

# NATO's strategic partnerships

## Contents



### 2 Building effective partnerships

Christopher Bennett examines how NATO has forged effective partnerships with non-member states and other international organisations since the end of the Cold War.



### 6 The ties that bind

Julian Lindley-French analyses relations between the European Union and NATO and urges the two organisations to work together in the common interest.



### 12 Building hope on experience

Paul Fritch examines how NATO-Russia relations have evolved since the creation of the NATO-Russia Council.



### 16 Edging erratically forward

James Sherr examines NATO-Ukraine relations and Ukraine's aspirations for integration into Euro-Atlantic institutions via the prism of defence reform.



### 20 Debate

Should the European Union be able to do everything that NATO can?

Fraser Cameron *VERSUS* Andrew Moravcsik



### 26 Book review

Limits of personal diplomacy

Petr Lunak reviews and compares the memoirs of Strobe Talbott, Boris Yeltsin and Yevgeniy Primakov.



### 29 Interview

General Totskiy: Russian Ambassador to NATO



### 32 Military matters

A radically new Command Structure for NATO

Air Vice-Marshal Andrew Vallance explains how NATO's Command Structure has been revamped to meet the security demands of the 21st century.



### 38 Special

Beijing calling

Zuqian Zhang examines the potential for closer relations between China and NATO.

*NATO Review* is an electronic magazine published under the authority of the Secretary General and is intended to contribute to a constructive discussion of Atlantic issues. Articles, therefore, do not necessarily represent official opinion or policy of member governments or NATO. The PDF version of *NATO Review* does not necessarily contain all articles and

features that appear in the internet edition. Articles may be reproduced, after permission has been obtained from the editor, provided mention is made of *NATO Review* and signed articles are reproduced with the author's name.

#### Editorial team

Editor: Christopher Bennett  
Production Assistant: Felicity Breeze

Publisher: Assistant Secretary General for Public Diplomacy  
NATO, 1110 Brussels, Belgium  
E-mail: [revieweditor@hq.nato.int](mailto:revieweditor@hq.nato.int)

\*Turkey recognises the Republic of Macedonia with its constitutional name.

## Building effective partnerships

*Christopher Bennett examines how NATO has forged effective partnerships with non-member states and other international organisations since the end of the Cold War.*

One of the great changes in NATO's approach to providing security since the end of the Cold War is the way in which it has reached out to form partnerships with non-member states and other international organisations. This policy bore early fruit with the creation of forums and programmes to assist the democratic transition in Central and Eastern Europe, evolved pragmatically in response to the wars of Yugoslavia's dissolution and received added impetus and a sense of urgency following the terrorist attacks against the United States of 11 September 2001. Moreover, its ongoing importance to the Alliance as it transforms itself to combat the threats posed by the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and international terrorism was reaffirmed at last year's Prague Summit.



*Historic handover: NATO deployed in Bosnia in 1995 thereby laying the platform for other international organisations to help rebuild peace and stability (© NATO)*

The rationale behind this policy is simple, namely that as the strategic environment has become increasingly complex, no single institution can claim to own the magic formula to guarantee peace. Rather, the way to provide the greatest possible level of security both to NATO members and to the wider world is by creating a network of cooperating partners all with a vested interest in preserving and promoting stability and prosperity. Today, barely a week goes by without either the NATO Secretary General meeting with the head of another international organisation or the leader of

a Partner country, or a visit to Alliance Headquarters by an individual of similar standing. And NATO has even developed effective working relationships with international financial institutions and non-governmental organisations working in crisis areas of the world.

The starting point for NATO's partnership policy was the hand of friendship that the Alliance offered to the countries of Central and Eastern Europe soon after the Berlin Wall came down and the Warsaw Pact disintegrated. In the first instance, this manifested itself in the creation of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC) at NATO Headquarters in December 1991 as a forum for discussion and promotion of security issues for both NATO members and the Alliance's former adversaries. At the time, the pace of change in Europe was so rapid that the Soviet Union actually disintegrated during the NACC's inaugural meeting with the result that the Soviet ambassador present was only able to speak on behalf of the Russian Federation by the end.

In 1994, NATO launched the Partnership for Peace, a practical programme of military cooperation and assistance tailored to the individual needs of each participating country, designed initially to help establish democratic control over armed forces, assist the military reform process and help develop NATO-compatible militaries. As other European countries saw the benefits of security cooperation through the NACC and the Partnership for Peace, more wished to join and membership was extended beyond the NATO members and former communist countries to include Western Europe's traditionally neutral states. To reflect this change and the evolution of NATO's relationship with Partner countries, the NACC was renamed the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC) in 1997.

Today, all countries in the Euro-Atlantic area are members of both the EAPC and the Partnership for Peace with the exception of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Bosnia) and Serbia and Montenegro, both of which hope to join next year. Moreover, in line with NATO itself, the EAPC has become increasingly focused on addressing modern security threats since 11 September 2001. In this way, for example, EAPC leaders endorsed a Partnership Action Plan against Terrorism at last year's Prague Summit (for more information on the evolution of NATO's partnership

*Christopher Bennett is editor of "NATO Review".*

policy, the EAPC and the Partnership for Peace, see *Building security through partnership* by Robert Weaver in the autumn 2001 NATO Review and for more on the Partnership Action Plan against Terrorism, see *Working with Partners to fight terrorism* by Osman Yavuzalp in the spring 2003 NATO Review).

## Security variable

Probably the greatest variable influencing security in the Euro-Atlantic area since the end of the Cold War has been Russia. A democratising, Western-oriented and reforming Russia would clearly be a major stabilising factor for the whole Euro-Atlantic area. This explains the enormous investment in building and improving relations with Moscow that the Alliance has made in recent years, one that after several false dawns increasingly appears both farsighted and shrewd.

In the first half of the 1990s, a still suspicious Russia joined and participated in both the NACC and the Partnership for Peace. And in 1996, it contributed 2,000 soldiers – the largest non-NATO contingent – to the Alliance's first peacekeeping mission in Bosnia. These soldiers, who remained in Bosnia until August this year, worked together with their peers from NATO countries and, in the process, helped break down barriers and build bridges on both sides paving the way for a more formal NATO-Russia relationship.

In 1997, NATO and Russia signed the Founding Act on Mutual Relations, Cooperation and Security. This was an ambitious document that established the NATO-Russia Permanent Joint Council to "provide a mechanism for consultation, coordination and, to the maximum extent possible, where appropriate, for joint decisions and joint action with respect to security issues of common concern". In practice, however, it failed to deliver fully on its promise. This was in part because the Russian élite tended to see it as a damage-limitation exercise in the context of NATO's first post-Cold War enlargement, and in part because many NATO members also harboured residual suspicions of Russia's intentions. Moreover, many analysts viewed the very decision-making process within the PJC as flawed, since NATO members had already arrived at common positions before PJC meetings on the basis of a discussion process within the Alliance and were reluctant to relinquish their hard-won consensus on the basis of Russian objections. When in 1999, Russia walked out of the Permanent Joint Council in protest at the Alliance's intervention in Kosovo, few missed its meetings.

The Permanent Joint Council did, nevertheless, resume meeting in May 2000 and NATO opened an Information Office in Moscow a year later, but it took

the tragedy of 11 September 2001 to bring NATO and Russia into a fuller, more trusting partnership. In the wake of the terrorist attacks, both sides recognised that they could only gain in security terms from cooperating with each other. This led to the creation in May 2002 of the NATO-Russia Council. This body, which has replaced the Permanent Joint Council, works on the basis of consensus and includes all NATO members and Russia as equal partners. Moreover, the first 18 months of its existence have proved extremely positive with achievements in a wide range of areas (for more on NATO-Russia relations, see *Building hope on experience* by Paul Fritch and the interview with General Konstantin Vasiliyevich Totksiy, Russia's ambassador to NATO in this issue of NATO Review).

NATO also has a vested interest in stability and a smooth transition to democracy in Ukraine, the second most populous independent state to emerge from the disintegration of the Soviet Union. NATO-Ukraine cooperation has intensified since the signing of the Charter on a Distinctive Partnership in 1997. This Charter provides the formal basis for NATO-Ukraine consultations on issues of Euro-Atlantic security and a NATO-Ukraine Commission was created to direct activities undertaken within this partnership, including promoting defence reform, civil-emergency planning and disaster preparedness and cooperation in the fields of science and the environment. NATO opened an Information and Documentation Centre in Ukraine in 1997 and a Military Liaison Office in 1999. In 2002, NATO and Ukraine agreed an Action Plan providing a strategic framework for intensified consultations on political, economic and defence issues and setting out Ukraine's strategic objectives and priorities on the road towards full integration in Euro-Atlantic security structures. Moreover, Ukraine has formed a joint peacekeeping battalion with NATO Ally Poland and has participated actively in NATO-led peacekeeping operations (for more on NATO-Ukraine relations, see *Edging erratically forward* by James Sherr in this issue of NATO Review).

Seven years before the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 highlighted the importance of good relations between the West and the Arab world, NATO had already established a Mediterranean Dialogue. This initiative, which today involves seven countries — Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Mauritania, Morocco and Tunisia — in the wider Mediterranean region, seeks to contribute to regional security and stability and achieve better mutual understanding between NATO and its Mediterranean Partners. Moreover, it, too, has been upgraded in the wake of the terrorist attacks against the United States of 11 September 2001 (for more information on NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue, see

*Enhancing NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue* by Alberto Bin in the spring 2003 *NATO Review*).

Interestingly, the desire to build relations with NATO goes far beyond the Euro-Atlantic area. Japan has attached considerable importance to its relations with the Alliance with the result that regular, biannual NATO-Japan security conferences have taken place since the early 1990s. Two NATO secretary generals — Manfred Wörner in 1991 and Javier Solana in 1999 — have made official visits to Japan. And a series of so-called “high-level talks” have taken place between a NATO team headed by the Deputy Secretary General and senior officials from the Japanese Foreign and Defence Ministries. Moreover, as the Alliance continues to transform itself to meet the security challenges of the 21st century and moves beyond the Euro-Atlantic area, interest in partnership with NATO grows. Indeed, today China too is investigating the potential of a closer relationship (for more on China-NATO relations, see Beijing calling by Zuqian Zhang in this issue of *NATO Review*).

### Practical cooperation

One very practical benefit to NATO of its many partnerships is the contribution that Partner countries have made, and continue to make, to Alliance-led peacekeeping operations in terms of troops, equipment and resources. Indeed, generating the 70,000 troops that were required for the NATO-led operations in Bosnia and Kosovo in 1999 and 2000 would have been extremely difficult without Partner contributions. By contributing troops, Partner countries were demonstrating their commitment both to Euro-Atlantic security and to Euro-Atlantic security cooperation. But the task of rebuilding peace and stability in war-ravaged regions of the former Yugoslavia was one that required more than simply military solutions. In addition to working with non-member states, therefore, NATO has forged increasingly effective partnerships with other international institutions in the interest of eventually achieving self-sustaining peace processes.

Although the wars of Yugoslavia's dissolution caught the international community largely unprepared, the key institutions involved — the European Union, NATO, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and the United Nations — gradually

came to grips with the situation and, in the process, began to forge effective working relations. Moreover, the experience of working together on the ground firstly in Bosnia and Herzegovina, then in Kosovo and then in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia\* has helped shape all these organisations and their relationships with each other.

---

## NATO's most important relationship in the coming years will likely be that with the European Union

---

NATO deployed into Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1995 to oversee implementation of the military aspects of the Dayton Agreement. In doing so, it provided the conditions in which other international organisations, including the European Union, the OSCE and the United Nations and a range of non-governmental organisations, could contribute to rebuilding peace and stability in the country. Despite the historical silence that had existed in the past between NATO and its new partners, practical relations were quickly established that have since been intensified and improved as a result of the experience of working together.

That model proved a valuable guide for Kosovo. In 1999, a NATO-led force deployed in the province to provide security with a mandate from UNSC Resolution 1244. And the United Nations divided responsibility for the peace process between itself (police and justice work as well as civil administration), the OSCE (democratisation and institution building) and the European Union (reconstruction and economic development). In this way, each organisation has a specific role to play in rebuilding peace and stability.

The focus of NATO's relationship with the United Nations today is clearly on peacekeeping issues. The NATO Secretary General reports to his UN counterpart on progress in NATO-led operations, including that of the UN-mandated International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan, for which NATO took responsibility in August, and informs the United Nations of key decisions of the North Atlantic Council. Staff-level cooperation and the flow of information have increased in recent years since the appointment in 1999 of a NATO liaison officer to the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations and the attachment of a liaison officer from the UN Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs to NATO's Civil Emergency Planning Directorate. Meanwhile, international responses to the threat posed by terrorism is emerging as an area for enhanced relations.

## European security architecture

Already in December 1990, NATO foreign ministers envisaged a triangular construction to shore up security in Europe, declaring that: "The three key elements of the European architecture are the Alliance, the process of European integration and the CSCE [the OSCE's forerunner]." But here again, it was practical cooperation in the former Yugoslavia that paved the way for regular contacts and intensified exchange of information. And the profile of NATO-OSCE cooperation and cooperation of both organisations with the European Union was raised in 2000 and 2001 as the NATO Secretary General made regular visits to the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia\* with his OSCE and EU counterparts in what proved a successful attempt to head off a growing conflict there.

NATO-OSCE relations are governed by the so-called *Platform for Cooperative Security* agreed at the OSCE's 1999 Istanbul Summit. In this, the Allies expressed their readiness to deploy NATO's institutional resources in support of the OSCE's work, particularly in the areas of conflict prevention and crisis management.

NATO's most important relationship in the coming years will likely be that with the European Union, as that organisation seeks to enhance its security — including military — capabilities. When both organisations work together with a common aim, as they did in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia\* in 2001, they can be a powerful force both for conflict prevention and crisis management. Moreover, as the European Union enlarges to take in ten more countries, thereby increasing its membership to 25, and NATO enlarges to take in seven more countries, thereby becoming an alliance of 26, the overlap in membership will grow to 19.

The development of a European Security and Defence Policy can and should strengthen both Alliance and EU crisis-management capabilities. This will especially be the case as the European Union meets the Headline Goal that it set for itself in Helsinki in 1999: to be able to deploy and sustain for at least one year, military forces of up to 60,000 troops to undertake the so-called "Petersberg tasks" of humanitarian and rescue missions, peacekeeping and tasks of combat forces in crisis management.

