of border issues, mineral resources, transit rights, ethnic differences, tribalism, and historic animosities. Autocratic leaders could well play havoc with these issues. Moreover, the future will play out in the shadow of Russian desires to protect the interests of Russian populations in these countries, if not to reassert new forms of influence to replace the lost Soviet empire. Events in two countries could have wider repercussions. One is Iran. Internally, that country faces a transition which will pit the need for reform against autocratic, conservative, and religiously uncompromising leadership. Moreover,



Iran is a country where Russian, Chinese, and Western powers interact.

The other is Turkey. Though a member of NATO and European in its political preference, its estrangement from Europe is increasing, playing into its domestic politics. The political system is fragile, and Islamic values mix with nationalism. The danger is that the Turkish military leaders will reassert their historic role in protecting the Ataturk legacy, but to the detriment of democracy and market reform. Externally, latent tendencies towards thinking in terms of an expanding zone of Turkish influence could trigger more serious conflict on Turkey's periphery. Such a conflict would automatically put NATO on the spot.

*Major use of force.* A major use of force is not likely. American predominance makes it so. Yet a miscalculation is possible, as are events unleashing their own dynamic. Predicting where this may happen is perilous, but the probable places are where there is force already assembled, and those are in Asia – China-Taiwan, the Koreas, perhaps India-Pakistan. And it is not out of the question that Iraq might again take the world to war. In the long run, a solution to the China-Taiwan problem is in sight: Taiwan would ultimately reintegrate into a China that was dramatically changed by its own economic – and thus political – transformation. But Keynes was right about the long run, and miscalculations or half-advertent escalations are all too possible. So, too, for all the thinking about Korea, the end of the North will probably come in ways that are a surprise, and the surprise could be nasty. In the short run, India and Pakistan will probably saber-rattle themselves into caution. Their nuclear testing is very bad news for the global non-proliferation regime, but it probably will reinforce mutual deterrence between the two of them.<sup>68</sup>

If the war were a repeat of Desert Storm, perhaps in Asia, it would reinforce American military dominance. If the war – say between India

68 Kenneth Waltz may turn out to be right in the end. See his debate with Sagan, Scott. *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1995.

and Pakistan – crossed into WMD, it would take global security to a realm it has only glimpsed before. If the war were purely regional, in South Asia, it might only serve to shock the world about nuclear weapons. If however the United States flinched in a challenge to it, was successfully deterred from intervening, or if a US-led coalition came apart or never came together, would-be aggressors would draw appropriately menacing conclusions.

*Major WMD attack by a state or terrorist group.* The WMD dog is the one that has not barked. Iranian-Iraqi exchanges of chemical weapons during their war was lethal but inconclusive. “Stings” intended to trap nuclear traffickers from the former Soviet Union have netted prey, but so far no more than laboratory quantities of nuclear materials have been involved. The Aum Shinrikyo gassing of the Tokyo subway in 1995 was ominous but, happily, not very lethal.

If a state succeeded in beating an opponent with WMD, that would both increase the incentive of states to think of such weapons and of the international community to try to proscribe them. If the weapon were nuclear, the latter would probably outweigh the former; if the weapon were biological or chemical, the balance of local gain and international opprobrium would be harder to calculate. If a country stood down the United States with the asymmetric threat of WMD, it would earn both opprobrium and gain; if it used the weapon, opprobrium would dominate. In either case, American military pre-eminence would have suffered a telling blow.

A major terrorist use of WMD would have enormous stun value, and, again, the effects would be an ambivalent mix of national protection and international cooperation. On the one hand, states would turn inward, seeking to protect themselves. Already, for instance, homeland defense, so called, is rising on the American agenda. A WMD terrorist attack, one plausibly connected to foreign instigators, would compel retaliation if possible, but it surely would turn the American body politic to preoccupation with missile defense, sensors, and emergency management. States would try to protect themselves, including, perhaps, by cutting (implicit) deals with the threateners if possible. At the same time, the use would spur international police and other efforts to deter future terrorists.

*Breakdown in the Middle East.* The traditional acrimony and low-level violence in and around Israel notwithstanding, the commitment of virtually all key players and parties to a process of negotiation is strong enough that the prospect is for a continuation – however halting – of the peace process.

Nevertheless, a major conflict cannot be ruled out, and it would impose enormous costs, particularly to great power cooperation. American interests are huge: Israel's viability, assured access to Middle East energy at reasonable prices, and the continued capacity to project power in the Middle East and the Gulf from friendly territory in the region. European interests would hardly be less. The elements of major conflict are dormant for now but still present: sharp dispute about territory, including Jerusalem; a substantial Palestine refugee population; competing economic interests; a historical burden of deep mistrust; and political extremism. Moreover, some of the pillars on which the peace process rests – such as a constructive Egyptian role – cannot be taken for granted, given the factors that might lead to instability in that country. A reversal in Saudi Arabia (see below) might also upset the peace process. The presence of WMD in the area makes the mix more dangerous still.

#### *Major Failures*

*The Collapse of Saudi Arabia.* This has long been on the strategists' lists of nasty accidents. The ingredients continue to be there, and the indicators are worsening. With low oil prices, even Saudi revenues cannot match the enormous expectations of its citizens – who comprise a smaller and smaller slice of the neighborhood. The Gulf war demonstrated how utterly dependent the regime was on the United States, and it also underscored how uncomfortable the Saudis are with that dependence.

A crisis could come in many ways – out of a succession crisis within the royal family, or from popular discontent finding patrons in the royal family or army, or out of a failed defense against some incursion, uprising or subversion. So, too, its outcome could also take many forms, for life is always more creative than analysis. But perhaps most likely

would be some Islamic renovation under some royal patron, a revival that would be anti-America, anti-corruption and anti-West. If the regime did not seek to make peace with Iraq and other former opponents, it would surely be much less inclined to serve in any way as the forward edge of US power projection in the region.

*The Japanese crisis, the Asian crisis.* With the passing months, it becomes clearer and clearer that the “Asian crises” really were and are a Japanese crisis. The creeping devaluation of the yen, along with the not-so-creeping devaluation of the Chinese currency, put the South-East Asians into an impossible competitive position. Now, with the crisis upon us, Japan seems unable to take effective action to begin to reverse the downward spiral. There are hints that the obstacles are more than policy; they seem deeply rooted in patterns of domestic saving and in the business links among firms in the domestic economy.

In 1997 Japan did let two major financial institutions fail, a hopeful sign that serious action impended. But a major collapse might trigger a real contraction in Japan, which accounts for nearly two-thirds of Asia’s GNP.<sup>69</sup> That, in turn, would be amplified by a Chinese decision to devalue, which would trigger a further collapse of currencies in South-East Asia. Then, first the rosy prognosis for Asia would be cast into doubt and North America and Europe, so far not much affected by Asia’s crises, would find themselves very much affected. A global recession would be thinkable.

*The Russian civil war after Yeltsin.* The worst foreboding of strategists a decade ago have not come true. Russia has not splintered, fallen into civil war or decayed into warlordism. Yet Russia or one of the states of the former Soviet Union could still decline into failed or rogue states that would call for – but probably not receive – large measures of international attention and resources over a long period. The market has indeed triumphed in destroying the formal socialist system, but it has

69 *Economic and Social Survey of Asia and the Pacific, 1997*. New York: United Nations, 22f.

yet to bring order and purpose to the mess left behind by Soviet collapse. And the West's involvement in this process, through financial and technical assistance on multiple fronts, is increasingly seen in the region as part of the problem, not part of the solution.<sup>70</sup>

So far the turmoil has been confined to the region itself. However, there are signs that this is changing. The rest of the world may well confront the consequences of failed transition in one or more of the states. Already there is the risk of proliferating WMD, related technologies, and expertise; the internationalization of Russian organized crime; a significant increase in drug trafficking through Central Asia, Russia, and Ukraine to Europe and the United States; the internationalization of Russian and Ukrainian prostitution; Russia's counterproductive behavior *vis-à-vis* Western policy priorities in the region and elsewhere; a nearly failed state in Belarus; continued confrontation in the Caucasus and Transcaucasus where the West has growing interests; and a serious disillusionment especially in Russia and Ukraine of the West and its abilities, willingness, and motivations to provide assistance.

*US failure.* A mistake on the scale of Vietnam does not seem likely given both the world and the American mood. But a strategic mistake of commitment incommensurate with stakes is not entirely to be ruled out. Suppose China attacked Taiwan in a way that American politics regarded as unprovoked. Or imagine a messy collapse in Saudi Arabia.

Still, a failure of omission seems more conceivable than an error of commission. Imagine a Balkan might-have-been: suppose, in 1995, with European UNPROFOR troops surrounded, the United States had stood by. Or worse still, suppose it had intervened only to rescue its allies and "succeeded" only with considerable bloodshed. Think how different Europe would look now, with Balkan bullies feeling vindicated, allies betrayed and Americans bewildered about bloodshed in a

70 For just one example, see the interview with Sergei Rogov, Director of the USA-Canada Institute in Moscow, in *Pravda*, 18 June 1998.

“far away place of which we know little.”

*Europe adrift.* It is paradoxical to end this section with the possible failure of Europe. Yet a number of factors already visible could, in some combination, produce such a discontinuity. A Europe that could not hold its own would be the source of deep disappointment. Europe adrift would force the United States to face disagreeable choices of acting alone or not at all.<sup>71</sup>

While the notion of European integration enjoys broad popular European support, “Brussels” is seen by many Europeans as an alien and unaccountable, if not hostile, force – what Europeans call the “democratic deficit.” The economic disparity between the rich and the poor parts of Europe will require transfers, either of resources from prosperous to less well off, or of people the other way around. A botched EMU could abet these tensions: a strong Euro might increase the disparities, choking off, for instance, the growth that has resumed in Europe’s poorer countries, while a weak Euro would get the new currency off to a shaky start. If external shocks (like the Asian crises) hurt some regions more than others, that would exacerbate the disparities.

European countries and societies will continue to be reminded that they are not tight little islands but part of a continental, indeed global, set of forces to which they must adjust. The Balkans today and North Africa today and tomorrow, are Europe’s “South;” they are akin to what Mexico is to the United States, except that North Africa is poorer and more populous. The United States has opted to join with Mexico in the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA),

71 Newhouse, John. *Europe Adrift*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1997.

seeking stable governance and enough prosperity to induce Mexicans to stay at home. For Europe the task of dealing with its South is harder and has not yet begun.

JOHN LEWIS GADDIS

## Muddling Through? A Strategic Checklist for the United States in the Post-Cold War World

The single most striking feature of the post-Cold War environment is the diffusion, not the disappearance, of threats. The half-century extending from 1941 to 1991 was, for the United States, one in which threats were both focused and obvious. From the time of the surprise attack on Pearl Harbor until the final collapse of the Soviet Union exactly fifty years later, we knew who our enemies were, or at least might be. As a consequence, we abandoned the isolationism that had characterized most of our history in favor of an unaccustomed but – as it turned out – highly effective internationalism.

Few people today would argue that as we return to an environment of diffused threats we can revert to isolationism. We are too bound up with the rest of the world, whether through our economic ties, our concerns about human rights, our fears that new technologies might take on potentially lethal forms, our awareness that we share a global ecology, and – perhaps most important – our memories of what happened after World War I, when we did indeed relinquish international responsibilities in the hope of returning to what we remembered, however imprecisely, as the innocent isolationist days of our national youth.

We have no experience, though, being actively involved in a world in which threats are dispersed, but that is the situation which now



confronts us.<sup>1</sup> Old justifications for internationalism, based upon the existence of clear and present dangers, are no longer convincing; if persisted in they could even tempt us into constructing imaginary perils to justify our justifications. We need new strategies for a world in which threats are indistinct and potential – if no less real. None have yet emerged, hence the widely-shared perception, over the past several years, of strategic “drift.”<sup>2</sup>

## The Necessity of a Strategy

In one sense, this is no bad thing. Our leaders at most points during the Cold War would have given their eye-teeth and a good deal more for the pre-eminence the United States now enjoys, whether in the military, economic, technological, cultural or moral dimensions of power. Whatever we imagined “victory” in the Cold War would look like while it was going on, the present compares favorably; so much so that future historians will probably recall ours as a golden age. The question arises, then: why, if things are going so well in the absence of a strategy, do we even need one? Why cannot we just follow the old British

- 1 Perhaps the closest precedent is American military planning during the 1920s and the early 1930s, before the Japanese and German threats became self-evident; but this was hardly a period of active political involvement with the rest of the world. For a brief discussion, see Cohen, Eliot A. “The Strategy of Innocence? The United States, 1920-1945.” In *The Making of Strategy: Rulers, States, and War*, ed. Williamson Murray, MacGregor Knox, and Alvin Bernstein, 428-465, especially 440f. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- 2 Posen, Barry R. and Andrew L. Ross. “Competing Visions for U.S. Grand Strategy.” *International Security* 21, no. 3 (1996): 5-53, provide a useful categorization of the approaches that have emerged so far: neo-isolationism, selective engagement, cooperative security, and primacy. But as they point out (44-50), the Clinton administration has attempted to pursue at least three of these simultaneously.

example and simply “muddle through?”

There are two good answers to this question. The first is that British strategy was less muddled than the canny Brits liked to have it appear. Any island that managed to dominate several continents for several hundred years cannot have been making it all up as it went along. There was a strategy, even if it did involve improvisation, and it worked for quite a while.<sup>3</sup>

The second and more substantive answer is that golden ages are like stock market bubbles: punctures, sooner or later, are bound to occur, and it would be a good idea to prepare now for the deflation that is sure to come. We have arrived at an unusually favorable position only in part through the wisdom and virtue of our policies. Our luck – for that has also brought us to where we are – can and eventually will change. When it does, when we again encounter adversity, we will again need to think in strategic terms. So maybe we should get a head start. It might help to begin with the situation that confronts us. Presumably any strategy framed at the level of the nation-state seeks to do three things: to ensure first survival, and then security, and then a congenial international environment. Where do we stand with respect to each of these objectives as this century comes to an end?

Survival is hardly in question. Threats to our national existence have arisen in the past – the struggle for independence, the Civil War, the prospect of nuclear annihilation during the Cold War – but none loom large on today’s horizon. We face no situation comparable to what

3 It is succinctly described, and contrasted with Bismarck’s strategy, in Joffe, Josef. “‘Bismarck’ or ‘Britain?’ Toward an American Grand Strategy after Bipolarity.” *International Security* 19, no. 4 (1995): 94-117. For case studies illustrating the frequently effective combination of improvisation and sophistication in British grand strategy, see also the essays by William S. Maltby, John Gooch, and Williamson Murray in Murray, Knox, and Bernstein, *The Making of Strategy*, 151-177, 278-306, and 393-427, as well as those by John B. Hattendorf, Michael Howard, and Eliot A. Cohen in *Grand Strategies in War and Peace*, ed. Paul Kennedy, 11-67. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991.

confronted the victims of German and Japanese aggression in World War II, or the conditions that ruined the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia during the early 1990s, or even the peaceful processes that broke apart Czechoslovakia and may yet break apart Canada.

There is one remote but not negligible threat within this category, though, and we ought to give it more attention than we do because the consequences, if they materialized, would be horrendous. I have in mind a deliberate or, more likely, an accidental nuclear exchange, brought about by the fact that several of the great powers still possess sufficient nuclear weapons to render each other's territory uninhabitable.<sup>4</sup> Just because the Cold War has ended does not mean that the danger of nuclear war has gone away – indeed as recent events on the Indian subcontinent suggest, it may actually have become more probable. The scale would not be what it could have been during the Cold War, with thousands of such weapons going off simultaneously. Cut that back by a factor of a hundred, though, and the results would still be bad enough to qualify – I think it is the only thing at the moment that qualifies – as something that could call survival into question.

Nor is our security at risk in the way that it was during the half-century that spanned 1941-1991. Then the threats we faced originated with dangerous people like Hitler, Stalin, Khrushchev, Mao, and the systems that sustained them. We knew who and what they were, even as we debated the most appropriate methods of handling them. We worried that even though the nation might survive such confrontations, its character could change, whether as a result of being left without allies in a hostile world, or through internal subversion, or because of the exertions Americans might have to make – the vast

4 See, on this point, Turner, Stansfield. *Caging the Nuclear Genie: An American Challenge for Global Security*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1997; also Blair, Bruce G., Harold A. Feiveson and Frank von Hippel. "Taking Nuclear Weapons off Hair-Trigger Alert." *Scientific American* 277, no. 5 (1997): 74-81.

military expenditures, the potential curtailment of liberties – to ward off those dangers.<sup>5</sup>

Today threats tend to come in the form of dangerous processes that no one in particular has set in motion: the proliferation of lethal technologies, the emergence of violently-defined ethnic rivalries, the costs of environmental pollution, the risk of vaccine-resistant plagues, the vulnerabilities of interdependent information links, the pressures of population against resources, and a gradual loss of control over the economic conditions that determine our standard of living. These phenomena lack, for the most part, definable agency. We can rarely hold any one person or country responsible for them. They are dangers that are present, but not clear.<sup>6</sup>

That leaves, then, the international environment within which we function. With all our current problems we will probably remember the 1990s with a certain nostalgia, for the position of the United States may be as favorable now as we can ever expect it to be. Our task here, then, becomes one of preservation: we seek not to alter a menacing global system, as we did during World War II and the Cold

5 I have tried to describe these anxieties in *Strategies of Containment: A Critical Appraisal of Postwar American National Security Policy*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1982; and in *The United States and the End of the Cold War: Implications, Reconsiderations, Provocations*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992, especially 47-64.

6 The literature on them is voluminous. For some examples, see Wright, Robin and Doyle McManus. *Flashpoints: Promise and Peril in a New World*. New York: Knopf, 1991; Kennedy, Paul. *Preparing for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*. New York: HarperCollins, 1993; Kaplan, Robert D. *The Ends of the Earth: A Journey at the Dawn of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*. New York: Random House, 1996; Linden, Eugene. *The Future in Plain Sight: Nine Clues to the Coming Instability*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1998; and Betts, Richard K. "The New Threat of Mass Destruction." *Foreign Affairs* 77, no. 1 (1998): 26-41.

War, but to hang onto as much as we can of the relatively benign system we already have.<sup>7</sup>

This, though, is where things get murky, because when you consider the number of variables that make up today's international system, the complexity of their interactions, and hence the difficulty of determining where we must act and where we can let well enough alone – to say nothing of where we can act and expect our actions to have consequences – well, the Cold War, by comparison, seems easy.<sup>8</sup>

We confront a situation, therefore, in which dangers have diminished but uncertainties have mounted, and that in itself carries certain risks. It has been said that the prospect of execution clears the mind. If that is true, then the perception of safety probably clouds it. Vital interests become less apparent than they might be, and the need to match them with capabilities seems less compelling than it should be. Planning requires hard work and careful thought – hence the temptation to give up on it altogether and simply take the crises as they come. “Muddling through” definitely has its appeal.

It is a little like flying an airplane. Pilots, whether operating in a hostile or a benign environment, value the freedom to improvise. Whether you are flying an F-15 for the United States Air Force or a 747 for United Airlines, you would not want to lock yourself into some rigidly prescribed flight plan. You would want the flexibility to shift your heading, your altitude, or your speed when you encounter the unexpected, whether it is a SAM missile or a big bad

7 For an earlier transition from a menacing to a benign international system, see Schroeder, Paul W. *The Transformation of European Politics, 1763-1848*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994. Also relevant here, of course, is Henry Kissinger's classic, *A World Restored: Europe After Napoleon*. New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1957.

8 The point is best made by Jervis, Robert. “U.S. Grand Strategy: Mission Impossible.” *Naval War College Review* 51, no. 3 (1998): 22-36. See also his *Systems Effects: Complexity in Political and Social Life*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.

thunderstorm or a wayward weekend Cessna. You can never be sure what you are going to run into along the way, and you need to be able to use your own judgment – not just that of your auto pilot or your air traffic controller – in responding to it.

This is by no means the same thing, though, as operating without a strategy. For if the pilot has not learned ahead of time what to avoid in flying a plane – errors like forgetting to set the flaps correctly, or taking off without enough fuel or with too much weight, or neglecting to calibrate altimeters and navigation equipment accurately – then the effects even in a peaceful environment can be as devastating as encountering an enemy fighter ace in wartime. That is why all pilots, civilian or military, have checklists: they provide a way, not of predicting what is going to happen, but of preparing for whatever that might turn out to be.

## Suggestions for a Strategic Checklist

In a world of indistinct and potential rather than clear and present dangers, perhaps we ought to think of strategy in the same way. We know more or less where we want to go – or at least what we want to hang onto – but unlike the situation throughout most of the Cold War, we have no clear sense of who or what will stand in our way. Maybe the best we can do, therefore, is to concentrate on avoiding predictable hazards, leaving room for improvisation to dodge the unpredictable ones as the need arises. We do not need as much strategic forecasting as a strategic checklist – a reminder of known pitfalls for use in navigating around the unknown ones that are certain to lie ahead. What follows are a few suggestions for what ought to be on it.

*Specify a destination.* Sometimes it seems that if we do not have a word, we do not have a strategy. Recalling the elegance of the term “containment,” we keep trying to find a post-Cold War equivalent, and

so seize on words like “enlargement” and “engagement” – all it takes to make a strategy these days, it seems, is to turn a verb into a noun.<sup>9</sup> The principle of economy in prose is admirable, to be sure, but it is worth asking why we must impose such discipline on our strategies when we so rarely practice it elsewhere. We do not insist on verbal parsimony when we record messages for our answering machines, or compose e-mail, or edit famous authors. Why require it here?

Neither Metternich, nor Bismarck, nor Mahan ever sought to reduce their strategic thinking to a single word. Kennan got stuck with one, it is true; but that was not his choice and he has spent much of his life trying to clear up the resulting confusion.<sup>10</sup> Yet even the word “containment” made more sense in 1946/47 than the ones bandied about now: at least then there was an object to be contained. What is it though, in the 1990s, that is to be engaged or enlarged? The answers are rarely clear, which means that the words we ought to be using to *describe* our strategy instead *become* our strategy.

One result is that we tend to lose sight of where we want to end up. We confuse the method of transportation with the intended destination. It is as if instead of flying to Philadelphia we announce our objective as simply flying. A strategy ought to announce as clearly as flight attendants do where it intends to go, even if it cannot specify all the conditions to be encountered along the way. Kennan did this when he said that the objective of “containment” was to hold the line until the Soviet Union changed from within. Nixon and Kissinger did this when they talked about seeking a global equilibrium in which the five great Cold War powers would balance one another. Reagan did this when he

9 To the extent that the Clinton administration has articulated a grand strategy, it has centered around these terms. See *A National Security Strategy of Engagement and Enlargement*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1994, 1996; also Lake, Anthony. “From Containment to Enlargement.” *U.S. Department of State Dispatch* 4, no. 39 (27 September 1993): 658-64.

10 The first sustained attempt was Kennan, George F. *Memoirs: 1925-1950*. Boston: Little Brown, 1967, especially 354-67, but there have been many others.

said – even if few people believed him – that the purpose of building up military strength was to facilitate negotiations with the Soviet Union and ultimately to end the Cold War.<sup>11</sup>

What is the intended destination, though, of a particularly visible airplane that has just taken off, which is NATO expansion? Is it only to bring in Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic, as many of the citizens of those countries would like to believe? Is it to bring in some additional Eastern European states but not others, as Secretary of State Madeleine Albright suggested when she raised the possibility of including the Baltic States? Is it to bring in all the Eastern Europeans and even other former Soviet republics, as Belorussian, Ukrainian, and Armenian lobbying groups in this country apparently hope? Is it eventually to include the Russians as well, an outcome that would horrify most of these other groups, as well as the current chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Senator Jesse Helms?

The Clinton administration has not said, and I fear it is because it has not itself decided.<sup>12</sup> Instead it has asked us to board an airplane for which the destination board reads simply “expansion.” It is not yet clear where it is going to land, and so it is no wonder that so many people are nervous about making the trip.

*Upgrade your instruments.* NATO expansion is happening, I think, because of a second questionable notion: that whatever worked well in the past will do so in the future – even if the future is very different from the past. Adjusting to new eras is always difficult, as the British royal family has recently discovered; all the more so when the old era ends, as the Cold War did, abruptly and unexpectedly. Individuals

11 I have discussed the shifting objectives of containment in *The United States and the End of the Cold War*, 18-46. My point is that, despite their differences, each of these Cold War strategists at least specified destinations.

12 For what the administration *has* said, together with the views of some of its critics, see US Congress, Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations. *The Debate on NATO Enlargement: Hearings before the Committee on Foreign Relations*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1998.



and institutions get set in their ways, and although they are rarely so short-sighted as to believe they can prevent change altogether, they often try to adapt the familiar to it. There is a certain reassurance in such recycling, for it means that fresh thinking is not required.

This nostalgia for the past can take several forms. Certain academic experts, uneasy with the possibility that there may be no obvious adversary to contain, have preferred to find new ones rather than relinquish “containment.” They have produced murky definitions, speculative scenarios, and vaguely ominous warnings about clashing civilizations; but there is as yet no consensus as to precisely what it is, in the future, that will need containing.<sup>13</sup> Nor is there acknowledgement of the interesting possibility that one can have a strategy without having an obvious enemy – that you can fly an airplane without there being somebody out there trying to shoot you down.

Old instruments can also postpone – or provide the illusion of avoiding altogether – tough decisions. Any objective assessment of the situation in Europe today would conclude that it is economic disparities, not military capabilities or ideological differences, that divide the continent. Reintegration, hence, requires economic remedies, and the European Union would seem to be the obvious mechanism for providing them. That would demand that its members take the initiative, though, and for whatever reason they have been slow to do so. It has proven easier, therefore, to fall back on an old instrument – NATO – where there is a dominant power willing to lead – the United States – despite the fact that the task for which the alliance was invented is hardly the task at hand. We have reached for a monkey wrench, in effect, to fix a com-

13 The criticism has been directed most frequently towards the recent writings of Samuel P. Huntington, especially *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996. See, for example, Walt, Stephen M. “Building Up New Bogeysmen.” *Foreign Policy*, no. 106 (Spring 1997): 177-189. But for other vague warnings, see Weinberger, Caspar and Peter Schweizer. *The Next War*. Washington: Regnery, 1996; and Bernstein, Richard and Ross H. Monroe. *The Coming Conflict with China*. New York: Knopf, 1997.

puter.

Nuclear weapons are, like NATO, artifacts of the Cold War, and despite substantial cuts we and the Russians still retain far more of these things than we could ever have feasibly used, even if World War III had at some point broken out. For reasons of familiarity, or perhaps just inertia, it did not occur to anyone in a position of official responsibility in Washington to explore the possibility, after 1991, of moving towards their total but verifiable abolition, an option several former commanders of our Cold War nuclear capabilities have since endorsed.<sup>14</sup> Our failure even to consider this has now placed us in a difficult spot in attempting to discourage nuclear proliferation.<sup>15</sup> We would have had far greater leverage over India and Pakistan in 1998 – and over whatever other states may now follow their example – if we had announced our intention, several years ago, to seek responsible ways of dispensing altogether with these dangerously antiquated relics, instead of mindlessly hanging onto them. The security we have gained by pursuing this latter course is hardly likely to balance the perils that will now probably emerge – but that might have been headed off.

There will always be a tendency, both in official and academic worlds, to cling to what seems familiar. That is only human nature. But when such reverence for the past becomes an end in itself – when we prefer old traditions and institutions in a world that has passed them by without regard to costs or consequences – when we try to make strategy, in short, in the way the Windsors handle public relations – then old ways

14 For a review of the nuclear abolitionist “upsurge,” see *Strategic Survey 1997/98*. International Institute for Strategic Studies. London: Oxford University Press for the IISS, 45-54; but see also Schell, Jonathan. *The Gift of Time: The Case for Abolishing Nuclear Weapons Now*. New York: Henry Holt, 1998. Reagan and Gorbachev of course also discussed the possibility of abolition, briefly and inconclusively, at Reykjavik in 1986.

15 Not least because the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty of 1968 obliged its nuclear-capable signatories to do precisely that.

of thinking can become an excuse for failing to

comprehend, confront, and cope with the future. That surely qualifies it for our “what to avoid” checklist.

*Avoid arrogance.* Another bad habit pilots know to avoid is the tendency to equate power with wisdom. Anything that flies, regardless of its size and strength, is to some extent at the mercy of the medium through which it is flying. It is foolish to think that you can fly through whatever is out there: sometimes it is best to go around, or to divert to another destination, or to cancel the flight altogether. Humility is a quality worth cultivating, both in the air and with respect to the world at large.

Despite the pre-eminence the United States enjoyed during the Cold War, its leaders rarely behaved arrogantly when it counted. It is remarkable how frequently Washington not only consulted its allies but deferred to them in such matters as meeting their domestic political requirements, running military alliances, or encouraging economic reconstruction, even if this meant creating future competitors for the United States. When compared to the unilateralism with which the Soviet Union operated, the contrast is startling – and not what one might have expected, given the power disparities the Americans enjoyed.<sup>16</sup>

Today, though, things are going so well for the United States that the temptation exists to bypass multilateral cooperation. If indeed our culture, our economy and our political tradition are admired and even envied throughout the world – as they seem to be – why not just push things through, imposing our views on people who, at the moment, have neither the means nor the inclination to resist?<sup>17</sup>

16 I have discussed this pattern at greater length in *We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997, 196-203.

17 The temptations are discussed in “America the Brazen.” *Time*, 4 August 1997.

The answer, of course, is that such arrogance will, in time, generate its own resistance.<sup>18</sup> If Americans should ever interpret the absence of opposition as license to throw our weight around without regard to the wishes of those who wish us well – if, in short, we see in this world of diffused threats no further need to build a consensus behind our policies – then we could quickly go the way of our former adversaries; hence the prudence of defining our interests in ways that others can wholeheartedly share them.

There are plenty of signs around that we are failing to do this: in our refusal to pay our United Nations dues; in our isolation on such issues as banning anti-personnel mines and establishing an international war crimes tribunal; in our inability to rally consensus behind military action to ensure Iraq's compliance with the international inspection regime; in the tepid response to our proposed sanctions against India and Pakistan for their recent nuclear tests; in our widely resented attempts to punish the Cuban people and anyone who would do business with them for the fact that Fidel Castro is apparently going to live forever.

None of these are disasters in and of themselves. Cumulatively, though, they suggest that we are losing a skill that served us well during the Cold War: the ability to combine power with persuasion, to build a consensus without giving the impression of imposing one. We need, in short, to adjust to the conditions through which we are flying, and to get away from the arrogant notion that we can simply define those conditions as we go along.

*Resist specialization.* There have been instances lately of pilots literally flying their airplanes into the ground – the technical term is “controlled flight into terrain” – because they concentrated too narrowly on some particular cockpit task while losing sight of their general responsibility to keep the machine in the air until the runway was safely under it.

18 For an excellent case study, see Lynn, John A. “A Quest for Glory: The Formation of Strategy under Louis XIV, 1661-1715.” In *The Making of Strategy*, ed. Murray, Knox, and Bernstein, 178-204.

Statecraft, rather like aircraft, requires those in charge to think about a lot of things simultaneously. Trouble tends to arise when one or two are allowed to eclipse the others.

Take, for example, two general goals the Clinton administration has endorsed: encouraging the spread of democracy and promoting global economic integration. The premise behind these objectives is a simple one: it is that people who can choose their own forms of government and whose living standards are rising will have little or no reason to want to indulge in war, revolution, genocide, or other such horrors that disfigured so much of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. But is this right? Is focusing on just these two instruments going to get this airplane where we want it to go?

The India-Pakistan crisis ought to raise concerns in our minds, for it is painfully clear that domestic democratic processes produced the decision, on each side, to test nuclear weapons – and that these have met, in each instance, with an overwhelmingly favorable popular response.<sup>19</sup> Democracies, we have been assured both by theorists of international relations and by Presidents Bush and Clinton, tend not to go to war with one another.<sup>20</sup> Can we be so certain of that now, in the light of these events? It is also worth noting that India and Pakistan made their decisions to test despite the likelihood that they would suffer economically if they did so. The assumption that economic internationalism will override religious and ethnic nationalism held

19 My Yale colleague Paul Bracken makes this point in “Democracy and Nuclear Weapons in India.” *Shinmun Daily News*, 20 May 1998.

20 See, for example, Bruce Russett who in turn cites statements by Bush and Clinton (10f., 128f.). Russett, Bruce. *Grasping the Democratic Peace: Principles for a Post-Cold War World*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993. Edward D. Mansfield and Jack Snyder hedge the proposition significantly in “Democratization and the Danger of War.” *International Security* 20, no. 1 (1995): 5-38.

up no better here than did our thinking about democracy.<sup>21</sup> Most disturbing of all is the fact that the Indians told us so clearly what they intended to do. “Oh, they cannot be serious,” we assured one another, keeping our eyes firmly fixed on our theoretical cockpit computer screens as the mountain we were about to fly into loomed larger and larger in the windshield.

What this sad story suggests is that we have been looking at the world as we would like it to be, not as it actually is. We have constructed a kind of virtual reality based on a couple of principles drawn from our own experience and that of our European allies; but we have neglected what our eyes could tell us if we only opened them. And how has this happened? Here I think it is not so much the government that is responsible as it is the institutions charged with training the people who enter it. For where, within the great universities and think tanks these days, is anyone bucking the trend towards ever-narrower specialization and hence conceptualization – trends that give rise to virtual rather than actual realities, which in turn make possible “controlled flights into terrain?”

Anybody who flies an airplane has got to think about how all of its systems function together. You cannot just concentrate on the engines or the fuel tanks or the flaps and expect to get where you are going. You cannot keep your eyes on the instruments all the time, and never look out the window. We need to recapture a sense of the whole and

21 The argument has been made in Rosecrance, Richard. *The Rise of the Trading State: Commerce and Conquest in the Modern World*. New York: Basic Books, 1986; Mueller, John. *Retreat from Doomsday: The Obsolescence of Major War*. New York: Basic Books, 1989, especially 221-223; and Kaysen, Carl. “Is War Obsolete?” *International Security* 14, no. 4 (1990): 42-64.

how the parts that so preoccupy us relate to it.<sup>22</sup> We need, in short, to reacquire, and then update, a Shakespearean insight: that there are more things in heaven and earth than tend to appear along our x vs. y axes, or our four-part matrices, or even on our cockpit computer displays.

*Avoid temporal parochialism.* By this, I mean the inability to place one's current concerns within a long-term historical context – and anyone who has read this far will be relieved to learn that I do not have an airplane metaphor to go along with this one. It is always hard for those who are living through a particular historical epoch to know how future historians will regard it. One way to get some sense of this, though, is to back off from our current preoccupations and think about those long-term historical trends that have brought us to where we are. Geologists can tell us the general vicinity within which earthquakes will occur and their approximate frequency – even if they cannot specify precise places and dates. They assume, safely enough it would seem, that processes underway for vast stretches of time are not apt to reverse themselves overnight.

History does not function quite that neatly. Ancient patterns do at times

22 What is needed here closely resembles Paul Schroeder's conception of an ecological approach to international history: "It is to see and understand the forest of international politics as a professional forester would do, with knowledge of and respect for scientific forestry as an autonomous discipline, closely related to others and drawing on them, but also possessing its own rules and system. It means deliberately studying forests as forests, as entities important in their own right and not simply as the key to something else (climate, ecology, the economy of forest products, the social organization of forest animals and dwellers, or what have you). It requires posing as one's central questions the issues of what makes forests grow or die, what role chance and necessity, contingent events and deep organic developments, play in their growth or decline, what different forms and structures forests may take, how they gradually change over time, and what is required to keep forests from giving way to desert. In short, international history must be done systematically and ecologically, and must be done as international history, not primarily as a branch of or contribution to anything else." *The Transformation of European Politics*, vii.



abruptly disappear: slavery is one of them, war among great powers may be another, and autocracy could in time be a third.<sup>23</sup> This sort of thing is rare, though. Generally we can assume that if a particular trend has been underway for a hundred years or more, it will still be with us ten or twenty years into the future – which is about as far as anyone can forecast without having it become fiction. We rarely attempt this kind of analysis, though – call it tectonic mapping – when we do strategic planning. We focus too much on what is likely to happen to a single trend next month, or next year; we fail to look at what has been happening to multiple trends on a long-term basis, and how their juxtapositions might affect our future.

Consider the Clinton administration's unconditional endorsement of democratic politics and market economics. Despite their deep roots in the British liberal tradition, despite Woodrow Wilson's success in placing these principles at the center of the American ideology in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and despite the critical role they played in ending the Cold War – despite all of this, there is reason to think that their combined effects are producing results that few of their supporters would want to see. They are weakening the authority of states in general: self-determination by proliferating sovereignties to the point of self-indulgence; integration by neutralizing the state's ability to provide for its own citizens.<sup>24</sup> As a result, a trend we had taken for granted

23 John Mueller discusses the disappearance of slavery and the obsolescence of war in *Retreat from Doomsday*; see also his *Quiet Cataclysm: Reflections on the Recent Transformation of World Politics*. New York: HarperCollins, 1995. For the triumph of democracy, see Fukuyama, Francis. *The End of History and the Last Man*. New York: Free Press, 1992.

24 For example, the *New York Times*, 11 August 1998, carried stories, respectively, on the movement within the Caribbean island of Nevis (population 10,000) to secede from St. Kitts (population 36,000), and on pressures international currency speculators are mounting against the Chinese yuan. The first reflects the push for political self-determination, the second the consequences of global economic integration – and yet both constitute challenges to state authority. For more general discussion, see Clark, Ian. *Globalization and Fragmentation: International Relations in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997, especially 202.

throughout much of the 20<sup>th</sup> century – the increasing power of the state, and the progressively greater intrusion of its authority over the lives of the people subject to it – is one we can no longer take for granted in the 21<sup>st</sup>. Liberating? Yes, in some ways. But if you look at the historical evidence of what life was like before states came on the scene – and they date back, after all, only about 500 years – the situation one finds is hardly an appealing one.

For one thing states did was to monopolize the means of violence. In doing so, they restrained the more aggressive tendencies in human nature – tendencies that, anthropologists and archeologists know, extend as far back in time as we can trace.<sup>25</sup> Could it be that many of the things we find upsetting about the post-Cold War world – national and ethnic rivalries, religious fundamentalism, the proliferation of cults, the distrust of authority, the tendency to take the provision of security into one’s own hands – are in fact the normal condition of human existence, one we got beyond with the rise of the state, one we may return to if states decline?

If that is the case – and this is admittedly a speculative scenario – then the most fundamental threat this country may face is one that confronts all other states as well: the decline of their authority and a return to anarchy.<sup>26</sup> It is not at all clear that our strategic thinking has even begun to address this most fundamental of national interests – which is certainly an international one as well.

Strategic checklists carry one great risk, which is that those who compile them come across sounding a little like Polonius, Shakespeare’s send-up of the well-intentioned but indecisive parent: “neither a bor-

25 See Keeley, Lawrence H. *War Before Civilization: The Myth of the Peaceful Savage*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996; and Ehrenreich, Barbara. *Blood Rites: Origins and History of the Passions of War*. New York: Henry Holt, 1997.

26 This would be, though, an anarchy rooted in human nature, not in the international system, as the neo-realist theorists of international relations would have it.

rower nor a lender be (...)." I wonder, though, if in a different age the old boy might have made a good flight instructor: "Do not fly too high, or too low, or too fast, or too slow." Survival, in certain situations, depends upon knowing the extremes to avoid, even when there is a lot of room for improvisation – for muddling through? – in doing so. Given the difficulties we have already encountered in attempting to pilot the ship of state through an atmosphere of diffused rather than focused dangers, Polonius's counsel may be the best we are going to get. What we sacrifice in clarity we compensate for with a wider margin of error than that allowed us during the Cold War years. Call it, therefore, a strategy that leaves something to common sense.

WILLIAM I. HITCHCOCK

## Prospects for Europe and the Atlantic Alliance at Century's End

Ever since the end of the Cold War, analysts have engaged in long discussions about what sort of international order would replace it.<sup>1</sup> Though these discussions have ranged widely in their assessments, they usually took as their starting point a common assumption: that the Cold War order and the basic structure of international relations it represented, was over and done with. From 1989 until about 1995, this assessment seemed accurate: the alliance was falling apart, war broke out in Europe, the Western economies were in a tailspin, and the delicate architecture that bound Germany to the states of Western Europe seemed to be in jeopardy, overburdened by the arrival of a united, powerful Germany. Whatever order we had, it did not seem like anything we had seen before.

Lately, though, post-Cold War Europe has started to look surprisingly like Cold War Europe, at least in a number of important respects. Ever since the United States decided to press for an expanded NATO alliance, and simultaneously engage its power in the war in the former Yugoslavia, the Atlantic Alliance has been restored to its former hierarchy: the United States is the undisputed leader of the alliance, and once again Europe's sole hegemon. In the past few years, Europe's economies have begun to improve markedly, and the move is on for further steps towards economic integration – the culmination of a process begun in 1950, with the birth of the ECSC. NATO and the EU have, after a good bit of internal debate, decided to keep up their fairly

1 This essay was written in August 1998.

rigorous standards for membership, and so only the *nouveau-riche* of the European neighborhood are being let in; the poor cousins and awkward relations in South-Eastern Europe, and the former Soviet republics, are being kept at arms length. Europe's divisions, less glaring perhaps, are still in tact; they have just been pushed eastwards a bit. Above all, Russia remains the chief geo-strategic threat to stability in Europe, or is in any case perceived to be so. If this is the "new world order" we expected to see in 1989, it does seem like *déjà vu* all over again.

To some hearty Cold Warriors, the parallels between the present situation and the recent past may provide some comfort. The Cold War, after all, gave us balance, stability, and some degree of security, although at the price of many sleepless nights lost to the counting of missile silos. Indeed, John Gaddis' term for the period between 1945 and 1989 has stuck: it was the "long peace."

I would like to suggest, however, that despite a number of outward signs that things are looking up in Europe, both in economic and security terms, and that we seem now to be in a stable "order," there are some serious troubles ahead, many of which are directly related to the two developments in Europe about which there is today so much self-congratulation: the advent of European monetary union, and NATO expansion. The EU and NATO are both products of the Cold War. Yet they are also being touted as the twin pillars for the construction of a new, post-Cold War European security order. Can they serve to shore up stability in two such different periods? Are there risks that perhaps we are overlooking or underestimating in placing such hopes on the EU and NATO? I believe that there are, and while I do not want to appear too gloomy, I do think that the current policies that both the EU and NATO are pursuing will have unexpected and perhaps adverse consequences upon Europe and US-European relations. The creation of the EMU and the expansion of NATO, though designed to encourage stability and prosperity in Europe, may actually create tension and instability and lead, if not to overt conflict in Europe, at least to further clashes of security interests among the United States and its European allies. The message, then, is that despite the appearance of a stable European security and economic

system, Europe has not yet found its post-Cold War “order.” Indeed, I believe that we are on the brink of a series of what may be radical new developments in the European economic and security order in Europe.

The potential for sudden, sharp, and perhaps unwelcome change in Europe has been largely masked by the recent improvement in the fortunes of Europe economically and the re-establishment of order within the Western Alliance. Europe’s politics appear revived and refreshed by new political blood and the return of genuine debate after a period of political sclerosis; the continent is enjoying the beginnings of an economic recovery; and the Western Alliance, standing on the accomplishments in the Balkans, has been revived and renewed largely by American leadership. Let me touch on each of these points briefly.

### The Revival of Democracy

It is indisputable that European democracy has been revived in recent years. In the years following the fall of the Berlin Wall, many of the Western European states appeared timid, adrift, uncertain of the challenges ahead. Their leaders too seemed ill-equipped to handle the sudden change that had been thrust upon them. President Mitterrand was widely reviled in France, so much so that his long-time political rival, widely considered a lightweight and somewhat comical figure, Jacques Chirac, was elected to the presidency – notwithstanding a sudden last-minute surge by the Socialist Lionel Jospin in the presidential campaign. John Major produced Britain’s all-time lowest approval ratings. Helmut Kohl broke Adenauer’s record for longest-serving Chancellor and was setting out to challenge Bismarck’s record, leading Europeans and Germans alike to wonder at the German penchant for authoritarian and stable rule. Italy was as usual a laughing stock, with corruption and cronyism being exposed, to no one’s surprise, at the very upper reaches of the government and administration; indeed, all of Southern Europe, Portugal, Italy, Greece, and Spain – or the PIGS, as some wags in Britain have called them –

were locked in spiraling inflation and unemployment, and their political structures appeared ill-suited to handle the challenge of being viable members of the EU. In the East, the picture was hardly more encouraging: ex-communists were climbing back up on their perches all across Eastern Europe, especially in Poland, Hungary, and Rumania; while in Russia, the sad spectacle of dirt-poor, underfed Russian soldiers fighting the even poorer Chechen rebels fueled the sudden rise of ultra-nationalist Aleksander Lebed to political prominence, to say nothing of the absurd figure of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy – a man even most Russians find silly.

In virtually every country I have mentioned here except Russia, the political situation has markedly improved in the past few years. In France, Chirac has been overshadowed by his Socialist prime minister Lionel Jospin, who remains popular (with over 60% approval ratings) and is reaping the benefits of a gradual economic recovery. Tony Blair's honeymoon is over in Britain, but in the wake of the Northern Ireland settlement, his popularity is immense and his callow rival, William Hague, hopelessly overmatched. Romano Prodi, the prime minister of Italy, has staked out his reputation as the most effective postwar leader Italy has ever known; and in Germany, it appears that for the first time in 16 years, we are on the verge of watching a peaceful transfer of power from the Christian Democrats to the Social Democrats: democracy still has a pulse in Germany. In Poland and Hungary, despite the presence of former communists in the government, democracy is stronger and more entrenched than three years ago; the Czech Republic is beleaguered economically, but remains stable; even Rumania has ousted its former communist leaders and embraced democracy and the market. Only in Russia has the situation worsened; I will talk about that a bit later on.

## Economic Recovery

Alongside these encouraging political developments comes the good news about the European economy. The economic situation in Europe is today more positive than it has been at any time in this decade. This

is in part due to the long-running American economic expansion, but it has also been because of the major institutional changes that the Europeans have undertaken in preparing for the common currency, slated to begin on 1 January 1999. Consider the economic picture of just a few select countries.

In 1990, Italy's budget deficit stood at about 11% of GDP; today it has fallen to 2.7%, comfortably below the Maastricht-required 3% limit. Inflation has dropped from more than 6% in 1991 to 1.7% in 1997. Interest rates stand at 5.4% on 10-year government bonds, down from almost 15% in 1992.<sup>2</sup> That same year, you will recall that the Italian lira went into a tailspin and was withdrawn from the European exchange rate mechanism. But the devaluation helped Italian exports, and the economy is today growing at about 2.5%.

The French economy is growing at 3% a year, its best performance in the 1990s. Unemployment, which peaked at 12.6% in 1995, has started to inch downward, now standing at 11.9%. The stock market is booming; long-term interest rates are at their lowest in decades; the unions are relatively quiet.

In Germany, the economic storm triggered by the costs of reunification has been weathered. The German economy is growing at 3.0% and unemployment has dropped a bit since last year, now standing at 11%. And after pumping some \$551 billion (1 trillion DM) into the new federal states, that is, the former East Germany, the government is beginning to see results. The rail, road and telephone systems in the new states are reputed to be as good if not better than in the Western part of the country; and the unemployment rate in the East, which crested at 22%, has dropped to 17.2% as of June 1998. The betting is that the Eastern German states will by the end of the decade be in full

2 Tagliabue, John. "Cinderella, Italy Preps for Euro Ball." *New York Times*, 15 May 1998.



boom conditions, and this explains the high degree of foreign investment being poured into this part of the country.<sup>3</sup>

In the light of this good news, stock markets in the Western European countries have been buoyed. In Britain, the stock market is up 25% over a year ago; in France, the figure is 44%; in Germany, 53%, and in Italy, the figure is an astonishing 70.6%, as of July 1998. This improvement is visible not just in the big economies. Two perennial laggards are thriving. Portugal's GDP will grow by 3.6% this year, and Spain's will grow by 3.8%.<sup>4</sup> Interest rates in Portugal and Spain have dropped to 6% from 11% in 1995. And unemployment, the near-permanent affliction on the Iberian peninsula, has inched downward, in Spain to 19.6% (from 23.7% in 1994), and in Portugal to 6.3% (from 6.9%). Spain's right-wing government has undertaken serious reforms that would make Milton Friedman happy, aggressively privatizing state-owned companies, cutting taxes on capital gains, and planning to cut income taxes as well. It is also easing employment laws to make the hiring of temporary workers easier – a way for employers to avoid paying the huge benefits packages that full-time employees are granted by law.<sup>5</sup>

Much of this growth, at least for the Western states, has to do with the race to monetary union. The advent of the currency union has driven once-hidebound state bureaucracies to take bold steps to bring their budgets into line with the Maastricht criteria, in turn stimulating greater competition and freer markets in Europe. Maastricht too has forced a surprising degree of economic convergence: interest rates are low all across Europe, which is a historic first, and will allow for much faster growth in traditionally weak economies like the PIGS. The establishment of a European Central Bank with a tight-money Dutchman at the helm has given credibility to the common currency. The stock mar-

3 "Germany's East: Is It Catching Up?" *The Economist*, 11 July 1998.

4 On financial indicators, see *The Economist*, 4 July 1998, and 11 July 1998.

5 Andrews, Edmund L. "Europe's Clunkers Shift to Fast Lane." *New York Times*, 9 July 1998.

ket boom has been driven by the belief that such institutional changes will make Europe an area of significant growth in the coming half-decade. The combination of economic growth, low budget deficits, negligible inflation, and low interest rates make Europe's economy almost a sure bet for investors.<sup>6</sup>

## The Alliance Restored

Alongside the improvements in Europe's economic fortunes has come a change in the fortunes of the Western Alliance. You will recall that in 1994 and 1995, as the Bosnian war reached its most gruesome stage, Europeans and Americans were at each others' throats over how to handle the crisis; the French went so far as to publicly lambaste the United States for its moral cowardice. But the American decision to get involved in the Bosnian war broke the stalemate in the alliance over what sort of post-Cold War role the United States would play in Europe. In the words of one of the architects of US policy in Europe, Richard Holbrooke, the United States concluded, as it had done in 1917 and 1941, that it is still a European power. A Europe that was unstable, fractious, divided, and beset by ethnic conflict and war would present a serious threat to American national interests, Holbrooke believed. The only way that such afflictions could be avoided was for the United States to renew its commitment to Europe, just as it had done in 1945, and assert the sort of leadership in Europe that the Europeans were unable or unwilling to provide for themselves. The tool for this assertion of American hegemony in Europe was to be the one that had underpinned the US presence in Europe since 1949: NATO. Holbrooke, in a 1995 article in *Foreign Affairs*, was quite explicit about why he believed that NATO was the right tool for the job. NATO is an American-led, American dominated

6 See special report on business in Europe in *New York Times*, 14 June 1998.

institution. By taking in new members from the East, the United States would declare its commitment to see a stable and prosperous central Europe, linked strategically and politically to the West. Without such expansion, Holbrooke argued, central European states would feel “progressively more isolated” from the West. They would remain vulnerable to internal squabbles and to regional disputes, and the United States would lose leverage in these countries in guiding their political and economic evolution towards democracy and the market. Of course, the United States wanted Europe to help secure the Eastern states, through EU expansion and perhaps a stronger OSCE. But these institutions were a distant second in importance to NATO. Only NATO had the credibility, the strength, and an active American commitment; only NATO could lock the United States into Europe.<sup>7</sup>

NATO expansion was far more than a military-strategic decision; it was a decision about how best to assure stability in central Europe. The answer was that American hegemony was the best way, and that NATO would provide it. The Central Europeans, of course, were thrilled; and in the wake of the Bosnia debacle, the larger Western European states were forced to acknowledge that American power was the crucial ingredient to European stability. The deal was sealed at Madrid in July 1997, when invitations were formally extended to Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic; and subsequently, the United States has adopted a position that NATO expansion will continue until all European countries that share its values and standards are invited to join. Madeleine Albright minced no words when speaking to the North Atlantic Council in May 1998: “I mean extending as far as possible a community that upholds and enforces common standards of human rights, a community where borders are open to travel and trade, a community where nations cooperate to make

7 Holbrooke, Richard. “America, A European Power.” *Foreign Affairs* 74, no. 2 (1995): 38-51. Zbigniew Brzezinski, whose views had reportedly influenced Holbrooke and the administration, authored a piece that made many of the same arguments for NATO expansion. “A Plan for Europe.” *Foreign Affairs* 74, no. 1 (1995): 26-42.

war unthinkable. I mean defining Europe in the broadest and most inclusive way and overcoming barriers that old conflicts and past prejudice have etched in our minds and on our maps.”<sup>8</sup>

I will return to the problems created by this line of reasoning, and this policy. But for the moment, let me just point out that NATO expansion has improved alliance relations between the United States and Europe. It is easy to see why. Gone are the confused utterances from the Warren Christopher State Department about asking the Europeans to do their share in the collective defense. Bosnia has brought America back into Europe in full force, and persuaded its policymakers that America is the only country that really matters in building a viable security system in Europe.

Europeans are pleased about this, for the same reason that most of them supported the original NATO agreement in 1949: NATO expansion keeps the Americans in, the Germans down, and the Russians out. This is precisely the same logic informing European attitudes to NATO expansion, as a recent article by the political scientist Robert Art has shown.<sup>9</sup> In the course of over a hundred interviews of leading European strategists, Art discovered that the single greatest fear was of nationalist backsliding in Europe if the United States diminished its role in the post-Cold War Europe. Without the United States as arbitrator and mutually-agreed upon hegemon, European states would feel obliged to vie for influence and power amongst each other, leading not necessarily to overt conflict, but to a state of tension and rivalry that was inimical to European stability and continued unification. Such a state of affairs would also make central Europe an arena for

8 “North Atlantic Treaty Organization: Collective Defense against Threat of Aggression.” Address by Madeleine K. Albright, United States Secretary of State, delivered to the North Atlantic Council, Luxembourg City, Luxembourg, 28 May 1998. *Vital Speeches of the Day* 64, no. 17 (15 June 1998): 518-20.

9 Art, Robert J. “Why Western Europe Needs the United States and NATO.” *Political Science Quarterly* 111, no. 1 (1996): 1-39.

such rivalries to play out, as Germany, France, and Russia competed for markets and influence in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe.

NATO expansion solves this problem nicely: it renews the US commitment to Europe, establishes NATO and its principal state, the United States, as the hegemon in Eastern Europe, and removes any temptation for national competition among member states. Of course, there were periodic challenges to this approach, most notably from France. The French spoke a great deal in the early 1990s about a larger and more aggressive European Defense Identity; but in the wake of Bosnia, even the French had to concede the hopelessness of any truly efficient and active European common foreign and security policy.<sup>10</sup> The alliance has encouraged window-dressing of the sort evident in the creation of a Franco-German Eurocorps, of a strengthened WEU, and even today's Combined Joint Task Force for "out-of-area" operations; but all members are now agreed that NATO is to remain an American-dominated organization, for the alternative is collapse and confusion. Of course, Europeans like NATO expansion for another reason: it will allow them to delay the accession of new Eastern members into the European Union, a process that is certain to cause havoc just at a time when the EU is undertaking its greatest gamble yet, the introduction of the common currency.

These are encouraging developments: European democracy has been revived; the economy is surging ahead and currency union is around the corner; and the Western Alliance is more certain of itself now that the United States has re-committed itself to Europe's security problems. But short-term improvements in the economic and security climate must not be used to mask potential pitfalls in the road ahead. Indeed, the structural reforms now under way in NATO and the EU, which have created the basis for an improved US-European relation

10 For an excellent review of the obstacles to a common foreign policy in Europe, see Gordon, Philip H. "Europe's Uncommon Foreign Policy." *International Security* 22, no. 3 (Winter 1997/98): 74-100.

ship of late, may in a rather short time come to act as a major irritant in US-European relations.

## Clouds Ahead

There are, I think, a number of potential problems ahead in US-European economic and security relations. They relate to the fact that the two institutions on which Europe's prosperity and security are based, the EU and NATO, are themselves Cold War era answers to Cold War era problems. The major states involved have decided to use the EU and NATO to extend the peace and prosperity of the past forty years into the post-Cold War era. We must recognize that there are risks to this approach. In the Cold War, European integration and prosperity led to increased tensions between the US and Europe, as the continent came increasingly to feel that its economic power was not met by a commensurate degree of respect from the United States. And during the Cold War, the NATO alliance helped define the division of Europe, successfully linking its members into a stable and secure alliance and just as successfully keeping its enemies out of the alliance and on the defensive. Because Europe and America's prosperity and security are today being built upon an architecture that is at its core a product of the Cold War, we must expect that Cold War-era frictions and tensions are also likely to reappear, perhaps in even more serious and acute form, in the coming years. Let me give you some specifics of what I am talking about.

## The Risks of European Monetary Union

First, consider the arrival of the European Monetary Union (EMU). Let us be honest: no one really knows what the impact of the EMU is going to be, either on Europe's economies or on the global economy. Analysts disagree, and their positions in some cases are very far apart. On one

thing, though, there is consensus: the EMU is a major gamble. The payoff could be huge, but the risks are equally large.

How will the arrival of monetary union in Europe affect the US-European relationship? During the Cold War, Washington initially championed economic integration, seeing in it a means of linking the West European states closely together in a stable political system. In the late 1950s and 1960s, as Europe expanded economically, it became apparent to American planners that a united Europe would be a powerful economic player on the world scene. This would help the overall cause of the West in its competition with the communist bloc, but might also pose a challenge to American economic and financial dominance of the global economy. Despite persistent friction throughout the 1970s and 1980s over issues such as the "eurodollar," gold holdings, exchange rates, and tariffs, US-European economic rivalry was "containable," and in the end not harmful to the overall relationship. The last round of the GATT discussions in 1993, however, showed just how high the stakes have become, as Europeans refused point-blank to accept American dictates on the issue of lowering tariffs to American products. The arrival of the common currency in 1999, and the elimination of all national currencies in the EU by 2002, is the capstone to almost fifty years of efforts to tie the European economies together and through a collective effort increase the competitiveness of each. How will this affect US-European relations?

Even in the best scenario, the American position in global finance will be challenged. As the economic analyst Fred Bergsten has recently pointed out, the creation of the Euro may lead to a shift of some \$1 trillion in international investment into the Euro, most of which will come out of the dollar. With the advent of the Euro, the US and the EU are likely to wind up with 80% of world finance, evenly divided between them. The global financial roles of the EU and the United States will become evenly balanced, and the dollar-centered system of the Cold War will be finished. This evening-out of world finance will reflect the productive capacities of the two blocs. Today, the EU already has a larger GDP (\$8.4 trillion in 1996) than the United States (\$7.2 trillion in 1996). The EU also has a larger volume of global trade,

standing at \$1.9 trillion against the US \$1.7 trillion in 1996.<sup>11</sup>

The Euro will be a strong currency from the start; it is the mission of the European Central Bank to see to that. Meanwhile, America's economic position may create some concern: despite the boom conditions visible on Wall Street, the United States has run a trade deficit for the past 15 years, and its net foreign debt exceeds \$1 trillion. The EU, by contrast, has run modest trade surpluses in recent years. This underlying weakness of the American economy may make the Euro all the more attractive. As *The Economist* recently pointed out, "the benefits America has enjoyed from the dollar's role as world currency are easy to exaggerate, but the ability to borrow without limit in its own currency has enable the United States to become the world's debtor with equanimity, and to continue to run huge current-account deficits (...). The arrival of the first plausible postwar challenger to the dollar will certainly make it harder for America to run unlimited current-account deficits, or to exercise unchallenged leadership of the international financial system."<sup>12</sup>

The arrival of this new bipolar financial regime will significantly alter the structure of international finance and may face the US and Europe with a new series of challenges that neither bloc has seriously considered. The two blocs will dominate global finance, but they may find themselves in the position of rivals too. So the best scenario suggests a new financial regime which will require new policies for coordinating and stabilizing the relationship between these two currencies.<sup>13</sup> It is worth recalling, in any case, that the last time the global financial sys-

11 Bergsten, C. Fred. "The Dollar and the Euro." *Foreign Affairs* 76, no. 4 (1997): 83-95.

12 "An Awfully Big Adventure: A Survey of EMU." *The Economist*, 11 April 1998, 17.

13 On the degree to which US policy-makers have overlooked the implications of the Euro, see Henning, C. Randall. "Europe's Monetary Union and the United States." *Foreign Policy*, no. 102 (Spring 1996): 83-100.



tem had two major currencies as rivals was when the dollar and the pound sterling were vying for dominance in the 1920s and 1930s – not a time of great economic or political stability.

Yet there is a still more gloomy scenario to consider, one that has been making the round of the principal journals and papers in the United States.<sup>14</sup> It focuses on the adverse impact of EMU within Europe, and the probable increase in political friction between the EU members. This scenario is premised on the following factors:

The conflict over the European Central Bank (ECB). The last minute struggle between France and Germany over the leadership of the ECB was a harbinger of things to come. The French want a politicized ECB, led by a Frenchman who will be sensitive to French national interests. The Germans wanted a person who would pursue the tight-money policies of the *Bundesbank*. The Germans' choice, the Dutchman Wim Duisenberg, won the job, but only after a compromise that reduced his eight year term to a four-year term, after which he would agree to step down and presumably be replaced by a Frenchman. The debate signals that a major question at the heart of EMU has yet to be resolved: should the Central Bank reflect national or European priorities?<sup>15</sup>

Parallel to this is the conflict about the proper goals of monetary policy. The Germans want low inflation and a tight-money policy, the same goals they have pursued nationally for years. The French, and

14 This analysis is drawn from Feldstein, Martin. "EMU and International Conflict." *Foreign Affairs* 76, no. 6 (1997): 60-73. For other gloomy assessments of the prospects for the Euro, see Stanley, Alessandra. "Italy Savors Victory in Euro Race, but Doubt about Future Lingers." *New York Times*, 30 April 1998; "An Awfully Big Adventure: A Survey of EMU." *The Economist*, 11 April 1998;

Levine, Robert A. "European Monetary Union: Where Has It Been? Where Is It Going? What Is It Doing to Europe?" *World Policy Journal* 14, no. 4 (1997): 10-19; Joffe, Josef. "Europe's Colossal Coin Toss." *New York Times*, 1 May 1998.