Although NATO established formal relations with the European Union in January 2001 and the two organisations have been meeting formally since then, the relationship remained largely a blueprint with little substance until December of last year, when an EU-NATO Declaration on ESDP was adopted. Since then, a series of agreements have been agreed between the European Union and NATO on cooperation in

crisis management. These agreements have made it possible for the European Union to take over from NATO responsibility for peacekeeping in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia\* on 1 April (For more on EU-NATO relations, see articles *The ties that bind* by Julian Lindley-French and *Taking EU-NATO relations forward* by Pol De Witte in this issue of *NATO Review*).

The many partnerships that NATO has helped establish in recent years and is continuing to develop have not been created simply for their own sake. In the face of transnational security threats, there can be no substitute for international cooperation — between countries, and between institutions. This is why partnership has formed a key element of the Alliance's transformation since the end of the Cold War, and why the partnerships will be further deepened and enhanced in future. ■

---

\* Turkey recognises the Republic of Macedonia with its constitutional name.

## The ties that bind

*Julian Lindley-French analyses relations between the European Union and NATO and urges the two organisations to work together in the common interest.*



*European intervention: France deserves praise for having put together a force to help stabilise northeastern Congo (© ECPA-D & Sirpa Air)*

The build-up to the Iraq War, the campaign itself and its aftermath have all had a profound impact on both transatlantic and inter-European relations. It is remarkable how much appears to have changed in so little time. Indeed, a re-reading of December 2002's *EU-NATO Declaration on ESDP*, the breakthrough agreement between the European Union and NATO, suggests that it was negotiated in a more genteel age.

At one level, Iraq helped to reinforce a growing realisation that Europeans are now back in the global

*Julian Lindley-French is director of European Security Policy at the Geneva Centre for Security Policy. This is a personal comment and does not necessarily reflect the views of the Centre.*

security business. At another, it reminded Americans and Europeans of the difficulties of finding consensus over collective security. At a third, it must surely have reminded Americans of the vital role of allies in security governance. And at a fourth level, Americans and Europeans, the victors of the Cold War and the inheritors of strategic responsibility, were reminded that they cannot escape the burden of leadership in security governance in this fractured age. In effect, Iraq was the latest chapter in the story of Europe's strategic re-awakening, a point reflected in EU High Representative Javier Solana's subsequent outline of an emerging European security strategy. Weapons of mass destruction and terrorism are as dangerous to Europeans as they are to Americans.

The core message of this piece is blunt. The use of the European Union and NATO by political factions in certain countries for domestic political grandstanding must stop. The only winners from such strategic irresponsibility are the enemies of democracy. Given the scope and nature of the emerging dangers, there is room enough for both the European Union and NATO, both of which remain vital to effective security governance.

It is therefore strange that, with such a re-awakening of strategic awareness, so many analysts seem to have drawn the conclusion that the European Union and NATO must ultimately go their separate ways. The division of labour is a clear and complementary one. The mission of the European Union's European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) is progressively to harmonise the security concepts and cultures of European states so that they can gradually take responsibility for civil and military aspects of security at the lower to middle levels of intensity and develop a distinct doctrine for multilateral peacekeeping and peacemaking that both organisations lack. The continuing and ever more vital role of NATO is threefold: to ensure a continuum between lower and higher levels of intensity, i.e. escalation dominance; to ensure that Americans and Europeans can work together in joint pursuit of security world-wide; and to assure the core defence guarantee so that re-nationalisation of security within Europe will not destabilise Europe's political base and prevent Europe's emerging projectability. It is as simple and straightforward as that.

Those in Europe who mistakenly believe that they will achieve a strong ESDP through a weak NATO

are profoundly wrong. All they will achieve is an insecure and incapable Europe unsure of itself and its place in the world. Those in the United States who believe that NATO no longer matters and that mighty America can manage the world alone will only achieve an isolated America trapped on the wrong side of the balance between legitimacy and effect. NATO matters and will continue to matter to all the partners. Imagine a Europe without NATO? Is it conceivable that ESDP could suddenly be transformed into a mechanism for the planning and execution of multinational European coalitions at several levels of military-technology into coherent forces for projection into dangerous places the world over? The answer is clearly no, but that is what Europe needs and needs now.

### Challenges

Afghanistan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, East Timor, Iraq, Kosovo, Liberia, Sierra Leone and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.\* These places trip off the tongue like some roll-call of empire. Sadly, they are not one-off events but evidence of a trend. Historians one hundred years from now may well look back on the period 1950 to 2000 as an interregnum between two forms of dependency. Prior to 1950, it was an exploitative dependency; since 2000 it has been one born of state failure, economic misery and disease.

The whole essence of the power of Europe as expressed through the European Union is its fundamental morality. Europe now sees itself as a "shining city on the hill", a vision that is extremely close to the self-image of the United States. Americans and Europeans are the force for good in this world. A force the importance of which is magnified by the dangerous relationship between misery and technology that is emerging as a defining feature of this fractured age. Ever smaller and more dangerous groups will in time gain access to the destructive power that has to date been the preserve of the most mighty. It is vital, therefore, that Americans and Europeans together prepare for that reality now. There is enough for everyone to do.

In this way, the future of EU-NATO cooperation must rest on certain security truisms. First, the European Union's ambitions to be a hard international security actor are still some years from completion. Second, the pace of deterioration in global security will demand of Europeans an increased presence in the world beyond Europe. Third, neat intellectual divisions between different levels of intensity in which Europeans take on the softer tasks and Americans the harder ones will no longer be reflected on the ground. Dangers to forces on the ground can escalate as rapidly as the crises that spawn them. For the foreseeable future, only NATO can provide the planning and the mission-intensity continuum for operations in the emerging security context.

---

## The tragedy of Iraq has been the legacy of ill will and the increased tendency of too many to make political points at the expense of EU-NATO cooperation

---

Unfortunately, for all the fine words that were to be found in the *EU-NATO Declaration on ESDP*, the relationship is too often mired in the political mud of contemporary transatlantic relations from which it can never be divorced. There is a strange alliance between American neo-conservatives who do not care about the Alliance and European traditional Gaullists who do not want it. It is only to be hoped that these political opportunists realise the damage they are doing to the fabric of their own security by undermining the relationships upon which both the European Union and NATO depend. EU-NATO cooperation has for too long been a victim of the security pretence that has afflicted far too much of the European strategic debate and the strategic self-deceit that has afflicted the American. It is time to get down to business.

Americans cannot avoid the rigours of peacekeeping. Indeed, in spite of a US desire to take on only those operations for which the US military is designed, they are finding themselves sucked ever more into the muddy boots and desk-bound soldiery of nation-building. Europeans can no longer avoid the reality of capabilities. Sooner rather than later they are going to have to dip into their pockets, if their soldiers are not going to die needlessly on operations into which they have been forced by events and for which they are profoundly ill-prepared. In this way, the future of EU-NATO cooperation must, by necessity and the force of

events, deepen, with a new transatlantic security deal in which Americans learn to peacekeep and Europeans re-equip to fight.

### New transatlantic bargain

Such a deal is the essence of future EU-NATO cooperation. Deepening effective and real cooperation in crisis management is vital as a first step in a new relationship. Both the European Union and NATO bring distinct and complementary contributions to such management, which is strengthened by the legitimacy afforded by the political autonomy of decision-making in both organisations. No single state or institution can manage such complexity. The European Union is pre-eminent in the coordination of multilateral, multifunctional civilian aspects of the security management cycle and rightfully moving ever more effectively into the military side at several levels of operational intensity. Operation *Concordia* in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia\* is an important step on the road to Europe's own ability to manage security "in and around Europe" in practical cooperation with the Alliance.

Furthermore, Americans could learn a lot from how certain Europeans do peacekeeping. There are many reasons why the Americans are tragically losing so many soldiers in post-insertion operations compared with the British. The United States is the super-power; US soldiers are in areas in which the remnants of the *ancien régime* are most active; and there are many more of them. At the same time, it is clear that the British are better peacekeepers, even though they too have tragically suffered fatalities, including six military police in one incident alone. This is partly the result of years of experience on the troubled streets of Belfast, but it is also a legacy of Empire, one that is shared by other Europeans. What today is called special operations and peacekeeping was in the days of the British Empire known as counter-insurgency and imperial policing. The British Army was designed for those very purposes and retains in its doctrine that legacy. Indeed, it is no coincidence that the five leading contributors to UN peacekeeping operations are all members of the Commonwealth.

At the same time, Europeans must finally get their war-fighting act together. The European Union's Helsinki Declaration of December 1999 called for a European Rapid Reaction Force (ERRF) by 2003 of 60,000 troops deployable in 60 days and sustainable for a year. It is a force that was to be capable of undertaking the full range of so-called "Petersberg Tasks", that is tasks ranging from rescue and humanitarian missions, through peacekeeping to that of combat troops in peacemaking. Not only is the European Union a long

way from achieving the Headline Goal within Europe, it is even further from being able to despatch such a force anywhere beyond. The danger for Europeans is an increasing tendency of European leaders to pretend they have achieved targets when it is clearly not the case.

Operation *Artemis* in the Democratic Republic of Congo is a case in point. France deserves praise for having put together an intervention force to help stabilise the situation in and around Bunia in the north east of the country. In the event, the force did help to stabilise the situation by the self-imposed 1 September deadline for withdrawal. However, it took great risks in so doing because of extended supply lines and dependence on a strip of mud that doubles for an airport. Had the force run into difficulties it would have damaged the European Union's military credibility. Moreover, if another massacre were to take place soon after the force's withdrawal — which remains a possibility — this would damage the European Union's political credibility.

The point here is that had the European Union and NATO worked together to plan and generate a force using the capabilities available at Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers, Europe (SHAPE), the ability to protect and/or strengthen that force would have been greatly enhanced. Moreover, such an ability would also have enhanced the political credibility of the mission for the simple reason that when the European Union is working together with NATO much greater and more rapid access to far more coercive power is assured. In future, this will place a particular emphasis on harmonising the development of the ERRF with the NATO Response Force (NRF), not least because they will draw on the same forces, with the NRF representing a far more immediate response capability than the larger ERRF, which is in effect a robust follow-on force. The rush to demonstrate European capabilities in far-away and dangerous places without recourse to NATO assets could backfire.

It is therefore of concern that certain states still effectively block substantive discussions and meetings between EU and NATO officials, as though the two organisations are in competition with each other. The two institutions do, of course, go through the ritual of cooperation. The North Atlantic Council meets the Political and Security Committee, the NATO Military Committee meets the EU Military Committee and various meetings take place between the NATO Secretary General and the EU High Representative. Unfortunately, however, all too often these meetings appear to resemble summer diplomatic garden parties in which polite, small talk is exchanged while the

weeds growing in the corner are ignored. There needs to be far more intensive interaction between officials of the two organisations on a day-to-day basis across the security spectrum.

### Future relations

So how should the EU-NATO relationship develop? There are two key areas, operational planning and command and defence investment, that must form the backbone of future EU-NATO cooperation and which would build upon and re-energise December 2002's EU-NATO Declaration on ESDP.

Operation *Concordia* in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia\* and the hand-over from NATO to the European Union was a logical reflection of the latter's role in the wider effort to bring stability to that country. International cooperation helped bring about the Framework Agreement and showed what can be achieved by consistent and determined application of all the instruments available to the Euro-Atlantic community. The key to success was political will and the effective coordination of EU and NATO political and military structures through complementarity of effort and a form of "command shadowing" throughout the command chain.

Supreme political control is exercised by the Council of the European Union through the European Union's Political and Security Committee, which remains in close consultation with the North Atlantic Council. The Deputy SACEUR has been designated Operational Commander with the EU Military Committee working closely with NATO's Military Committee and the EU Military Staff liaising closely with the Operational Headquarters, which comprises an "EU Command Element" embedded in SHAPE. This enables the EU Operational Commander to provide guidelines to the Force Commander. The dynamism inherent in this structure is vital because it affords both the European Union and NATO a planning and command focal point without undermining political autonomy. To that end, plans are in place for component commands to ensure the planning and operational effectiveness of larger EU operations, including a land component command, air component command and a maritime component command. This is surely correct.

Defence investment is at the core of the European defence dilemma. The aim here must be to ensure convergence between American network centrism and European muddy bootism. A focus on cost-effective and resource-efficient means to ensure that Americans and Europeans can work together in the field should help facilitate cooperation without affecting political autonomy, which is the balance the new NATO must strike. The events of the past few years have

demonstrated that the transatlantic security relationship will be far more informal than it was during the Cold War, with the result that special emphasis will have to be placed on interoperability and cooperability. To that end, the work of the European Union's European Capabilities Action Plan (ECAP) and the Prague Capabilities Commitment (PCC) must be progressively harmonised. Greater cohesion is still needed between the European Union and NATO to prevent the ECAP and the PCC evolving in such a way as to become competitors. The capabilities benchmarking, which is implicit to both, must be clearly linked. It would be a significant advance if EU and NATO officials working in this area met on a more structured basis with the representatives of the National Armaments Directors of EU and NATO nations in attendance.

The tragedy of Iraq has been the legacy of ill will and the increased tendency of too many to make political points at the expense of EU-NATO cooperation. The only people who gain from what US Ambassador to NATO Nicholas Burns called the Alliance's "near-death experience" are the likes of Osama bin Laden and Saddam Hussein. To those of the "NATO-is-dying" school, the question is straightforward: what is the alternative? To those of the "European-Union-has-no-role-in-security" school, the question is equally straightforward: how else can Europe develop its own distinct and complementary security culture? To those Americans who see no place for international institutions such as NATO in US security thinking: are you really more secure alone? It is time for Europeans to step forward and for Americans to reflect. Above all, it is time for both Americans and Europeans to reinvest in the EU-NATO relationship in a spirit of realism and transparency. In spite of recent events, EU-NATO relations will become a backbone of Euro-Atlantic and global security governance in the century ahead because of the world in which we live and because of the security goals we all continue to share. So it is time to get on with it. It is simply too dangerous out there. ■



For further information on the Geneva Centre for Security Policy, see [www.gcsp.ch](http://www.gcsp.ch)

# Taking EU-NATO relations forward

Disagreements between some European countries and the United States over policy towards Iraq have generated much media comment during the past year, including speculation about the future of transatlantic relations in general and the relationship between the European Union and NATO in particular. Ironically, however, it has been during this period that EU-NATO relations have moved most rapidly and constructively forward writes Pol De Witte.