15 Whitney, Craig. "Europeans Accept a Single Currency Despite Late Snag." *New York Times*, 3 May 1998.

some other Southern European countries, are more concerned about their high rates of unemployment than about low inflation. They worry that they may need to pursue an expansionary and thus inflationary policy to boost employment. But since the EMU will have removed from national control the tools with which such a policy is implemented – namely devaluation or interest-rate adjustment – countries like France that seek to boost employment will be out of luck. What happens if a sudden decline of exports or a temporary recession strikes? Countries will not have the tools they rely on to prime the pump of their economies. The ECB will be called in to make the adjustments, but in some cases it may not act exactly as each member nation would wish. In short, as long as the European economy continues to grow, the latent conflict over inflation vs. employment will remain dormant; but when times are tough, this is going to be a major cause of conflict.

A similar problem concerns the “stability pact” that each member has agreed to: member states must keep their budget deficits to 3% or less of GDP. Once again, the unemployment issue is a potential thorn. What if a country wishes to promote employment, or is obliged to bear the social cost of an increase in unemployment? Since it cannot increase its budget deficit, the EU itself will have to help nations deal with these periodic increases of social costs – and the EU budget is of course made up of national contributions, meaning that member states will have to increase taxes. This will be unpopular and could lead to reaction against the European project.

There is another potential problem relating to the employment issue. It is notorious that Europe has a very rigid labor market. Labor costs are very high, and workers’ rights are such that once hired, a worker is only with great difficulty fired. The result of this has been a disincentive by employers to hire more workers. If Europe is to continue to expand its economy, it will have to make substantial structural reforms in its labor markets. But will the officials in Brussels be able to impose such changes upon its member states? What reaction can one expect from the labor unions when technocrats in Brussels decide that French railway drivers or German auto-workers ought to have their holidays cut? In short, can the EU bear the political responsibility of making national economies conform to the greater

good? What happens if it cannot?

Another issue concerns the politics of the EMU. Who is really in charge? In NATO, we do not have that problem. American leadership is clear and obvious, and this evident hierarchy has made NATO an immense success as an alliance. The EMU does not have a natural leader. The French have supported EMU ardently because it caps a forty-year effort to limit German power in Europe: it obliges Germany to vote on monetary policy with a weight equal to that of France, despite the obvious inequalities between the two economies. The Germans, with the largest economy in the Union, have been reluctant to play the role of regional hegemon, for historical reasons. They believe that loyalty to the European idea is their ticket to legitimacy and acceptance in the world. But what happens if this changes? Are all Germans always going to pursue a policy of national self-abnegation?

Finally, it should be remembered that there is no legitimate way to exit from the EMU. If a country wants to leave it, such a decision would cause a major crisis within the Union and possibly lead to the collapse of the entire structure. And in times of an economic downturn, when member states will be tempted to resort to national policies like devaluation and protectionism, it is possible that some countries will wish to secede.

One does not have to subscribe to the views of the more alarmist Euro-pessimists, who argue that the EMU may lead to a war in Europe, to see that there are problems with the scheme as presently configured that may increase national tensions rather than lead to a withering away of the nation-state, as the EU's most ardent proponents expect. And such tensions do not bode well for the United States. Economic and financial rivalry within Europe will spill over into competition within the security arrangements in which the United States is implicated and could weaken the NATO alliance – an alliance which, as I will now demonstrate, will in the next decade already have enough problems of its own.

## NATO Expansion: Unintended Consequences

The debate over NATO expansion is for the time being over: the “expanders” have won, and it is now US and European policy to push for the prompt integration of the Czech Republic, Poland, and Hungary into the NATO alliance. The arguments in favor have been made clear: it extends the American security guarantee, thereby heading off regional alliances; it promotes civilian control of the military; and it promotes democracy and stability in an unstable area of Europe where democracy still has a weak foothold. For all of these advantages, it is worth recalling that the United States took quite some time to settle on a policy of NATO expansion. Indeed, in 1989, at the US-Soviet Malta Conference during which the Cold War was officially pronounced over, President Bush made implicit guarantees to Mikhail Gorbachev that NATO would not be pushed eastwards. In subsequent years, as the Soviet Union imploded and Eastern European states rallied to democracy, American leaders considered that NATO was not an appropriate tool for encouraging democracy: it was an old-school, Cold War military alliance, hardly suited for the tasks of building democracy, promoting human rights and encouraging the fledgling market economies of the East. The UN, the EU and the OSCE, were to be the central institutions that would guide Europe’s post-Cold War transformation. Of course, these hopes were swiftly dispelled by the Bosnian crisis which broke out in 1991. The Europeans were uncertain how to act without American leadership; the OSCE was quickly seen to be a mere talking shop; and the much-heralded “European pillar” of the security alliance proved unable to handle the challenge of the breakup of Yugoslavia. In this environment, East Europeans began to press the United States for the one thing they felt would be sure to guarantee them security and stability in an unstable transitional environment: membership in NATO.

The Partnership for Peace, launched in early 1994, was Washington’s clever answer. It offered a delaying tactic, a kind of holding tank for states that wished to deepen security contacts with the West but were still unsuitable militarily, economically, or politically, to become alliance members. The PFP encouraged the transition to civilian

control of the military, and offered strategies on how to bring military establishments up to NATO standards. Some Eastern European leaders could see through this approach as a way to lock them in to a second-class status, and bridled at the scheme. In return, they received assurances that the PfP would evolve into something more than a junior varsity alliance, and that NATO membership was not being ruled out.

It has been difficult for analysts to pinpoint the moment when the United States shifted from its subtle strategy of delay to one of embracing a prompt and wide expansion of the NATO alliance. Some writers have suggested that it was in March 1993, when Vaclav Havel met with newly-elected President Clinton, that he made a strong case for NATO expansion, and that Clinton, under similar pressure from Poland's President Lech Walesa, came around to support the idea. In any case, by January 1994, when Clinton traveled to Europe in his first trip to the continent as president, he declared to the NATO Council that the PfP was in fact going to be a stage on the road towards NATO membership. In Prague, on the same trip, Clinton declared that Czech membership was no longer a question of "if" but "when." Within a few months, Richard Holbrooke, who had come back into government as assistant secretary of state for European affairs, made NATO expansion his first priority.<sup>16</sup> At a time when the Europeans were declaring the United States to be morally bankrupt for its unwillingness to engage itself in resolving the war in the Balkans, the United States decided to opt for a strategy of commitment that would in the end lead to a renewed American security commitment in Europe. In coming to this policy choice, the Americans had the support of the most important state in Europe, Germany. The Germans believed that Eastern Europe was a security vacuum, and feared that without NATO, these states would be tempted either to come to some sort of *modus vivendi* with Russia, or undertake

16 For two useful analyses of the NATO expansion debate and its implications, see Eyal, Jonathan. "NATO's Enlargement: Anatomy of a Decision." *International Affairs* 73, no. 4 (1997): 695-719; and Kaufman, Joyce P. "A Challenge to European Security and Alliance Unity." *World Affairs* 161, no. 1 (1998): 22-32.

regional security alliances that might encourage division and acrimony in the region as was so painfully evident in the 1930s: Poles against Russians, Czechs and Poles wary of Germany, Slovakia and Rumania in conflict with Hungary, etc.

It is difficult to disagree with the stated objectives of NATO expansion: peace, security, stability, and prosperity in Eastern Europe are to be heartily welcomed. And for those of us who are internationalists, there is some comfort in knowing that our leaders have re-dedicated themselves to European security. But as in the case of the introduction of the single currency, might there not be unintended consequences of the current policy? Is NATO expansion the best way of achieving stability in Europe? Consider just three problems raised by NATO expansion:

Firstly, *new dividing lines*. What will NATO look like when the enlargement has been completed? Who are the long-term prospective members? NATO made it clear that the only states let in would be those that met its criteria: they would have to be democratic, market economies with clear civilian control over the military and a stable political order. In 1995, these criteria neatly described only the countries that NATO really cared about letting in: Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary. Slovakia and Slovenia, early candidates, were eased out of the running because of internal turmoil in the first and proximity to the Balkan War in the second. Since this time, however, NATO has been hung by its own petard: for today these criteria, thankfully, and with no help from NATO one might add, now apply to a number of other countries in the region, like Rumania and the plucky Baltic states. Indeed, Rumania came on strong as a potential first-round entrant into the alliance when France, Italy, Spain, Portugal and others took up its case in NATO. The case that was made appeared iron-clad in its logic: Europe needed security and stability on its periphery, especially in South-Eastern Europe: Rumania ought to have been first in line. Suddenly, it seemed obvious that the Baltic states, too, who really needed security from Russia, also ought to have been placed at the very top of the list. The backward thinking of NATO expansion quickly became evident in this debate about the new members: NATO claimed it wanted to bring security and stability to the region, but it would not let those countries that needed it most into the alliance. The reasons for

this were clear: Russia would not allow the Baltic states in, and the United States, Britain, and Germany simply did not think Rumania important enough to worry about in the first round. Also, a too-wide enlargement might scare off US Senators from approving enlargement. The notion of a set of impartial criteria was therefore simply discarded. Instead, Rumania and Slovenia were told that their cases would be first on the list for the next round of enlargement, though that is unlikely to happen any time soon.

Thus, contrary to the stated intentions of the Administration, the United States has created new dividing lines in Europe. NATO has been pushed East, but South-Eastern Europe and the Baltics remain excluded. Since Rumania and Slovakia are also not likely to be let into the EU any time soon, they appear to be two states declared “beyond the pale” of the new Europe. And of course, since it is apparent that the chief argument for NATO expansion in the first place was to provide security in Eastern Europe not only from regional instability and rivalry but from Russia, it is evident that the dividing line between Russia and the West still stands intact – blurred, perhaps, but still present. This business of NATO expansion as a unifying force in Europe is patent nonsense.

Secondly, *the Baltic snare*. How will NATO deal with the issue of the Baltic states? If the American public pronouncements of including in NATO every democratic and market-oriented country in Europe, then Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania surely qualify. These three countries are part of a Baltic revolution that is underway, in which the economic life and trade links that made the Hanseatic League so successful are being rebuilt. Out from under the shadow of Soviet domination, these three small states are building strong economic and political links to Finland, Denmark, and Sweden. The Baltic states are ardently pro-NATO, anti-communist, hostile to Russia, and in need of security guarantees. So why not bring them in too? Because the Russians have made it very clear that they will oppose any former Soviet Republic joining NATO. NATO faces a tough challenge here: does it acknowledge that Russia has a veto over NATO membership, something the US government has steadfastly denied? Or does it stick its finger in Russia’s eye and bring the popular Baltic states into the

alliance, thereby assuring the West that Russia will increase its truculent, obstructionist ways?

Thirdly, *the Russian puzzle*. The questions just raised lead us inexorably to the heart of the European security debate: what is to be done about Russia? Oh, for a “long telegram” from George Kennan today! No such luck. On Russia, Europeans and Americans are muddled in their thinking about what stance to adopt towards our old adversary. On the one hand, NATO expansion is manifestly an anti-Russian policy. No one except a few Clinton administration officials would dispute that. On the other hand, the international community, led by the US, has bent over backwards to use massive IMF loans to prop up the ruble and stave off the collapse of the Russian economy. And the NATO Council has established new institutional links to ensure that the Alliance is in close dialogue with Russia. Assuming that Western elites have a clear idea of what they are doing, one can only conclude that they are engaged in a waiting game, hoping Russia will stabilize, but preparing a new security architecture in case Russia’s position markedly worsens.

This cautious stance towards Russia, it seems to me, is a big mistake. It reflects an effort on Washington’s part to please everybody – a criticism that has been frequently made of the Clinton presidency with respect to domestic politics as well. It shows a distinct lack of courage, creativity, and above all, a lack of vision – which is what John Gaddis’ discussion of grand strategy is getting at as well. The fact is, we cannot have a divided Europe and a united Europe at the same time. The United States must commit itself either to engaging Russia fully in the new European security and economic order, or acknowledging that Russia will not be brought into the new system, but will be kept at arms length, and seen as the chief geo-strategic threat to Europe.

To clarify my point, let me suggest two scenarios. One I shall call the Bonn scenario; the other the Weimar scenario. In the former scenario, the United States and Europe would engage Russia far more fully through their shared economic and security institutions, perhaps asking Russia to join NATO. After all, what state is more in need of security and stability than Russia? Then, Russia and the EU would deepen their relationship, going beyond the present system of large



German handouts, and beginning a political, economic, and financial reconstruction of the country along the lines of the German recovery of the post-World War II era. While “liberal Russia” is still intact, and still has a leader who is receptive to such engagement, the Western powers can still be proactive, using its economic leverage as a tool to help Russia help itself.

The Weimar scenario is of course far less encouraging. In this scenario, Russia is hemmed in by hostile powers; it is locked in an economic crisis which even its sympathetic Western neighbors can do little to remedy; its already-weak political system is up-ended, either through the ballot box or through force, and a new era of nationalist, corporatist government is ushered in. In this scenario, a Lebed, a Zyuganov, or a Luzhkov puts an end to “liberal Russia” by curtailing the powers of the Duma, ending partisan politics with which Russians appear ill at ease, and re-asserting state control over the economy. But as any good student of social imperialism knows, legitimacy at home can only be won by an assertion of power and resolve in the international arena. As such, just at a time when the Western states, alarmed by Russia’s declining fortunes, decide to bring the Baltics into NATO, Russia decides to use force to stop it.<sup>17</sup>

What is shocking is that Western policy today is far more likely to bring about the Weimar scenario than the Bonn scenario. To be sure, we must not overstate the power of the West to determine Russia’s future. But we should ask ourselves: are we doing everything within our power to enhance Russian security and stability? For it is only when Russia is stable that Eastern Europe is stable. The path to European security travels through Moscow, not Prague, Warsaw, or Budapest.

Plus ça change?

17 For a chilling discussion of Russia’s present economic and political crisis, see “Russia’s Crisis: Could it lead to fascism?” *The Economist*, 11 July 1998.

During the past decade there has been an understandable emphasis placed on the fluidity of the international system since the end of the Cold War. There has also been much discussion of what sort of order would emerge from this period of flux. For a time, indeed, it did seem as if US-European relations were headed for a period of dramatic change, brought about by the evaporation of the Russian threat and the arrival of Germany as a new, united, and powerful state in the heart of Europe, surrounded by the young and untested democracies of the East. But upon considering the survey I have just made here, one can notice strong continuities between the Cold War order and our present circumstances. Russia is again emerging as the West's chief geo-strategic rival in Europe. The NATO alliance is intact and is in the process of limited expansion, thereby shifting old dividing lines but not eradicating them. The Europeans are moving further ahead with monetary union, in the hopes of crafting new financial instruments that will allow the rich to get richer. Europe remains divided, albeit in a loose and transparent way, between the EU and NATO members on the one hand, and the Balkans, Baltic states and the states of the former Soviet Union on the other. The United States is still, after some hemming and hawing, the recognized hegemon in Europe, the *sine-qua-non* of European security, directing a security system that includes a military-strategic commitment that now runs from Reykjavik to Gdansk to Athens. As we near the end of the first post-Cold War decade, one might say as the French often do, *plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose*.

But it seems to me, and this paper has made the argument, that these continuities, with which many Americans and West Europeans are quite comfortable, mask a number of potential crises on the horizon, and reveal an absence of creative strategic thinking on the part of our leaders. Instead of crafting a "new world order" in the wake of the post-1989 changes, we have been muddling through, content to use the Cold War tools to attempt to perpetuate stability in post-Cold War Europe. It may yet work; but we need to realize that there are serious problems ahead if we fail, and that if we do fail, the subsequent crisis may be as grave as anything we have seen in Europe since 1945.

FRED TANNER

## Conflict Management and European Security: The Problem of Collective Solidarity

The dynamics of European security has become considerably more difficult to comprehend in recent years. This is due primarily to two sets of developments. First, an “amorphous threat-free post-Cold War security setting” has replaced the distinct Alliance-wide threat from the Soviet Union.<sup>1</sup> Second, new risks and threats have increasingly affected European security from regions immediately adjoining Western Europe. Conflicts and notorious instability loom in the Caucasus, Central Asia, the Balkans and the Mediterranean region, including North Africa and the Middle East. As a consequence, security cooperation in Europe currently struggles to cope with these non-military risks and ambiguous threat scenarios from the “out-of-area.”

This paper argues that institutional responses to these risks and threats will be hampered by the increasing diversity of national interests of member states. Many allies have special stakes in some periphery of the European continent and they find themselves competing for institutional support. Diverse and differing regional and sub-regional orientations can lead to the compartmentalization of security concerns and, in turn, to the development of sub-regional response mechanisms to the cost of alliance-wide security and conflict management instruments. Common security policies will be put even more to the test by the extension of the NATO and EU perimeters.

1 Brenner, Michael. “Conclusion.” In *NATO and Collective Security*, ed. Michael Brenner, 291. New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1997.

## Collective Security Failures

Two recent conflicts in Europe – the wars in Yugoslavia and chaos in Albania – have put the conflict management capabilities of security institutions to the test. In both cases, these institutions failed to provide the necessary support to national efforts to prevent or contain the conflict. Instead, other organizations had to intervene under very high political and military risks. In the case of Yugoslavia, UNPROFOR had to pursue a “mission impossible” and, in turn, predictably failed. In the case of Albania, allies with high stakes in the region were forced into a futile forum-hopping before their “one-off” coalition of the willing launched *Operation Alba*. Possibly because of the inadequacy of these institutional responses to conflicts at Europe’s doorstep, the “lessons learned” on political crisis response, force interoperability and soft security building could improve the effectiveness of future European conflict prevention and management.

## Wars in Yugoslavia

The Yugoslavian wars showed the limits of both NATO and the WEU with regard to crisis and conflict management in “out-of-area.” NATO had first to undergo a political and doctrinal *metamorphosis* before it could play any role in the Balkans. NATO intervened in Yugoslavia for the first time in April 1994 with air strikes against Bosnian Serbs, i.e. three years after the outbreak of the conflict. Only with the Dayton Peace agreement NATO was finally entering the realm of peace restoration activities. The WEU, in turn, was unable to exploit the Yugoslavian crisis for defining its own identity and mission in the broad European security setting. The WEU did encounter political constraints from members who favored a NATO involvement instead. Furthermore, it was militarily simply unable to project any preventive or deterring power into the Balkans. With the outbreak of hostilities in Yugoslavia in 1991, the WEU Council considered four options for WEU intervention: logistics support, escort and protection, a peace-

keeping force to monitor and enforce cease-fire, a peacekeeping and deterrent force requiring about 20,000 combat troops and 10,000 support staff.

The Council members were unable to come up with a consensus on any of these options. Some WEU members preferred to refer the mission to the UN. With the tragic fate of UNPROFOR unraveling, the WEU contended itself with supporting embargo enforcement operations in the Adriatic and on the Danube. Finally, carving out its own niche in the peace-building process, the WEU sent a police operation to Mostar in mid-1994.

The responses of all the European institutions including NATO to the Yugoslav quagmire have been partial, timid and reactive rather than preventive. But the failure of these institutions is a failure of its members to act collectively towards the same objective. Thus, Europe's failure to prevent a war in Yugoslavia or in Bosnia was not a failure of the EU, the WEU or NATO. It was a failure of the member states, which were unable to come up with a common approach to the unraveling crisis.

The Yugoslavian tragedy shaped profoundly the thinking and decision-making process towards conflict management and missions beyond the perimeters of NATO, the WEU and the EU. First, IFOR-SFOR emerged as models for non-Article 5 missions under a single multinational command structure. Second, this model galvanized the creation within the Western Alliance of the CJTF concept. Third, CJTF was accepted by the Europeans as a trade-off for not pushing the WEU into an operational military organization. Fourth, the move towards a European Command structure had the benefits of bringing France back into the military planning of NATO. In conclusion, the Yugoslav war prevented the competitive emergence of parallel EU/WEU and NATO tracks in the domain of conflict management and prepared the basis for flexible response under a single command in the light of the IFOR-SFOR experiences.

## Operation Alba

In April 1997, law and order in Albania basically collapsed. Protracted violence, humanitarian emergency, and massive exodus of refugees towards Italy and Greece were the results. In this context, the OSCE Representative Vranitzky appealed to Western institutions to send a stabilization force of 4000 troops and policemen. Upon pressure from the US that was concerned about the further entanglement of NATO in the Balkans, the NATO Council decided not to contemplate a military operation. But also the WEU Council was unable to take up the OSCE proposal.

Italy and Greece, the states primarily concerned by the Albanian crisis tried now to prepare the political ground for an intervention through the EU. An informal CFSP ministerial meeting decided to send a high-level mission on the ground. The mission recommended the involvement of the EU as a lead agency for the purpose of providing humanitarian emergency aid and the re-establishment of a police force. It also proposed the involvement of the OSCE and the Council of Europe for advancing the democratization process, human rights and elections. Finally, for providing security to these missions, the dispatch of a Multi-National Protection Force (MNPF) was recommended.

Italy, on the grounds of these recommendations attempted to use the WEU as the institution for planning and running the military operation. The operation would have been a Petersberg-type mission with WEU members, acting under the authority of the WEU for humanitarian and rescue tasks, and tasks of combat forces in crisis management and peacemaking.<sup>2</sup> But, the Alliance solidarity within the WEU was not strong enough for triggering an institutional support. The UK and Germany opposed the request of the Southern European members that a Special Session of the WEU Council be convened

2 Part II of the *Western European Union Council of Ministers Petersberg Declaration*, 19 June 1992.

for the purpose of confiding the WEU with the authority of the military operation.

The lack of collective solidarity forced Italy to pursue the crisis management unilaterally and to seek a UN Security Council authority for a “coalition of the willing” operation. Italy managed to get this authority within one day and then staged the operation outside any institutional framework. Together with its *ad hoc* partners Italy had engaged in mission planning and force deployment from scratch. Even the political co-ordination of the troop contributing states had to be done through an *ad hoc* Political Steering Committee “resembling WEU or CFSP.” Finally, some 7,000 soldiers from eight countries – Austria, Denmark, France, Greece, Italy, Rumania, Spain and Turkey – participated in *Operation Alba*, that was the first crisis management mission conducted in Europe by a multinational military force composed only of Europeans. After a successful end to the operation, the WEU Secretary General acknowledged that the organization had missed an opportunity to successfully contribute to an “out-of-area” mission.<sup>3</sup>

The case of *Operation Alba* shows the limited use of European security institutions if there is a lack of congruency of interest. The Southern European states were not able to use any of the numerous military forces that are available to the WEU. The WEU institutional support and some of the Forces Answerable to the WEU (FAWEU) could have been used for this operation. But, the use of the European corps with a strong German contingent would have been vetoed by Bonn, and even the Euromarfor, that has been set up precisely for *Alba*-type operations was blocked by Portugal.

3 Referred to in the address by Admiral Venturoni, Chief of the Italian General Staff to the WEU Fiftieth Anniversary Conference on “WEU on the Eve of the Twenty-First Century,” Brussels, 17 March 1998.

## Security-Building at Europe's Periphery

How do current institutions and policy makers see "out-of-area" risks and threats and how do they respond to them? A recent report of the North Atlantic Assembly, for instance, has identified the following risk factors coming from beyond the Southern periphery of the alliance. The first and foremost risk is the "immigration explosion," that results either from an increase in illegal immigration or as a "consequence of a huge influx of refugees trying to escape from a crisis."<sup>4</sup> Second and third on the list are risks of terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. The report does not list any direct military threat potentialities from the South to the NATO territory.

In a slightly different approach, Alyson Bailes of the WEU differentiated between regional, generic, and non-military challenges to Europe:<sup>5</sup> Conflicts in the region immediately adjoining "greater Europe" such as North Africa, the Middle East and South-West Asia.

Generic security threats such as: the actual use or sharpened threat of the use of weapons of mass destruction, anywhere in the world; a resurgence of terrorist activities against Europeans (or broader "Western") populations, using either traditional or WMD techniques; terrorism in new dimensions, notably "cyber-terrorism;" and accidents from inadequate storage or disposal of military wastes.

Threats of non-military dimensions such as: disturbances in the supply of energy or other basic commodities for the European economy, disturbances in the financial system (including insurance), natural disasters, economic damage through climate/environmental change, short or long-term flows of illegal and/or inassimilable immigration into the European area.

4 *Nato's Role in the Mediterranean*. Draft General Report of the North Atlantic Assembly, 25 August 1997, 1.

5 Bailes, Alyson J.K. *Challenges for European Security*. Paper presented at the Geneva Center for Security Policy, 15 June 1998, 4f.



Finally, Admiral Lopez, Commander-in-Chief of AFSOUTH, provides a similar threat analysis. According to him the “new enemy” of the Alliance is called “instability.”<sup>6</sup> He identified four regions that affect European security: North Africa, the Near East, Transcaucasus and the Balkans.

In view of the various risk and threat assessments, it is important to explore how security institutions in Europe respond to security challenges coming from beyond alliance perimeters. Indeed, can and should Europe play a role beyond its borders? The cases of former Yugoslavia and Albania have painfully shown that no European institution has been able to respond to an unraveling crisis right at its doorsteps.

There are two analytical perspectives to provide answers to this question. From a neo-liberal point of view, Europe has an interest to assure a peaceful transition of these countries towards good governance and liberal markets. Europe could only be safe if its adjacent areas are included in a zone of democratic peace.<sup>7</sup> Under these premises Europe would have to be prepared to pursue a policy of liberal internationalism in those areas that are threatened by authoritarian rule, or worse still by threats or acts of ethnic cleansing or genocide. Western security building in its periphery would include the promotion of liberal norms, that could happen either through cooperative sub-regional arrangements or the more muscled implementation of liberal peace agreements. Roland Paris argues that the prominent involvement of European institutions in peacebuilding in the Balkans, for instance, represents a form of liberal interventionism, as the

6 Remarks by Adm. T. Joseph Lopez at the NATO/A-WEU Colloquy on the “European Security and Defense Identity,” Madrid, 6 May 1998.

7 The *Barcelona Declaration adopted at the Euro-Mediterranean Conference*, 28 November 1995, for instance, posits in its first chapter the objective of creating a zone of peace in the Euro-Mediterranean area.

reconstruction of a war-torn society would be done according to a mirror image of a Western pluralistic democracy.<sup>8</sup>

But, liberal interventionism could also happen in the form of an outright military operation against an autocratic ruler whose actions blatantly violate the norms and values of a Kantian civil community. The NATO preparations for deterring Serbia's Milosevic in Kosovo must be understood on such grounds. But NATO has never been able to effectively communicate the criteria according to which the contingency planning has been made against the Serbian armed forces.

From a neo-realist point of view, Europe has today vital stakes with regard to great powers in the area such as Russia and Turkey, both of whom are playing a key role in the sub-regional alignments at the periphery of the European security perimeters. The neo-realist perspective would prescribe European states to assure a secure access to oil and gas reserves. In this context, special emphasis should be put on the Central Asian region, or – according to Brzezinski – the “Eurasian Balkans” that are exposed to the ambitions of Russia, Turkey, Iran and China. Central Asia and the Caspian Sea are unstable regions with a power vacuum, disputed borders, ethnic strife, but with large deposits of oil and gas. According to *The Economist*, the rectangle of land that “stretches north-east from Arabia to where Kazakhstan meets China” holds up to three quarters of the world's total reserves of oil and a third of its reserves of natural gas.<sup>9</sup>

## Extension of Defense Perimeters

The eastward extensions by NATO and the EU is an attempt to knit together the various societies subscribing to liberal democracies. It

8 Paris, Roland. “Peacebuilding and the Limits of Liberal Internationalism.” *International Security* 22, no. 2 (1997): 54-89.

9 “The Next Balance of Power.” *The Economist*, 3 January 1998.

represents an extension of a value consensus that deserves to be collectively defended. But, can European states extend and deepen their security arrangements without simultaneously threatening others?<sup>10</sup>

The neo-realists expect from the NATO expansion a balancing effect from Russia and other states sooner or later.<sup>11</sup> This does not necessarily exclude more cooperation between NATO states and Russia on matters such as arms control and joint conflict management.

American voices were calling for simultaneous enlargement of the EU and NATO or for an EU enlargement first. The basic official claim is that an EU membership would assure the connection between Europe's security and its economy. The more discreet and more serious argument is the American fear that a NATO expansion could spoil US-Russian accommodation over cooperative build-down of weapons of mass destruction on Russian soil.<sup>12</sup> The way the enlargement debate has taken its course, it is safe to predict that the NATO extension will become a serious test to US-European burden sharing. This has been highlighted by the threat from French President Jacques Chirac who went on record saying that France would not pay for the American goal of NATO enlargement, because the French-supported candidates Rumania and Slovenia were not retained.<sup>13</sup>

A number of analysts argue that the deepening of the EU through a monetary union may hinder the consolidation of the liberal order that is emerging in Eastern and Central Europe. As Timothy Gordon

10 Jervis, Robert. "Cooperation under the Security Dilemma." *World Politics* 30, no. 2 (1978): 167-214, 181.

11 For an analytical perspective that explains balancing on the grounds of military capabilities and ideology, see Walt, Stephen M. *The Origins of Alliances*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987.

12 Baker Jr., Howard, Sam Nunn, Brent Scowcroft, and Alton Frye. "Enlarge the European Union Before NATO." *International Herald Tribune*, 6 February 1998.

13 Sloan, Stanley R. *The US Role in the World: Indispensable Leader or Hegemon?* Congressional Research Service Report, 10 December 1997, 4.

Ash puts it: "Liberal order, not unity, is the right strategic goal for European policy in our time."<sup>14</sup> Europe may be split up into an inner and outer wall; a new artificial division of Europe may emerge. In this sense, the move towards a European monetary union represents a high-risk for the efforts of continental consolidation.<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, the Amsterdam summit of 1997 brought common border management policies to the core competencies of the EU.

### Shaping the "Out-of-Area"

Given the risks and threats that are directly affecting Europe's security agendas, the Western institutions attempt to project influence into areas outside their collective defense boundaries.

In addition to the membership extensions of NATO, the EU and the WEU, these institutions have launched a number of cooperative programs with the purpose of creating a zone that becomes safe for democracy. These are partnerships with hard and soft security programs in the framework of PfP, EACC and the special arrangements with Russia and the Ukraine. Non-military programs and dialogue programs have been launched by all security institutions with regard to the Mediterranean. NATO and the WEU have their dialogue programs, the EU the Euro-Med process, PHARE and TACIS and the OSCE the Mediterranean Dimension.