The European Union and NATO established formal relations in January 2001 but the breakthrough came on 16 December 2002 with the adoption of the EU-NATO Declaration on ESDP (for full text, see NATO Press Release (2002)142). Since then, the two organisations have negotiated a series of documents on cooperation in crisis management, which made it possible for the European Union to take over from NATO responsibility for peacekeeping in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia\* on 1 April.

A set of key cooperation documents, known by insiders as the "Berlin-Plus" package, was agreed by both organisations on 17 March 2003. Five days earlier, an EU-NATO Agreement on Security of Information was signed, allowing the exchange and circulation of classified information and material under reciprocal security protection rules. The term "Berlin Plus" is a reference to the fact that the 1996 meeting where NATO foreign ministers agreed to create a European Security and Defence Identity and make Alliance assets available for this purpose took place in Berlin.

The "Berlin-Plus" arrangements seek to avoid unnecessary duplication of resources and comprise four elements. These are: assured EU access to NATO operational planning; availability to the European Union of NATO capabilities and common assets; NATO European command options for EU-led operations, including developing the European role of NATO's Deputy Supreme Allied Commander, Europe (SACEUR); and adaptation of the NATO defence planning system to incorporate the availability of forces for EU operations.

Modalities have been worked out for the release, monitoring, return or recall of NATO assets and capabilities in EU-led operations. The Deputy SACEUR (who is always a European) may also be the Operation Commander of an EU-led mission. The European Union

and NATO have agreed procedures for consultation in the context of an EU-led mission making use of the Alliance's collective assets and capabilities. And agreement has been reached on developing "coherent and mutually reinforcing capability requirements". A joint EU-NATO crisis-management exercise — to test the range of standing arrangements on consultation and cooperation in times of crisis — will take place in November 2003.

The "Berlin-Plus" arrangements are now being put into practice in Operation *Concordia*, the European Union's first military deployment in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.\* Admiral Rainer Feist, the Deputy SACEUR, is Operation Commander and EU liaison officers are working alongside their NATO colleagues in the NATO command structure, both at the strategic level in an EU cell at SHAPE in Mons, Belgium, and at regional level at AFSOUTH in Naples, Italy. In the field, in Skopje, the Force Commander, a French army general, and his staff are working closely with the NATO Senior Military Representative.

Daily EU-NATO operational coordination is taking place both in Bosnia and Herzegovina (where NATO-led forces are deployed in SFOR and the European Union has a police mission) and in Kosovo (where NATO-led forces are deployed in KFOR and the European Union is responsible for economic reconstruction). Lessons learned from Operation *Concordia* as well as from the first EU-NATO joint crisis-management exercise this November should help increase the operational effectiveness of the "Berlin-Plus" arrangements and further strengthen the relationship between the two organisations. Moreover, on 25 July 2003, the European Union and NATO agreed a joint approach to stabilising the Western Balkans. (For full text, see NATO Press Release (2003)089 of 29 July 2003).

NATO experts have already been involved in work on the EU Headline Goal in the Headline Task Force Plus for many years. The EU-NATO capabilities group, established in May under the EU-NATO agreement on "coherent and mutually reinforcing capability requirements", seeks to ensure consistency, transparency and mutually reinforcing development of capability requirements common to the two organisations, especially in relation to the EU headline and collective capability goals and NATO's Prague Capabilities Commitment.

In addition, at their 3 June joint meeting, EU and NATO foreign ministers reaffirmed their willingness to develop

*Pol De Witte is head of NATO and Multilateral Affairs in NATO's Political Affairs and Security Policy Division.*

closer cooperation between the two organisations to combat terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. The European Union and NATO have already exchanged information on their activities in the field of protection of civilian populations against chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear attacks.

The fact that so many far-reaching agreements were negotiated in so short a time is testimony to the commitment of all 23 EU and NATO member states to developing a long-term strategic partnership between the European Union and NATO. With 11 “double-hatted” members, EU and NATO memberships already overlap significantly. Next year, following the enlargement of both organisations, 19 countries will be members of both, which should reinforce cooperation, aimed at avoiding unnecessary duplication and competition between the two organisations. ■

---

\* Turkey recognises the Republic of Macedonia with its constitutional name.

# Building hope on experience

*Paul Fritch examines how NATO-Russia relations have evolved since the creation of the NATO-Russia Council.*



*Historic Moscow meeting: The NATO-Russia Council gathered for the first time in Moscow in May (© NATO)*

*Russia cannot be understood with the mind  
Or measured with a standard yardstick,  
She has a peculiar character –  
In Russia, one can only believe.*

Fyodor Tyuchev, 19th century Russian poet and diplomat

Russian schoolchildren have been taught, since long before Tyuchev's day, that their vast country is a special place that cannot be understood or measured with an ordinary yardstick. Periods of dramatic change traditionally have prompted the Russian people to strive for a renewed sense of national purpose, more often by seeking to shape the world around them than by seeking to adapt to it. The 12 years since the fall of the Soviet Union have certainly brought dramatic changes, and if the new Russia has been seeking her own bearings, the same could be said of the often difficult relationship between Russia and her partners in the North Atlantic Alliance.

When tank armies faced each other across a seemingly permanent inner-German border, that relationship was a masterpiece of simplicity. As the statues of Lenin began to tumble, however, it steadily became less

*Paul Fritch is head of the Russia and Ukraine Relations Section in NATO's Political Affairs and Security Policy Division.*

tangible, harder to measure in terms of numbers, facts and figures. Euphoria gradually gave way to disappointment, and disappointment to resentment and rivalry. Both in Russia and in the West, many preferred to cling to old, comfortable stereotypes, to blame the other side when the (perhaps unrealistic) expectations of a post-Cold War world of peace and harmony failed to materialise.

This disillusionment obscured the fact that in the decade between 1989 and 1999, impressive and quantifiable progress was made. Dramatic reductions in both nuclear and conventional weapons were codified in landmark arms control treaties. Military forces that had faced each other for generations in a seemingly permanent state of confrontation simply withdrew without firing a shot. The "iron curtain" that had divided Europe for half a century was erased permanently from the map, as states of the former Warsaw Pact asked for, and were granted, full membership in NATO. The drive to integrate a continent so long divided extended to social and economic spheres as well, as the European Union launched its own enlargement process. Russia herself, however, remained largely on the outside, oscillating between democratic reforms, Euro-Atlantic aspirations and lingering imperial ambitions, and – as so often in her history – struggling to find a suitable place in the world.

The world around NATO and Russia was changing as well. Though the overwhelming “threat” of the Cold War had receded, a broad array of new threats, from civil war and ethnic cleansing in the Balkans to the growing menace of religious extremism and international terrorism, began to challenge NATO and Russia alike. The old adversaries even managed to join forces on occasion, as in helping to oversee implementation of the Dayton Peace Accord, the agreement ending the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Yet despite a long and growing list of shared interests, the NATO member states and Russia did not “feel” like partners. The Cold War legacy of hostility and suspicion was simply too powerful to overcome.

The first attempt at formal partnership did not fully succeed in closing this gap between reality and perception. The lofty language of the NATO-Russia Founding Act, signed in May 1997, included an explicit recognition that NATO Allies and Russia shared a vision of a “Europe whole and free”. Unfortunately, this did not prevent an enduring – even growing – divergence in strategic analysis.

Paper partnership barely concealed creeping rivalry and mutual suspicion, and the first decade of the “post-Cold War era” ended with the schism brought on by the 1999 Kosovo crisis. When Russia walked out of the Permanent Joint Council, many on both sides honestly believed that nothing of great value had been lost.

Then came 11 September 2001. For the member states of NATO, the massive terrorist attacks on the United States represented a wake-up call, a signal that the longer we spent patting ourselves on the back over our successes in overcoming the security challenges of the past, the longer the security challenges of the future would have to creep up on us from behind. The need to engage Russia in the struggle against terrorism was obvious – intelligence capabilities, political influence in relevant regions of the world, heightened sensitivity to the threat, even simple geography made Russia an indispensable partner in the campaign against al Qaida and its Taliban sponsors in Afghanistan. But the immediate crisis also unearthed a deeper truth. Even the most cursory look at the list of NATO’s most pressing “contemporary security challenges” – terrorism, proliferation, regional instability, trafficking in drugs, arms and human beings – made clear that in most areas, any solution that did not include Russia as a cooperative partner was no solution at all. “Going it alone” was not likely to ensure Allied security.

In Russia too, the appetite for an increasingly pointless rivalry with the West had begun to subside. Russian policymakers and analysts, facing real and potential security threats from the south and east, as well as from within, began to advocate a broad *rapprochement* with the West. Chief among the advocates of such a policy was Russian President Vladimir Putin himself, who did not shy from telling his countrymen in sobering terms the magnitude of the challenges they faced. But if the case for cooperation was even more obvious in Russia than in the West, the psychological obstacles that had to be overcome were far more substantial.

It is said that a second marriage is a triumph of hope over experience, all the more so when the partners are the same. It took a substantial leap of faith from both sides, therefore, to bring the NATO Allies and Russia together in May 2002 to build a qualitatively new relationship, where Russia would sit as an equal partner in a Council of 20. The NATO-Russia Council (NRC) did not seek to replace NATO itself. The idea – a very simple one – was to

create a body where NATO member states and Russia could meet as equal partners to discuss and develop areas of common interests, assuming the same rights and the same responsibilities for implementation of decisions. This new NRC took on an ambitious agenda, including many of the most urgent problems of the day. Expectations for the new body were high. Almost a year and a half after the Rome Summit, which created the NRC, it is worth examining how the new NATO-Russia structures have worked in practice.

Even hard-nosed sceptics have been forced to acknowledge an impressive array of concrete NRC achievements. These include the following highlights:

- Joint intelligence assessments of various aspects of the terrorist threat;
- Political modalities for future NATO-Russia peacekeeping operations;
- A framework agreement on submarine crew escape and rescue;
- A roadmap to interoperability of theatre missile defence systems;
- A comprehensive training and exercise programme designed to promote military interoperability;
- Successful civil emergency planning exercises; and Expanding cooperation on defence reform.

---

A second  
marriage is a  
triumph of hope  
over experience,  
all the more so  
when the partners  
are the same

---

Ministers and ambassadors have exchanged views regularly on issues ranging from the situation in Afghanistan to the progress and the remaining challenges of the shared effort to bring peace and stability to the Balkans. The NRC has mobilised its substantial political clout as well, taking stands in promoting enhanced border security in the Balkans and military reform in Bosnia and Herzegovina. High-level conferences in Berlin, Moscow and Rome have explored further avenues of practical cooperation in defence reform, peacekeeping and the struggle against terrorism. In May 2003, the NRC gathered for the first time in Moscow itself.

Other visible signs of cooperation – for example, a highly successful NATO-Russia Retraining Centre for discharged military personnel – have brought tangible benefits of cooperation directly to the Russian people. Moreover, cooperation has not been a one-way street. In October 2003, for example, NATO officers participated for the first time in a Russian military training programme, a course focused on air crew survival techniques. Perhaps most remarkably, in a year when differences of opinion over the nature and scope of the threat posed by weapons of mass destruction caused deep rifts within the international community and NATO itself, NRC experts are nearing agreement on a comprehensive common assessment of proliferation dangers.

Here again, the facts and figures tell only part of the story. Perhaps the biggest change brought about by the NRC has been in the atmosphere of NATO-Russia cooperative work. With three committees and seven standing working groups, as well as a range of projects underway in *ad hoc* expert groups, the NRC has reached out to constituencies at all levels that had never before been involved in the NATO-Russia relationship.

New faces have been particularly evident on the Russian side. Beyond familiar interlocutors in the Foreign and Defence Ministries, the NRC has involved intelligence officers, border guards, interior ministry troops and civil emergency planning experts. Russian scientists have made regular and substantial contributions to the work of the NRC Science Committee. Colleagues in the Russian Mission to NATO – itself no longer an adjunct of the Russian Embassy to Belgium, but a fully fledged mission headed for the first time by its own ambassador – have even begun to commiserate with NATO counterparts over the sudden surge in “travel agent” duty typical of a busy multilateral delegation hosting a broad array of capital-based visitors. The NRC Preparatory Committee has become one of the hardest working and most collegial bodies at NATO Headquarters, a place where diplomats exchange ideas freely, without the protocol restrictions of an

ambassadorial or ministerial meeting. After years of awkward, formal “partnership”, NATO Allies and Russia finally feel like partners.

Eighteen months of cooperative work in the NRC have also yielded another positive surprise – the degree to which NATO-Russia work and broader cooperation within the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC) and the Partnership for Peace (PfP) can be mutually reinforcing. As early successes in civil emergency planning, science cooperation and joint political initiatives have demonstrated, NRC initiatives can complement, even energise, broader cooperation with EAPC Partners. Also, as military experts have discovered, the most efficient way to jump-start our drive toward technical interoperability – among military forces, air-to-air refuelling aircraft, transport aircraft and in other fields – is through deeper Russian engagement in existing practical cooperative projects in the PfP framework. At their last meeting, NRC defence ministers pledged to redouble efforts in this area. The final goal, of course, is the development of joint capabilities that can take NATO-Russia cooperation out of the meeting room and into the field.

We have a long way to go to achieve the full promise of the project that was launched last year in Rome. Many in the West continue to view Russia with an almost instinctive suspicion, and many in Russia continue to harbour fears about NATO's intentions. Allies continue to voice concerns about the prolonged crisis in Chechnya – its humanitarian consequences, its potential to destabilise neighbouring states, and certain aspects of Russian policy toward the breakaway republic. And as the Russian Ambassador to NATO points out in an interview in this issue of NATO Review, Russia continues to have questions about technical issues associated with the NATO enlargement process. Even here, however, open and frank dialogue has the potential to bring us closer together. NATO and Russia share a lasting interest in spreading peace and prosperity throughout the Euro-Atlantic area, whether in the Balkans, the Caucasus or Central Asia. Individual differences and historic rivalries are gradually yielding to a broader spirit of partnership – a mutually beneficial relationship that, as Tyuchev might say, may not always be comprehensible, but must be believed in. ■



For a thorough review of the NRC's accomplishments conducted by NRC foreign ministers, see [www.nato.int/docu/pr/2003/p030604e.htm](http://www.nato.int/docu/pr/2003/p030604e.htm)

## Explaining NATO in Russia

“Tell us, Gospodin Welberts, What is the NATO-Russia Council really about? Is NATO now ready to take Russia's interests into consideration? Who guarantees us that you won't commit another aggression like the one against Yugoslavia? What comes after the bombardment of Belgrade? Minsk?” These are just routine questions in the daily life of NATO's Information Office in Moscow, writes Rolf Welberts.