The most ambitious program in security cooperation is PfP that is regional in scope but bilateral in practice. The non-committal nature of PfP with the possibility of creating a special *à la carte* program has

14 Ash, Timothy Garton. "Europe's Endangered Liberal Order." *Foreign Affairs* 77, no. 2 (1998): 51-65, 52.

15 For a rather alarmist view of the consequences of the introduction of the Euro, see Feldstein, Martin. "EMU and International Conflict." *Foreign Affairs* 76, no. 6 (1997): 60-73.

allowed over 40 countries from Western and Eastern Europe, the Baltic states, Central Asia and the Balkans to work with NATO. The PfP arrangements are placed in the soft security network of the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council. The Council's mandate is to promote the enhancement of the PfP programs and to coordinate the cooperation of the partners in the following areas: political consultations about security-related issues, functional discussions on defense and defense-related activities, and peace support and disaster relief.

NATO also maintains a dialogue with a number of Southern Mediterranean states. NATO's 1997 Summit in Madrid decided to widen the scope and enhance the ongoing Mediterranean Dialogue and to establish a new committee, the Mediterranean Cooperation Group, to further that end. The outreach remains rather weak, however, as it is on a bilateral basis only and with no operational dimension.

The WEU promotes a less ambitious outreach program than NATO and concentrates on consultations and cooperation along the lines of the Petersberg Declaration, i.e. humanitarian and rescue tasks and peace support. Associate partners come from Central Europe and the Baltic states. Some of them are involved in the WEU police training operation in Albania (MAPE) through the Associate Partnership. The WEU also maintains a rather weak dialogue with a select number of states from the Mediterranean region.

The EU sustains its outreach through the accession partnership, association agreements and multilateral partnerships. The Barcelona Process, for instance, has as its objective to address the root causes of conflict and migration from the South towards Europe. It has three chapters of cooperation: security, economic and cultural. The security cooperation is paralyzed as some Arab states have established an explicit link between the Middle East peace process and the Euro-Med Partnerships. In this context, it is unlikely to create any cooperative crisis management functions for the Mediterranean in the foreseeable future.

The South-East European region and the Mediterranean have not been included in the expansion plans of the EU and NATO.<sup>16</sup> It is possible, however, to expand the security space in Europe to the Balkans and to Central Asia with WEU Associate Partner status, NATO's Partnership for Peace, the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council and the OSCE Stability Pact. Operational association has already been done with the inclusion of military contingents from countries such as Morocco or Egypt into the integrated command of IFOR or SFOR.

## Conflict Management Mechanisms

The extension of the alliance frameworks and the structuring of outreach programs towards the periphery of Europe may help to foster a culture of cooperation and it may support states in their difficult transitions towards good governance and liberalism. But how can the European institutions react to a threat or a risk that rapidly needs to be taken care of in a non-Article V situation? Can European institutions project power into adjacent areas, such as the Balkans, the Mediterranean or Central Asia for the purpose of peacemaking, peace-enforcement or peace building? And, to what extent are the force requirements of such missions compatible with NATO's classic mandate of collective defense?

The Europeans have neither the military capability, nor the organizational unity to project power beyond their borders. According to a WEU study, European-only assets without American troops and logistical support would be able to project no more than 10,000 troops

16 Malta was not included in the expansion track, after the newly elected Maltese Government froze its application to the EU in late 1996. The inclusion of Cyprus hinges on a settlement of Turkish-EU relations.

beyond the alliance boundaries.<sup>17</sup> This shortcoming of power projection is a reason why some European states have insisted on developing within NATO a *European Security and Defense Identity* that would facilitate the use of collective NATO defense assets for a WEU-led operation.

The WEU is the military arm of the EU and it can be used for operations in which the US does not wish to be involved. But with the acceptance of a *European Security and Defense Identity* by NATO, the WEU can use NATO collective assets and capabilities for such operations. The implementation of such operations may be facilitated by the concept of *Combined Joint Task Forces* (CJTFs). A European command with CJTF could provide the Europeans with greater freedom to undertake non-Article V operations. This would still be better than a “coalition of the willing.”

The trends of creating more flexibility of response towards sub-regional challenges have also been reflected by the creation of new forces that are geared primarily for crisis management in “out-of-area” operations. Eurofor (European Rapid Operational Force) and Euromarfor have been set up by Southern European member states for that purpose. Eurofor and Euromarfor are military forces that can be used primarily by Southern European states, but these forces can also be made available to NATO and WEU for non-Article V missions. The main mission objectives of these forces are the support of humanitarian missions, emergency evacuations of national citizens, peace support missions and peace-enforcement missions.

In the aftermath of *Operation Alba*, the Southern states accelerated the creation of other crisis management instruments. In late 1997 Italy and Spain decided to establish the Spanish-Italian Amphibious Force (SIAF) that could serve the national security interest of these two nations and also be employed in the framework of the WEU, as well as of NATO.

17 *Europe's Role in the Prevention and Management of Crises in the Balkans*. Assembly of the WEU, Document 1589, 5 November 1997, 2.

In the meantime, the propensity for unilateralism and one-off coalitions is not likely to diminish as long as the Europeans are unable to define an effective Common Foreign and Security Policy. Challenges such as peace support, humanitarian aid, mass refugee management, disaster relief, peacemaking, and peace building will continue to test the effectiveness of European crisis management instruments and the power of persuasion of individual member states.

## Conclusion

The broadening horizon and opaque nature of European security poses a serious challenge to security institutions in Europe. More diversity, parochialism and different outlooks of the alliance members towards geographically diverse sub-regions will undoubtedly complicate consensual decision-making in security policy and in crisis management. The crisis of collective discipline is accentuated by the extension of both NATO and the EU.

As the examples of Yugoslavia and Albania have shown, alliance crisis management is based on common interests rather than on collective security. For this purpose the Western institutions will be able to maintain their *raison d'être* only if they can provide crisis management instruments for contingencies that do not require collective consent, nor would it exclusively draw from collective alliance assets.

This study has shown with a number of cases that European and trans-Atlantic security institutions cannot fail, but rather their members can fail to “give life to the principles, norms, rules and procedures enshrined in these organisations.”<sup>18</sup>

18 Haas, Ernst B. “Regime Decay: Conflict Management and International Organizations, 1945-1981.” *International Organization* 37, no. 2 (1983): 189-256, 190.



The specter of the massive flows of refugees, the presence of morally unacceptable practices such as ethnic cleansing, but also power vacuums, and the anticipated rivalry over the rich resources in Central Asia will compel the European security community to shape the conditions beyond the current boundaries of security arrangements.

Soft security programs such as PFP, the peace building efforts in Bosnia or the Barcelona Partnerships indicate that the European outreach efforts will be based on liberal internationalism, rather than on neo-Wilsonianism. In these efforts the OSCE plays an increasingly important role as it has shown in the peace building phase of Bosnia or the norm building in Central Asia and the Caucasus.

When it comes to crisis management or peace-enforcement, the EU can neither speak with one voice nor can it engage in any “out-of-area” peace-enforcement activities. Only NATO has currently the capabilities of sustaining a large-scale military campaign outside the NATO perimeters.

But, structurally and organizationally, Europe is very close to being able to engage in WEU-led operations with NATO assets and logistics. What is lacking is a coherent relationship between NATO and the EU. Only then can CFSP credibly engage in crisis and conflict management. But even at that stage, CFSP will remain a problem of persuasion as long as foreign policy and security decision making will be based on unanimity.

To avoid future unilateralism and *sauve qui peut* reactions, the European states have to be prepared to work through the relevant security institutions. Europe’s failure to prevent the wars in Yugoslavia or in Bosnia was not a failure of the EU, the WEU or NATO. It was a failure of the member states, which were unable to come up with a common and coherent approach to the unraveling “out-of-area” crisis.

PÁL DUNAY

## The European Union Entering the 21<sup>st</sup> Century

The story of post-World War II European integration had started before integration theory gained popularity. One has to bear in mind, however, that the idea of European integration was launched with economically modest (free trade area), but politically ambitious (like the European Defense Community) objectives in the 1950s. Except for some visionary statesmen, like Jean Monnet and some others, both the subject matters to be covered by integration and the geographical scope were limited. Six countries aimed at establishing a free trade zone, and not much else was on their “plate” when they signed the Rome Treaty on 25 March 1957.

Since then European integration has been a success story in many senses of the word. First, it has deepened economic interdependence among the member states whose trade relations and investments are directed at each other to a much larger extent than before. Second, it is another aspect of the same matter that the difference between the level of economic development of the member countries has diminished through a central redistribution mechanism. Third, its scope of activity has extended to related areas which facilitate further economic integration. The free movement of persons and services, the introduction of a common currency, and the future reduction of agricultural subsidies serve for the global competitiveness of the EU and its members, though the interpretation of those steps may vary. Fourth, it has also expanded to areas which only indirectly affect the core of the integration process, like cooperation in home (primarily police) affairs, and the concept of a common foreign and security policy. Fifth, the number of member states has increased from 6 to 15 in 38 years and plans exist to continue the process. Sixth, it is of similar importance that no state in Europe can escape defining its

relations with the EU any longer. The Union has become one of the centers of gravity of the evolution of Europe.

The achievements of the EC/EU in the last four decades have been remarkable. They are reflected in the fact that the EU can no longer be described with the categories which are traditionally used for international organizations. The supranational nature of the EU helps understand the institutional relations between the Union and its members. No doubt, in certain areas supranationality is resented by certain members. Again in other areas one can conclude that the EU starts resembling a confederation. The introduction of the common currency and the plan to harmonize some tax levels show that direction. Nevertheless, the tendency can formally still be denied as the major decisions of the process are taken by the Council where heads of states and governments assemble at the meetings. Consequently, member states decide on the strategic issues. The activity of the European Central Bank shows the opposite direction, however. On the basis of the process one can deny the supranational character of the European Union but at least as far as its first pillar is concerned substantive supranationality is undeniable.

The European Economic Community/Union has evolved unevenly throughout the last decades. Ideas appeared and waited to be put into practice for years, sometimes decades. Many of those ideas which are to be put into practice nowadays have been floating around since the 1950s or the 1970s. The idea of common defense belongs to the former, the common currency to the latter. It is important to see clearly, however, that prosperous activities have mainly occurred in those areas which are more closely linked to the original economic objectives of the EC.<sup>1</sup> There is no reason to doubt that emphasis will continue to be put on those areas which are closely related to the economic development of the Union or at least belong to the periphery of economic activity. This results in a situation familiar in history that the “strong leg” of the

1 I do not intend to deal with the widely known argument that the objectives of the European integration process were clearly of a political and security nature, as then one should argue why the nearly four decades of economically dominated integration have represented a detour in evolution.

European Union gets even stronger whereas the weak ones do not grow muscle.

## Considerations for the Future

The European Union by the late 1990s has practically expanded the four freedoms on which it has been based upon to all its member countries. The free movement of goods, persons, capital and services are guaranteed among the fifteen and the transition periods have expired. Consequently, the Union can look ahead and focus its attention on its most important agenda points. They are only indirectly related to the external political role of the Union, though certain aspects of EU foreign policy are high on the agenda. Bearing in mind the heavy workload the issues on the priority list represent, it is likely that there will be issues – among them some of the controversial ones – which will be put on the back-burner. One can take it for granted that the deepening of cooperation in the area of common foreign and security policy will be among them. This back-burner character may still be more correct for common security rather than for common foreign policy. In spite of the significant evolution of the CFSP edifice in the Amsterdam Treaty and in the presidency conclusions of the Cologne Council, I find it highly unlikely, in the light of the interests of the member states, that it will be filled with content any time soon. Therefore, not even in the medium term can one think of a cohesive common defense policy of the Union.

On the priority list the following topics will certainly appear: First, the introduction of the EMU. Second, to introduce institutional reform, partly postponed in Amsterdam in 1997. Third, to prepare some countries for membership and integrate them as new members. Fourth, to consolidate the Common Foreign and Security Policy and put CFSP and ESDI into practice. Fifth, to integrate those former parts of the third pillar which have become parts of the first pillar under the Amsterdam Treaty. Sixth, to create a union of the 21<sup>st</sup> century based on three “equally strong” legs.

In the traditional sense of the word those matters have not much to do with security. One can, of course, start out from a broad, nearly all-embracing definition of security like the OSCE does so that nearly all the above matters gain relevance in international security. It is necessary to remember the uneven evolution of European integration. There are periods when European integration moves forward very quickly and there are years when the achievements are stabilized, or some identified as blind alleys.

Since the Maastricht Treaty it seems as though not much has happened in treaty-making. The norms adopted in the Amsterdam Treaty reflected much more that the “parties agreed to differ” on some major issues than anything else. The evolution of the Union in the last seven years or so took place primarily in the implementation of the economic and monetary union, in the consolidation of the movement of foreigners in the territory of the EU and in its contribution to the stabilization of the area adjacent to the member states.

## The Centrality of EMU in the Evolution of the EU

Since the adoption of the Maastricht Treaty the timely introduction of the common currency has gained central importance in the Union. It has become a symbol of the further deepening of integration. The decision about the introduction has been taken, although it has remained clear that the positions of the parties about some of the fundamental issues will have to be sorted out at a later stage in practice. One such issue is the function of the central bank in times of recession. In that respect the French and the German economic philosophy is different. Assuming that there will be a major conflict between the two decisive powers of the EU is a little bit far-fetched and seems not particularly founded.<sup>2</sup> It may cause a severe problem,

2 Feldstein, Martin. “EMU and International Conflict.” *Foreign Affairs* 76, no. 6 (1997): 60-73, 61.

however, that the first years of the functioning of the European Central Bank and the Euro proper will take place at a time of recession or at least a major slow down of growth.

A conflict with the world at large, including the United States, seems even less likely. The fact that the Euro-zone of 11 states will have a nearly equal share in world trade with the US and that the industrial output of the former will not be much smaller than that of the latter does not automatically mean rivalry. The currency reserves of the world will in less than 20% be held in currencies of countries which join the Euro in the beginning. It equals with approximately one-third held in the US dollar. A change may come gradually, or the increase of the share of the Euro as a reserve currency will remain insignificant also in the long run. The same goes for capital investment as the European capital markets remain substantially smaller than those of the US.<sup>3</sup> One may say that the strong symbolic tendency of unification may deliver a message to the world at large, including the US, that Western Europe has more in common than ever. It does not come as a surprise to anybody that the symbolic step does not provide any reason for getting upset about the tendency of unification. It is more surprising that official Washington is so silently positive about the Euro, whereas some academic circles in the US are definitely worried about it. In this respect the following issues are worthy of consideration: The US has got accustomed to its hegemonic role in the years since the end of the East-West conflict. This seems to be the tacit starting point of many US authors and that is why many of them regard the emergence of the Euro-bloc as a potential challenge. Consider for instance Owen Harries:

3 See Henning, C. Randall. *Cooperating With Europe's Monetary Union*. Washington, D.C.: Institute for International Economics, 1997, 12f.

If (...) France can stymie U.S. policy toward Iraq even with a weak partner like Russia, how much more will it be capable of thwarting Washington's will if and when it has the weight of "Europe" behind it?<sup>4</sup>

Tacitly this argument appears also in those American writings which do not take an extreme position. As Harries notes:

American conventional wisdom about Europe reflects the mental habits of half a century, rather than serious thought about the particular issue of EMU (...). For nearly fifty years it has been an article of faith for Americans that European division is a bad thing, the cause of wars; that Europe should be urged to integrate; and that a federal United States of Europe, created in emulation of the United States of America would be the best outcome of such a process of integration.<sup>5</sup>

Beyond the American assessment of the Euro there might be hidden European agendas not trusting the US commitment to Europe or frightened by American "grand designs" and assertiveness. Furthermore, if the two parties start viewing each other with distrust the danger of outside actors trying to capitalize on the divergence of interest between the US and the Euro-zone may increase. Unless the relationship is heavily mismanaged in the years to come there is no reason to assume that a major conflict would break out between the two actors.

However, a conflict-free relationship of the two is not a foregone conclusion either. Mismanagement can stem from different sources: firstly, US assertiveness and misperception of Euro-zone interests; secondly, a hidden political agenda in one Euro-zone country or in a number of them; thirdly, interference of outside actors in the economic rivalry between the two actors. The importance of these political considerations is further underlined by the fact that the Euro from the outset cannot be judged on economic grounds exclusively and unambiguously. On economic grounds one can only state "that economics does not provide us any neutral, technical information about the

4 Harries, Owen. "America and the Euro Gamble." *The National Interest*, no. 53 (Fall 1998): 125-128, 127.

5 *Ibid.*, 126.

costs and benefits of the project, nor does it support the EMU unequivocally.”<sup>6</sup> As a logical continuation of the single market one can only conclude that the EMU, and the Euro as its final phase, is necessary even if it is not without risks either economically or politically.

It is more important that the member countries, and the periphery of the Union (candidates for membership) readily accept the necessity of financial discipline imposed by the Maastricht criteria. The combination of low inflation rate, no excessive deficit, and the observance of normal fluctuation margins, i.e. no devaluation against the currency of any member state on its own initiative, and the durability of the average nominal long-term interest rate taken together offer the chance of global competitiveness. One might, of course, raise the point that the Maastricht criteria over-emphasize the importance of economic balance versus growth. It may well be the most important theoretical objection against them that slow growth is regarded far less of a danger to the economies of the Euro-zone than some macro-economic imbalances. The first six months of the functioning of the Euro as a currency provided evidence of this, though the gradual loss of its value *vis-à-vis* the US dollar, contrary to some superficial observers, has not been a major problem at all.<sup>7</sup> Let us hope that the high level of economic discipline required will contribute to (harmonious) growth in the longer run.

No doubt the Maastricht criteria have mixed consequences. On the one hand, they create the financial discipline necessary. On the other, however, they offer one more point of reference to the executive branches of the member states to refer to the EU in order not to compromise in certain economic matters. They, furthermore, do not in any manner

6 Minkkinen, Petri and Heikki Patomäki. “Introduction: The Politics of Economic and Monetary Union.” In *The Politics of Economic and Monetary Union*, ed. Petri Minkkinen and Heikki Patomäki, 7-18, 9. Boston: Kluwer, 1997.

7 For a somewhat unique view of this, certainly shared by the author of this chapter, see Brittan, Samuel. “Benefits of low euro.” *Financial Times*, 10 June 1999, 14.



address the problem of unemployment. They rather aggravate unemployment further as they exclude the competitive devaluation of the currency in order to generate demand and thus create jobs. Weakening thus the power of the state in order to increase long-term global economic competitiveness is a means in relation to states who have been unable to create the necessary financial discipline on their own.

It seems that in the next century we enter the phase when major economic or trade blocks will compete and cooperate with each other. There will be some exceptions based on e.g. the size of the national economy (Peoples Republic of China), on the richness of natural resources (some oil and gas producing countries) or on traditions (Switzerland). In sum, a European Union unifying further joins the global trend. It furthermore sets an example to those members which are reluctant to join the inner circle of EU members and to the candidate countries which have already started to measure their economic performance on meeting the Maastricht criteria even though the Union has persistently emphasized that this is no condition of membership. It seems the candidate countries feel politically attracted by the chance to join the Euro-zone as soon as possible after gaining EU membership. Even though this may take several years it is important to emphasize that while approaching the fulfillment of the Maastricht criteria may be a useful tool to increase economic discipline, and thus long-term competitiveness, there remains another side of the coin. The president of the Hungarian National Bank was certainly right to call attention to the complexity of reducing inflation and meeting the criterion of a fixed exchange rate at the same time.<sup>8</sup> Notably, a fixed exchange rate may deprive a country of competitive devaluation, thus reducing the “arsenal” it may use to fight other economic “malaise,” particularly inflation and, to some extent, unemployment. The further unification in Europe symbolized by the common currency may be regarded as a challenge by other trade blocks, or their leading members; it does not question the necessity to pursue it, however.

8 “Surányi: Ovatosan az euroval.” *Népszabadság*, 2 July 1999.

## Eastern Enlargement

The existential threat that dominated the security agenda of Europe has vanished rapidly. The “high risk, high stability” era has been replaced by a “low risk, low stability” one – as perceived by most countries of the continent. The conflicts that have emerged since the beginning of the 1990s are on the periphery of the continent, and primarily those on the territory of the former Soviet Union are regarded as being of peripheral importance by the rest of Europe. This perception has been reinforced by the fact the conflicts have had no tendency to escalate horizontally. The peoples of the former Yugoslavia, although they massively killed each other, except for rare exceptions, had no intention to extend their operations to neighboring countries. The developments in Russia and on its periphery were more worrying for the nations of the post-Soviet space than for any other country. It is for those reasons that the importance of security in the traditional military sense has declined in Europe.

At the same time the doubling of international institutions (EC-CMEA; NATO-Warsaw Treaty) came to an end. The value system of many East-Central European countries has become similar, even identical, with Western values. It has become a task for both the European Community and the former socialist countries to redefine their relations. It was easier for the latter than for the former, because there was a region next to them which had been democratic, stable and far more developed than their own countries. The reassessment was much more complex for the West and its evolution went through different phases.

There are at least three distinct phases among which one has to differentiate when dealing with the evolution of the role attributed to East-Central Europe. The first one was marked by a largely uninformed West, as in the preceding forty years or so the countries of the region were regarded unimportant. Thus the professional knowledge of the countries of East-Central Europe diminished to zero. The Western discussions remained on a very low professional level and were dominated by some US experts who, at best, had spent some holidays on the coast of the Adriatic Sea. They recommended that “the West should try to isolate the relatively healthy Western half of the

European order, where the effects of anarchy have been partially mitigated, and nationalism and militarism controlled, from Europe's increasingly volatile Eastern half."<sup>9</sup> Not much later the level of familiarity with the region increased, though the concerns of the West were also on the increase. As the outbreak of the war in Yugoslavia and the Moscow coup of August 1991 demonstrated that the dangers were real, Western experts increasingly focused their attention on ethnic conflict as the most dangerous evil of the region. The West was concerned about the spread of the disease of ethno-nationalism in the region. The worries extended not only to the spread of violence but also to the side effects, primarily the uncontrolled mass migration induced by violent conflicts. Jonathan Eyal observed with regard to these concerns:

A good argument can be made that many of these erroneous assumptions were understandable. After more than four decades of separation, a period of accommodation was required; that this has lasted only a few years and involved no irretrievable mistakes is a source of pride for many Western governments today.<sup>10</sup>

Interestingly enough, Yugoslavia was more deterring for the countries of East-Central Europe. It had not only a salutary effect on Rumanians and Bulgarians, but also influenced relations between the Czechs and Slovaks during their "velvet divorce." Hence, a few years after the end of the East-West conflict the West has been deprived of the basis of its policy of rejection on the grounds that the countries of the region carry the danger of ethnic violence. Other points of reference have remained relevant, however. They concern a broad array of issues ranging from the civilian control of armed forces to their military compatibility with NATO standards, the share of private property in the economy, and also the ability of the economy to stand the competition with other market economies. It is a fact, however, that the

9 Snyder, Jack. "Averting Anarchy in the New Europe." *International Security* 14, no. 4 (1990): 5-41, 13.

10 Eyal, Jonathan. "NATO's Enlargement: Anatomy of a Decision." *International Affairs* 73, no. 4 (1997): 695-719, 697.

years have passed and the region has proven remarkably stable. Eyal is right to say that “bombs continued to explode in Belfast and Bilbao, not in Bucharest or Bratislava.”<sup>11</sup> Although after his remark detonations have occurred in some capitals of East-Central Europe, it was a sign of the disquieting spread of organized crime rather than of political violence. The time that has passed since the end of the East-West conflict largely uneventfully, or one would say without any major conflict, and the performance of the countries together resulted in a situation that the West gradually reassessed East-Central Europe. The idea to integrate the region also institutionally was no longer opposed philosophically. The East-Central European countries had certain difficulties in arguing their case in front of the West. In the beginning, some believed that the argument according to which the region would remain unstable without Western integration could encourage the West to integrate the region early. It rather deterred the West. It was, however, fairly difficult to present a positive picture as it took time to provide solid arguments as to why it would be to the benefit of the West to open its institutions to East-Central Europe. It was easier to demonstrate the importance of the region for the West as far as security and political stability were concerned than in economic terms. The contradictions of the system were demonstrated by an assessment of the early years of mis-communication by Jan Zielonka:

One day the audience is confronted with a vision of domestic anarchy and foreign aggression. Another day the same politicians describe their country as exceptionally stable and surrounded by peaceful neighbours. In East-West encounters the latter vision is usually presented to Western bankers and investors; the former to security experts.<sup>12</sup>

It took a few years to sort out the problem and eliminate the inconsistency of the messages communicated by the East-Central Europeans. It

11 Eyal, Jonathan. “NATO’s Enlargement: Anatomy of a Decision.” *International Affairs* 73, no. 4 (1997): 695-719, 697.

12 Zielonka, Jan. *Security in Central Europe*. Adelphi Paper, no. 272. London: Brassey’s for the IISS, 1997, 33f.

was unpredictable how long the allegiance with the West could be maintained without imbedding the region into Western security institutions. The *de facto* buffer role could only be consolidated through institutional arrangements. As a Hungarian politician argued in favor of the independence of Ukraine: “We feel that the Ukraine (...) will absorb the larger shocks which might emanate from the Soviet Union.”<sup>13</sup> Not to mention that the biggest successor state of the Soviet Union started to be assertive internationally again. The Russian President in his letter to his US counterpart in September 1993 offered the following:

[W]e would be prepared, together with NATO, to offer official security guarantees to the East European states with a focus on ensuring sovereignty, territorial integrity, inviolability of frontiers, and maintenance of peace in the region. Such guarantees could be stipulated in a political statement or cooperation agreement between the Russian Federation and NATO.<sup>14</sup>

As Russia was the single most important common concern for many countries of East-Central Europe, it was obvious that the countries of the region would object to the offer of President Yeltsin. Of course, Moscow was not addressing the countries of the region. Russia spoke over the heads of its former allies demonstrating time and again it has no policy on the region, and more broadly on small states, apart from containing the aspirations of these countries to join NATO. The then Hungarian foreign minister Jeszenszky commented on the Russian offer by stating:

Nations in Central and Eastern Europe do not want to become a kind of condominium, guaranteed by our western and eastern neighbours. We cannot accept the idea of another “Grand Alliance” this time between NATO and Russia, the creation of an umbrella under which we all must find cover. That would smack of the attitudes of the Second World War or

13 Katona, Tamás. “The Foreign Policy of the Antall Government – the First Nine Months.” *Current Policy*, no. 5 (1991): 2.

14 For the letter see *SIPRI Yearbook 1994*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 250.

of the later phase of the Cold War.<sup>15</sup>

In sum, the positive (the prospect of stability) and negative (the danger of sliding into a so-called security vacuum<sup>16</sup>) reasons were both present in favor of engaging the countries of the region. The situation was different economically. The region had little to offer, as the words of the then Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel illustrate:

We have the chance to take a string of European countries that until recently were colonised by the Soviets and that today are attempting the kind of friendship with the nations of the Soviet Union which would be founded on equal rights, and transform them into a definite special body, which would approach Western Europe not as a poor dissident or a helpless, searching amnestied prisoner, but as someone who has something to offer (...).<sup>17</sup>

One could of course argue that a market of more than one hundred million people could be important to the West. Acquiring the benefit of exporting to these markets freely was not, however, made dependent upon integrating the countries of East-Central Europe into the EU. This benefit was taken by the EU in the so-called association agreements which have gradually established free trade between the member states and the associates without membership.<sup>18</sup> Thus, it does not require any further “concession” of the West to dump the markets of the associates. At the same time the association agreements stopped short of those freedoms, which would be regarded dangerous by some in the Union, like free trade in agriculture or the free movement of

15 Jeszenszky, Géza. “The Lessons of Appeasement.” *Current Policy* 2 (1994): 6.

16 As was mentioned by the then Czechoslovak President Havel. See President Havel’s Address to the NATO Council in the documentation section of *NATO Review* 39, no. 2 (1991): 31-35, 33.

17 “President Vaclav Havel’s Speech to the Polish Sejm and Senate, 21 January 1990.” *East European Reporter* 4, no. 2 (1990): 55-57, 56f.

18 It is memorable that free trade will not extend to agriculture under the association agreements. That exception is certainly favored by the EU rather than the countries of East-Central Europe.

(cheap) labor.

Bearing in mind the significant difference between the level of economic development of the average EU member state and that of the average associated country and consequently the huge financial needs to maintain the cohesion of the Union after Eastern enlargement, there are very severe interests against early or hasty expansion of the Union. Particularly those countries may oppose an early enlargement which may benefit from the redistribution system of the Union. Some are also increasingly worried about the competitiveness of some East-Central European countries. The most developed countries of the region which have already started their accession talks with the Union are increasingly attractive to host foreign direct investment and to relocate some labor-intensive industries from Western Europe. Other countries (primarily Portugal, Greece and also Spain) are concerned about the cheap and qualified labor in East-Central Europe, particularly in countries like Slovenia, the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland. It is these two factors – the cost of enlargement and the concerns of the increasing competitiveness of some countries of the region – taken together which may hinder the integration of East-Central Europe at least for another seven to eight years or so.

The West did its utmost to avoid conflicts stemming from differentiation. Three methods have been pursued in this respect. First, a delaying tactic: to keep the aspirants together as long as possible without announcing prematurely that differentiation will take place. This was pursued both by NATO and the EU until 1997. In December 1996 the NATO Council formulated vaguely saying that the Madrid summit of July 1997 will invite “one or more countries which have expressed interest in joining the Alliance to begin accession negotiations.”<sup>19</sup>

Second, non-differentiation: contemplate the option to provide every candidate with the same status beyond the beginning of accession talks.

19 *Final Communiqué Issued at the Ministerial Meeting of the North Atlantic Council held at NATO Headquarters, 10 December 1996*. Press Communiqué M-NAC-2 (96) 165, point 2.

This idea was nurtured by some members of the European Union, those which advocated the so-called “regatta approach” between the publication of the *avis* of the EU Commission in July 1997 and the Luxembourg Council in December of the same year.

Third, verbal reassurance: guarantee that non-priority candidates will have the opportunity to join the respective institution later, or at least, that the process of enlargement remains open. This was the case with respect to Rumania and Slovenia in the Madrid declaration of NATO: “We will review the process at our next meeting in 1999. With regard to the aspiring members we recognize with great interest and take account of the positive developments towards democracy and the rule of law in a number of South-Eastern European countries, especially Rumania and Slovenia.”<sup>20</sup>

The elements of this tactic have certainly contributed to the fact that no sharp dividing lines have been created in the enlargement processes of the EU and NATO. Nine years have passed since the revolutions of East-Central Europe. In spite of the understandable efforts of Western institutions not to create dividing lines, a differentiation based on self-differentiation has appeared. International politics has become fairly uninteresting in East-Central Europe. The agenda is dominated by “go West.” It seems that most countries of the region have reached a phase of development when they do not only pay lip service to the objective of Western integration but are also ready to make sacrifices in order to attain membership in the two major Western institutions. The importance attributed to accession to Western institutions means the West gained significant leverage in the region. The importance is also part of the problem, however. The West has to be particularly careful how to communicate the message of differentiation in the region. Those countries which conclude that despite their declared efforts their “integration locomotive” has not been set into motion may feel betrayed and may

20 *Madrid Declaration on Euro-Atlantic Security and Cooperation Issued by the Heads of State and Government, 8 July 1997*. Press Release M-1 (97)81, point 8.



consider modifying their political orientation. This danger is particularly real when the integration efforts and the sacrifices made are heavily contested domestically and

when there are influential political forces, which contemplate alternative routes of international relations.