Misunderstandings abound. Distrust remains deep. Among international organisations, NATO is still by far the least popular. The United Nations is perceived as the forum for global cooperation. The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe is associated with non-military crisis management in Eastern European crisis regions. The European Union is Russia's most important economic partner. The United States, despite recent criticism, remains the preferred strategic partner. In contrast, the Atlantic Alliance is still considered by many as an illegitimate, US-dominated remnant of the Cold War, a potentially aggressive military bloc the world would be better off without.

One of the most frequent questions concerns the dissolution of NATO. Not whether, but when. The collapse of communism triggered the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact. Why did NATO not follow suit, and when will it? My explanation of the different *raison d'être*, structure and history of the two organisations often provokes amazement. Was the military high command



Rolf Welberts (@ NATO)

of the Warsaw Pact really the same as the Soviet general staff? OK, but what else is NATO consensus than agreement between the US State Department and the Pentagon? I counter the usual allegations of NATO servility to its biggest Ally with a reference to the North Atlantic Treaty and practical illustrations of consensus-building. That said, I cannot claim to leave my audiences entirely convinced. Confusion with the Warsaw Pact lingers.

Participation in conferences and seminars, debates with security experts and journalists, and lectures at universities in Moscow and the regions take the bulk of our time. In the European part of Russia, discussions are usually pretty matter of fact. Audiences tend to be less informed the further east one travels. Occasionally, they are even rowdy. Indeed, tomatoes flew during a winter lecture at a Siberian university, where any fresh vegetables at that time of year had been little more than a dream not that long ago.

Still, progress since the opening of the NATO Information Office in 2001 has been tremendous and includes the creation of a NATO column in Russia's traditionally Alliance-critical armed-forces newspaper *Krasnaya Zvezda* or Red Star. In the face of common threats and especially since the creation of the NATO-Russia Council, NATO's image is slowly but surely changing and improving. ■

*Rolf Welberts is director of NATO's Information Office in Moscow.*

## Edging erratically forward

*James Sherr examines NATO-Ukraine relations and Ukraine's aspirations for integration into Euro-Atlantic institutions via the prism of defence reform.*



*Looking to NATO: The sustainability of defence reform would be in doubt without the NATO-Ukraine relationship (© NATO)*

Ukraine's integration into Euro-Atlantic security structures and the transformation of its national security system have become indivisible pursuits. For the dedicated professionals who work in these domains, they have also become all-consuming issues. Yet in each area, progress entails a struggle against Soviet legacies and mentalities, a demoralising financial climate and the continual intrusions of domestic politics. Progress is real and palpable, in some areas striking. But is it enough? Inside Ukraine's Armed Forces, the dynamics of modernisation, stagnation and decay are still precariously balanced. In some other branches of the security sector, the spirit of reform has yet to emerge. Until the corner is turned, until reform is visible, comprehensive and sustained, Ukraine will not be integrated within itself, let alone with Europe.

Progress has been driven by two impulses. The first is Ukrainian national interest. The second is the NATO-Ukraine relationship.

In 1991, Ukraine inherited armed forces designed to prosecute general war under somebody else's direction and against states that are now partners.

*James Sherr is a fellow at the Conflict Studies Research Centre in Camberley, which is part of the Defence Academy of the United Kingdom. The views expressed are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect those of the UK Ministry of Defence.*

It also inherited powerful security forces designed to protect a totalitarian system from domestic opponents, not to say civil society itself. A critical mass of state officials, security professionals and independent experts understand the importance of overcoming this legacy. They know that unless Ukraine's military and security forces are transformed in function, capability and ethos, not only will they be unable to address new security challenges, they may actually damage national security. Today, Ukraine is not threatened by those who would attack it, but by those who would undermine it. Poorly trained, under-financed and discontented armed forces, security and law-enforcement bodies not only create temptations to undermine it; they furnish accomplices and instruments for that enterprise.

These insights and apprehensions were expressed in Ukraine's first National Security Concept, drafted by the analytical staff of the National Security and Defence Council (NSDC) under the leadership of its then secretary, Volodymyr Horbulin, and adopted by the *Verkhovna Rada* (parliament) in January 1997. The Concept assaulted the general war ethos (which had been inbred in Ukraine's Soviet-trained officer corps) by stipulating that in conditions where both state and society were weak, the prime security challenge would be to forestall and resolve local crises, emergencies and conflicts and prevent them from being exploited by actors – internal and foreign – with ulterior political motives. Proceeding from this analysis, the Concept identified the "strengthening of civil society" as the first of nine national security challenges for Ukraine. In June 2003, the *Rada* adopted an updated and far more detailed document, the Law on Foundations of National Security, which is the product of extensive interagency work. Less concise than its predecessor, it is still a bold and often revealing document, giving due attention to the connections between a distorted economy, dysfunctional bureaucracies, criminality and threats to the state. It is critical of the performance of the state and, by implication, many who wield power within it. Both national security documents emphasise that reform is an imperative for the entire security sector, not the Armed Forces alone.

Yet it is the Armed Forces that have been the most reformist. Even so, reform has come in stages, each of them beset by collisions with vested interests and economic reality. The most dramatic period of

transformation occurred immediately after the country became independent when, in defiance of gloomy Western prognoses, troops of the former Soviet Armed Forces, Interior Ministry and KGB numbering 1.4 million men were substantially reduced and thoroughly resubordinated – all without conflict and upheaval. This undertaking was a contribution to European order second only to the country's unilateral nuclear disarmament. But it was an early and finite contribution, not an ongoing and dynamic one.

### Reform dynamic

Not until December 1999 was such a dynamic launched. Following his re-election as president, Leonid Kuchma appointed an interagency group on defence reform, co-chaired by then Defence Minister Army General Oleksandr Kuzmuk and then NSDC Secretary Yevhen Marchuk (who became defence minister on 25 June this year). The result of its deliberations was a *State Programme of Armed Forces Reform and Development 2001-2005*, which was approved by President Kuchma on 28 July 2000.

The State Programme outlined a command and force structure far more consistent with genuine security challenges than its 1996 predecessor. But on force reduction, the *sine qua non* of sustainable reform, the State Programme was disappointing. In January 2001, Ukraine's Armed Forces numbered 310,000 servicemen and 90,000 civilians. By 2005, these were to be reduced to 295,000 servicemen and 80,000 civilians. To proponents

of far-reaching reform, these were depressing figures. Moreover, while the State Programme rightly placed its emphasis on Forward Defence Forces (with a large rapid reaction component), it also maintained a requirement for a larger component of Main Defence Forces and Strategic Reserve Forces, as well as an astonishingly large inventory of tanks, armoured fighting vehicles and artillery pieces. If in some respects, this force structure was suited to a country against which "the use of full-scale military force... has little probability", in other respects it clearly was not. Just as clearly, the projected force structure remained at variance with economic reality, as many NATO and Ukrainian experts were quick to emphasise.

Fairly swiftly, this combination of cold economics and expert criticism began to have an effect. By January 2002, Defence Minister Kuzmuk's successor,

Army General Volodymyr Shkidchenko had revised projected equipment holdings downward by more than 30 per cent. During that year, the Programme was also supplemented by two more radical and promising documents, the Concept of the Armed Forces 2010 and the State Programme of Armed Forces Transition Towards Manning on a Contract Basis. Moreover, deep reductions are finally becoming a reality and Ukraine is now studying possibilities to reduce the armed forces more steeply and in a shorter timeframe. Predictions are rarely wise, even outside Ukraine, but the Defence Review, based on a carefully considered geopolitical assessment, is likely to produce a realistic framework for sustainable development and reform once it has been completed in June 2004.

Without reform's second impulse, the NATO-Ukraine relationship, its sustainability would be open to greater question. Most analysts consider the turning point in this relationship to have been the signing of the Charter on a Distinctive Partnership at the Madrid Summit in July 1997. However, the issue is more complex. On the one hand, well before conclusion of the Charter the scale and intensity of cooperation with Ukraine had become unprecedented in NATO's relationships with a non-member state, not to say a state that (before 2002) did not officially aspire to NATO membership. On the other, in terms of substance and reform, the crucial turning point arose with President Kuchma's decree on defence reform in December 1999.

In previous years, Ukraine had essentially regarded NATO as a vehicle through which it could build closer links with Europe – hence largely in political terms – and the menu of NATO-Ukraine activities lacked a clear direction and theme. After 1999, the scheme of cooperation acquired military-technical definition and focus, in the words of Defence Minister Kuzmuk, "to support defence reform in the country". Consistent with this maxim, the *State Programme of Armed Forces Reform and Development 2001-2005* was submitted to NATO Headquarters for review at the same time as it was submitted to President Kuchma.

From that point forward, the Joint Working Group on Defence Reform established under the Charter became the working organ of cooperation and the fulcrum of the relationship. Within this framework, Ukraine identified National Defence Reform Objectives

---

**Unless Ukraine's  
military and  
security forces are  
transformed, they  
may actually damage  
national security**

---

for review by NATO, and the overall relationship became one of structured audit and consultation, supported and to an important extent guided by the NATO Liaison Office in Kyiv.

Ukraine has participated in the Planning and Review Process of the Partnership for Peace since its inception in 1994. Whereas the original focus was on units declared available for NATO-led PFP activities, Ukraine decided in autumn 2000 to use this planning tool in support of its defence reform efforts and its application was gradually extended to include all armed forces subordinated to the Defence Ministry. These have been astonishing developments for a military establishment which only recently regarded transparency as a threat to departmental interests and national security. These developments have also been reinforced from below. Almost 20,000 Ukrainian servicemen have participated in peace-support activities, the majority of them under NATO leadership. In addition, the officer educational system is being recast in a Euro-Atlantic direction, with blocks of NATO familiarisation courses and emphasis on local conflicts and peacekeeping, rather than general war. These steps form much of the background to Ukraine's May 2002 decision to pursue NATO membership as its long-term objective. They also explain much of the substance of the NATO-Ukraine Action Plan, which has come about as a direct consequence of the May 2002 declaration and NATO-Ukraine discussions in November 2002 in Prague. Taken together, these developments are producing a significant cultural change in the defence establishment.

But the change has yet to take hold of the country, almost 30 per cent of whose citizens perceive NATO as an "aggressive military bloc". Neither has it fully penetrated all relevant governmental departments, which approach Euro-Atlantic integration without sufficient coordination and with different degrees of understanding. These two challenges, which have long preoccupied Yevhen Marchuk and his deputy at the NSDC, Serhiy Pyrozhkov, have been directly entrusted to the newly formed Centre for Euro-Atlantic Integration, directed by Volodymyr Horbulin (former NSDC Secretary) and attached to the Presidential Administration. At an analytical level, issues of coordination and information are also addressed by the National Institute of Strategic Studies (which has several regional branches) and at least two highly influential non-governmental organisations: the Institute for Euro-Atlantic Integration (directed by former foreign minister, Borys Tarasyuk) and the Razumkov Centre (directed by the former head of the NSDC analytical staff, Anatoliy Grytsenko). Complementing these efforts, the NATO Information and Documentation

Centre, which has existed in Kyiv since 1997, has focused much more of its effort on regions where NATO is unpopular and poorly understood.

Defence reform is no longer a slogan in Ukraine. It is reality. Its future, however, remains a matter of deep uncertainty. Unless there is a breakthrough on two fronts, the future is more likely to arouse scepticism than hope.

## Obstacles

The first obstacle is finance. The defence budget has grown within the past three years and now stands at about 1.8 per cent of GDP. Although a presidential decree stipulates that the budget should be set at a level equal to three per cent of GDP, the current figure is not inconsiderable, given the level of spending in other European countries. But there are additional factors to take into consideration.

According to Georgii Kriuchkov, chairman of the *Rada's* Standing Commission on Security and Defence: "We cannot maintain [present forces] because there is not enough money, yet in order to reduce them we also need money." This is because career service personnel cannot be released into the civilian economy without offers of jobs and housing. Moreover, both base closures and the disposal of surplus equipment cost money. Hence, without a considerable increase in resources, the cycle by which force reductions release funds to create a smaller, professional army cannot be set in motion.

Moreover, however many presidential decrees are signed, adequate funding will not be available without economic reform in the country. The key test of reform is whether it provides the incentives and guarantees needed to coax Ukrainian business into the legal (and taxable) economy. This will not happen as long as property rights are undefended, as long as the judiciary itself is "practically defenceless", as long as employees in law enforcement are impoverished and as long as local bureaucrats behave like private entrepreneurs rather than public servants. The NATO-Ukraine Action Plan emphasises these issues even more than issues of military capability, not only because they matter in their own right, but also because military capabilities will remain deficient until they are confronted.

The second obstacle is the security sector outside the jurisdiction of the Defence Ministry. Whereas the collapse of the Soviet Union and its centralised Defence Ministry and General Staff left behind armies of "ruins and debris", in the case of security and law-enforcement bodies, it left behind coherent structures and the mentalities and practices that came with them.

While not all of this sector is obstructionist, the Security Service of Ukraine (SBU) and the Interior Ministry, which not only controls internal troops and ordinary police but a number of specialised formations, remain problematic.

NATO was originally slow to recognise this problem. The Partnership for Peace initially focused only on the integration of national *armed forces*. Only in December 2000 was reform of interior forces and border troops placed on the agenda of NATO-Ukraine cooperation, and such cooperation did not become an open subject of discussion with the SBU until after the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001. The result has been the formation of a schizophrenic security culture in Ukraine. Whereas the Armed Forces have become accustomed to transparency, even intrusiveness, the latter structures are ill at ease with democratic scrutiny and oversight and do not provide parliament with a full breakdown of their budgets, expenditures, sources of finance and staffing levels, not to say schemes of command, recruitment and training. The Law on Counterintelligence, adopted in December 2002 is, by Euro-Atlantic standards, disturbingly permissive in its definitions of powers, authority and threats. This is not to say that everyone of influence inside these structures regard these standards with suspicion, but it is open to question whether their influence and that of outsiders will overcome institutional resistance.