One may, of course, ask “where else the countries of the region may go,” i.e. taken or not they will have to pursue the same policy.<sup>21</sup> Bearing in mind the important benefits integration may offer, the question might carry an element of truth. Nevertheless, such cynical statements can easily have severe counter-productive consequences in the region.

In the coming decade or so the European Union will face different challenges in its relations with East-Central Europe. Firstly, how to avoid political tension when the first wave of Eastern enlargement will not take place before the middle of the next decade. Some countries of the region are of the view that their level of development would make a much earlier accession possible. The group of six which currently negotiates its membership will become the group of eight, or if the assessment of Slovakia is also reconsidered the group of nine, soon.<sup>22</sup> This will bring the situation closer to the “regatta” approach. Furthermore, in light of the experience of Kosovo, Bulgaria and Romania, the only two associates still kept waiting in the wings, might have to be brought closer to the EU in one form or the other in order to provide for the stability problems of those countries and to prevent them from further developing a feeling of “betrayal” by the West. This will sharpen the contradiction between those countries

21 This point was made to the author by an official of the European Commission in December 1996.

22 In light of the information leaked about the preparation of the Commission to publish the next “annual report” about the preparedness of the candidate countries for membership in October 1999, it has become likely that the group of six will indeed become the group of nine.

which are of the view that they should not wait for other countries in the group.<sup>23</sup>

Secondly, how to provide for the necessary amount of money in the framework of the pre-accession strategy when the bigger amounts of support are put forward after accession. Thirdly, it will be the single most difficult problem to keep those countries of East-Central Europe motivated to follow the line of the Union which in the light of a slow-down of EU expansion only see a remote possibility of joining the prosperous West. This is the problem of those countries which cannot join the first wave of Eastern enlargement because of their poor economic performance, like Bulgaria and Rumania. The same will appear as an even more worrying factor in the case of countries whose political performance prevents them from qualifying for membership, such as Croatia which has not been in a position to conclude an association agreement. Not to mention countries like Serbia or Albania. The Union started the process of Eastern enlargement which will dominate its “foreign policy” agenda in the decades to come.

It is difficult to define to what extent the Union has contributed to stability in East-Central Europe. If one would extend the analysis to its member states it would be obvious that the contribution ranges between important and essential. It has extended to providing a model to follow, to very concrete forms of assistance, like the so-called Phare program<sup>24</sup> through which support and assistance has been provided to the countries of the region to modernize their economies. Despite the problems the European Union faces in the enlargement process under the current conditions when most countries of

23 It is clear that Poland represents the single biggest problem in this respect. A country with 38.3 million people and huge poor rural areas is simply too large to be prepared for accession quickly, not to mention the negotiation strategy of Poland and the recent problems with the use of Phare money. If other countries, like Slovenia, Estonia, Hungary and Cyprus, have to wait for Poland they will feel somewhat alienated by the EU.

24 Originally “Phare” stood for “Poland Hungary Aid for the Reconstruction of the Economy” but was extended later to other countries of the region.

East-Central Europe do not face any identifiable military threat, its contribution to stability and prosperity is the single most important contribution to the East-Central European transition countries.

The European Union seems to have been taken hostage by its own success. It has been understood that its stability- and prosperity-providing function has so effectively contributed to providing security in the broad sense that in the aftermath of any major crisis in Europe outside the borders of the former Soviet Union its stabilizing role emerges. This is the case in spite of the doubtful results of the implementation of the non-military part of the Dayton agreement. The conviction of its prospective success has most recently been apparent after the Kosovo crisis of 1999. The extensive stabilization effort directed nearly exclusively towards non-associated countries may divert resources from the associates. They have already expressed their reservations carefully, being afraid that this will further “dilute” the process of enlargement.

The enormous and lasting task of Eastern enlargement can be illustrated by the fact that if the first Eastern enlargement takes place in 2006,<sup>25</sup> it will be the second longest period without enlargement in the history of the EC/EU.<sup>26</sup> One has to understand why the associated countries of East-Central Europe put so much emphasis on an early timing of their entry. First of all, their experience is that without the pressure they exert, enlargement may slow, or even bog, down. Secondly, they have to deliver a message to their domestic political audience that “there is light at the end of the tunnel” in achievable distance. Thirdly, provided there is going to be sufficient capacity to absorb money, and co-finance EU funds, some of these countries are ea-

25 Even though there is no point in speculating about the date of the next enlargement, the author was informed by a member of the EU Commission that this year was about realistic.

26 The longest period passed between 1958 and 1973, before the first enlargement (Denmark, Ireland, UK). The second would last 11 years between 1995 (Austria, Finland, Sweden) and 2006.

ger to get access to structural funds. This desire is further exacerbated by the fact that some of them have been able to attract less foreign direct investment lately than earlier. In order to maintain their relative budget balance, those countries, like Hungary, see EU funding, conditional of membership, as an attractive alternative to financing the budget deficit. Last but not least, some governments, I think erroneously, might believe that accession would significantly increase their popularity. This may be of decisive importance for preserving power in a region where the electorate regularly goes to the polls and votes those forces out of government, which it blames for a not entirely convincing performance.<sup>27</sup> I do think that as the Eastern enlargement of the EU is a multi-factorial game it is largely irresponsible to guess when it shall take place. Several parameters may change until the actual accession of any East-Central European country. Of course, if the next wave of enlargement is not much less than a decade off the road, it is not even necessary to contemplate the time and conditions of further waves.

It is another major task to create adequate relations with Turkey, Ukraine and Russia, countries which have indicated their willingness to join the Union. Even though their desire is entirely one-sided their closer integration is a task which will be on the agenda for several decades. The problems are, of course, basically different in the case of Turkey on the one hand and the two Slavic states on the other. Whereas the former has a functioning market economy, a high GDP growth and a steadily growing population, the two others have practically none of them. What all three have in common is that they are large countries whose integration would be extremely costly. Bearing in mind that according to modest estimates the *acquis communautaire* equals approximately eighty thousand pages one can hardly expect any of the three countries to approach the Union for many decades to come.

The recognition of this is reflected in the common strategy on Russia

27 It is a long-term problem of the region that legitimacy is nearly exclusively provided by performance, a shaky ground to consolidate power.

adopted by the Council in June 1999.<sup>28</sup> Such a strategy is on the one hand the reflection of thorough consideration concerning the given country. On the other hand, however, it is a declaration that the relationship of the Union and Russia cannot be described in any other category (membership, association, as an expression of the prospect of membership, etc.). This may make such a common strategy inappropriate for defining the relationship between the EU and e.g. Turkey as it may alienate the partner. The strategy *vis-à-vis* Russia may have an additional advantage. Namely, Russia may start thinking about defining its relationship towards the Union. This has been entirely missing from the policy of Moscow, and there is plenty of evidence showing that there is negligibly little knowledge both in government and in expert circles about the European integration process centering around the EU. The difference might be philosophical. Russia, thinking sometimes in the category of balance of power, sometimes in that of balance of interests, may face insurmountable difficulties to understand this “post-modern” phenomenon of international relations that the EU represents.

### The Common Foreign and Security Policy – In Decline?

Everything depends on the expectations. If one assumes that the European Union will be a major actor of international politics on its own and the “independent” institutions will formulate their foreign policy, one will be surprised. Foreign policy is in the hands of the Council of the member states and the presidency. It is an area where the member states do not intend to relinquish their full control. In the Treaty of Amsterdam of 1997 certain modifications have been adopted though

28 *Common Strategy of the European Union on Russia of 4 June 1999, Annex II of the Presidency Conclusions at the Cologne European Council, 3 and 4 June 1999.*

the basic provision that the “Presidency shall represent the Union in matters coming within the common foreign and security policy” has been retained. The idea to outline “common strategies” was inserted in the treaty. It can only be established by the consensus of the member states.<sup>29</sup> Among the confines of the treaty there is a low profile foreign policy in the European Union. If we lower the expectation towards the common foreign and security policy there is something, namely a harmonization of the positions of the member states. But if one takes a look at the major international crises ranging from the war in the former Yugoslavia to the early-1998 conflict in Iraq it can be concluded that the CFSP suffers from severe constraints.

In relation to defense matters, the Maastricht Treaty declared that the common foreign and security policy will include the eventual framing of a common defense policy. Of the two mechanisms established by the treaty, common action cannot be taken with respect to issues having defense implications. (Article J.4, paras 1 and 3.) It stems from this fact that only the systematic cooperation of EU member states was set forth with respect to issues related to common defense policy, which might lead to a common defense. It is necessary to differentiate between three categories, namely those of common security policy, common defense policy, and common defense. Common security policy is part of the development of the EU, though with the important caveat that it is the task of the WEU to “elaborate and implement decisions and actions of the Union which have defence implications.”<sup>30</sup> When taking a closer look, the conclusion can be drawn that issues with defense implications form part of the defense policy, as common defense will be developed at a later stage. If common defense policy is to precede common defense, then the latter is in a less

29 *Treaty of Amsterdam Amending the Treaty on European Union, the Treaties Establishing the European Communities and Certain Related Acts, 2 October 1997*, Articles J.3, para. 2 and J.8.

30 *Ibid.*, Article J.4, para. 2.

advanced stage of integration.<sup>31</sup> This is underlined by the fact that “common defence policy (...) might in time lead to a common defence.”<sup>32</sup> The Amsterdam Treaty only slightly modified the text in that respect.

The Maastricht Treaty codified the institutional separation of security and defense. Whereas the former is an integral part of the EU, the latter was tasked to the WEU. It is clear that the EU aimed at integrating the WEU without eliminating the separate structure of that organization. There were reasons to maintain this separation: First of all, not all members of the EU belong and want to belong to the WEU. Since the enlargement of the EU on 1 January 1995 only two-thirds of the 15 EU countries have membership in the WEU. As all members of the WEU are members of the EU, this creates an asymmetric relationship between the two organizations, where the latter is in the position to dominate the decisions (and decision-making) of the former. This has been reflected in practice as seen in cases when the Union failed to approach the WEU in matters concerning defense. This is contrary to the letter of the Maastricht Treaty that does not say that the Union “may request,” it rather says that the Union “requests” the WEU.<sup>33</sup> If such a benign neglect of the WEU could become the practice of the EU, the former institution could fall asleep again and regain its long held role of the Sleeping Beauty of European security.

Even though the Amsterdam Treaty modified the text, the importance of security in the narrow sense of the word has not increased. More recent developments, most notably the preparation “for the inclusion of those functions of the WEU which will be necessary for the EU to fulfil

31 Roper, John. “Defining a Common Defence Policy and Common Defence.” In *Towards a Common Defence Policy*, ed. Laurence Martin and John Roper, 7-12, 7. Paris: WEU Institute for Security Studies, 1995.

32 *Treaty of Amsterdam*, Article J.4, para. 1.

33 Santer, Jacques. “The European Union’s Security and Defense Policy.” *NATO Review* 43, no. 6 (1995): 3-10, 6.



its new responsibilities,”<sup>34</sup> may present arguments to the contrary, but I do think that for the time being it is mainly the edifice that has been prepared for a later filling with substance. It is a courageous step, however, that the unnecessary interface between the EU and NATO has been virtually eliminated, to be followed by the real termination of the WEU by the end of 2000.

In the previous parts of the paper I intended to indicate that matters other than the common foreign and security policy will dominate the agenda of the Union in the foreseeable future. More precisely put, the second pillar will primarily focus on common foreign policy in the sense of defining the relations between the EU and its periphery, the applicants for membership and some other countries. The legal framework to move from common foreign policy to common defense policy and later to common defense does exist, but the will of the 15 member states is missing. The possibility that the trend will change is reduced by the reluctance of some members for diverging reasons. Some do not want to challenge the priority attributed to NATO, others are hesitant or even reluctant to depart from their neutrality or non-alignment. The weakness of security policy is exacerbated by a public relations problem. The EU/WEU does not get recognition for its international security activity even when it is of undeniable significance, like in the demining in the Gulf following the Iraq-Iran war in the late 1980s or the monitoring of sanctions implementation in Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania before the Dayton agreement.

34 *European Council Declaration on Strengthening the Common European Policy on Security and Defence, Annex III of the Presidency Conclusions at the Cologne European Council, 3 and 4 June 1999.*

## Conclusion

The European Union has the best performance in areas which are related to the economic integration of its member states and Europe as a whole. Its scope of activity has broadened gradually and now extends to areas which contribute to the general economic performance, like the free movement of persons, cooperation in home affairs, etc. It has also established the technical conditions for the functioning of the Union as a highly integrated economic area, ranging from standardization to the mutual recognition of diplomas and other degrees.

With the introduction of the Euro a major step has been taken in the direction of a multi-speed Europe. As the institutional and decision-making system is conceived currently, those countries which will not join the Euro-zone forthwith will be highly motivated to get from the periphery to the center of the Union.

It has successfully integrated one and a half times more countries than the original number of member states. Some countries which have not joined regard some regulations of the Union as examples and adopt "mirror legislation." With its more than 370 million population, combined GDP and an increasing number of European countries willing to join, it has become the center of gravity of European economy and politics. Its contribution to European security is dependent upon the definition of the term "security." It has certainly contributed to stability in Europe, for the first thirty years of its existence in Western Europe and it has started to project it to the Eastern half of the continent in the last decade. Bearing in mind the number of countries which aspire to membership, their historically weak democratic traditions and, more importantly, their relative economic backwardness and low per capita GDP, this process will be of decisive importance for the evolution of the EU in the coming decades. Enlargement and the introduction of the common currency will be the two decisive projects of the EU in the coming decade or so. This will soon be followed by the harmonization of direct tax levels.

The European Union has always evolved unevenly. This will not be different in the future either. Bearing in mind the complexity and the

demanding character of the above projects, the EU will remain in a phase of consolidation and not launch major new projects. It is likely that the contradictions between different member states on major issues like enlargement, the financing of the Union, including the size of central redistribution through the EU budget, will get sharper. This is a side effect of the slowing pace of growth as well as of the fact that the third phase of the EMU, the introduction of the common currency and the power of the ECB, weaken the economic sovereignty of those member states which join the Euro-zone. Thus they will have to find some "compensation" by reducing the central redistribution through the EU budget. It is particularly unlikely that the EU will move ahead in areas which are not related to the major projects, like the introduction of a high profile common security policy or common defense. Its contribution to European security will continue to focus on the stability of the continent in the broad sense of the word. Bearing in mind the character of some recent domestic conflicts and crises in Europe, it is clear that not only ethnic tension may undermine stability. There is no long-term stability without some prosperity, and people can react violently if they are deprived of the prospect of prosperity. The Union and its member countries through spreading the methods of effective governance and macro-economic management may make a subtle but essential contribution to the stability of Europe.

During the period of consolidation of the achievements of the Union there will be voices in the EU which give priority to the approach of subsidiarity that would reduce the power of the Union and increase that of the member states. This will reduce the prospect of a major development of a common security and defense policy. The member states continue to remain sensitive about relinquishing their influence in the perceived core of sovereignty, foreign policy and defense.

VICTOR-YVES GHEBALI

## Ethnicity in International Conflicts: Revisiting an Elusive Issue

Since the end of the Cold War, the actors which currently contribute to conflict management (major powers, intergovernmental organizations, NGOs), have been called to cope more and more with intra-state conflicts, in which *ethnicity* plays a prominent if not an overwhelming role, and less and less with inter-state conflicts. Both phenomena are certainly not new. Ethnic conflicts did erupt in the era of bipolarity: Biafra, Burundi, etc. As to the decline in the number of inter-state conflicts, it was already observed in the 1980s. In any event, both categories of conflicts are now taking place in a different world-system and reveal a somewhat different paradigm of human violence.

The literature on the subject has already taken considerable proportions. In most cases, existing works address either the issue of etiology or that of management, or some combination of both. They seldom enter into the field of basic definitions which are generally taken for granted.<sup>1</sup> The importance of definitions here is crucial not just for the intrinsic sake of political theory. It proceeds from an elementary need of clarification, necessary in any serious intellectual enterprise. It is indeed important to define the nature of a phenomenon whose complexity is over confused by a fuzzy and misleading terminology. Only after attempting a dry-cleaning of the available intellectual tools

1 For a laudable, although inconclusive, exception see Riggs, Fred W. "Glossary of Terms Used in this Issue." *International Political Science Review* 19, no. 3 (1998): 311-330.

one could hope to come something closer to a better understanding of conflicts waged in the name of ethnicity.

### An Epistemological Confusion in Three Acts

Ethnic conflicts of the post-Cold War era reflect the phenomenon of *ethnonationalism*. So, a preliminary question arises: what is the relationship between nationalism and ethnonationalism? But such a distinction requires a clear understanding of the meaning of the basic concepts of “nation” and “ethnie,” as well as their epistemological interrelationships. Both concepts are extraordinarily elusive not only from a common (or popular) angle, but also from a social science point of view. The concept of “nation” is interchangeably used with at least four other basic terms: “people,” “state,” “race,” and “ethnie.”<sup>2</sup> As to the concept of “ethnie,” it belongs to those very notions which “nobody knows what they mean.”<sup>3</sup> A recent interdisciplinary debate on “Ethnic Nationalism and the World Systemic Crisis” has confirmed to what extent scholars use the same terms with different meanings and the impossibility of generally agreed definitions in this field.<sup>4</sup>

All the basic words of our contemporary political vocabulary derive

2 Connor, Walter. “A Nation is a Nation, is a State, is an Ethnic Group is a...” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 1, no. 4 (1978): 377-400.

3 Hassner, Pierre. “Beyond Nationalism and Internationalism: Ethnicity and World Order.” *Survival* 35, no. 2 (1993): 49-65, 49. In the 1920s, Max Weber himself recognized that this concept was “unsuitable for a really rigorous analysis” because it simply “dissolves” when submitted to definition. See Weber, Max. “What Is an Ethnic Group?” In *The Ethnicity Reader. Nationalism, Multiculturalism and Migration*, ed. Montserrat Guibernau and John Rex, 15-26, 24. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1997.

4 *International Political Science Review* 19, no. 3 (1998).

from Ancient Greece and Rome. The Greeks used different terms to cover the concept of “people” under its respective political, social and anthropological angles: *demos* referred to the citizens acting as a political body, while *laos* labeled the lower classes (or sometimes a community of warriors) and *ethnos*. The latter served as an umbrella term designating, *inter alia*, a Greek or a non-Greek community of human beings having developed a post-tribal collective identity and living together in some kind of socio-political organization on the basis of (true or imagined) common descent. On that basis, an expanding epistemological confusion developed so to speak in three acts.

The seeds of confusion (or Act I) can be traced back to the Romans which, like the Greeks, made use of different terms to qualify the notion of “people.” Referring to the whole body of citizens, *populus* was by and large symmetrical to *demos*. In the same vein, *plebs* (which designated the citizens not enjoying a status of patricians) roughly corresponded to *laos*. As to the Greek word *ethnos*, its counterparts were *gens*, *natio*, and even *populus* itself. It is worthwhile noting that the Romans did never consider themselves as a *natio* (a term reserved to non-Roman populations established outside their homeland, i.e. in the Roman Empire),<sup>5</sup> but as *populus* (citizens of a *civitas*). Later on, under Christianity, the Fathers of the Church popularized the term *ethne* to designate (in plural form) pagan persons and groups – thus transforming the initial anthropological meaning of *ethnos* into a marker of a religious boundary.

Under the Romans, *populus* (etymology unknown), *gens* (group of people identified by a collective name) and *natio* (a term connoting birth) were thus indiscriminately used to refer to a similar reality.<sup>6</sup> Of all those interchangeable words, it was *natio* – leading to “nation” –

5 Zernatto, Guido. “Nation: The History of a Word.” *The Review of Politics* 6, no. 3 (1944): 351-366, 352.

6 This confusion is particularly striking in such famous works as Tacitus’ *Germania*.

which finally prevailed after the fall of the Roman Empire. Over time, the word “nation” signified just the population of a given country, peoples living on the same territory under a single political authority irrespective of their origin. Between the 17<sup>th</sup> and the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, a narrower and aristocratic sense however prevailed: the use of “nation” was restricted to the upper classes of the society and “people” (a word directly deriving from *populus*) to the lower classes.<sup>7</sup> Until the French Revolution, the concept of “nation” kept its elitist connotation, beside the technical term of “state” which referred to the socio-political form of organization encompassing both the “nation” and the “people.”

Performing Act II, the French Revolution and its aftermath epitomized the initial confusion by introducing four new and far-reaching parameters. Firstly, it created a systemic link between the concepts of “people,” “nation” and “state” by upgrading the first one as the supreme entity and considering the two others respectively as its soul (“nation”) and flesh (“state”). Secondly, it sacralized the “people” by enshrining in it the exclusive source of political legitimacy. Thirdly, it established a direct connection between the “nation” and “democracy” by proclaiming that the former represented the whole of the people with no social exclusion. Finally, it defined the national link as a kind of social contract concluded between all the members of the nation as willing individuals. As a result of this intermingling, “people,” “nation” and “state” became largely equivalent in practice: hence the claim of modern states to portray themselves as “nation-states.”

In reaction to the French Revolution’s ideology, an antagonistic conception soon emerged. Pioneered by the German philosopher Fichte, it defined the “nation” as a collective entity of a biological (and not of a contractual) nature which, by definition, could only be superior to the will of all of its constituent elements. It argued that a “nation” is a natural grouping composed of peoples linked by the objective, affective and irreversible bond of common blood stemming from mere birth. In this epistemological space, the extraneous concept of “race” found

7 In *De l’Esprit des Lois* (chapter XXVIII.9), Montesquieu significantly restricted the French Nation just to the “lords and bishops.”

propitious ground. Initially, this concept purported two meanings. The first was just classificatory: sort, kind, category – of anything (peoples, objects, etc.).

The second had to do with genetics, since it connoted the idea of family, lineage, descent, generation, and so forth. Beginning with the 16<sup>th</sup> century, a social dimension was injected into the concept: “race” served to differentiate social classes and to legitimize (particularly in France) social inequality by interpreting the latter as a consequence of the supremacy of the victorious conquering “Germanic race” over the defeated “Gallo-Roman race.” In the Enlightenment era, an additional function was attributed to the same concept, that of describing the sub-varieties of humankind on the basis of purely morphological differences (color of the skin, size of the head, etc.). Following the considerable development of philology, European intellectual elites considered language as the determinant factor of the “race” of “nations,” thus regrettably amalgamating the two concepts. In sum, by the 19<sup>th</sup> century, there were two competing visions of the “nation:” a contractual version praising the subjective will of the individuals (flamboyantly conceptualized by Ernest Renan in the 1880s) and a biological version emphasizing the fatality of birth, blood and genes.<sup>8</sup> Act III, or the acme of the epistemological mess, was reached at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century when a French sociologist (Georges Vacher de Lapouge), forged the term “ethnie.” The aim of that neologism was to qualify nations which although composed of different “races” formed, under the vicissitudes of history, coherent entities and whose members developed a genuine national solidarity.<sup>9</sup> Actually, “ethnie” did not add any substantial innovation in regard to the pre-existing concepts of “people,” “nation” or “race.” Despite (or perhaps because of) its fuzziness, that neologism found different uses in the French language.

8 The two visions did not reflect a clear-cut French/German opposition. Supporters of the vision based on biology could be found in France (Maistre, Barrès, Maurras, etc.) as well as in Germany (Fichte, Herder, Schelling, etc.).

9 Vacher de Lapouge, Georges. *Les Sélections Sociales*. Paris: Fontemoing, 1986, 9f.



Within the framework of the discipline of ethnology (before the latter's transmutation into "anthropology"), it served to describe the peoples of "primitive" or "archaic" non-Western societies. Moreover, some authors retained it to qualify groups of peoples linked by a linguistic bond. Others just used it as a mere synonym for "race" and nowadays in Europe it represents a politically-correct substitute for the discredited (biological) concept of "race." In the English-speaking world, "ethnicity" appeared in the 1933 edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary*. As to "ethnie," it was popularized as late as 1986, with the works of the British sociologist Anthony Smith.

Since modern biologists have demonstrated that the concept of "race" is scientifically unfit to the human species, its equation with that of "ethnie" became equally invalid. So, the remaining question is: what are the exact differences (if any) between "ethnie" and "nation?" Anthony Smith defines the "ethnie" as "a named human population with a myth of common ancestry, shared historical memories, elements of shared culture, and association with a specific homeland and a measure of solidarity"; and the "nation" as "a named human population inhabiting a historic territory and sharing common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members." Both definitions present indeed considerable similarities. Anthony Smith differentiates between the two concepts in the following way:

Historically, the nation is a sub-variety and development of the *ethnie*, though we are not dealing with some evolutionary law of progression, nor with some necessary or irreversible sequence. While the *ethnie* is an historical culture community, the nation is a community mass, public culture, historic territory and legal rights. In other terms, the nation shifts the emphasis of community away from kinship and cultural dimensions to territorial, educational and legal aspects, while retaining links with older cultural myths and memories of the *ethnie*.<sup>10</sup>

10 Smith, Anthony D. "A Europe of Nations – or the Nation of Europe?" *Journal of Peace Research* 30, no. 2 (1993): 129-135, 130.

In brief, the “ethnie” could be considered as the primordial form of the “nation:” the “proto-nation.” As such, it represents the basic cultural unit of human diversity predating the “nation” – the latter being the modern version of the archaic “ethnie.”

### Ethnonationalism: A Complex Variant of Nationalism

Being a specific variant of nationalism, ethnonationalism shares with it a set of common features. However, it also presents important qualitative differences which make it appear as a much more complex phenomenon than traditional nationalism.

First, ethnonationalism reflects a clearly regressive phenomenon. Assuming that the “ethnie” is the archaic version of the “nation,” we have to admit that ethnonationalism represents a revival of trends supposedly eradicated by modernity. Indeed, in a number of cases, those who ignite ethnic conflicts seem to have been driven by an overwhelming nostalgia towards a mythical era where the national community was (or just supposed to be) a kinship group. Accordingly, they endeavored to deconstruct the existing nation-state to which they belong with no regard whatsoever to modernity assets such as citizenship, economic benefits, external national prestige, etc. In short, contrary to nationalism, ethnonationalism is not the product of modernity but a late resilience to modernity, a counter-reaction to its most advanced forms.

Second, ethnonationalism often presents so high a degree of emotionality and non-rationality that it would not be excessive to analyze it with the *vocabulary of psychiatry*. A number of post-Cold War ethnic conflicts seem to have followed a comparable pathological general pattern. Their starting point has been the self-overestimation of the collective identity of a given ethnic group which asserts that its specificity is so unique that it makes coexistence in the same nation-state with others not possible any longer, all the more that its collective identity is lethally threatened by a coalition of internal and external foes. In line with that creed, which has to do with narcissism and paranoia and

which allows it to pose itself as a victim or martyr, the igniting group demonizes one or several other ethnic groups living with it on the same politico-territorial unit. Resenting henceforth physical cohabitation as intolerable promiscuity, it arrives at the imperative necessity of restoring a mythical stage of initial ethnic purity – thus adding phobia and delirium on the list of symptoms.<sup>11</sup> Two cases are particularly illustrative in this connection: the suicide of Yugoslavia and the deconstruction of Georgia's national unity and territorial integrity.

The process which led Tito's Yugoslavia to disintegration began by the ethnonationalistic overestimation of the Serbs accompanied by a concomitant demonization of the Albanians of Kosovo, the Croats and the Muslims. The first group was accused of committing a "permanent genocide" in what represented nothing else than the historical cradle of the Serbian nation. The second recalled the massacres perpetrated by the Ustasha movement during World War II and also pilloried for the "forceful cultural assimilation" of the Serb populations now living in Croatia. The third was charged with the dual guilt of "Islamic fundamentalism" and anti-Christian Orthodoxy. Furthermore, the Serbs denounced a "world plot" directed against the Serbian nation by a coalition associating higgledy-piggledy Germany, the Holy See and the Islamic fundamentalist states. The upsurge of Serbian ethnonationalism resulted in awakening or exacerbating the ethnonationalistic feelings of the others peoples and communities of Yugoslavia.

Although less complex in nature and deriving from a different *problématique*, the Georgian case is by and large comparable to Yugoslavia's. On the eve of the collapse of the USSR, Georgia's population included some 30% of ethnic minorities mainly concentrated in the Autonomous Republics of Adzharia and Abkhazia as well as in the Autonomous Region (*Oblast*) of South Ossetia. The Soviet power created and amalgamated such entities within Georgia in order to control (and actually neutralize) Georgian nationalism. When Georgia pro-

11 Thual, François. *Les conflits identitaires*. Paris: Ellipses, 1995, 6, 39f., 174.

claimed independence (1991), it immediately proceeded, under the leadership of an ethnonationalist President (Zviad Gamsakhourdia) to eradicate the consequences of fifty years of unwanted russification and to promote Georgian national identity at the expense of its linguistic and religious minorities.<sup>12</sup> The uncompromising attitude of the Georgian leadership, opposed to any constructive dialogue with minorities accused of playing the game of the former colonizer, fueled ethnonationalistic feelings (hitherto dormant or rampant) in South Ossetia and Abkhazia. Eventually, and amidst bloodshed including “ethnic cleansing,” both regions seceded from Georgia.<sup>13</sup>

Thirdly, and even more importantly, ethnonationalism can generate “total conflicts” involving a particularly high degree of human barbarity. At the individual level, this can be explained by the fact that in such types of conflict “everyone is automatically labeled a combatant – by the identity they possess – even if they are not.”<sup>14</sup> At the collective level, the main reason is that the igniting group considers itself as engaged in a life-or-death struggle, making its survival dependent upon the total destruction of the other ethnic group(s). The argument of “salvation through ethnic purification” helps it legitimize the inhumanity of its war methods against harmless and helpless civilian populations. As a general rule, conflicts waged in the name of ethnonationalism illustrate the appalling axiom (forged by anthropologists such as Claude Levi-Strauss) that humankind is not supposed to exist beyond the boundaries of the “ethnie.” Suffice it to recall here that the “ethnic cleansing” which took place in Bosnia-Herzegovina (1992-1995) was not the consequence but the very objective of one (and partially two) of the warring parties. The consid-

12 The Ossetians do not speak a Caucasian but an Indo-European language. As to the Abkhaz, they are a Caucasian people, but partly Muslim.

13 For more details on the two Georgian conflicts, see Ghebali, Victor-Yves. *L'OSCE dans l'Europe Post-Communiste, 1989-1996: Vers une Identité Paneuropéenne de Sécurité*. Brussels: Bruylant, 1996, 271ff.

14 Chipman, John. “Managing the Politics of Parochialism.” *Survival* 35, no. 1 (1993): 143-170, 146.

erations mentioned above show that ethnonationalism is a much more problematic phenomenon than traditional nationalism. However, they do not help to explain the etiology of ethnonationalism which could be accounted for, fundamentally, in the collapse of the nation-state or at least in a significant weakening of the nation-state as the basic unit of socio-political and cultural governance. Ethnic conflicts of the post-Cold War period have generally been encouraged by the inability of the nation-state to perform its fundamental natural functions as the overriding source of law and order, economic prosperity, social justice and collective identity. Its inability can be attributable to two main factors (or a combination of both): on the one hand, the side-effects of the demise of the Cold War aggravated by the progress of world economic globalization; on the other hand, the instrumentalization of ethnicity by national elites in favor of specific political agendas.