The resignation of Defence Minister Shkidchenko on 20 June was potentially worrying for both the reform process and the NATO-Ukraine relationship. Shkidchenko was an exceptional individual by any standards: a thorough professional who secured the loyalty of his subordinates as well as the trust of outsiders, not least the military establishments of NATO countries. However, the appointment of Yevhen Marchuk as Shkidchenko's replacement five days later augurs well. Marchuk not only made NATO-Ukraine cooperation the defining theme of the NSDC during his 20-month tenure there, but also, along with Shkidchenko, was one of the two principal motors driving defence reform. Despite the discouraging political climate – likely to become even more discouraging as the November 2004 presidential elections approach – Marchuk has a decisive attribute. As a former deputy prime minister, acting prime minister and prime minister (between June 1995 and May 1996), he has unrivalled experience of senior state service. As a prominent civilian since the demise of the Soviet Union, he is able to stand up to civilians in a way that might be misinterpreted if coming from a military officer. Yet he also has the contacts and experience to secure the interagency support that is now so critical to defence reform. If, despite the intrusions of the political

process, Marchuk succeeds in driving defence reform forward and achieving clear progress, Ukrainians will almost certainly be looking to NATO for an even closer relationship. ■

## Should the European Union be able to do everything that NATO can?

*Fraser Cameron VERSUS Andrew Moravcsik*

YES



Fraser Cameron is director of studies at the European Policy Centre in Brussels.

NO



Andrew Moravcsik is professor of government and director of the European Union Program at Harvard University's Center for European Studies.

Dear Andy,



A number of analysts, including yourself, argue for a new transatlantic bargain in which, essentially, the United States does the cooking and the European Union does the dishes. This nouvelle cuisine may look tempting in the short term, but in the long term it is a recipe for worsened not improved transatlantic relations. Europe has to look after its own security and, together with the United States whenever possible, play a larger role in regional and global security.

You will recall that the European Union always had a security dimension. The founding fathers chose coal and steel as the basis for their unique experiment in integration. But the driving motive behind integration was peace and security, first for Europe, later for the world. With the failure of plans for a European defence community in 1954, defence was off the integration agenda until the end of the Cold War. The collapse of Communism in 1989 transformed the geopolitical scene in Europe and opened the door for a renewed debate on defence at Maastricht.

The Maastricht Treaty also saw the birth of the European Union's common foreign and security policy (CFSP). Even though the CFSP could not have been launched at a worse time, with the wars of Yugoslav dissolution exposing European weakness and divisions, gradually the European Union began to get its act together. It agreed the so-called "Petersberg

Tasks", which covered peacekeeping and peace-enforcement missions. It set up new institutions, notably the office of a CFSP High Representative, currently Javier Solana, and a political and security committee (akin to NATO's North Atlantic Council) to provide direction. Prompted by France and the United Kingdom, the European Union also agreed to establish a rapid reaction force and tackle some of the capability gaps that became apparent in the Kosovo crisis.

Most recently, and despite the divisions over Iraq, the European Union has started three peacekeeping missions in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia\* and Congo. Others are in the pipeline. There are thousands of European peacekeepers deployed in the Balkans, Afghanistan and elsewhere. Furthermore, the European Union has agreed policy guidelines on weapons of mass destruction and proliferation and a new draft security policy doctrine has been formulated by Solana.

So, in little more than a decade, the European Union has come a long way in the security field. Where should it go from here? There are two main views. First, the "Blair" view is that the United States is so dominant in today's world that Europe's only hope of influencing its behaviour is to be the loyal ally, never uttering a word of public criticism. Second, the "Chirac" view is that the European Union and the United States do not share the same vision of the world and therefore that Europe needs to pursue its own aims and develop its own comprehensive capabilities.

There is no question in my mind that in the long term Europe has to adopt the Chirac approach. Why? First, because the European Union and the United States do, indeed, have divergent views of the world, over how to deal with terrorism, “rogue states” such as Iran, the Arab/Israeli dispute, support for multilateral regimes and the like. Second, US troops have been in Europe for more than 50 years. No one can predict when they will go home, but at some stage they will. It is only prudent to start planning now for that eventuality in such a way that Europe takes on more responsibility for its own security and that of its neighbourhood. Third, the European Union is already a global actor in many areas. It needs to develop better military capabilities to become a more effective player.

What does this mean for the future of NATO? The Alliance has been struggling to reinvent itself since the collapse of the Soviet Union. As NATO enlarges to 26 next year, I’m reminded of the Monty Python’s “dead parrot” sketch. I feel a number of new members will be asking themselves whether they have bought into a dead organisation. It seems clear that NATO will never fight another war. The Pentagon’s experience in Kosovo was such that the idea of waging another campaign by a committee of 26 is out of the question. Moreover, Washington is unlikely to change its new doctrine whereby “the mission decides the coalition”. NATO will not disappear overnight, but it is likely to continue withering away as it lacks both the glue to hold it together and an appropriate toolbox to tackle today’s security threats.

Note that I talked of the European Union developing better capabilities. There is unlikely to be the political will to spend vastly increased resources on defence. What is required, therefore, is more effective spending on procurement and much more sharing of facilities. Some tough decisions will be needed. Why, for example, does the Czech Republic or Denmark need an airforce? I believe finance ministers will probably be as influential if not more influential than foreign or defence ministers in propelling Europe down this path. One final point on capabilities. It is not clear that spending on high-tech equipment is the most effective use of tax dollars or Euros. Smart development assistance and smart policies are as important as smart bombs.

The European Union, therefore, cannot avoid developing the full range of capabilities. It will never develop the same power-projection capabilities as the United States because it does not need to. But the European Union, not NATO, is the future.

Yours,  
Fraser

Dear Fraser,



Like nearly everyone these days, we agree that Europe should move to rationalise military procurement and develop more robust peacekeeping capabilities. The real question is whether the European Union should develop – in addition to peacemaking, peacekeeping and policing powers – war-fighting capabilities akin to those deployed by NATO in Kosovo and the United States in Afghanistan and Iraq. You say yes. “There is no question in my mind that in the long term Europe... needs to pursue its own aims and develop its own comprehensive capabilities” – the so-called “Chirac view”. Why? To distance Europe from the United States. NATO, you say, is dead. America is going its own way on terrorism and rogue states, and will eventually leave Europe. If the European Union does not develop the “full range of capabilities”, it will be forced to adopt what you term the “Blair view”, namely that the “only hope of influencing [US] behaviour is to be the loyal ally, never uttering a word of public criticism.”

I disagree for five reasons.

**1 *Transatlantic conflict is the exception, not the rule.*** Sure, Iraq is a problem. But NATO governments were unanimous in supporting actions in Kosovo, Afghanistan, and a dozen other post-Cold War crisis spots since the first Gulf War. NATO has been helpful in many of these out-of-area crises – and in the reintegration of Eastern Europe. European and US goals in the Middle East are similar. To declare NATO dead is to throw the baby out with the bath water.

**2 *European remilitarization won’t happen.*** Europeans, you concede, will not pay more for defence – let alone double their spending, as would be required to project power US-style (even regionally). More efficient use of current European spending can achieve only modest gains: a modest but well-equipped rapid reaction force perhaps, but not the sort of integrated force the United States deployed in Kosovo or Afghanistan, let alone Iraq.

**3 *The European army serves no purpose.*** An EU army would be an instrument in search of a mission. You say allying with the United States – the Blair tactic – cannot change US policy, so Europe needs an army. (I disagree, as you shall see.) Well, the Euro army won’t change US policy either. Would a Euro army have deterred US action in Iraq? Hardly. European “pre-preventive” intervention to forestall US action or allying with enemies of the United States are utterly unrealistic options. Perhaps the goal is simply to reduce reliance on the US security guarantee? If so, reduced

dependence might indeed swing a few nervous Eastern European UN votes into the Franco-German camp, but it would also give neo-conservatives carte blanche unilaterally to redeploy US forces elsewhere. Or perhaps the proposed Euro army is intended to handle the “next Kosovo”? If so, Europeans are stuck fighting the last war. The Balkans have been pacified. The next Kosovos will be – and already are – in far-flung quagmires like Chechnya, Iran, Kashmir, Algeria and Congo. Do Europeans really believe that military involvement in such places – not as peacekeepers but in a war-fighting mode, and without US technology or backup – is a cost-effective strategy?

**4** *Remilitarization would run counter to deeply-held European political values.* EU governments compiled a compelling case that the essentially military US policy response to terrorism in Iraq was inappropriate and short-sighted. European intellectuals penned trenchant criticisms of Robert Kagan’s anachronistically unidimensional concept of international power (i.e. military super-powers are strong Martians and all others are weak Venusians). European objections to Iraq are not just reasonable – which is why sober American conservatives like James Baker and Brent Scowcroft, as well as many Democrats, share them – but they appeal to an admirable European idealism about the need for more effective use by Western governments of non-military foreign policy instruments. But now, after Washington has ignored European appeals and sent in the Marines, Europeans say: “We want an army, too.” Kagan must be pleased. He seems to have converted a continent!

**5** *There is a better option.* Europe has more and better alternatives to the two you mention: remilitarization and submissive silence. The best of these is to invest in civilian and low-intensity power. Today, Europe is a “quiet super-power”, wielding influence over peace and war as great, perhaps greater, than that of the United States. Europe rather than the United States provides trade opportunities, foreign aid, peacekeepers, international monitoring, and multilateral legitimation. (For seemingly intractable domestic reasons, the United States has never been able to wield such instruments effectively.) Over the past decade, Europe has deployed these instruments to help democratise and pacify up to 25 countries on its Eastern periphery – a record US military power cannot match. Properly deployed, civilian and low-intensity military instruments could have a greater global impact as well. European political and fiscal capital would be much better spent on building such capabilities. Europe, the United States, the West, and the world as a whole would be better off if each side of the Atlantic did what it does best. Complementarity and

comparative advantage, not conflict and competition, should be the watchwords.

The Iraq war shows how vital this is. For Americans, the lesson of the past three months is that it is harder to make peace than to wage war. And in peacemaking, the United States is critically dependent on Europe for civilian and low-intensity military power. War and reconstruction tie up one third of the US military, and will cost hundreds of billions of dollars and hundreds of casualties. Even so, it may fail. Europeans, ignored and humiliated in the run-up to the war, have been understandably reluctant to deploy their resources – in striking contrast to the first Gulf War and Kosovo.

The result has been a policy reversal. If the United States expects help after the fact, it must engage multilateral institutions, exhaust alternatives to war, and work out post-war arrangements before intervening. Accordingly, the United States is acting with prudence in Iran and Syria. And it is seeking to bring the United Nations into the Iraq and North Korean crises. In this context, NATO is emerging as one of several promising multilateral forums in which to organise peacekeeping and to develop common principles governing future intervention. The question today is whether Europeans are willing and able to engage constructively in this process. To cut off this process of reconciliation by renouncing NATO and constructing an EU army, as you are suggesting, would be a tragic victory of symbolic politics over pragmatism.

Yours,  
Andy

Dear Andy,



Let us remember what the debate is about, namely the European Union and NATO and not the European Union and the United States. I am not proposing that the European Union develop an army. NATO has no army. I am not proposing the European Union as a counterweight to the United States, rather that it should have the capabilities for “robust intervention” as outlined in the recent Solana strategy paper. I am not arguing that the United States should leave Europe, but that the European Union needs to develop a greater defence capability, partly to prepare for the day when the United States goes home. I am not arguing that NATO is dead but that the Pentagon, post-Kosovo and post-9/11, has pronounced it dead as a result of the new US doctrine “the mission decides the coalition”.

You seem quite content with the status quo despite the major geopolitical changes of recent years. OK, Europe

might be allowed to be a new dishwasher to clean up after the United States, but I think this is a recipe for disaster. The European Union and the United States must be involved in common assessments of security threats and, when intervention is agreed – preferably with a UN mandate – then both should be involved at all stages of the operation. This means the United States has to do more on the peacekeeping and nation-building side and the European Union has to develop more high-end capabilities. What we need to work towards is a new transatlantic partnership based not on NATO but a revised EU-US relationship that covers security in all its dimensions. This is not for tomorrow, but it should be a serious medium-term aim.

What does NATO have that the European Union still needs to develop? First a mutual defence guarantee. I believe that this should be a fundamental part of the EU treaty. Sure, such an article is on the table in the new EU draft treaty but as open to all, not an obligation. Second, the European Union needs to develop its own command facilities. This became abundantly clear in the lead up to the Congo intervention when it was discovered that NATO had no plans for any such intervention in Africa.

Why should a greater EU defence capability lead to conflict and competition with the United States? Washington has been preaching to the European Union to do more for years. If the European Union were to take over from NATO in Bosnia and Herzegovina next year there should be satisfaction all round.

Finally, I cannot see any political support, on either side of the Atlantic, for military intervention in any of the places you mention – Iran, Chechnya, Kashmir, etc.

*Yours,*  
Fraser

Dear Fraser,



I welcome the softening in your position. Now you say NATO is important rather than, as you said initially, “dead” (or “pronounced” dead). The United States will remain active militarily in and with Europe rather than abandoning it. US (hence NATO) and EU threat assessments must be done cooperatively rather than diverging fundamentally. The European Union requires only a mutual defence pact and some command capacity rather than the “full range” of “comprehensive” capabilities. Operations should involve both the United States and Europe. And none of this will be achieved in the short term (“not for tomorrow”).

Yet even this second, more conciliatory, position – on which we largely agree – raises some important concerns.

First, we need to be realistic. Sure, it would be great if, as you say, both the European Union and the United States “should be involved at all stages of all operations”. We could all cook and clean together – and plan the menu, too – in a happy transatlantic household. But alliances, like marriages, rarely actually work in this way. Why? Because in the real world fiscal capacity, legacies of past spending, domestic institutional processes and political values impose political constraints. Kagan is right that each side has specialised, and each side feels comfortable with its choice. Partners should specialise – particularly when it costs \$100 billion to cook or to clean.

Second, I fear that Europeans will waste scarce political and fiscal capital building up a modest high-intensity military force that (you admit) Americans neither need nor want and which (I infer from your silence) has few if any plausible scenarios for autonomous use. An EU military role would make for great “feel-good” politics – everyone can compete for the job of EU “foreign minister” while mustering a multinational militia. Yet this threatens to neglect the real European comparative advantage, namely civilian power. Even modest progress on more difficult civilian tasks – like tightening ties with Turkey, developing EU flexibility on the Israel-Palestine question, establishing a multinational coercive inspection force for weapons of mass destruction, or cutting agricultural subsidies – would contribute far more to world peace and security.

Third, NATO provides a valuable instrument for structuring transatlantic cooperation – one more flexible and attractive to the United States than that of the European Union. Just four years ago, NATO played a critical role in drawing US attention to Kosovo. To the extent that the European Union took over such functions, or claimed to – even if it did not possess (and will not possess under your plan) the sort of capabilities deployed in Kosovo – it might give US policy-makers an excuse to look the other way. If we displace NATO, we will just have to reinvent it.

Fourth and finally, please drop the inflammatory and misleading metaphor of “cooking” and “cleaning”. The relationship I propose would give Europeans equal initiative and input. At the very least, Europeans could use their superior civilian power resources to take greater initiative in pre-war crisis-prevention measures – so military intervention never takes place. Deployment of a more robust UN-European coercive inspection force six months before the Iraq War,

for example, would have done far more to restrain the United States than would ten battalions of high-intensity Euro troops.

More importantly, the United States is coming to realise that it is harder to wage peace than war, and that it is deeply dependent on superior European civilian power – trade, aid, monitoring, multilateral legitimation and peacekeeping capabilities – for both pre-war crisis prevention and post-war reconstruction. And this will henceforth influence decisions about peace and war. Most Americans (perhaps even in the Bush administration) have concluded that cooks and cleaners have to plan the menu together before the fact – otherwise the dishes won't get washed. This sort of pre-conflict consultation, which both of us support, is most likely to occur if Europe focuses on its strong suit – civilian power – where the United States is truly dependent; and it is most likely to occur if military deliberation can happen through NATO – an organisation with which even US conservatives are comfortable.

Finally, from the narrow perspective of European integration, strengthening civilian power (where the European Union has an unquestioned authority) would do more to thrust the European Union into a leading role in transatlantic deliberations – something to which you have devoted your career and which I, too, would like to see.

Yours,  
Andy

Dear Andy,



I think we are arguing about different time perspectives here. I am not suggesting that the European Union should develop a full range of capabilities tomorrow but rather that it should do so in the medium term. What many, particularly American, observers fail to grasp is the fundamental political ambitions of the integration process. Most Americans wrote off the single market, dismissed the Euro and now scorn the European Union's nascent military ambitions. The European Union needs to develop these capabilities for various reasons: to play a role on the world stage commensurate with its economic power; to take care of its own interests when the United States (or NATO) does not wish to be involved; and to achieve savings in the long run. It is not true that the United States opposes these moves – on the contrary it has positively welcomed them at all recent summits.

Developing greater military capabilities would not be at the expense of civilian expertise where I agree that

the European Union has a clear lead. Indeed, I argue that the United States should also do more on the civilian front because therein lies the key to resolving many disputes in the longer term. But the European Union should be able to prevent atrocities such as the shelling of Dubrovnik, be prepared to head off incipient genocide in African states and be equipped to back up its diplomacy vis-à-vis the likes of Slobodan Milosevic with a more credible military capability. A robust EU military force could also play a vital role in overseeing a Middle East peace settlement.

It is a fallacy to believe that under your reformed status quo there would be "equal initiative and input". Equality, in the eyes of most Americans and certainly those in power now, only comes from having a greater military input. The status quo you seem to support would mean that the European Union would be permanently beholden to the United States. Given the rapidly growing and unprecedented public disapproval of US foreign policy, such a policy would be unacceptable to the vast majority of Europeans.

Sure NATO is a more attractive proposition for the United States as it has always called the shots. But times change and we do need a transformed Atlantic Alliance; one in which the European Union and the United States both bring a greater equality of military and civilian resources to the table. That is the best possible foundation for a genuine partnership.

Yours,  
Fraser

Dear Fraser,



Throughout this exchange I have sought to inject a dose of realism – a pragmatic awareness of fiscal and political limits. Will the European Union really commit the manpower, money, and technology for Kosovo-style capabilities? Are there realistic scenarios for deploying them or, with the Balkans pacified, is the European Union fighting the last war? Might NATO be a more efficient institutional conduit for joint action than EU-US relations? Will the United States really (as you imply again in your last response) respect Europeans just because they posture with an army. Or would European remilitarization instead breed US apathy (if Europeans succeed) or contempt (if Europeans fail) – or even the self-fulfilling prophecy of a US troop withdrawal? Wouldn't further developing the European Union's comparative advantage in "civilian power" (something that the US actually needs) lead to greater European influence? And so on.

You have not addressed a single one of these pragmatic concerns. It troubles me that you seem so quick to privilege symbolism over substance. At best, policy analysis without fiscal or political constraints is idealistic. At worst, it encourages parochial efforts to promote rhetorical goals for short-term political gain.

And what might be these symbolic goals? Your last letter suggests that the primary motivation of Europeans – and the real source of their differences with Americans – is to realise what you term “fundamental political ambitions of the integration process”. In other words, the construction of a European force – regardless of whether it is practical and cost-effective – is a worthy end in itself because it promotes European integration. This aspiration is not uncommon among current and former EU officials, such as yourself.

I do not doubt that the European Union can achieve something that it can call an army, just as I never doubted – despite your effort to label Americans as Euro-sceptics – that it could achieve the single market or monetary union. However, I do doubt whether militarising the European Union would be sound policy – good for Europe, good for the West and, above all, good for citizens of countries like Iraq. I question this just as most objective observers today now question whether the European Union’s “successful” but rigidly centralised monetary system is making good macro-economic policy for Europe.

This is the central issue between us. I believe that the transatlantic relationship will thrive only if pragmatic efforts to realise concrete ends triumph over ideological prejudices about procedural means – knee-jerk unilateralism on the part of some Americans, knee-jerk multilateralism on the part of some Europeans. I am confident that the United States is becoming more pragmatic. Policy-makers with big investments at stake are fast learners. The open-ended expenditure of hundreds of lives and hundreds of billions of dollars are teaching even the most rabid neo-conservatives some humility. The resulting shift in rhetorical tone and public opinion in the United States over the past three months is astounding.

The critical question is not, therefore, whether the United States will learn anything from Iraq. It is whether Europeans – with little invested in terms of money and lives, no sense of an imminent security threat, and public opinion more concerned with process than outcomes in world affairs – will learn anything. One lesson they should learn is that symbolic politics – like a “feel-good” force for Europe – is not the best way to address the serious global challenges of the 21st century.

*Yours, Andy* ■

## Revolutionary writing

*Petr Lunak reviews and compares the memoirs of Strobe Talbott, Boris Yeltsin and Yevgeniy Primakov.*

Among Strobe Talbott's many qualities is an uncanny ability to be in the right place at the right time. In the late 1960s, as a promising young Russian/Soviet expert, he was awarded a scholarship to Oxford University to write a thesis on the poet Vladimir Mayakovskiy and found himself sharing a house with a young Bill Clinton, there as a Rhodes Scholar.

While at Oxford, Talbott was also commissioned to translate and prepare for publication the memoirs of deposed Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev, who was by then living as a "special pensioner" near Moscow. And while working on the memoirs, he spent countless hours discussing Soviet affairs with Clinton, who was already demonstrating a passion for politics. In 1992, after almost a quarter of a century as a journalist and writer – during which he co-authored *At the Highest Levels* on Soviet-US relations at the end of the Cold War, among other books – Talbott was offered the position of ambassador-at-large for the newly independent states of the former Soviet Union when his former housemate was elected president. In Clinton's second term, Talbott became Deputy Secretary of State. In both roles, he was charged with formulating US policy towards Russia.

Talbott's memoir, *The Russia Hand: A Memoir of Presidential Diplomacy* (Random House, 2002), offers fascinating insights into the Clinton administration's decision-making vis-à-vis Russia. From the outset, Talbott insists that Clinton alone was in charge of formulating the strategic direction of this policy. So much so that it almost seems as if, in his own gentlemanly way, Talbott – who often drew heavy

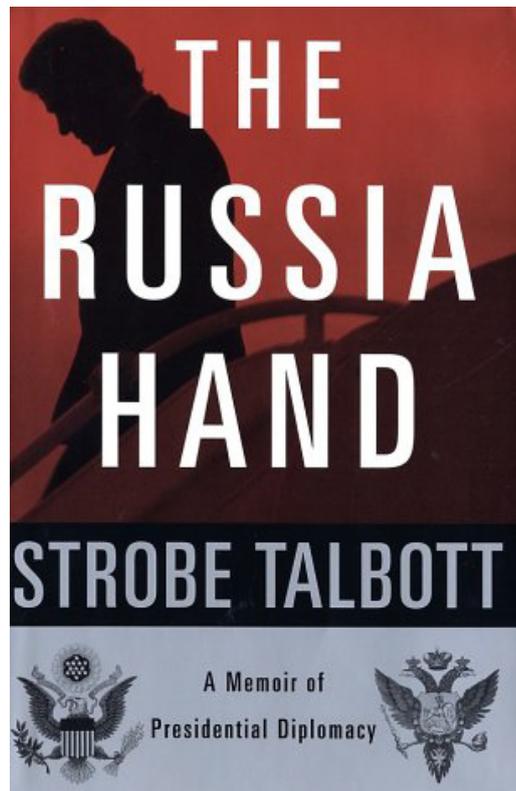
criticism as the personification of the administration's "Russia-first" policy – is downplaying the importance of his role in key decisions and events.

On the other end of Washington's relationship with Moscow was Boris Yeltsin, whose career embodies the turmoil that Russia experienced throughout the 20th century. Yeltsin had been a communist *apparatchik* who, as party boss in Sverdlovsk (now known again by its pre-revolutionary name, Yekaterinburg), had overseen the destruction of the house in which the last Tsar and his family were executed in 1918 in the wake

of the Bolshevik revolution. Yeltsin subsequently became first an enthusiastic advocate of Mikhail Gorbachev's *perestroika* and then one of Gorbachev's harshest critics as the last Soviet president started to back-pedal on reform. After the aborted putsch of August 1991, Yeltsin effectively dealt a deathblow to the by then moribund Soviet Union, and became a self-styled democrat relying on an instinctive, rather than a reflective, understanding of what democracy truly meant. This personal journey as well as his and Clinton's conviction that post-communist Russia needed to forge cooperative relations with the West, provided the background to the eight years that he and Clinton shared as presidents of their respective countries. That intense

period is neatly encapsulated in Yeltsin's memoir, *Midnight Diaries* (PublicAffairs, 2002), ghostwritten by his former Chief of Staff Valentin Yumashev.

Rightly or wrongly, Yeltsin was seen by Clinton – and by himself – as the only politician capable of maintaining Russia on a course towards both democracy and closer and deeper relations with the West. Clinton was convinced that Yeltsin's term in office offered a window of opportunity that had to be seized. In many ways, however, Yeltsin's Russia was less of a window



*Petr Lunak is senior programme coordinator in the Outreach Section of NATO's Public Diplomacy Division with special responsibility for Russia and Ukraine.*

of opportunity and more of a mirror reflecting what Washington wanted to see. Yeltsin was, for example, surrounded by a strange entourage, which included dubious characters of the likes of Boris Berezovsky or General Aleksandr Korzhakov – both of whom were originally appointed by Yeltsin. Having grown rich on the back of Russia’s privatisations, these and other individuals used their personal relationship with Yeltsin to exert great influence over the country’s political evolution. It seems that the question of the extent to which Yeltsin was personally responsible for this state of affairs and whether such an environment was conducive to assisting Russia’s democratic transition never really impacted Clinton’s thinking.

While the United States could not apply its own standards to a country making its first steps towards a pluralist society, the Clinton administration chose to gloss over matters in Russia that would probably not have been treated so leniently in any other emerging democracy. Two notorious examples stand out. First, in 1993, Clinton – apparently against Talbott’s recommendations – gave unqualified support to Yeltsin when the latter used force to dissolve the country’s anti-democratic parliament seemingly without considering the extent to which democracy can be promoted by such methods. Similarly, at the beginning of the first Chechen war, Clinton, on the basis of incomplete information, effectively sanctioned Yeltsin’s ill-advised and ill-designed campaign, by comparing it to Abraham Lincoln’s conduct in the American Civil War.

As Talbott shows all too well, US policy on Russia was a permanent crisis-management operation provoked not only by external events in both Russia and the United States, but also by Yeltsin’s all-too-frequent indispositions. Nonetheless, this crisis-management operation was, on the whole, successful, and Talbott rightly points to many victories. These included preventing Russia from selling rocket components to India, a step that would probably have upset the delicate strategic balance between India and Pakistan. It also included an agreement on the

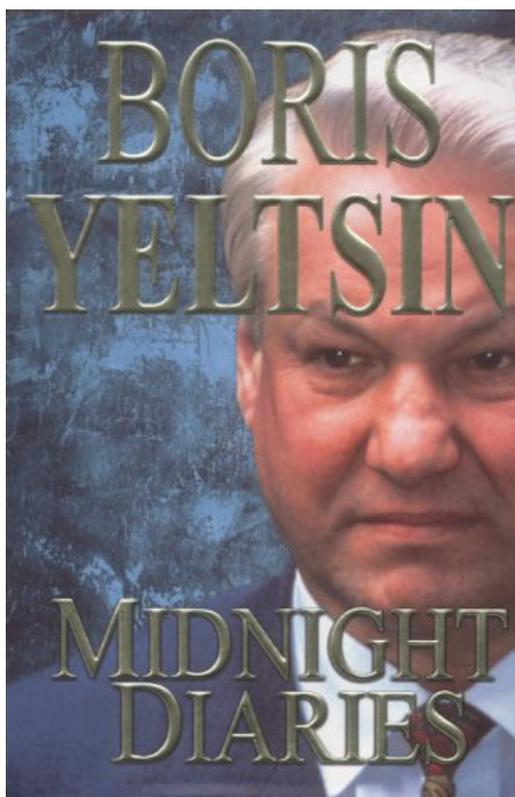
removal of Soviet-era nuclear missiles from Ukraine in exchange for Russian guarantees of Ukraine’s security and persuading Russia to honour previous commitments on troop withdrawals from the Baltic states, thereby preparing the ground for their inclusion into the Alliance. Moreover, the United States managed to institutionalise NATO-Russia relations on the eve of the first wave of NATO enlargement, and secured Russian involvement to help bring the Kosovo conflict to an end, as well as the deployment of Russian peacekeepers there.