The general trend in favor of democracy and political pluralism, generated by the end of bipolarity, raised high expectations among the populations of many states (especially multiethnic) of the Third World. But, being often artificial entities whose main support came from the outside world for purely strategic reasons, those states (plagued by corruption and inefficiency, as well as political, economic and cultural discrimination against minorities) proved unsurprisingly unable to deliver. At the same time, the general breakdown of law and order, following the fall of authoritarian regimes, concurred to undermine what was still left of the states' legitimacy and credibility. As to globalization, it does not only reveal the decline and structural shortcomings of the state in a world economic system. Its actual and high-potential homogenizing cultural effects are inciting social groups to feel that collective identity was at risk, pushing them in a quest for new "imagined communities." "Because of its ability (even better than the state) to mimic the kinship and thus provide the identity, security and authority epitomised in the family bond," the most obvious candidate for that purpose could only be the "ethnie."<sup>15</sup>

15 Brown, David. "Why is the Nation-State So Vulnerable to Ethnic Nationalism?" *Nations and Nationalism* 4, no. 1 (1998): 1-15, 13.

Offering both refuge and salvation, ethnicity plays in such cases the role of a protective shield.

However, the manifestations of ethnonationalism are not always spontaneous and/or highly irrational. Sometimes, ethnic conflicts are just or basically ethnicized conflicts, that is to say conflicts inspired by perfectly rational purposes but waged (with the privileged support of the media and transnational ethnic diasporas) in the name of irrational values. Ethnicized conflicts are easier to understand, but raise the puzzling problem of “why do followers follow?”<sup>16</sup> In any event, ethnicity serves here as an offensive weapon. In this connection, three cases of post-Cold War ethnicized conflicts are worth mentioning: Yugoslavia, Rwanda and Transdniestria.

The instrumentalization of ethnicity appears particularly blatant in the Yugoslav case. Beyond undeniable shortcomings and flaws, the Federal Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia constituted a viable political entity. Its deconstruction was not the product of necessity but of strategy, the strategy of political leaders driven less by irrational ethnonationalistic feelings than by rational power motives. Endorsing the paranoid paraphernalia of an intellectual’s manifesto (1986 Memorandum of the Serb Academy of Sciences and Arts), Slobodan Milosevic deliberately ethnicized the problems of the Serbian regions of Kosovo, Voivodina and Sanjak as well the relations of Serbia with the other Republics of the Yugoslav Federation. To a lower degree, but with the same devastating consequences, Franjo Tudjman practiced a comparable game in Croatia through the ethnicization of the relations of his Republic with Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. In a nutshell, Tito’s Yugoslavia disintegrated under the combined blows of ethnonationalism and ethnicization. Partaking with ethnicity, the conflict between Serbs and Albanians in Kosovo is certainly of an ethnic (or preferably *inter-ethnic*) nature. But in Bosnia-Herzegovina it was rather *intra-ethnic*. The conflict did not oppose different “ethnies:” Serbs, Croats

16 See Brown, Michael E. “The Causes of Internal Conflict. An Overview.” In *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict*, ed. Michael E. Brown *et al.*, 20-23. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1997.

and Muslims are branches of a same “ethnie” (Slav) speaking the same language; they only differ from the point of view of religion – hitherto a veneer, as religion as a distinctive factor was over magnified for the circumstance.

In Rwanda, contrary to current popular beliefs, there is just one “ethnie:” the Rwandans. Although initially coming from different origins (as in the case of practically all nation-states), Tutsis, Hutus and Twas speak the same language, practice the same religion and claim the same mythical common ancestor. It must be stressed that the basic distinction between Tutsis and Hutus (not counting the Twas who represent 1% of the total population) has traditionally been socio-economic and not ethnic. The Tutsis formed the wealthy minority ruling elite. Tutsis who lose their cattle could be downgraded to a Hutu status, while Hutus who acquire cattle could be upgraded to a Tutsi status. In any event, mixed marriages were not infrequent between Tutsis and Hutus. For the practical purposes of colonial administration, the Germans and more particularly the Belgians (when they took over) ethnicized this traditional socio-economic cleavage of the Rwandan society. Accordingly, the Tutsis were legitimized as proxy rulers of Rwanda on the grounds of an alleged “racial superiority” over the Hutus. When, in the 1950s the Tutsis began to claim independence, the Belgians re-instrumentalized ethnicity the other way around. In order to slow down the decolonization process as long as possible, they supported the Hutus’ claims for power-sharing and transformed a basically political problem into fierce ethnic antagonism. Since then, and though forming a single “ethnie,” Tutsis and Hutus have been ruthlessly hating each other in the name of purely “imagined communities.”<sup>17</sup>

The conflict about Transdnistria also belongs to the category of ethnicized conflicts. It opposes the government of Moldova to the Rus-

17 On this complex question see the standard work by Prunier, Gerard. *The Rwanda Crisis, 1959-1994. History of a Genocide*. London: Hurst, 1995, xiv-389.

sian-speaking inhabitants of the *left bank* of Dniestr forming, since September 1991, a self-proclaimed Republic. The latter includes only a small part (25%) of the total Russian-speaking population of Moldova: indeed, 75% Russian-speaking people live on the *right bank* with no real coexistence problem with the Romanian-speaking population. Actually, the separatists were predominantly former privileged Soviet officials or military officers. Secession took place through bloodshed not (as they alleged) for ethnicity, but for political and ideological motives: the initial intentions of the Moldovan leadership (totally out of order today) to integrate the country with Romania bore the risk of putting an end to a cherished communist lifestyle and a host of appreciable privileges.<sup>18</sup>

## Conclusion

Whether spontaneous or instrumentalized, inter-ethnic or intra-ethnic conflicts erupting from the obscure nebula of ethnicity raise for international collective management at least two main sets of problems. In such conflicts, traditional stakes (political, economic, strategic, etc.) are decisively outweighed by symbolic stakes. International mediators cannot expect to deal here with political actors driven by fairly rational motives, concerned by the opportunity-cost of their goals or ready to embark in a give-and-take diplomatic process. While this holds fully true for ethnic conflicts, ethnicized conflicts offer however some room for maneuver. Provided that the mastermind is still in charge, compromises are not totally out of reach, as proven for instance by the 1995 Dayton agreement, which put a military end to the ethnicized conflict devastating Bosnia-Herzegovina since 1992.

Those conflicts are also particularly difficult to manage because their

18 For more details on this conflict, see Ghebali, *L'OSCE dans l'Europe Post-Communiste*, 289ff.



protagonists are mostly non-state actors: paramilitary groups, factions, dissident sub-clans, warlords, etc. Non-state actors are not vulnerable to traditional diplomatic pressure. Furthermore, they do not feel bound to respect not only the most basic rules of international law, but also those of international humanitarian law. As previously said, humankind is not supposed to exist beyond the boundaries of the “ethnie.” The present record of the post-Cold War practice tends to suggest that intra-ethnic conflicts (which represent the most sophisticated form of a nation’s self-destruction) degenerate into genocide more easily than inter-ethnic conflicts.

ANDRÉ LIEBICH

## East Central Europe: The Unbearable Tightness of Being

In this paper I propose to consider the long-term security landscape of a group of countries known generally as East Central Europe or, less accurately but more familiarly, as Eastern Europe. This group comprises former members of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, excluding Russia/ex-Soviet Union and, of course, East Germany but including Albania, a sometime member of the WTO, and countries which were never a part of the organization, namely, the Yugoslav successor states, as well as the ones which were not WTO member states, namely the Baltic countries.<sup>1</sup> The underlying premise of this paper is that East Central Europe today as in the past finds itself situated or “mapped,” in a security as well as in a broader sense, in two positions: either as “middle” ground or as “periphery.” These are more than strategic options. They are modes of understanding, of self-understanding, even modes of being. Neither the “middle” nor the “peripheral” position is a comfortable one, although in the immediate future the East Central European states seem to be putting their bets on the illusory security of peripheralization rather than on the uncertainties of the middle.

1 In broad terms we are speaking here of the countries between Russia and Germany. These numbered seven in 1990 and today number fifteen with the division of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia as well as the return to sovereignty of the Baltic states. Belorussia and Ukraine are excluded from this list for reasons which would require another paper.

## Squeezed Between Strangers

As well-seasoned air travelers, we all try to avoid the middle seat in long-distance flights. The prospect of being squeezed in for interminable hours between two strangers, especially ones of substantial proportions, is a daunting one. Historically speaking, East Central Europe sees itself as having suffered precisely this fate. The grand narrative, astonishingly alike for many of the people of the area, reads something like this: Pressure from the West, driven by a series of Germanic states, pushed the Slavs back from the Elbe almost to the Vistula.

This process which was already underway in Carolingian times was still continuing under Bismarck, not to mention its most aberrant manifestations during World War II. Even in areas which escaped outright Germanization, Germanic influence was pervasive in all areas of life. Arthur Koestler recounts a dinner conversation with a lady who, in reply to the question “what is the most beautiful German city?” answered “Prague.” She had a point but not one which offers much comfort to the inhabitants of that Golden City. And whatever other changes have occurred, geography remains. If it is no longer true that one can see Berlin from the top of Warsaw’s Palace of Culture, this is only because pollution now obstructs the view.

In addition to pressure from the West, East Central Europe is conscious of its extreme vulnerability from the East. The barbarians who streamed into Western Europe at the beginning of the modern era have been forgotten or domesticated. The Norseman is not a figure of terror but a cute icon for Hagen-Daas ice cream. But the situation in East Central Europe, as seen by inhabitants of that area, is quite different. The barbarians who swept in from the Eurasian plane continued to descend onto East Central Europe long after West Europeans had ceased to look over their shoulders. As in the West, some nomadic invaders did settle down in East Central Europe, notably the Magyars and the Bulgars. For the most part, however, they remained the aliens of fearsome legend. As Londoners listen to Big Ben, the inhabitants of Krakow tune in to their hourly Heynal: a trumpet medley interrupted at the precise moment that, purportedly, a Tatar arrow

pierced the original trumpeter's call in the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>2</sup> And although invaders all hailed from the distant Eastern steppes they entered East Central Europe from the South as well. The Osmanli advance deep into the area blends in popular consciousness with earlier *razzias*, whatever the later achievements of the Ottomans.

Moreover, (this story goes) once these Eastern invaders had been pushed back to the obscure sites from which they had emerged, East Central Europe encountered not stability on its Eastern frontier but a new drive Westwards from the post-Muscovite Russian state. This advance was not of particularly long duration. It began with Ivan IV's Livonian wars in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century and it had stabilized by 1815, with only an occasional excursion thereafter (for example, 1848 in Hungary) before resuming on a large scale in 1944. The impact of this Russian advance, substantial in itself, was heightened by its identification with earlier archetypes. The classic essay by the Polish Nobel Prize winner and Berkeley professor Czeslaw Milosz, *The Captive Mind* (1953), allegorizes the coming of communism in terms of a new Tatar invasion, as do other literary works from the communist period, for example that remarkable surrealist novel, Tadeusz Konwicki's, *The Small Apocalypse* (1979). Indeed, the Russian/Soviet as neo-Tatar is one of the most consistent tropes of East Central European popular culture. Czech post-invasion posters in 1968 showed Brezhnev with pronounced oriental traits; in 1981 rumors flew in Warsaw that the people imposing martial law were not Poles but Soviets disguised in Polish uniforms and recognizable, of course, by their Asiatic features.

In this way, Pechenegs, Tatars, Turks, Muscovites and Soviets all merge in one great continuum where they mingle with Teutonic Knights, Prussians and Hitlerites (the politically correct term for the most recent Germanic invaders). The panorama is awe-inspiring and, at least to the inhabitants of the region, convincing. East Central Europeans have put a brave face on the predicament of being caught in the

2 Davies, Norman. *Europe: A History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996, 365.

middle. Looking eastward they have proclaimed themselves *Antemurale Christianitatis*, a term of varying relevance and uncertain distinction. Looking Westward, they have extolled purported Slavonic specificities (or the equivalent for the non-Slavonic East Central Europeans). German historians have referred to *Zwischeneuropa*, no doubt the inspiration for the felicitous title of Alan Palmer's history of this area, *The Lands Between*.<sup>3</sup> Intellectuals and politicians as well have translated "middle" into "center" and have spun an ideology of "Central Europe." Many have been seduced by this construction and some, such as the Czech author Milan Kundera, have used their imaginative talents to transform this unhappy region into a repository of all-European values. In the final analysis, however, being "in the middle" is hardly the same as being "at the center." The center imposes itself upon history whereas the middle is subjected to it.

During the half-century of communist domination the place of East Central Europe as the "middle ground" lost much, but not all of its relevance. To be sure, Edward Benes' postwar efforts to build a Czechoslovak bridge from East to West collapsed woefully. Yugoslavia, like Albania and, in a different sense, Romania developed into *sui generis* formations, anomalies rather than intermediate points between East and West. Nevertheless, the East Central European members of the "socialist camp" retained something of their "middle" position. As the USSR changed, the East Central European countries changed faster. The place of East Central Europe as a half-way house reasserted itself in ever so many ways, whether it was in technology transfer, cinema or even in political life. In spite of common socialist façades, travelers in Budapest, or even in Sofia, could never mistakenly believe themselves to be in Moscow.

3 Palmer, Alan. *The Lands Between. A History of East-Central Europe Since the Congress of Vienna*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1970.

## The “Middle” or the “Periphery”

After the end of communism it was the dangers rather than the opportunities of being in the “middle” that loomed largest. A renascent Germany reappeared in the West, satisfied to be sure but not so satisfied as to give up its interest and interests in the East. A weakened Russia could still send shivers down the spine of the East Central Europeans. In the case of the Baltic states these fears might have some foundation. In other cases they were *frissons* of remembrance or anticipation. Indeed, the chief specter now was not so much aggression from one side or the other (or both) but the fear that Russia and the West would come to terms with each other at the expense of East Central Europe. Even serious politicians evoked “Yalta” darkly and chafed at what they saw as the West’s undue solicitude – and generosity – *vis-à-vis* Russia’s problems.<sup>4</sup>

East Central Europe has also recently been reminded of its middle position in other unwelcome ways. The area has become a half-way station for international migration and international crime. It is both a landing point and a launching point for illegal migrants from the Third World or from the East who alight there in their quest for a better life. It is increasingly difficult for these migrants to break through to the West but this does not prevent them from coming, from trying their luck, and, when unsuccessful, from remaining in the area. As Germany and the rest of the EU reinforce “fortress Europe”-type measures, West-

4 Flora Lewis, reporting on the World Economic Forum’s Third Central and East European Economic Summit in Salzburg, writes: “There is a growing resentment that the West is being too generous, too tolerant of Russia’s bumbling, corrupt, unproductive reforms. ‘A second Yalta,’ one Pole has called it, demanding that the West ‘crack down.’” *International Herald Tribune*, 26 June 1998. And, in case there is any doubt as to how high up such complaints are to be found, see foreign minister Geremek, Bronislaw. “Die Nachwirkungen von Jalta rückgängig machen.” *Institut für Donauraum und Mitteleuropa Info Sonderheft. Erweiterung der Europäischen Union: Erwartungen der Beitrittsländer*, 1998, 10f.

ward migration stops here. East Central Europe has also become a thriving stopover and branch plant in the circuits of international crime, from car theft and prostitution to the arms business and the drug trade.<sup>5</sup> Weak, disoriented states with an uncertain rule of law, economic distortions fostering corruption, and a civic pride in outsmarting the bureaucracy, all contribute to maintaining this unsavory situation. Once again, sitting in the middle seat is not the best place to be.

At times in the past East Central Europeans have had the illusion that they might exploit their middle position by playing both sides against each other. This was the disastrous policy of Poland's Colonel Beck in the interwar period. It was Romania's option in two world wars as well as under Ceaucescu. Even this illusion is lacking today (mercifully?). The relation of forces between East and West, more specifically between Russia/CIS and NATO, is so incommensurate that although East Central Europe considers Russia's/CIS's weight heavy – indeed, far too heavy for it to bear – there can be no semblance of balancing, even on a regional scale. Only the reckless, such as the Serbs, even try to exploit East/West rivalry (and little good it does them). Ultimately, East Central Europe today knows no alternative strategies or ideologies to those offered by the West. Commentators have argued that the revolutions of 1989 produced not a single new idea.<sup>6</sup> The regimes that emerged from them have turned out to be radically imitative of the West, shunning even the incipient elements of intellectual and moral autonomy (such as the “civil society” construct) that arose under late communism and proclaiming “normalcy” to be the greatest revolutionary value.<sup>7</sup> These new regimes have put all their chips on assimila-

5 A recent joke portrays a tourist poster with the following legend: “Visit Bosnia-Herzegovina. Your car is already there.” It could be applied to other countries of the area as well.

6 François Furet, cited (approvingly?) by Dahrendorf, Ralf. *Reflections on the Revolution in Europe*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1990, 23.

7 For a well-aimed critique of the “civil society” construct see Beyme, Klaus von. *Transition to Democracy in Eastern Europe*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996.

tion to Western models of economic and political organization and on integration within Western institutions. At the same time, they are unwilling to acknowledge that the only possible mode of *rapprochement* with the West is that of peripheralization. In attempting to flee the uncomfortable middle ground between East and West, East Central Europe is seeking a place in the West which can only be a place on the edge of the West.

East Central Europe as a periphery is, therefore, this region's alternative mode of being. Peripheralization here is not an unalterable given but is historically conditioned. In the 13<sup>th</sup> century Prague was more populous than Paris and three centuries later Poland's Baltic grain trade was a pillar of international commerce. Since the reorientation of European economic activity towards the Atlantic and overseas, however, this region has become progressively more of a backwater.<sup>8</sup> East Central Europeans are loathe to put blame on the inexorable laws of economic development, preferring to see the causes of their misery in such exogenous factors as Turkish domination or Soviet exploitation or else in political perfidy, native or foreign. Whatever the causes, East Central Europe's position as the edge of Europe – as both *limes* and *finis* – defines the character of the area. It imposes the standards, economic and cultural, which East Central Europeans seek to attain, even as they know that they will necessarily fall short of them.

Next to the narcissism of the “middle” lies the resentment of the “periphery.” There is a peculiarly shrill tone to East Central European claims to Europeanness, from the imitativeness of architecture and

8 See the collection of essays in Chirot, Daniel, ed. *The Origins of Backwardness in Eastern Europe*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.



taste to the adoption of ideologies.<sup>9</sup> In the past, Western artifacts – nationalism, Marxism, anti-Semitism, to name but a few – acquired vehemence as they moved progressively eastward. Today too, the recently unshackled free market ministers of the East outdo their Western counterparts in zeal and conviction. Only Vaclav Klaus, the resilient Czech ex-premier and now National Assembly president, can combine utter scorn for the term “social” and mystical veneration for the term “market” when speaking of the “social market.”<sup>10</sup> Only Leszek Balcerowicz, the father of Polish shock treatment and now again deputy prime minister, can say, in all earnestness, that the great mistake of this century has been that we have not taken Adam Smith seriously enough.<sup>11</sup>

9 As a recent work puts it delicately with reference to art and architecture: “Divided and diverse themselves, the people of the region were open to adopting forms that had been made elsewhere and to translating them to their own purposes.” Kaufman, Thomas Da Costa. *Court, Cloister and City: The Arts and Culture of Central Europe 1450-1800*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995, 463. This is true not only for the Catholic countries of the area covered by Kaufman but also for the Orthodox ones which draw on other, mainly Byzantine inspirations.

10 My comments are based on personal observation of Klaus’ performance at the annual Crans-Montana Forum. But see also the interesting portraits by Orenstein, Michael. “Vaclav Klaus: Revolutionary and Parliamentarian.” *East European Constitutional Review* 7, no. 1 (1998): 46-55; Holmes, Stephen. “The Politics of Economics in the Czech Republic.” *East European Constitutional Review* 4, no. 2 (1995): 52-55; Hoppe, Hans-Joachim. “Vaclav Klaus – Ministerpräsident der Tschechischen Republik. Ein Porträt.” *Osteuropa* 43, no. 11 (1993): 1083-1087.

11 “Der grösste Fehler unseres Jahrhunderts war, Adam Smith nicht ernst genug zu nehmen. Denn Probleme der Arbeitslosigkeit sind auf exzessives Staatseingreifen zurückzuführen. Es ist falsch, diese Probleme dem freien Markt anzulasten.” Leszek Balcerowicz cited in “Kapitalismus und Kultur.” *Newsletter* 60 (February-April 1998) of the Institute for Human Sciences, Vienna. One would think that among all the mistakes of the century, one could find more grievous ones.



## Problems of “Going West”

The wholehearted recognition of a peripheral position imposes one strategy and excludes all the others. Once the East Central Europeans decided that the sole measure of their identity and well-being would be their proximity to Western Europe, now defined as Europe *tout court*, they could move in only one direction: hence, the rush to join whatever Western/European institution would have them and the siege of those which closed their doors. The East Central European states were already members of the OSCE so this was hardly a prize. The Council of Europe was so eager to recruit that it was not particularly difficult to enter. However, satisfaction at membership in the Council was soon marred by the fact that the unworthy, notably Russia, were also accepted within it. The true grail was, obviously, NATO and the EU. In regard to these the quest still continues (notwithstanding recent NATO expansion), with crusading ardor on the part of the new elites.<sup>12</sup> To be sure, there are security and material considerations involved in the quest for membership of NATO and the EU. An insurance policy against a resurgent Russia, free mobility of goods and citizens, as well as handouts from the Common Agricultural Policy and other EU programs, these are all desirable goals. The premise underlying the quest for membership, however, is the conviction that by joining these institutions East Central Europe will reenact the history of Western Europe over the last fifty years. These countries will cover – at an even more accelerated pace, it is hoped – the passage from im-

12 The extent to which NATO expansion, EU enlargement and, indeed, other aspects of the post-communist order may be elite rather than popular projects is brought out in numerous surveys. A Euro barometer opinion poll in 1995 chalked up only 26% of Hungarian respondents as believing that “the future of their country will be most closely tied to the European Union,” cited by Nelson, Daniel N. “Hungary and its Neighbors: Security and Ethnic Minorities.” *Nationalities Papers* 26, no. 2 (1998): 313-330, 316. To be sure, such scores are lowest in Hungary of all the post-communist countries but they represent a difference of degree, not orientation. Analogous conclusions from earlier surveys are drawn in Beyme, *Transition to Democracy in Eastern Europe*.

poverishment and trauma to prosperity and security that has made Western Europe such a showcase. When Madeleine Albright defends NATO expansion by saying that we must do “for Europe’s East what NATO did 50 years ago for Europe’s West,” her words are sweet music in Warsaw, Prague, Budapest and the other capitals of post-communist Europe.<sup>13</sup> They are, in my view, a siren song. It is utterly improbable that the future course of development will reenact the developments of the postwar past. Not only because present-day East Central Europe is not postwar Western Europe, but because Western Europe is no longer the homogenous unit that signed the Washington and Rome Treaties, in the heyday of the Cold War and on the threshold of an unparalleled economic boom. Viewed from afar, in space and time, the ups and downs of (West) European integration melt into a single narrative of steady achievement. The story of NATO is one of steadfastness and interallied cooperation crowned by the peaceful demise of the redoubtable adversary. These are tales the East Central Europeans love to hear, over and over again. They are bedtime stories, however, not scripts for the future.

Indeed, though the East Central Europeans would have history repeat itself the West is doing its best to see that it will not. NATO expansion will bring about with it, formally or informally, the dilution of security guarantees. Whatever is said, Bratislava or Bialystok will not be defended as Brussels or Brest would have been.<sup>14</sup> And if NATO has

13 Cited by Tucker, Robert W. “Reflections of a Repentant Sinner.” *The National Interest*, no. 51 (Spring 1998): 125-128, 127.

14 Is this what Ramsay MacDonald meant in addressing the League of Nations in 1924 in a speech which made little of an impression at the time? “Pacts or no pacts, you will be invaded. Pacts or no pacts, you will be crushed. Pacts or no pacts you will be devastated. The certain victim of the military age and military organization of society is the small nationality that trusts upon its moral claim to live. Evil will be made upright and entirely free to do its work if you fling yourself once more into the security which has never made you secure since the world started.” Cited by Zeman, Zbynek with Antonin Klimek. *The Life of Edward Benes, 1884-1948: Czechoslovakia in Peace and War*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997, 93f.

learned to look the other way in the face of the Greek-Turkish conflict, it will have to avoid embarrassment, even at the cost of promoting incoherence, by disregarding the numerous bilateral conflicts that the new members will bring with them. EU adherence too will come in measured doses with internal differentiation, acknowledged or disguised, in the shape of variable geometry and concentric circles.<sup>15</sup> It is possible that the historic discrepancy between Western and Eastern economic indices which has been growing for several centuries will be halted or even reduced in the future, although all previous attempts, capitalist and communist, have failed to do so.<sup>16</sup> Even in the best of circumstances, however, the discrepancy will not be erased as this would require boundless economic development in the East and economic stagnation or decline in the West. The East Central European countries will continue to rage at their inferiority even as they remain persuaded that their only salvation lies in becoming ever more like the objects of their resentment.

Fundamentally, the impotence of East Central Europe lies not in its obsolescent economies or its outmoded mindsets. Its weakness resides in the fact that, whether these countries see themselves as lying in the middle, between inimical powers, or at the periphery of a world to which they would wish to belong, they cannot perceive themselves as constituting a unit with common interests. These countries are either self-referring or other-referring, they are not group-referring. Even efforts at partial integration, such as the Yugoslav and the Czechoslovak federations, have proven too broadly encompassing or not

15 To be sure, those charged with reflecting upon the integration of the post-communist countries into the EU vigorously reject the notion of "partial membership." The alternative they offer, that of enlargement by stages, represents a sort of partial (non)-membership over time. See Krenzler, Horst Günter. *The EU and Central-East Europe: The Implications of Enlargement in Stages*. Policy Paper 97/2. European University Institute: Robert Schuman Centre, 1997.

16 See the seminal article by Janos, Andrew. "The Politics of Backwardness in Continental Europe." *World Politics* 61, no. 3 (1969): 325-358. See also: Chirot, *The Origins of Backwardness in Eastern Europe*.

broadly encompassing enough. Today, the countries of the region are not prepared to make common cause, be it in the race for EU membership or for NATO expansion. Tomorrow, when they are members of these organizations it is likely that attitudes of rivalry and suspicion towards one's regional neighbors will persist, with consequences for these organizations as a whole. Security in East Central Europe requires establishing the fact that, whether it be a middle ground or a periphery, East Central Europe is also a region whose component parts must come together in a shared project specific to it. As long as the countries of East Central Europe fear and resent each other as much as they fear and resent outsiders, there are little prospects for durable security in the area.



YURI NAZARKIN

## Security Issues for Russia in the New International Context

The starting point for this paper is the National Security Blueprint of the Russian Federation approved by Presidential Decree No. 1300 dated 17 December 1997.<sup>1</sup> As the Blueprint itself clarifies, it is “a political document reflecting the aggregate of officially accepted views regarding goals and state strategy in the sphere of ensuring the security of the individual, society and the state from external and internal threats of a political, economic, social, military, man-made [technogenny], ecological, information or other nature, in the light of existing resources and potential.”<sup>2</sup> It is a conceptual document of a general nature, which is intended to be the basis for the elaboration of specific programs and organizational documents in the sphere of ensuring the national security of the Russian Federation.

The Blueprint identifies the basic national interests of Russia and major threats to them; however, due to its general nature, it suffers from a lack of specificity in its analysis of the security situation in Russia. In some cases, when sensitive political matters are involved, the Blueprint

\* This paper was written on 14 August 1998, i.e. before the financial crisis broke out in Russia, which resulted in the devaluation of the ruble and the subsequent resignation of Kirienko's government. It is the opinion of the author that these later developments provide material for further analysis but do not require a reconsideration of the general assessments given in this paper.

1 The *National Security Blueprint* is translated in “INSIDE (and beyond) Russia and the FSU.” *Monthly Intelligence Bulletin of the European Press Agency (EuroPA)* 6, no. 1 (15 January 1998).

2 *National Security Blueprint*, 1.



is deliberately vague, evasive and reticent. Being an official document, it avoids points which might be taken as criticism against the existing regime. It also diplomatically passes over in silence some security issues relating to relations with other states. Finally, one should keep in mind that the Blueprint was elaborated as the result of the efforts of various ministries, governmental agencies, parliamentarians and academicians; this was further done under the impact of public discussions. Conflicting political interests and the different positions of the various ministries and agencies greatly complicated the elaboration of the document. It took six years to arrive at a result. Compromises reached during the elaboration process contributed to the vagueness and reticence of the Blueprint.

With due respect to the efforts contributed to the elaboration of the Blueprint, the author of this paper intends to fill in some major gaps and to highlight the vague points which he sees in the Presidential document and which, in his opinion, are the most appropriate and relevant in the context of old and new security issues. He proceeds from the assumption that the security issues, which Russia faces at present, have deep roots in the past and, as a matter of fact, they are old ones with new dimensions.

## The National Security Blueprint of the Russian Federation and Russian Realities

The Blueprint proceeds from the assessment that the main threats right now and in the foreseeable future do not have a military orientation, but are of a predominantly internal nature and are concentrated in the domestic, political, economic, social, environmental, information and other spheres. It emphasizes that the critical state of the economy, the deterioration in interethnic relations and the social polarization of Russian society create a direct threat to the country's national security. This assessment looks realistic but is not complete. A very important source of threats to Russia is the long-lasting political crisis in the country. The main characteristic of this crisis is

confrontation in various spheres of its political life: confrontation between the President and the Parliament, between the Duma and the Federation Council, between the federal center and regions, between various political groupings, and so forth.

The confrontation between the President and the Parliament reached its peak in 1993 and resulted in the bloodshed of October 1993, when government forces bombarded the Parliament and it ceased to exist. The dissolution of the Parliament, to say nothing of the bloodshed, was a gross, flagrant violation of the Constitution and of democratic freedoms. The new Constitution adopted within two months of that tragedy gave the President strong powers over the new Parliament (the Duma) and provided him with reliable means to thwart attempts to deprive him of power. Under the present Constitution, the President appoints, with the consent of the Duma, the Prime Minister, and takes decisions about the resignation of the Government. He appoints vice-premiers and ministers. This means that the President can have the Government he wishes to have. It is he who has the decisive voice on the composition of the Government; not the Duma or the Prime-Minister. The President also presents to the Federation Council his candidates for the Constitutional and Supreme Courts.

The President has the right to dissolve the Duma in two cases: (1) if the Duma rejects three candidates suggested by the President for the Prime Minister; (2) if the Duma adopts a decision on non-confidence for the Government but the President does not agree with this decision.

On the other hand, the Duma, though it formally has the right to impeach the President, cannot do this in practice, owing to the combination of procedures provided for by the Constitution. The requirements for impeachment are:

- One-third of the members of the Duma must initiate an accusation against the President on the grounds of high treason or another grave crime.
- A Special Commission appointed by the Duma must confirm the juridical validity of the accusation.