Russian willingness to engage in a constructive dialogue was a prerequisite for the resolution of these issues and Yeltsin was clearly central to maintaining this dialogue. Moreover, Russia remained as constructive even after Yeltsin decided in January 1996 to replace Andrey Kozyrev, a committed westerniser, at the Foreign Ministry with Yevgeniy Primakov, whose career had been spent in the intelligence services.

Although Yeltsin describes the latter as having “too much red on his palette”, Primakov proved in most cases to be a great pragmatist both as foreign minister until September 1998 and then as prime minister until May 1999. Indeed, despite frequent diplomatic lapses – including calling then NATO Secretary General Javier Solana a “stool pigeon of the United States” – Primakov was generally as ready to accept compromise as his predecessor. In this way, the demise of Kozyrev did not reflect a shift in Yeltsin’s worldview but was a political reshuffle aimed at placating his foreign-policy critics. As Talbott implicitly argues, in the end, it was often easier to deal with Primakov, who was able to deliver, than with

Kozyrev, whose room for manoeuvre was limited and whose positions were frequently undermined.

In his memoir *Vospominanyja: Gody v bol’shoi politike or Recollections: Years in Great Politics*, (Sovershenno Sekretno, 1999), Primakov devotes much space to the issue of NATO enlargement and Moscow’s efforts to mitigate its alleged negative impact. He likens this policy to “sleeping with a porcupine”, a phrase he attributes



to Warren Christopher, but which Talbott believes was initially coined by Primakov. By his own account, Primakov had already concluded in early 1996 that the best possible Russian policy was “to continue to express opposition to enlargement but, simultaneously, conduct talks in order to minimise its negative consequences”.

Despite this, Primakov embarked on a policy that was probably just as unrealistic as that of trying to stall NATO’s enlargement. Russia sought nothing less than a legally binding treaty stipulating co-decision-making between NATO and Russia on all matters of European security, including the use of force, and prohibition of the stationing of nuclear weaponry on the territory of new members. While this was unacceptable to the NATO nations since it would limit their freedom of action and relegate new member countries to a second-class status, the Alliance was willing to meet Moscow halfway. NATO unilaterally declared that there was “no reason, no need and no plan” to deploy nuclear weapons and multilateral combat forces on the territory of the new members. Moreover, in 1997 the NATO-Russia Founding Act, spelling out the agenda for cooperation, was agreed and a new consultative body called the Permanent Joint Council (PJC) established.

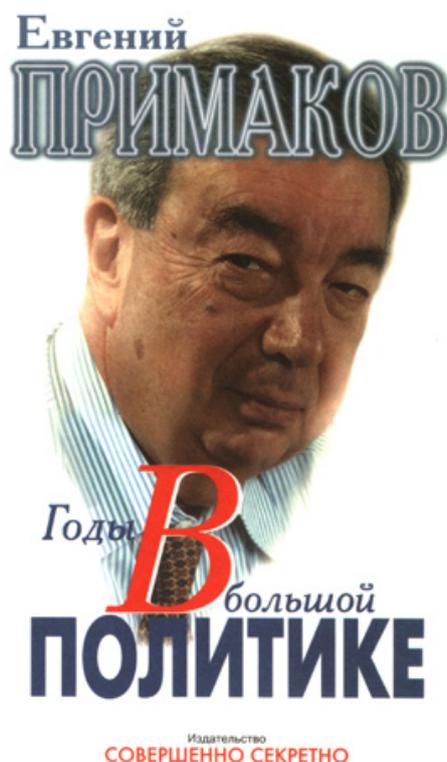
From his memoirs, it seems that Primakov was never particularly enamoured by these arrangements and that, from the Russian point of view, the Founding Act and the PJC were only meant to be an instrument to “keep the porcupine’s quills from making Russia too miserable” and not an instrument to develop NATO-Russia relations. In fact, Primakov writes, the only positive consequence of the PJC’s existence was that NATO fears of a possible Russian walk-out kept the Alliance from escalating its combat effort in Kosovo by launching a ground offensive.

Nevertheless, Russia chose unilaterally to suspend participation in the PJC in the first days of NATO’s air campaign. The Russian Ambassador to the PJC was recalled and Moscow ratcheted up its anti-NATO rhetoric. Primakov himself learned that NATO had launched its air campaign while travelling to

Washington to meet with then Vice President Al Gore and – in all probability with Yeltsin’s approval – ordered his plane back in mid-air. Indeed, it was not until Yeltsin’s emissary – and Primakov’s rival – Viktor Chernomyrdin became involved in the shuttle diplomacy with Belgrade that Russia had real impact on the course of events. NATO’s controversial public decision to take the option of ground troops off the table was based more on the need to maintain solidarity within the Alliance than on any consideration of Russian sensitivities.

Talbott effectively demonstrates how “government-to-government relations often succeeded or failed on the basis of personal relationships”. Quite possibly. But the strength of these relationships should not be overestimated. Indeed, Yeltsin’s memoirs suggest that the Russian President shared a greater sense of closeness with statesmen of his own generation, namely with then German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and French President Jacques Chirac, than with Clinton. Indeed, in one amusing anecdote, he recounts how President Chirac’s daughter Claude advised his daughter Tatyana on how to help her father remain in control of things.

Similarly, on the issue of Kosovo, which Yeltsin characterises as of “global importance”, frequent contacts with Clinton did not prevent him concluding that the NATO intervention was motivated not by Western efforts to prevent a repetition of the Bosnian tragedy, but by US efforts to assert primacy over an increasingly independent Europe. Moreover, Yeltsin seems to have played a rather more significant role than Talbott suggests in precipitating a Russian advance on 11 June 1999 from Bosnia and Herzegovina, across Serbia, to Kosovo’s Pristina Airport before NATO troops moved into the province. In Talbott’s account of this event, he was flying between Moscow and Brussels when he learned of the Russian advance and ordered his plane back to Moscow to seek clarification from Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov and Defence Minister Marshall Igor Sergejev. Back in Moscow, he was then witness to an absurd comedy in which the two men claimed (in all probability



honestly) to be unaware of their army's dash to Pristina, even though CNN was simultaneously broadcasting images of the deployment. Interestingly, Talbott attributes this incident to a "virtual mutiny" of a group of Russian generals, led by Generals Leonid Ivashov and Anatoliy Kvashnin, whose yelling could be heard in the background during the 11 June meeting. In his memoirs, by contrast, Yeltsin claims full responsibility for the move, a decision he apparently made on 4 June, writing: "I hesitated for a long while. It seemed too dangerous to send our men in early. Furthermore, why were we demonstrating military boldness and waving our fists after the fight was over? Still, I decided that Russia must make a crowning gesture, even if it had no military significance... I gave the order: GO."

Although Yeltsin might have been covering up his inability to keep recalcitrant generals in check, it is also possible that, in one of his more impulsive moments, he did approve the move without consulting the key members of the government. Indeed, the fact that Yeltsin went on to reward both generals at a time when personal loyalty was critical to career progression, seems to suggest that hard-line conservatives in the military had succeeded in winning him over rather than that they were conspiring against him.

It is not often that so many books covering a particular period of history and written by the participants appear so soon after the events they describe. This makes reading the three in parallel so fascinating. All three memoirs seek to illustrate the importance of good personal relationships to resolving problems, yet they also reveal the limits of such relationships. Clearly personal diplomacy has its merits and we should all be grateful for the rapport that both contemporary and recent leaders in both Russia and the West appear to have built up with each other. At the same time, however, in what are often extremely complex situations, decision-making based on what leaders see in each other's eyes cannot be a substitute for policies based on expert analysis and objective assessments of the available options. ■

# General Totskiy: Russian Ambassador to NATO

*General Konstantin Vasiliyevich Totskiy is the first Russian ambassador to be accredited exclusively to NATO. A 53-year-old professional soldier born in Uzbekistan, General Totskiy had previously spent his entire career in the Border Service, originally of the Soviet Union and later of Russia, becoming director of the Russian Federal Border Service in 1998. He has experience in all Russia's border regions from the Far East to the Northwest, including the Caucasus and Afghanistan. General Totskiy has also been a member of the Russian Security Council since November 1998.*

**Nato Review:** How, if at all, has your perception of NATO changed since you became the first Russian ambassador to be accredited exclusively to the Alliance?

**General Totskiy:** Before I was appointed to this post, I had never had direct dealings with NATO. That said, the Alliance was a factor that we had to take into account in the Russian Border Service, where I served. Indeed, at one time, the Alliance was the source of a few problems. But times have changed and with them our attitude to NATO. I should point out that the changes that have taken place are part of a two-way process, and we should hope and trust that this process will continue to evolve to our mutual benefit. Before I left for Brussels, Russian President Vladimir Putin asked to see me. On that occasion, he set me a number of tasks in recognition of the fact that NATO is now a serious and important organisation with a visible role to play in international affairs, with which Russia needs to have effective working relations. These instructions were in keeping with my own vision of the Alliance and have helped me prepare for the responsibilities facing me as head of the Russian Mission to the Alliance.



(© NATO)

cooperation within the international coalition against terrorism has clearly shown how effectively Russia can combine forces with Alliance member states in the face of a common threat.

There are, nevertheless, aspects of our relations with the Alliance that cause us concern, including, first and foremost, NATO's eastward expansion. Here, we believe that Russia's legitimate security interests must be taken into account. We realise that the seven states invited to join NATO will not increase the Alliance's

overall military capabilities by much. But in terms of infrastructure and geography, the potential for NATO deployments is increasing. Moreover, NATO membership for the Baltic countries, which border Russia, brings with it a host of unresolved issues that directly affect our interests. At present, for example, there are no force-deployment limitations in the Baltic Republics under the Treaty on Conventional Forces in Europe. In effect, this means that this territory could become an "arms control-free zone". I think that the way Russians view NATO will largely depend on how this issue is resolved.

**NR:** To what extent do Russians today still view NATO in terms of Cold War stereotypes and how might such views be overcome?

**GT:** I don't think we should still be talking of Cold War stereotypes and the need to overcome them. The days of confrontation are past and Russians no longer associate NATO with the enemy. Quite the reverse. In recent years, people have come to understand that the common threats and challenges of the modern world call for ever-closer cooperation. Moreover, our

**NR:** How large is Russia's mission to NATO and how is it structured?

**GT:** There are currently 13 diplomats working at the Russian Mission to NATO, and 10 specialists in the military section. Another four or five diplomats will join us by the end of the year and staffing levels may be increased as the workload grows. At present, we have certain problems concerning the organisation of the Mission's work, but they are of a practical nature and I am sure that they will be resolved in the near future.

**NR:** What do you hope to achieve as Russia's ambassador to NATO?

**GT:** First and foremost, I see my task as ensuring that projects launched in the first year of the NATO-Russia Council (NRC) are successfully implemented. To this end, we have already prepared the necessary groundwork and organisational and financial issues are being worked out. The "twenty" are in the mood to get down to work and this makes me sure that we shall succeed. I would rather not make predictions about the longer-term future. But I hope that, given the positive way our relations with the Alliance are evolving, we will be able to meet the task set by our respective leaders at the Rome Summit, namely to make the NRC an effective means of responding to common security challenges. I believe that one of the main tasks is to raise confidence on both sides to such a level that the rapprochement and cooperation process will become irreversible.

**NR:** In what areas do you see the greatest prospects for effective cooperation between NATO and Russia?

**GT:** The main areas of NATO-Russia cooperation are well known and were set out by our leaders in Rome. Every one is a priority for us and solid achievements have already been made in all of them. We have created a good basis for responding jointly to crises; dialogue on weapons of mass destruction (WMD) is progressing; and cooperation in civil-emergency planning is expanding. A number of specific military projects are also underway, in particular in the areas of search and rescue at sea, military reform and air traffic control. And theatre missile defence is proving a promising area for cooperation. We are convinced that by further enhancing NATO-Russia cooperation across the entire range of areas set out in the Rome Declaration – precisely what the "twenty" desire — we will be able to make a major contribution to the evolution of a new security architecture in the Euro-Atlantic area. Moreover, I am sure that the NRC will be one of the leading elements of such an architecture.

**NR:** The threat posed by WMD proliferation and international terrorism has contributed to the NATO-Russia *rapprochement* of recent years. How can NATO and Russia work together to meet these challenges?

**GT:** The realisation that terrorism and WMD proliferation are a threat to everyone, and that we have to fight these threats together, has certainly helped to bring NATO and Russia together. It is no accident that these matters appear as specific topics in both the Rome Declaration and the NRC work plans. The NRC is now working on joint assessments of various types of terrorist threat, and there is an ongoing exchange

of experience on, *inter alia*, the role of the military in combating terrorism. This is serious work with real returns and we intend to keep it up. Overall, our task is to take anti-terrorist cooperation to the level of a strategic partnership throughout the Euro-Atlantic area.

As far as WMD proliferation is concerned, we are continuing to implement the 2003 NRC Work Plan. In this way, we are drawing up a document reflecting our common view of global trends in the proliferation of WMD and their means of delivery and the reasons behind the development and acquisition of WMD technology and materials. That said, the NRC is not the only forum dealing with the threat posed by terrorism and WMD proliferation in which NATO and Russia participate. There are a number of other institutions and regimes tackling these issues. I, nevertheless, believe that the NRC can play an increasingly important role in this area since it is seeking to standardise practical approaches and the effectiveness of international efforts will depend directly on how well this works. This is the scope of our joint work at this stage. In future, these jointly developed approaches should enable us to get down to joint action. Time will tell what form this will take.

**NR:** Where are the priorities for defence reform in Russia and can you see a role for NATO in the process?

**GT:** The priorities for the current phase of defence reform were clearly defined in President Putin's annual address to the Federal Assembly on 16 May 2003. They mainly consist of "major re-armament, improving the recruitment system, and improving the very structure of the Armed Forces". Priorities also include improving the social security system for military personnel, as well as their social status and the prestige attached to military service. For a country like Russia, given the size of its territory, military reform is an extremely complex and multifaceted business, particularly at a time of socio-economic transition.

Anyone who thinks that the military organisation of the state can be reformed simply by reducing personnel numbers, or leaving the job entirely to the military, is making a big mistake. In practice, since the mid-1990s, a raft of economic, socio-political and military measures has been introduced in respect of military development with the aim of radically transforming the country's military organisation.