- Two-thirds of the Duma delegates must vote in favor of the impeachment motion.
- The Supreme Court must confirm that *corpus delicti* is present and the Constitutional Court must confirm that the established procedures of putting forward the accusation have been complied with.
- Two-thirds of the members of the Federation Council must adopt a motion of impeachment within three months after the Duma adopts the accusation. This decision must be taken within three months after the Duma puts forward an accusation against the President. If this is not the case, the accusation is regarded as rejected.

Given the domination of opposition forces in the Duma, the first two requirements are easily reached.<sup>3</sup> It is feasible to reach the third requirement by some additional efforts. However, it is practically impossible to overcome the fourth one, because the Supreme and Constitutional Courts are under the President's control.<sup>4</sup> Even if the impossible happens and the two Courts support an impeachment motion, there is another safety device: the Federation Council, where the President has a much stronger position than in the Duma. If this body does not take a direct decision to reject the decision adopted by the Duma, the bureaucratic procrastination over three months is enough to stop the impeachment.

However, the new Constitution, though it has made a strong shift in favor of Presidential power, has not succeeded in banishing all confrontation between the President and the Parliament.

3 The impeachment motion initiated against Boris Yeltsin by the Communist faction in 1998 passed the first two stages and failed at the third one.

4 The nomination of the judges depends upon the President, who presents his proposals to the Federation Council.

It should be noted that the Presidential Administration and the Government are also divided into numerous groupings and “teams” which reflect the split across the whole of Russian society. This split is a result of the appearance on the Russian political scene of various political forces with conflicting interests.

Considering confrontation in Russia in broader terms, one might think first of all of the fault line between the communist past and the democratic future. This would be a very simplistic approach. Naturally, the Communist Party capitalizes on the increase of the proportion of the population living below the poverty line, on the stratification of society into a small group of rich citizens and the vast majority of needy citizens, and on the escalation of social tension. But the existing party has no future, and its leaders have no chances of being elected to the Presidency. Its social base is narrowing, and the party has lost its ideology and is transforming into an “influence group” preoccupied with remaining on the political surface through compromises with the Establishment. On the other hand, there is no united democratic front. Instead, there are a number of “parties,” “organizations,” “movements,” and so forth which call themselves “democratic.” In reality these do not represent social groupings with their specific ideologies, but rather are based on the interests of certain groups and the personal ambitions of their leaders. Furthermore, they conflict with one another.

Who are the major players on the Russian political scene at present? As a result of privatization, the bulk of former state property was bought up by a few private banks and financial-industrial groupings. These are headed by tycoons who are very wealthy even by Western standards and who play, or want to play, a policy-making role, and who fight each other for influence in the Russian “corridors of power” in order to obtain more and more sources of enrichment. The term “oligarchs” is rightly applied to them by the Russian mass media. Their major sources of enrichment are the further privatization of state property, the redistribution of already privatized property, access to economic privileges (preferential duties, reduced taxation, state credits on favorable terms, etc.). Their means are direct penetration

into high state posts,<sup>5</sup> the use of the mass media (which are divided among the oligarchs), blackmail, compromising materials, backstage intrigues, lobbying, bribery, buying off parliamentarians, and assassination.

Constantly fighting one another, the oligarchs conclude temporary alliances depending on their mutual interests. During the presidential campaign in 1996, the owners of the seven biggest banks agreed to support Boris Yeltsin financially and politically through the mass media they owned, in order to prevent communist Gennadi Zyuganov's victory. Afterwards their ways parted again. Vladimir Potanin, one of those seven, concluded an alliance with the gas and oil monopoly *Gazprom*, which helped him to establish control over the state media and telecommunications conglomerate *Sviazinvest*. This deal put him into conflict with his former allies who also had designs on this large company. Recently, soon after the retirement of Chernomyrdin, a strong campaign was organized against *Gazprom*, which was accused of tax evasion. Indeed, *Gazprom's* debt to the state exceeds \$12 billion. But *Gazprom* executives claim that the debt owed it by the state-owned enterprises for using gas is in excess of \$13 billion. The conflict continues.

The Russian oligarchs are trying to capitalize on a transitional period of Russian history to gain as much profit as possible. They gamble and are not prepared to play a less risky but less profitable game under strict rules established by the state, which would be a tough and fair moderator for them all. Perhaps this is a basic explanation of the confrontation in the Russian society to be found nowadays.

The domination of the Russian economy by large monopolies hinders the development of middle-sized enterprises in Russia. Legislation,

5 Gas and oil tycoon Chernomyrdin was the Prime Minister for about six years; the head of one of the biggest financial-industrial groupings, Vladimir Potanin, was a Deputy Premier; and another tycoon, Boris Berezovsky, was a deputy head of the Security Council and now is the Executive Secretary of the CIS.

taxation, and the lack of state incentives impede the consolidation of the middle class, which could provide strong support to the state and diminish its dependence upon big banks and monopolies.

A paradox of the present political situation in Russia is that owing to a number of factors the office of President, though very strong on paper, is rather weak and ineffective in practice. In reality, it appears paralyzed by a lack of political will and by its inability to transform its decisions into actions.

The first explanation of this weakness is that the Russian tycoons who dominate the country's political and economic life are not interested in a strong state power at this time. Occasionally, while facing each critical situation in turn, they give their support to the state, but as soon as the danger passes, they continue the same egocentric course.

The central power is weak because of its lack of financial resources. It goes without saying that reforms in various areas require large sums of money. These and other enormous expenditures should be covered first of all with income from taxation. Poor tax collection is one of the weakest points of the Russian federal budget. Of course, a lack of experience in collecting taxes under free-market conditions is a valid explanation. Nevertheless, another more substantial reason for the widespread tax evasion is unwise tax legislation, which provides for such unreasonably high taxes that in many cases, taxpayers face an alternative: to pay and be ruined or to conceal income, avoid taxation and remain solvent. It is needless to say which option they prefer.

Tax legislation is not the only element of legislation which is not complied with. Non-compliance with laws is a widespread vice in Russia, and the central authorities themselves are susceptible to it. To be fair, non-compliance with laws is typical not only for the present regime. A famous Russian historian of the nineteenth century said: "Russia has always suffered from bad laws, but she invariably survived because they were never complied with." Perhaps, the only exception was Stalin's period, when due to cruel enforcement, even bad laws were strictly complied with. A weak executive power cannot increase the effectiveness of tax collection, and a lack of resources is an obstacle to raising the efficiency of executive power.

Another weakness of state power in Russia is the lack of an efficient “vertical” executive power structure. After the strong (perhaps overly strong) administrative command hierarchy created by the combination of Communist Party hegemony and the Soviet system was destroyed, no other effective power structure emerged in Russia. Chapter 8 of the Russian Constitution (Articles 130-133, “Local Government”) is remarkably short and vague. Additionally, Article 12 proclaims that “local government is self-dependent, within its competence.”

Local Soviets existed until the end of 1993. Then they were abolished and the President appointed heads of local administrations who were responsible for managing everyday problems at the local level. He further appointed special representatives authorized to coordinate the work of the local branches of the Federal ministries. Even at that time, when the heads of the local administrations still depended on the President, they were more oriented, by definition, towards local interests. After they were elected in 1996/97 they have become practically independent of the Federal power structure. As for the special representatives of the President, they have never had real power.

As the Blueprint rightly says:

[T]he negative processes in the economy exacerbate the centrifugal tendencies among constituent parts of the Russian Federation and lead to a growth in the threat of violation of the country’s territorial integrity and of the unity of its legal area. The ethnic egotism, ethnocentrism and chauvinism that are displayed in the activities of ethnic social formations help to increase national separatism and create favorable conditions for the emergence of conflicts in this sphere. Apart from increasing political instability, this leads to the weakening of Russia’s single economic area and its most important components – manufacturing, technological and transportation links, and the financial, banking, credit and tax systems.<sup>6</sup>

National separatism is definitely the biggest threat to Russian security, even to the very existence of the Russian Federation. But it is a part of

6 *National Security Blueprint*, 5.

a wider problem of regional separatism.

Russia consists of 89 regions. Among them there are 21 national republics and 11 smaller national districts. The rest are six *krais*, 49 *oblasts* and two “cities of federal significance” with the status of regions – Moscow and Saint Petersburg. The 21 national republics have their own Constitutions.

Separatism in the national republics is based on ethnic and religious factors. The majority of them, with the exception of Tatarstan, Bashkortostan, Chanty-Mansiysky national district and Yamalo-Nenetsky national district, are economically dependent on the federal center.<sup>7</sup> However, the trend to secessionism, inspired by the example of Chechnya, is rather strong in some of them, particularly in Dagestan.

Chechnya remains formally a region of the Russian Federation, though Chechen leaders regard it as independent and the federal center practically has no power there. On the other hand, it cannot be regarded as a sovereign state, even *de facto*, because the Chechen leader Maskhadov’s administration has no power there either. A struggle for power between moderate nationalists like Maskhadov and extremist Islamic fanatics (Yandarbiev and others), internecine clashes, internal terrorism, complete disorder and economic chaos prevail in Chechnya at present. Maskhadov and other reasonable people in Chechnya understand and recognize that everything in Chechnya depends on Russia. But Russia cannot help them owing to a lack of resources and political will.

Nationalist separatism has forced the federal center to grant a high degree of autonomy to the national republics. The first was Tatarstan, which was followed by Bashkortostan: they received full rights in oil producing and oil refining, as well as to conduct economic relations with other countries. Saha-Yakutiya, on whose territory lie 98% of the diamonds in Russia, has the right independently to produce and sell

7 80-90% of the expenditures of the Caucasian republics are covered by the federal budget.



diamonds. The federal center receives only an infinitesimal fraction of the profits made by the Russia-Saha diamond company.

The national regions have adopted Constitutions which contradict the Federal Constitution. The Constitution of Tatarstan has declared the region a “subject of international law.” The constitutions of Bashkortostan, Komi and Yakutia provide for the possibility of independent foreign policies. The Constitution of Tyva provides for the right of secession from the Russian Federation. The federal center practically closes its eyes to the fact that these provisions contradict the Federal Constitution.

Encouraged by such passivity from the center, some *krais* and *oblasts* have also adopted regulations which contradict the federal line. Thus, the Governor of the Saratov *oblast*, without waiting for the completion of federal legislation on land ownership, declared the right of private ownership of land. While from the point of view of substance he may be right, this is nonetheless an evident violation of Federal legislation. The economic privileges given to national republics have inspired resentment in the ethnic Russian regions, particularly of those which are donors, that is those who pay more to the federal Budget than they receive.<sup>8</sup> These areas claim that some regions which receive financial support have a better standard of living than the donors.

Sometimes the discontent of the donor regions takes extreme forms. A few years ago the Sverdlov *oblast*, which is regarded as a Yeltsin stronghold, proclaimed its independence. This was taken as a political move to challenge the trend towards the granting of more rights to the national republics, but it was equally an indication of the preparedness of some ethnic Russian regions to defend their regional rights.

More serious is a problem with two other regions – Moscow, where more than 60% of Russia’s assets are concentrated, and Krasnoyarskiy *krai*, which is extremely rich in various natural resources. These areas are headed, respectively, by Yurii Luzhkov and Aleksandr

8 These are Moscow, Krasnodar kray, Lipetzk, Nizhnenovgorod, Samara and Sverdlov oblasts.

Lebed, both strong and ambitious personalities and evident candidates in the forthcoming presidential race. Defending the rights of their respective regions, each of them demonstrates a definite inclination to regionalism. But on the other hand, if either of them becomes President, he will face the problem of regionalism from the opposite side. Both should remember Yeltsin's mistake: while fighting against Mikhail Gorbachev, he incited national separatism in Chechnya, Tatarstan and some other national republics, and now is reaping the fruits of that short-sighted policy.

There are a number of regions in Russia whose trend to disintegration from the federal center is stimulated by their geographical positions. For Amur and Sakhalin *oblasts*, and Primorskiy and Khabarovskiy *krais*, industrial and other goods transported from the European part of Russia become very expensive, because of the high costs of transportation over long distances. Though the federal government grants reduced prices for the transportation of certain goods to the Far Eastern regions, they prefer to buy many goods in Japan and even in China, despite the usual rather poor quality of Chinese goods. Their increasingly external economic orientation stimulates a desire to be more independent from the federal center. The issue of their secession is not presently on the political agenda, though there was a precedent in the early 1920s when the Far Eastern Republic existed independently of Moscow.

There is a similar problem with Kaliningrad *oblast*, which is an "exclave" separated from the rest of Russia by three other countries, i.e. Latvia, Lithuania and Belarus. Though it is not far from Moscow, difficulties related to transportation through the territories of those states and the close economic ties of Kaliningrad *oblast* with Germany and Poland also stimulate its disintegration from the federal center.<sup>9</sup>

The trend of some regions to obtain more autonomy, even if their decisions and actions are at variance with the Constitution of the

9 Kaliningrad was part of the German territory before World War II, and German economic and cultural influence is rather strong there.

Russian Federation and other Federal legislation, and, on the other hand, the inability of the federal center to withstand this trend, are becoming increasingly dangerous factors and constitute a patent threat to the federal structure of the Russian Federation. The weakness of the Federal power structure contributes to regionalism and the process of dis-integration. On the other hand, the trend of many regions (“subjects of the Federation”) to strive for more autonomy further weakens the Presidential structure of power.

To conclude the characterization of the present political crisis in Russia, the author of the paper cannot avoid the fact that the real cause of future confrontation is the growth of social tension, because of the deterioration of the standard of living for the major part of the population, above all for those who live on salaries received from the state. The numerous strikes by miners, transport workers, teachers and others are caused by the non-payment of their salaries over many months. In turn, strikes in the fields connected with the production of material values further aggravate the economic situation in Russia. The devaluation of the ruble by 34% in August 1998 caused a corresponding rise in prices and, thus, resulted in yet another abrupt deterioration of the living standard of the bulk of the population in Russia.

## External Security Issues

External security issues, with one exception, are considered in the Blueprint in a very general way, without mentioning specific countries. The exception is NATO enlargement, which is a hot topic in Russian politics nowadays. The Blueprint says:

The prospect of NATO expansion to the East is unacceptable to Russia since it represents a threat to its national security (...). NATO's eastward expansion and its transformation into a dominant military-political force in Europe create the threat of a new split in the continent which could be ex-

tremely dangerous given the preservation in Europe of mobile strike groupings of troops and nuclear weapons and also inadequate effectiveness of multilateral mechanisms for maintaining peace.<sup>10</sup>

If the United States and some other Western countries, though not mentioned, can be seen (between the lines) as constituting external threats, two very big issues – China and “a threat from the South” – go practically unmentioned in the Blueprint. It is important to fill these gaps.

It is no exaggeration to assert that Russian-Chinese relations are developing quite well in various areas – political, economic and military. This is why it would appear that there are no difficult problems with China. Unfortunately, this is not the case. A very serious issue is the so-called “peaceful infiltration by Chinese” into the Russian territory. According to some assessments there are about two million Chinese living permanently in the Far Eastern and Siberian regions adjacent to China. More precise figures are not available, owing to the fact that the majority of them are illegal immigrants. Lack of manpower in those underpopulated areas has induced local authorities to invite some Chinese there on the basis of labor contracts. The Chinese are known as very industrious people. On the other hand, the high level of unemployment in China, with its gigantic population, forces many Chinese to go North. But what is wrong with these mutually beneficial contracts? They lace the cornerstone for a well-organized infrastructure for the illegal penetration of much bigger numbers of Chinese into Russia. The Chinese settle on Russian territory in closed compounds (“Chinatowns”) with their own Mafia-type organization, which to a large extent evade Russian jurisdiction. The Russian authorities can neither control the Chinese compounds nor prevent Chinese infiltration. Of course this is a problem on the Russian side. One can hardly blame the Chinese Government. However, this infiltration poses serious threats to Russian security.

10 *National Security Blueprint*, 1 and 6.

The Chinese diaspora on Russian territory is involved in the injurious exploitation of natural resources; the smuggling of precious furs, rare medicinal plants and other costly products of the rich Siberian and Far Eastern regions of Russia into China; and drug-trafficking into Russia. In addition, relations between the Chinese and local populations are rather explosive, and clashes between them are frequent. These phenomena are immediate threats. But if the Chinese infiltration is not stopped, in the future whole areas in Siberia and the Far East will be populated by Chinese, which could create the danger of their tearing away, at least *de facto*, from Russia. In addition to the argument of the preservation of Russian territorial integrity and the natural wealth of these regions, they can be used for settling the large numbers of ethnic Russians coming to Russia from CIS countries. Over the last five years, 1.65 million people left Kazakhstan alone;<sup>11</sup> almost all of the Russian-speaking population left Tajikistan, and many Russians left Azerbaijan and other Muslim CIS countries.

Another problem relates to the fact that Russia has among its population a considerable percentage of people who are traditionally Islamic. They live as compact entities in a number of national republics and are quite susceptible to the influence of their fellow-Islamists living in other countries. If this influence remained within a purely religious framework, there would not be any problem for the security of Russia. But some Islamic organizations of extremist orientation with roots in Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and some other Middle East countries do not restrain their activities to the religious field. They support not only national separatism but also its terrorist forms in Chechnya and some other Muslim republics in the Caucasus.

A special case is Turkey. Since the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, when the Ottoman Empire and the Moscow State were formed, Turkey and Russia have had problems in their relations, with the exception of the short period of rule by Ataturk in Turkey when revolutionary changes brought them together. Both are Eurasian coun-

11 *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, 5 August 1998.

tries, and both developed as a result of conquest: the Ottoman Empire conquered territories to the West, and the Russian Empire to the East. Each claimed to be a political and religious leader in Muslim and Orthodox worlds, respectively. The main grounds for their conflicts were, however, of a geopolitical nature. They clashed many times in Russian-Turkish wars in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, mainly for control over the Black Sea, the Crimea, the Caucasus, and the Danube region.

The key issue has always been the “problem of the Straits,” which are the only maritime exit for Russia from the Black Sea. Even now as globalization is changing old geopolitical notions and the two states have normal relations, the problem of the Straits remains a sensitive point, due to the restraints introduced by Turkey on passage. Whatever reasons are given – ecological or any other – such restraints touch upon Russian interests. There is a smell of oil to the whole affair: the question of which way oil and gas pipelines will flow from the Caspian region – through Turkey or another way – is a painful issue.

As was said above, national separatism is one of the major security threats for Russia. Turkey, as one of the most developed predominantly Muslim countries, is a very attractive model of an Islamic state for Russian republics with Muslim populations. Thus, Turkish influence, exerted in economic, religious and cultural affairs, is objectively a very efficient stimulator for the separatist trend.

During his visit to Turkey in late July and early August 1998 Chechen president Aslan Moskhadov praised Turkey for its “biggest support to the Chechen people in the course of the military conflict with Russia.” He also placed blame on the Arab countries which, according to Moskhadov, in the postwar period tried to cause confusion in Chechnya and “to teach Chechens Islam.”<sup>12</sup> In 1997 representatives of Bashkortostan, Dagestan, Yakutia, Tatarstan, Tyva, Khakassia and Chuvashia participated in the “Assembly of Turk Peoples” held in Turkey and expressed

12 *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, 5 August 1998.

support for Turkish policy regarding the “Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus.”

The Blueprint, following a pattern of presenting Russian security problems in a general, and abstract way, mentions “actions aimed at destroying the Russian Federation’s territorial integrity, including actions involving the use of interethnic, religious and other internal contradictions, and also in territorial claims involving allusions in individual cases to the lack of precise registration of state borders in treaties.”<sup>13</sup> The first part of this formulation can be applied to the case of national separatism. The second one might be regarded in particular as a vague hint at “the problem of the Northern Territories,” i.e. the Kuril islands. This issue has not lost its importance for Russian-Japanese relations, though in contrast to NATO enlargement, it is not the focus of Russian domestic politics as it was a few years ago. The wise policy of Japan of not pressing this issue facilitates the establishment of more favorable conditions for its solution, which would be in the interests of both sides.

There is another gap in the Blueprint’s examination of external threats which should be filled. Describing the critical state of the Russian economy, the document mentions rather vaguely, among other negative phenomena, “the growth of the state debt”<sup>14</sup> which implies both internal and external debts. It is well known that the external part of this debt has reached already unprecedented dimensions and continues to grow. Some Russian observers compare this process with drug addiction. No doubt, foreign financial assistance to Russia in a transitional period of its history is helpful and necessary. However, the continuation of this process means an increase in Russian dependency on foreign creditors, and is fraught with the danger of surpassing the critical level admissible for a sovereign state.

13 *National Security Blueprint*, 5.

14 *Ibid.*, 4.

## Safeguarding the Russian Federation's National Security

The Blueprint contains a section with the title: "Safeguarding the Russian Federation's National Security," which comprises half of the document. It sets out tasks which appear thoughtful and correctly oriented, but it has gaps which are, naturally enough, the continuation of the gaps described above. This paper does not pretend to present a broad program for curing Russia's ills. Here are just a few thoughts on what should be done in Russia with a view to strengthening its security on a democratic basis.

The primary task is the accelerated creation of the middle class. Politically the middle class usually provides the strongest support for a normal democratic state. For this purpose all measures – legislative, economic and educational – should be undertaken for the development of small and medium-sized enterprises. This sector of the economy would ensure stable economic development based on normal and constructive competition in the industrial, agricultural and service sectors. It would make a solid and reliable contribution to the state budget. Without state support, small and medium-sized enterprises cannot stand up to the domination of the monopolies and gigantic financial-industrial groupings. Preferential taxation and legislative protection are the most effective means for this purpose.

State power should be strong enough to prevent abuses by big monopolies and financial-industrial groupings. The legislative, economic and political preconditions should be brought about to make them interested in strengthening state power. Of course, it is not possible to prevent clashes between them, but they should interact in a civilized manner, under certain rules, without damaging the interests of the state. Such behavior should be in their own interests, and should be profitable for them. Normal business competition, not criminal battles, should predominate in the economic life of the country.

An important requirement for the maintenance of the Federation is a strict and clear distribution of rights and responsibilities between the federal center and the "subjects of the Federation." Given different local conditions, a unified standard cannot be applied to all the regions. Local conditions – economic, geographic and ethnic – should



be taken into account. The basis for distribution should be an optimum balance of federal and regional interests. A limit for widening regional rights and responsibilities should be established, fixed in the Constitution and strictly observed.<sup>15</sup>

The state should adopt a program of migration and settlement, primarily immigrants from CIS countries, to the underpopulated regions of Siberia and the Far East. As for the future challenges from China and from the South mentioned above, these should be handled on the basis of developing good relations with the respective countries, as is the case now.

These ideas, as well as the tasks set forth in the Blueprint, can be implemented only if there are radical changes in the present political regime in Russia. If there is no violation of the Constitution and the presidential election takes place no later than in the year 2000, the result might open the way for such changes.

## Conclusion

Despite all its gaps the Blueprint is a good effort to elaborate, on the basis of various views (though certainly not a consensus), points for the future in Russia. This paper may appear excessively gloomy and pessimistic. The author is inclined to regard it as a realistic attachment to the half-realistic Blueprint. He does not close his eyes to some positive signs in Russia though the recent events in the economic sphere undermine his attempts in this respect.

Improvements in the economic field are important for resolving security issues in the long run. Attempts to resolve them on the basis of

15 For this purpose some provisions of the present Constitution would need to be reconsidered.

purely administrative methods would revert the country to its past. However, it is a long way to real improvements both in economic and security conditions.

WILLIAM C. WOHLFORTH

## New Security Challenge or Old? Russia's Catch-22

The most important security threat Russia faces, and the main threat it poses to the rest of the world, is its own implosion. If traditional security has to do with the manipulation and management of the use of military force by states, then Russia's major contemporary problems must be understood under the "new security" rubric. Because the world has never before had to deal with the breakdown of a nuclear superpower, the security challenges Russia presents are certainly novel. But if "new security" is supposed to encompass problems that are transnational in nature and challenge state-centric analysis, then it too does not capture today's Russian question. For at the root of Russia's security problems is the absence of an effective government.

To be sure, all of these problems are made more complicated by globalization. Many of them would continue to pester world politics even if Moscow had a capable government. But the root of these problems and the reason they present such great potential dangers is the absence of a capable state in Russia. Unfortunately, however, that is not the end of the story, because Russia and the West have managed, through a spectacular series of policy blunders, to create a Catch-22 for world politics. If Russia does manage against the odds to fashion an effective state that can facilitate economic growth, she is sure to become a revisionist power in world politics and thus present the most traditional of all security challenges. What makes that outcome unlikely in the next two decades is not the global trend towards democracy and liberal economics, but rather the continued decline of Russian power. And while the Russians themselves must bear most of the responsibility for the parlous state of their country, it is the prosperous and stable West, which could so easily have adopted wiser policies, that is mainly to blame for creating the Catch-22.

## The Marginalization of the Old Security Agenda

Moscow's official national security concept reads like it was penned by Western European peace researchers. The document, approved by President Yeltsin in December 1997, states clearly that the Russian Federation faces no significant external security threats; that the main threats are internal – secessionism, ethnic conflicts, environmental degradation, the population's deteriorating health, declining social services, and continued economic privation; and that the relative importance of military power has receded in favor of economic, technological and scientific capabilities.<sup>1</sup> While only of marginal policy relevance, the document reflects a major change in the Russian political elite's perceptions of its role in world politics.<sup>2</sup> Fifteen years of economic stagnation under Brezhnev followed by a catastrophic economic collapse in the decade after 1988 have called Russia's great power status into question. The greatest threat to the country's security is a continuation of this trend. The nation's number one task is to reverse this decline.

- 1 For a comprehensive discussion, see Sergounin, Alexander A. *Russia: A Long Way to the National Security Doctrine*. Working Paper D-98-10. Copenhagen Peace Research Institute, 1998. The nearly complete settlement of the border dispute with China leaves only the scenarios (which Russian analysts acknowledge are highly unlikely in the near term) of a Japanese-US seizure of the Kurils, German recidivism in Kaliningrad, or territorial claims by Russia's militarily-weak neighbors in the Baltic, to exercise the imagination of Russia's security managers. No power is thought to have interests that could lead to a resort to the direct use of force against Russian territory. The Russian Federation's vast size and credible nuclear deterrent provide comfort. The most popular potential geopolitical rivals are Turkey to the South (in the view of both democrats and many nationalists), Germany and the United States to the West (nationalists), Japan and the US (nationalists) or China (democrats) to the East. With the partial exception of Turkey, all of these are speculative assessments.
- 2 See Malcolm, Neil, Alex Pravda, Roy Allison and Margot Light. *Internal Factors in Russian Foreign Policy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996; Tsygankov, Andrei. "Hard-line Eurasianism and Russia's Contending Geopolitical Perspectives." *East European Quarterly* 32, no. 2 (1998): 315-334.

Russia now ranks 17<sup>th</sup> in world GDP – behind Mexico. Its defense spending now amounts to less than 9% of US spending. Barring some dramatic reversal, Russia will not commit more than 3.5% of its still-shrinking official GDP to defense over the next decade. As a consequence, the number of Russia's military personnel will shrink by at least a half, resources will be shifted to internal troops, and procurement and research and development will continue to be scaled back dramatically. NATO's current quantitative conventional superiority of two or three to one will soon increase to over five to one. These figures hide what matters most: the West's decisive qualitative superiority in training, technology, and morale. To the East and even the South, Russia now faces or may soon face stronger powers. And Russia's nuclear arsenal, much of which is currently on critically low alert levels, will continue to shrink regardless of the outcome of arms control negotiations.

Moreover, underlying relative power trends are bad enough to sober any but the most obtuse geopolitician. When a country shrinks while others grow vigorously, the resulting gap becomes daunting. According to calculations of Moscow's Institute of World Economy and International Relations, the United States currently accounts for 21% of world GDP, the EU 12%, Japan 8%, China 7%, and Russia 1.7%. Under a set of assumptions quite favorable to Russia (including that it recovers now and resumes steady 6% yearly growth), in 2015 those percentages would change as follows: US 18%, EU 16%, Japan 7%, China 10%, and Russia 2%.<sup>3</sup>

Those calculations are not only favorable to Russia's economic prospects (and unfavorable to those of the United States and China), they fail to consider a whole series of challenges to Russia's recovery that transcend the current financial crisis. Chief among these long-term

3 See the discussion in Arbatov, Aleksei G. "The National Idea and National Security." *Mirovaia ekonomika i mezhdunarodnye otnosheniia*, no. 5 (May 1998): 5-21, and no. 6 (April 1998): 5-19; translated in FBIS-SOV-98-208 and 98-216.

worries is the demographic crisis. Because of declining fertility and a catastrophic decline in life expectancy, Russia may be facing a net yearly population loss of as many as a million people.<sup>4</sup>

Emotional diatribes by retired generals and marginal politicians notwithstanding, under these circumstances no one seriously contemplates restoring the empire. Indeed, with the exception of South Ossetia, Moscow's use of force in the "near abroad" (Dniestr, Abkhazia, Karabakh, Tajikistan) as well as domestically in Chechnya has produced no real solution, but instead has led to a series of costly impasses with Russian soldiers becoming targets for parties dissatisfied with the *status quo*. On the global scene, the much-ballyhooed "strategic realignment" with China has come to naught for a simple reason. What has 1.7% of world GDP got to offer 7% (China), or, for that matter 8% (Japan) or 12% (EU), to make any of them risk their relationship with 21% (US)?

Russia's weakness renders any serious opposition to the other major powers impossibly costly, and hence prevents the emergence of classical security dilemmas with any of them. This basic situation is reinforced by Russia's deepening financial dependence on the West and the IMF. However much Russia's foreign-policy elites may perceive their geopolitical interests to lie in a multipolar counter-balancing of US power, their economic interests point in the opposite direction. The most important single trend in world politics since 1989 is the ongoing triumph of these economic interests over Russia's traditional understanding of its security and prestige needs. The trend is likely to continue.

This is not to say that there are no traditional security concerns. Despite their abject poverty and dependent status, Russians still chafe against the US-led world order at several key points: in an ongoing rivalry over positions of influence in the near abroad; Caspian oil; pro-

4 Demko, Georges J., Grigory Joffe, and Zhanna Zayonchkovskaya, eds. *Population under Duress: The Geodemography of Post-Soviet Russia*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1999.

liferation of weapons of mass destruction; US “dual containment” of Iran and Iraq; and US policy in the Balkans. On each of these issues, however, Moscow’s room to maneuver is strictly limited by its weakness and ultimate dependence on Washington’s goodwill.

Potentially more important than any of these problems is the one traditional security problem that has received the least attention: strategic stability. The continued deterioration in Russia’s nuclear readiness and command and control, the contraction of all Soviet nuclear forces to Russia and the consequent reduction in targets, and the continued modernization and high states of readiness of the US nuclear triad raise a specter that haunted strategic planners throughout the Cold War: first strike dominance. If the present trends continue, Washington may soon possess a reliable first-strike capability against Russia. Russia, meanwhile, has dramatically increased its dependence on nuclear deterrence since the end of the Cold War in order to compensate for conventional military weakness and to try to hold a claim to great-power status despite economic weakness.<sup>5</sup>

If the strategic thinking in the Cold War was right, then a first-strike capability by one side is a threat to both. Why then does this threat go unnoticed? The answer must lie in the argument I spelled out above. The assumption must be that since Russia cannot afford the kind of crisis with the US that would bring concerns over nuclear vulnerability to the fore, such a crisis will not happen. This reinforces the basic point of this section: that traditional security concerns are marginalized more by Russian decline than by deep-going change in the nature of world politics.

5 On nuclear weapons and Russia’s military doctrine, see Arbatov, Aleksey G. “Russia: National Security Needs in the 1990s.” *Mirovaia ekonomika I mezhdunarodnye otosheniia*, no. 7 (July 1994): 5-15; translated in FBIS-USR-94-1291. See also Konstantin Sorokin’s review of the Russian Federation’s formal military doctrine. *Russia’s Security in a Rapidly Changing World*. Stanford University: Center for International Security and Arms Control, 1994.





## The New Security Agenda

Standard texts on international security are of little help in dealing with many of the key security problems Russia and its partners currently face. Consider just some of the problems now exercising the minds of Russian and Western policymakers alike:

*Financial collapse, economic crisis and chaos.* Although concerns inspired by Chechnya that the Russian Federation was on the verge of disintegration now seem overblown, neither Moscow nor its major partners can ignore the possibility that the cumulation of economic and financial crises besetting Moscow will generate major instability. If Russia were to experience major domestic turbulence and unrest in the next year or two, analysts would easily see them as inevitable consequences of existing conditions and policies. For many analysts, the demographic crisis alone is a sufficient indicator. For example, Nicholas Eberstadt, of the Harvard Center for Population and Development Studies, claims that “in the modern world (...) significant and general increases in mortality *always* betoken either social instability or regime fragility or both.”<sup>6</sup> Russia faces not “significant” but unprecedented increases in mortality. It is little wonder then that fear of instability is the lodestar of US policy towards Russia. And it is the specter of a state breakdown that is Moscow’s strongest policy lever over Washington. As harsh as they are, the IMF’s terms for loans are better than most of its usual clients would get because policy-makers do not want to risk a social backlash or state breakdown in a nuclear-armed former superpower.

*Migration and the loss of control over regions.* If in 20 years Russia will at best account for 2% of world GDP, and if its population is doomed to shrink dramatically, it still will be the largest country in the world, with much of its territory sparsely populated, poorly developed, and rich in valuable natural resources. Neighboring lands face popula-

6 Quoted in Singer, Max and Aaron Wildavsky. *The Real World Order: Zones of Peace, Zones of Turmoil*. Chatham, N.J.: Chatham House Publishers, 1996, 88.

tion pressure and resource constraints. The combination is more worrying to Russians now than classic concerns over traditional security threats. While migration pressure could emanate from many areas, including Central Asia and the Caucasus, it is the Far Eastern regions that most concern Moscow planners. According to Vilia Gel'bras, a widely-cited regional expert from the Institute of Asia and Africa, "eastern Siberia and the far east have become the weakest links in Russia's geopolitical and geoeconomic structure – which is a direct threat to the country's national security."<sup>7</sup> The region is rich in resources, sparsely populated, and weakly integrated with European Russia. Russians fear that the increasingly autonomous regions may seek to bandwagon with dynamic Asian powers, or that outside powers will make significant inroads through peaceful penetration. The five-power Shanghai agreement among Russia, China, and the Central Asian states, did quieten Russian fears of Chinese aims in Central Asia.

However, perhaps the most frequently cited potential security threat in Asia is China's so-called "peaceful demographic press" arising from rapid population growth and rising unemployment in relatively poor Northern areas.<sup>8</sup> Experts disagree on the seriousness of the problem, but, by some estimates, China's "excess" rural population in these regions numbers up to 130 million people – nearly matching Russia's entire population. Pessimists forecast a China unable to control the human exodus into Russia and Central Asia. Others deride the threat, and note that even if it is serious it calls for more cooperation

7 Gelbras, Vilia. "Rossya i Kitay: Voprosy sobiraniya geoekonomicheskikh prostranstv." *Polis: Politicheskie issledovanie* 6 (1995): 32-54, 32.

8 Former Defense Minister Pavel Grachev even claimed that "persons of Chinese nationality are conquering Russia by peaceful means." Quoted in Akaha, Tsuneo. "Russia and Asia in 1995." *Asian Survey* 36, no. 1 (1996): 100-108, 106.

with Beijing, not less.<sup>9</sup> In general, regional elites and the public are more alarmed about the issue while Moscow officials discount its seriousness.<sup>10</sup>

“*Loose nukes.*” Moscow and the West preferred to concentrate the Soviet Union’s nuclear weapons in Russia precisely in order to keep them under the firm control of a stable government. Yet there have been hundreds of reports of diversion of nuclear materials since 1991. According to a highly-regarded study by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the Monterey Institute of International Studies, most of these reports concern the diversion of materials that pose little proliferation threat.<sup>11</sup> However, the fact that hundreds of kilograms of low-enriched uranium are still unaccounted for does raise concerns about the potential threat. And the report documents several clear cases of the seizure of illicitly-diverted highly-enriched uranium and weapons-usable plutonium in 1994 and 1995. In all of the seven cases outlined in the report, the material originated in Russia and was recovered there or in Europe. But some of the most likely proliferators lie to Russia’s South, where tenuous border controls are much more frequent than towards the West. If the materials can be diverted and transshipped without a European intermediary, the difficulty of detection and seizure increases.

*Uncontrolled weapons proliferation.* Reports are numerous, though usually hard to substantiate, concerning illicit diversion of Russian

9 Trush, Sergey. “Russian Arms Sales to Beijing: Reasons and Fears.” *Nezavisimoe voyennoie oborzreniie*, 25 March 1996; translated in FBIS-UMA-96-104-S; and Felgengauer, Pavel. “Russia and the Conflict in the Taiwan Strait: Moscow and Beijing in New Strategic Partnership.” *Segodnia*, 13 March 1996; translated in *Current Digest of the Post-Soviet Press* 48, no. 11 (1996): 10f.

10 See Moltz, James Clay. “Regional Tensions in the Russian-Chinese Rap-prochement.” *Asian Survey* 35, no. 6 (1995): 512-527.

11 *Nuclear Successor States of the Soviet Union*. Status Report on Nuclear Weapons, Fissile Material, and Export Controls, no. 5. Center for Nonproliferation Studies at the Monterey Institute of International Studies, and the Non-Proliferation Project at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1998.

missile technology and other sophisticated weapons. The government's inability to pay salaries even to highly-trained researchers and specialized defense workers, the overwhelming pressure to export faced by Russia's arms export agency, as well as by the major defense firms, loose governmental oversight, corruption, and prevalent organized crime all raise the possibility that sophisticated weaponry will find its way from Russia or elsewhere in the former Soviet Union to terrorist groups or rogue states. Despite the popular and press focus on nuclear material, some researchers are more concerned with biological weapons agents. Though Moscow has discontinued most of its biological weapons research, expertise and equipment left over from Soviet-era programs could provide terrorist groups or Aum Shinrikyo-style cults with highly lethal agents.<sup>12</sup>

*Organized crime.* Like their counterparts in other countries, Russia's organized crime groups focus on the standard thugs' menu: drug trafficking, racketeering, prostitution, smuggling, theft, money laundering, contract killing, and the like. The difference in Russia, according to many observers, is the deep penetration of organized crime into normally licit activities of government and business. This raises the threat of organized crime groups trafficking in weapons of mass destruction, or even influencing state policy in ways that threaten the security of others.<sup>13</sup> Russian organized criminal groups operate internationally, especially in Poland, Germany, the United States, Israel and Cyprus. To date, however, there is little evidence that they have made weapons trade a focus of their activities. In addition, they face the

12 Press reports claim that Aum Shinrikyo has over 16,000 adherents in Russia and funds of over \$1 billion. At the same time, cutting edge virologists and other researchers from Soviet-era BW programs have reportedly received only sporadic and inadequate pay and pension support. See Venter, A. J. "Keeping the Lid on Germ Warfare." *Jane's International Defense Review* 31, no. 5 (1998): 26-31.

13 For a balanced assessment, see Williams, Phil. *Hysteria, Complacency, and Russian Organized Crime*. PSBF Briefings 8. London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1996.

usual constraints that have always limited the international impact of organized crime: internecine rivalry among competing groups within the country.

*Environmental threats.* Russia is beset by a daunting list of environmental crises: nuclear waste and rotting nuclear submarines in the Arctic; the leaking MAYAK nuclear weapons complex in Chelyabinsk; insecure chemical weapons dumps in central Russia; the pollution of the Caspian.<sup>14</sup> Many of these problems are located in border zones or on waterways that affect other states. Elsewhere in the former Soviet Union, Russia's neighbors confront environmental threats that could present the region with tough challenges. Arguably the most spectacular man-made environmental disaster on the planet is the poisoning of the Aral Sea, a building catastrophe that could set Tajiks, Kazakhs, Uzbeks and Kyrgyz against each other, inevitably involving Russia. It is easy to conjure up scenarios of Russian ecological disasters threatening neighboring states, or neighbors' environmental crises or resource wars generating mass migrations for which Russia is ill prepared.

## Conclusion

The traditional security agenda concerning the use of force between states, which animated Russian discourse on world politics only a few years ago, has been displaced by a new set of concerns. Each of these

14 Russia and Sweden signed a protocol concerning the nuclear waste and rotting nuclear submarines in July. The MAYAK complex has reportedly leaked five times more radioactive isotopes Strontium 90 and Cesium 137 than all the radioactivity from the same isotopes generated by the world's 500 atmospheric nuclear tests, the Chernobyl accident, and the Sellafield nuclear plant put together. See *New Scientist*, 6 December 1997. On the chemical weapons dumps, see the articles by David Hoffman in the *Washington Post*, 16 and 17 August 1998.

issues is novel, none is purely national or international, and all are to one degree or another transnational. The security threats they create do cross borders, but they are not results of state policies. Most reflect unintended consequences, uncontrolled processes, or technological or environmental trends beyond the power of any single government to control. Thus, critics of traditional security studies are right: Russia's problems appear to challenge typical state-centric modes of analysis and policy thinking.

If this is so, then two consequences follow. First, my assigned topic for this article is a contradiction. New security issues are transnational, yet I am required to focus on a single state. If the essence of new security problems is that they cannot be resolved by states alone, then surely they cannot be analyzed productively by looking only at one state. Secondly, and much more importantly, Western, and particularly US, policy towards Russia is intellectually bankrupt. For, predictably, such a focus on the state is the default option taken by the United States and most other nations. The key to all the novel security challenges Russia faces, US officials argue, is a functioning government in Russia that can foster economic growth, social stability, and respect for law and order, and thus oversee large-scale activities taking place on its territory.

On closer examination, however, Western policymakers are right. As unprecedented and challenging as Russia's security problems are, at the root of all of them is the deficit of governmental order in Eurasia. It is easy to talk of the declining importance of states when you have one that functions well. Russians cannot afford that luxury, and neither can the policymakers who have to deal with the problems Russia's weak state creates.

We need a policy that does not require Americans to take responsibility for contentious Russian domestic policies, that fosters the emergence of an effective Russian government, and that does not run the risk of creating an embittered Russian political elite. At the same time, we cannot simply wash our hands off Russia and withdraw all aid until they "behave." The security threat posed by anarchy in Eurasia is too great to indulge such a whim. The proper response to the Russian question is to take a more detached attitude towards

Russians' domestic choices, to focus on state- and institution-building rather than macroeconomic stability, and to include Russia in a new concert of powers rather than marginalizing and alienating it. Thus, a new policy should accomplish the following:

Firstly, we should distance ourselves from Russian domestic politics. We must stop selecting specific groups or individuals as the recipients of uncritical support, which both corrupts our "favorites" and delegitimizes them in the eyes of their fellow citizens.

Secondly, we should embark on a broad-based effort to encourage effective governance. Aid must be premised on its responsible use by proper authorities rather than as a lever to force specific Russian responses to the country's economic problems. The guiding principle must be that a Russian government able to distinguish its interests from those of powerful financial, industrial and criminal groups is more important for the US national interest than the specific details of the reform policies the Russians may adopt.

Thirdly, we should reintegrate Russia into the theory and practice of the world order we are seeking to establish. We should offer diplomatic rather than just financial incentives for Russian cooperation. Our first step to repair US-Russian relations should be to declare a moratorium on further NATO expansion and invite the Russians to restart formal military cooperation with NATO and deepen policy coordination on the Balkans. This could reverse the downward trend in US-Russian relations, and provide a good, tough test of Moscow's willingness to cooperate. If the new policy gathered momentum, the next step for Washington would be to facilitate Moscow's prestige-enhancing involvement in regional negotiations while encouraging the Russians to tighten export controls on arms and nuclear technology and reengage the Duma to push for ratification of the strategic arms agreements it has tabled. The key is to make each diplomatic *quid pro quo* contingent on concrete Russian cooperation.

These three elements all work together. They address the critical near-term "new" threat (Russian disorganization and potential collapse), while reducing the likelihood that the longer-term "old" security threat (a resurgent and revisionist Russia) will emerge. And they are consis-

tent with the basic Western values of democracy and the rule of law as well as our approaches to other countries.



**Concluding Analysis:  
Five Trends – and Many Uncertainties**



A compilation of articles on trends in international security by such an illustrious range of experts offers the unique opportunity of discerning some major similarities and dissimilarities in their assessments as to how the security environment will evolve in the coming decades. The combination of three broad papers with several case studies allows us to come up with both general security trends and issue-specific predictions. The aim of these concluding remarks is to distinguish five features that are likely to be prominently placed on the agenda of international security. Obviously, the choice offered is somehow arbitrary as the individual articles give priority and emphasis to different aspects. What will be outlined thus is what the editors understand to be trends that most authors consider of great importance. These are the changing notion of the term “international security,” the impact of globalization on security, the changing nature of conflict, the leadership of the United States, and the incomplete architecture of European security.

While each of these trends is widely acknowledged to be relevant, most of them are subject to conflicting interpretations in terms of their implications and meanings. The remarks that follow do not attempt to bridge these differences but rather to put focus upon them. If anything about international security in the 21<sup>st</sup> century is certain, it is that the effects of any apparent trend are as yet unclear. It is therefore first and foremost for the right questions that we must search today, not for any premature answers.

### Redefining “International Security” after the Cold War

Perhaps the single most striking trend that the articles in this book reveal is that the notion of “international security” after the end of the bipolar international system has undergone a profound transformation that has not yet resulted in a commonly agreed new definition. As a matter of fact, there is a manifest uncertainty amongst both politicians and academics as to what the concept of “international security” today

contains. While during the Cold War it referred to the management of relations between two actors and their respective blocs, with a prevailing military component and a particular concern for armament and strategy, it nowadays lacks both a coherent system and clear-cut characteristics.

What all the experts in this reader share is the view that the clarity and unity of security interests during the Gulf War in the early 1990s was only an interlude that fails to be representative for the post-Cold War international environment. It is a generally accepted notion that since 1989 the actors, issues and means in international security have multiplied and that the complexity and diffusion as well as the unpredictability in the field have sharply increased. Threats are less easily discernible today, and rather than one big adversary there are a great many uncertainties.

The controversy starts however with the question of which of these uncertainties should belong to the realm of “international security” and which ones should not – and because of what criteria. Some authors warn us that too broad an approach could bring about a loss of focus, which would deprive the term of any operational value. They thus suggest that the concept be restricted to those questions which relate to the use of force or the threat of use of force in international relations. Others adopt a more extensive interpretation and add to the national (military) security the component of social or soft security, which is concerned with the citizen’s safety from non-military threats. From this point of view, issues such as demography, migration, energy supply, organized crime, or even the burning of rain forests are an integral part of international security. Threats no longer necessarily require threateners with malicious intentions but can have structural causes, which in turn often require a change in behavior rather than any political or military measures by the government.

Irrespective of these diverging definitions, what all authors agree upon is that the field of “international security” is still of great relevance today. The fact that rather than a new world order widespread world uncertainty has emerged is seen as reinforcing the need to remain occupied with this issue. And because no Long Telegram *à la* Kennan and no grand strategy *à la* Kissinger are realistic in view of the

multi-faceted and often opaque security environment today, continuous efforts in security analyses are necessary to enable us to prepare for the many possibilities. To keep to that purpose a strategic checklist both to specify a destination and to upgrade our corresponding means is needed.

“Muddling through” in times of complexity and unpredictability is a seductive but dangerous policy to pursue. To come up with an approach that is more coherent and less parochial therefore is an aim which actors and academics in the sphere of international security should strive for. While a commonly shared notion of “international security” cannot be expected in the foreseeable future, it is such coherence and transparency in the individual understandings of this concept that are the more important.

## Economic Globalization and International Security

Vague though the term “globalization” is, the notion that its economic dimension has a profound effect on international security is universally acknowledged. What kind of effect this produces is a controversial question. In the early 1990s the triumph of the market and the ever-increasing economic interdependence were largely praised as mitigating conflict and making war obsolete. An age of *global* security was predicted, with much hope being placed on international organizations in general and on the United Nations in particular.

Yet this liberal view of global governance and security, which gained particular prominence in the course of the UN taking effective action against Iraq in 1990/91, has lost much of its impetus again in recent years. The renewed skepticism is mirrored in various arguments and forecasts put forward in this book. There are three main points discernible in the articles describing why globalization does not necessarily foster global security.

First of all, contrary to the expectations of many analysts, the State has proven resilient in the 1990s and is still the most important actor in

international relations today. With the diverging interests and values of states still being of primary relevance, and with the use of force having by no means ceased to be an integral part of politics, there is indeed good reason to believe that even after the end of bipolarity the international system will remain divided in the foreseeable future. More than half a century after the foundation of the United Nations, global security is hardly more than an ideal that contrasts sharply with the political reality.

Secondly, some authors note with great concern that globalization offers new opportunities to both transnational organized crime and the proliferation of dual-use technologies. The growing interdependence among states and the emerging global (financial) market place have led to a vast increase in the trafficking of drugs and nuclear materials, as well as money. Similarly, the spread of technical military know-how is hardly controllable any longer, which heightens the likelihood of rogue states or terrorists enhancing their capabilities to an extent that could present a regional or even global threat.

Thirdly, attention is being focused in some articles on the uneven regional occurrence of globalization and the increasing inequalities and vulnerabilities these differences can cause. Although it is widely acknowledged that the impact of globalization varies from case to case and can indeed have a stabilizing effect, several references to the Asian crisis of 1998 are made by the authors in order to stress the growing unpredictability that goes with this process. Whether the Asian crisis is going to be characteristic for the international security environment remains to be seen. What we have learnt recently however is that the interlinking of economies and finance does not necessarily or at least not in all cases make the international system more stable and secure.

Finally, it is worth pointing out that globalization brings about not only new threats to international security, but also new difficulties in dealing with these threats. One aspect which is emphasized in several articles is that the new dominance of economic issues in the absence of a clear central security threat in the post-Cold War period has led to a growing importance of domestic problems which have gained priority over foreign issues. There is a clear tendency of governments turning inwards and of foreign policy processes being paralyzed by domestic linkages

and electoral considerations. This development may well result in a conspicuous deficit of leadership in international relations, which is all the more deplorable when one considers the numerous globalized challenges that have emerged in recent years.

### The Changing Nature of Conflict

There is wide agreement that intra-state conflicts will be a prominent feature of international security in the coming decades. While inter-state wars have nearly vanished from the global map, conflicts *within* countries have mushroomed after the collapse of the bipolar international system. Most of the conflicts today are identity-driven and occur in states whose institutions are weak or whose multiethnic federal structures have broken down. This change in the nature of conflict brings about a significantly reduced risk of large-scale wars, but leaves us with local and regional confrontations that are marked by a high level of violence, a large degree of emotionality as well as non-rationality. The notion of ethnicity lying at the heart of most of today's conflicts, there is no clear distinction any longer between combatants and civilians. Indeed the latter are often even deliberately targeted today. The result usually is an intense level of barbarity and a situation of chaos and complexity, which from an external point of view lacks transparency.

How should we deal with such conflicts? Recent experiences have made it clear that traditional means such as diplomatic pressure and economic sanctions are often ineffective, not least because the key protagonists are often non-state actors that are not really vulnerable to such measures. Worse even, such actors often have not the slightest interest in ending a conflict as they might well benefit from chaotic war conditions which enable them to set up their own systems of profit and power. Violence in such cases is no longer a means towards some political end but rather an economically motivated end in itself – which makes it even more difficult to bring all the conflicting parties to a peaceful agreement.

As to possible remedies, the idea of intervention by UN troops, NATO, or any other allied formation is lively – and controversially – debated in this book. Two issues are of particular concern: the right of intervention, and the adequacy of a Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA), given the distinctively changed nature of conflict. As to the right of intervention, the strikingly divergent lines of argumentation primarily reveal the sheer unpredictability of the further evolution of international law. While it is universally acknowledged that the normative agenda has substantially expanded after the end of the Cold War, clear-cut legal criteria for an intervention have as yet not emerged. It remains to be seen whether there is indeed a gradual change of paradigm from the legal predominance of the sovereign equality of states to the right to intervene in an intra-state conflict in defense of human rights. Also, and parallel to this development, the subsequent role of the United Nations in setting the standards for intervention is unclear. Indeed, as the case of Kosovo in spring 1999 has illustrated, it might well be much more a question of political will and of consensus within an alliance of states than of an appropriate legal foundation that determines the time and location of future interference in conflicts. The longer disagreement over international law prevails, the more pragmatic and selective will political and military action of the international community in the coming decades be.

With regard to the RMA, some authors put forward the argument that placing much emphasis on the development of military technology might not be the appropriate answer to resolving intra-state conflicts. They point out that the idea of leading future wars with minimal casualties by means of eliminating the Clausewitzian element of uncertainty through information dominance (“situational awareness”), flat command and control structures as well as precision-guided munitions is dangerously divorced from the political context.

From their perspective, the RMA process fails to take into account that the setting of conflicts is often ill-suited for precise targeting and maneuvering and that potential enemies might well deploy asymmetric strategies such as biological and chemical attacks or guerrilla-style warfare to confront the challenge. Furthermore, with the US currently being the only state to have both the means and the will to



invest in RMA-type technologies, these authors stress the danger of an even increased allied dependence upon the capabilities of the one remaining superpower.

Future conflict experiences will reveal whether such broad skepticism is justified or whether the RMA is indeed a viable way of promoting effective stability support and enforcement operations. The case of Kosovo has indicated that primary reliance on technology instead of mass troops can be a key to interfering in a conflict in a way that is both effective and domestically acceptable, although the extensive collateral damage and the unexpectedly long duration of the air strikes have made it clear how remote we still are from any form of surgical warfare.

The issue of effective approaches towards intra-state conflicts and transnational threats will doubtlessly stay on top of the security agenda of the international community in the coming decades. Though a legitimate priority, it seems essential that we do not ignore those voices which warn us that traditional threats have by no means disappeared yet and might indeed be on the increase again. The recent nuclear arms race in South Asia has been a painful reminder that the possibility of accidental nuclear war is still with us as are weapons of mass destruction in general. And with the lack of stability and certainty in the international system being unlikely to decrease significantly in the coming years, can we really rule out a recrudescence of inter-state wars? Even a superficial look at the numerous potential geostrategic clashes in East Asia for instance indicates that this is not the case.

### The Need for Leadership and an Ambiguous United States

One undisputed realization the decade since 1989 has left us with is the outstanding position of the United States in the post-Cold War international system. Although Washington was largely acknowledged to be the “winner” of the bipolar confrontation with the Soviet Union, few

did expect the near-total American pre-eminence that would emerge in the 1990s in political, military, as well as economic terms. This “golden age” for the US, as it is referred to in this publication, is manifested in manifold ways:

First of all, American values such as liberalism and democracy after the fall of the Iron Curtain have spread all over the world, shaping both the global economy and the political structures of most states. If the end of history has been postponed by the perseverance of several autocratic regimes, the principle of free market today is universally shared as the key to prosperity.

Secondly, the United States are the one remaining military superpower. They are the only state with a truly global power projection capability. US military superiority is unchallenged and bound to increase with the RMA. American troops in Europe and East Asia are still widely appreciated as stabilizing factors, and US engagement in security operations anywhere on the globe is seen as a sheer necessity for any effective action to happen, as illustrated in the Gulf and the Balkans.

Similarly, and thirdly, the American political leadership – by some deplored, by many welcomed – is considered a prerequisite and driving force for successful coalition building and multilateral decision-taking, particularly in the realm of security. This has become especially apparent in Europe, where Washington’s hegemonic role had encountered much criticism in the early 1990s but gained new acceptance with the obvious weakness of Europe-only institutions as revealed in Bosnia.

Despite the growing economic strength of the European Union and states such as China, the international system today in terms of security is marked by unipolarity, rather than multipolarity. Yet it is precisely this multifarious US predominance which gives cause for serious concerns in this book. The point is frequently made that in view of the fragility of the international system, the reliance on one sole power to guarantee order and stability is insufficient and dangerous.

Several experts predict a growing dissatisfaction with the unipolar constellation, expecting either a fatigue or an increasing arrogance of

the hegemon, which in turn will irritate the other states. Already today American leadership is being described as ambivalent, as the White House often takes decisions unilaterally but wants to act multilaterally. Also, US isolationism on issues like the International Criminal Court or the banning of anti-personnel mines as well as Washington's failure to pay its dues to the UN are interpreted as signs of a lost skill of combining power with persuasion.

Furthermore, there are voices warning that in the absence of a global adversary, the United States will witness a further domestication of foreign policy which will foster US particularism, as exemplified in the Helms-Burton act, and render a coherent international leadership role more difficult. A growing lack of orientation might well occur, not least due to the increasingly narrow specialization in American universities and think tanks which stands in the way of any comprehensive perspectives.

As much as the necessity to found international security on more than just the American pillar is identified, as little can we trace a way today to come up with a system of shared political leadership. Indeed, there is a remarkable deficit of potential candidates. With the European security and defense identity being predicted to remain without substance in the foreseeable future, only China is forecasted to experience a growth in economic and military power, to such an extent that in the long run it could change its role from a regional to a global player. How this rise in strength will affect Chinese behavior is subject to many debates however. Still, whether Beijing becomes a foe or friend of the United States will be decisive for the future development of the international system. That either constellation will challenge the hegemonic position of the US is at least probable. Until then – and it is worth noting that China is still several decades away from its desired military power projection capability – American primacy, with all its drawbacks, will be both prevailing and required.

## No “Common House Europe:” Incomplete European Security Architecture

Contrary to many expectations and hopes in the late 1980s, the end of the Cold War and the fall of the Iron Curtain have not brought about what Gorbachev called a “common house Europe.” Indeed all the authors share the view that there is no sign today of an all-European security order that could provide stability. There are organizations, such as the OSCE or the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council, which encompass most European countries and are of indisputable value for their own purposes, but they cannot – and do not claim to – provide the continent with security.

Nevertheless, what is encouraging is that there are institutions like the EU and NATO with a high degree of integration, which have adapted to the post-Cold War security environment and are now committed to projecting stability onto Eastern Europe. This in itself is a remarkable development. Even though there are still many uncertainties about the enlargement processes of these institutions, the fact that European security is gradually and pragmatically built on multilateral ties gives reason for optimism.

One thing that practical recent experiences in Bosnia and Kosovo have made clear is that of all the institutions only NATO has the capability of managing conflicts, enforcing peace, and providing order. Despite the loss of its adversary and despite the increasing improbability of an attack against one of its member states, NATO has managed to establish itself as the cornerstone of the Euro-Atlantic security structure. Its transformation into a multifunctional organization with elements of both collective defense and cooperative security has given the organization primary military and political relevance. To join NATO is of strong appeal to most Central and Eastern European states, but an extensive further enlargement of the alliance is unlikely in the near future, not only because of fierce Russian resistance, but also because of the many bilateral disputes and the lack of common interests among the candidates themselves. If the organization wants to preserve the collective defense clause, it will not be able to take in an unlimited number of new members.

In their evaluation of NATO's new role, some authors note with concern that a large majority of those countries which have regained their freedom after 1989 are still under no security umbrella today. NATO's PfP-program is seen as a viable means of promoting cooperation beyond the enlarged parts of the alliance, but can it quench the thirst of the left-outs for security guarantees? It is for doubts of this kind that NATO as the roof of Europe's security architecture is sometimes viewed with skepticism, although it is usually more its prominence than its existence as such that is put in question.

If all the authors agree that the European security structures are still incomplete and not yet solid, there is wide disagreement as to possible remedies. Indeed some authors argue that despite their deficits, there is currently no viable alternative to NATO and *ad hoc* "coalitions of the willing" that respond individually to crises. On the other hand others claim that Cold War institutions such as the EU or NATO are the wrong instruments for providing peace and prosperity on the continent as they were designed for an altogether different security environment. A third group proposes the enlargement of the European Union only, interpreting the overcoming of the economic disparity as the key to future stability in Europe. This point of view is again being challenged by those who point out that the EU in the coming decades will not be able to provide leadership with regard to European security. Even if the EU enlarges, according to this argument, it will be very much preoccupied with itself, and the larger it gets, the less certain it becomes as to its purpose and destiny. The monetary union will stay at the center of this institution which, so the prediction goes, will not be able to formulate a common foreign and security policy in the foreseeable future.

While much attention is paid to reveal the deficits of existing institutions, it is worth noting that the creation of new security organs is not contemplated by any author, which seems only realistic considering that a security architecture cannot just be designed from scratch. What is telling is that not much space in the articles is given to the OSCE, which in 1990 stood for the hopes of an all-inclusive European order, but which in the years that followed had to limit its domain of activity to the realm of soft security. Similarly, the idea of a European security

Charter has lost much of its impetus, mainly as a result of clashing interests of states as well as academics. Even for Eastern Europe specifically, where a deficit of institutional integration exists, the chances for their own security institutions are estimated slim because of a lack of common interests.

This again raises the fundamental question of whether it is at all possible to formulate a coherent European strategy and build firm continent-wide security structures, given the diversity of national interests. Can an order be constructed in the absence of a clearly discernible threat that would foster collective discipline and identity? And could such an order be effective at all considering that it would have to embrace more than 50 states?

The common basis that all authors in this book agree upon is that the future of European security must be based on multilateral cooperation and American leadership. Where the issue evolves from there will largely be decided by practical experiences. Whether NATO succeeds in the long run in Bosnia and Kosovo will be quintessential for the subsequent development of Europe. But no matter what the alliance's precise future role will be, two interlinked questions indispensably need to be answered before any firm security structure can be developed. Where does Europe end in the East? And what is to be done with Russia? The solution to these two as yet uncertainties will shape the character of any structures to emerge. Particularly the eventual decision of whether Russia is a strategic partner or rival that should correspondingly be further engaged or kept out will be of core importance to the future of Europe. Even though the former superpower is currently no more than a regional actor which faces a vast decrease in military power and which is very much preoccupied with its profound economic and political crisis, long-term stability on the European continent can only be achieved with a clear strategy towards Moscow.

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