Given the importance and urgency of this issue, the NRC has placed it among the highest priorities of NATO-Russia cooperation. There are, however, no universal solutions to the problem of rationalising the structure of a military organisation and ensuring that

armed forces have a solid material and technical base, when resources are limited. Although every country is unique and the experience of other countries should not be copied in an area as sensitive as military security, we are prepared both to study carefully the approaches of other NRC members and to share our own experience of different aspects of military development.

We think that the NRC Ad Hoc Working Group on Defence Reform, which was set up at the end of 2002, is doing a good job of coordinating cooperation in this area. This year's cooperation programme is being implemented strictly according to schedule. The expert working groups on manning in the armed forces and on macroeconomic and social aspects of military reform were highly praised by those who took part. And two Russian military researchers began working at the NATO Defense College in Rome in September.

That said, when we come to draw up our plans for next year, I think we should lay special emphasis on practical cooperation. Seminars, conferences and exchange visits are well and good, but will only deliver results in the future. For this reason, we attach special significance to projects like retraining discharged military personnel to equip them with civilian skills and destroying surplus stockpiles of Russian anti-personnel mines. I believe it is on the basis of these projects, as well as new projects of a "hands-on" nature, that NATO's role in developing cooperation on military reform will be judged.

**NR:** Russia was the largest non-NATO contributor to the Alliance's Balkan peacekeeping operations until it withdrew forces this summer. What lessons has Russia drawn from the experience of working together with NATO forces in the Balkans and when will Russian soldiers serve alongside their Alliance peers again?

**GT:** At present, Russian experts are working with their NATO peers to prepare a joint assessment of the experience of peacekeeping operations in both Bosnia and Herzegovina and in the southern Serbian province of Kosovo. I think that this exercise will result in a substantial document reflecting our experience to date, and, most importantly, containing recommendations on how NATO-Russia peacekeeping cooperation can be made more efficient and effective in the future. I don't wish to pre-empt the findings of the experts' assessment. However, I can already say that when our peacekeepers have clear tasking and are working under a UN Security Council mandate, they are perfectly capable of operating effectively together in

the most difficult conditions. Russian soldiers and commanders, who worked shoulder to shoulder with their NATO colleagues, have fond memories of the spirit of camaraderie and cooperation, which frequently provided a source of support during the difficult days of the Balkan operations.

As for possible future joint operations, there are no specific plans as yet. That said, we are already preparing the groundwork for future cooperation in peacekeeping on the basis of equal partners. At the political-legal level, the NRC Working Group on Peacekeeping has prepared a joint document entitled *Political aspects of the generic concept of NATO-Russia joint peacekeeping operations* which is now to be tested in so-called "procedural exercises". At the military level, a programme for improving interoperability between NATO and Russian peacekeeping units has been approved and is being implemented. In the event of a political decision to launch a joint operation — which, in Russia's case, would have to be taken by the Federation Council of the Federal Assembly — I am sure that our peacekeepers would be ready to carry out their tasks with distinction.

**NR:** NATO has taken responsibility for peacekeeping in and around Kabul in Afghanistan and has helped Poland put together a force to provide security in part of Iraq. Does Russia see a future role for itself in either of these missions and would Russia in principle be prepared to participate in other NATO-led operations beyond the Euro-Atlantic area?

**GT:** Problems such as Afghanistan and Iraq require the input of the entire international community. Various international mechanisms and institutions are involved here, including NATO. We take the view that the United Nations should play the lead role in these affairs, and that, under such circumstances, Russia, as a permanent Security Council member, would not remain on the sidelines. Concerning the issue of whether Russia is prepared in principle to conduct joint operations with NATO, even outside the Alliance's traditional area of responsibility, we cannot rule out this possibility. Our primary concern here would be to coordinate political approaches to a particular situation requiring joint action and to ensure that such action has a proper, international legal basis.

**NR:** NATO has enlarged to bring in both former members of the Warsaw Pact and former Soviet republics and is forging ever-deeper relations with former Soviet republics in both the Caucasus and Central Asia. How does Russia look on these

developments and the desire of more former Soviet republics to become Alliance members?

**GT:** We do not consider NATO's further enlargement to be a cause for celebration. As things stand, we could be facing new military bases, military units and other infrastructure of a powerful military alliance appearing on our borders. In my opinion, this approach to security is an echo of the past, a relic of the Cold War. That said, every sovereign state is entitled to decide for itself how it wishes to ensure its own security, including by joining various international alliances and organisations. Nevertheless, we cannot welcome this turn of events. We favour more universal security mechanisms for the Euro-Atlantic area — such as the United Nations and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

**NR:** What are the chances that one day Russia will become a member of NATO?

**GT:** This question has been answered a number of times. President Putin has said that Russia has no aspirations to join NATO. I do not think that the issue of membership is especially relevant. What is more important is the way in which relations between nations, or alliances of nations, are built, and on what basis; the aims they pursue in their cooperation; and the benefit this cooperation brings to others. We believe that NATO-Russia relations form a natural part of Europe's evolving security architecture and that the NRC is becoming a pillar of international relations. NATO and Russia have taken on a serious commitment for the future of Europe. And as far as this Mission is concerned, it makes no difference whether we join the Alliance or cooperate on a different basis. ■

## A radically new Command Structure for NATO

*Air Vice-Marshal Andrew Vallance explains how NATO's Command Structure has been revamped to meet the security demands of the 21st century.*

At last year's Prague Summit, Alliance leaders committed themselves to transforming the Alliance. As part of this they directed that NATO's military command arrangements should be streamlined to provide "a leaner, more efficient, effective and deployable command structure with a view to meeting the operational requirements for the full range of Alliance missions". Seven months later – following intensive work by the Military Committee, the Senior Officials' Group from the nations and the Strategic Commands – the revised command arrangements were agreed by Alliance defence ministers. The resulting new NATO Command Structure marks what is perhaps the most important development in the Alliance's military organisation since NATO's creation more than 50 years ago.

The existence of a comprehensive military command and control structure continues to distinguish NATO from all other multinational military organisations. Fully operational in peacetime, the NATO Command Structure permits the Alliance to undertake the complete spectrum of military activities, from small-scale peacekeeping tasks to large-scale high-intensity operations. Of equal importance, it provides the essential foundations that underpin such activities. These include not only developing the combined (multinational) and joint (multi-service) doctrines, procedures and plans for the conduct of operations, but also the key enabling elements which ensure that forces from Alliance and Partner nations can operate together in a truly integrated fashion. In short, the NATO Command Structure provides the means for

melding an otherwise disparate collection of people and equipment drawn from many different nations, into a cohesive, integrated and effective military instrument capable of undertaking any mission, no matter how demanding.

The new NATO Command Structure is replacing a command structure that was itself considered a major step forward when introduced in 1999. Based on early post-Cold War experiences, the 1999 NATO Command Structure was designed to cope with the expanding range of Alliance missions, including in particular peacekeeping; to promote the development of the Combined Joint Task Force (CJTF) concept; to foster links with strategic partners and to help facilitate the

development of the European Security and Defence Identity. Based like all of its predecessors primarily on a geographic division of responsibilities, it divided the Alliance's area of responsibility into two Strategic Commands with broadly comparable tasks: Allied Command Europe (ACE) and Allied Command Atlantic (ACLANT). Subordinate to the Strategic Commands were seven second level-of-command headquarters. Allied Command Europe also possessed a third level of command with a total of eleven headquarters, each with geographic affiliations. And it was divided into two regions: AFNORTH and AFSOUTH, each of which contained a subordinate Air Component Command and Naval Component Command, plus a number of Joint Sub-Regional Commands (three in the Northern Region and four in the Southern Region). Allied Command Atlantic was divided into three regions: EASTLANT, WESTLANT and SOUTHLANT, and had two Combatant Commands STRIKFLTANT and SUBACLANT. The 1999 NATO Command Structure consisted of 20 headquarters, which was, nevertheless, a marked reduction from the previous total of 65 and an important advance.



*ACT inauguration: Allied Command Transformation has the lead in transforming the Alliance militarily (© NATO)*

*Air Vice-Marshal Andrew Vallance is executive assistant for Command Structure Implementation to the Chief of Staff, SHAPE.*

However, it soon became apparent that further major organisational development was needed. The Alliance's growing territorial security reduced static defence needs, while NATO's increasingly proactive approach to crisis management demanded enhanced deployability, flexibility, responsiveness and robustness (that is the extent to which a headquarters is able to undertake operations from within its own peacetime resources). Inter-related with this was the recognition that NATO had areas of interest beyond its traditional area of responsibility. Force-structure developments (particularly the creation of land force and maritime high-readiness headquarters), the evolving relationship with the European Union and the need to close the capability gap between the United States and its Allies added further reasons for change. At the same time, growing budgetary and manpower pressures increased the need to improve efficiency through institutional reform. All this was dramatically reinforced by the paradigm shift in the strategic outlook in the wake of 9/11, NATO's subsequent participation in the US-led "war on terror" and its growing concern with the threat posed by the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. It was the cumulative impact of such factors that led to the watershed Prague Summit. The elaboration of the Prague framework into the new NATO Command Structure marked an almost total departure from previous organisational approaches and set NATO development on a far more ambitious trajectory than at any stage in its history.

### Functionality rather than geography

At the heart of this organisational metamorphosis has been the concept of using functionality rather than geography as the basic rationale for Alliance command arrangements. Geographic approaches to organisation in any context carry with them the danger of fragmentation as each organisational entity seeks to develop "stand-alone" capabilities. This leads to widespread functional duplication and wasted resources. Moreover, parallel staffs tend to develop parallel positions on a variety of issues, and reconciling such positions can often absorb time and effort without adding much value. In contrast, functionality-based approaches to organisation help to promote integration, harmonisation and cohesion. They eliminate the risk of unnecessary duplication and replication within the organisation, streamline workflows and focus and expedite staff action. This in turn permits a greater workload to be managed by a smaller workforce. During the Cold War, when conditions were static and communications limited, a functionality-based approach to NATO command arrangements was impractical. However, in today's far more dynamic, fluid and resource-conscious strategic environment, in which secure, real-time, global, mass data transfer is readily available, such an approach is essential.

By using a functionality-based approach to elaborate the Prague framework, NATO has produced a fundamental realignment, rationalisation and re-distribution of its military tasks in light of the new security environment. Like the 1999 NATO Command Structure, the 2003 NATO Command Structure is framed around two Strategic Commands. That, however, is largely where the similarity ends. All NATO's operational functionality is concentrated into just one Strategic Command – Allied Command Operations or ACO – now responsible for all of the NATO area of responsibility. But in a fast-moving world it is never enough to concentrate solely on the "here and now"; it is essential to look to the future. That is the role of Allied Command Transformation or ACT, which has the lead for military efforts towards transforming the Alliance. In practice, the division of functionality is not as clear-cut as this simple generalisation suggests. Indeed, the capabilities of both Strategic Commands are integrated and intrinsically inter-dependent. Leadership responsibilities are shared between the Strategic Commands, but for almost every issue or task, one Strategic Command is in the lead, while the other acts in support. A special task force was given the job of elaborating this groundbreaking functional realignment into organisational terms. Adapting for military usage advanced business process review techniques taken from best industrial and commercial practice, the task force produced in six months the internal structures and personnel requirements for virtually all the new NATO Command Structure entities. The outcome will be a far more rational distribution of tasks between and within the Strategic Commands, a truly integrated Bi-Strategic Command organisation and a major reduction in staff, particularly in the higher ranks.

At first glance, Allied Command Operations resembles its principal predecessor, Allied Command Europe. It continues to have three levels of command; to be headquartered at Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers, Europe (SHAPE) in Mons, Belgium; and to be commanded by the Supreme Allied Commander, Europe (SACEUR). That said, the reference to Europe in both SHAPE and SACEUR is now taken to imply in Europe, rather than for, Europe, reflecting the much wider geographic responsibilities. Moreover, the radical realignment of functionalities between the levels of command makes Allied Command Operations very different from Allied Command Europe.

Under the new arrangements SHAPE's overriding focus is to provide strategic advice "upwards" to NATO Headquarters, and strategic direction "downwards" to the ACO second level-of-command headquarters. This in itself marks an important step forward, removing an ambiguity originally created in 1995 when the IFOR operation in Bosnia and Herzegovina was controlled

directly from Mons. SHAPE will now direct the three new “operational” headquarters at the second level of command that will be responsible for controlling all future Alliance operations. These are the two Joint Force Commands headquartered at Brunssum, The Netherlands, and in Naples, Italy, respectively and the Joint Headquarters based in Lisbon, Portugal. Each Joint Force Command must be capable of undertaking the complete spectrum of Alliance operations, including the provision of a land-based CJTF headquarters. In contrast, the Joint Headquarters, a more limited but still robust headquarters, will be focused on commanding CJTFs from a maritime platform. The functionality principle has also been extended to the six ACO “Component Command” headquarters at the third level of command, two each for air, land and maritime forces, in Izmir, Turkey, Ramstein, Germany, Madrid, Spain, Heidelberg, Germany, Naples, Italy, and Northwood, United Kingdom respectively. These Component Command headquarters provide a flexible pool of command assets expert in their respective environments, and any one of them could be employed under any second level-of-command headquarters.

Functional rationalisation within Allied Command Operations will extend far beyond the major organisational blocks and, indeed, will be intrinsic throughout the organisation. All ACO headquarters will transition to the same, so-called “J-code” division of staff responsibilities and organisational structure to ensure mutual compatibility and streamlined workflows between the levels of command, and each will draw upon the expertise of the others. This will have the greatest impact at SHAPE, which at present is not organised along “J-code” lines. Functionality is being driven down to the lowest practical level of command, leading to a major reduction in the SHAPE staff and a major growth in the “robustness” of the operational headquarters.

### Transformation

Perhaps the greatest single operational initiative being taken is the creation of the NATO Response Force (NRF). Up to brigade size in terms of its land force element, and with complementary-sized air and naval components, the NRF is being established to give the Alliance an unprecedented crisis response capability. Commanded by a Deployable Joint Task Force Headquarters, the NRF will permit NATO to make a rapid military response and thus perhaps defuse

a developing crisis during its early stages. Failing that, an NRF once deployed could be “grown” into a much larger and more sustained CJTF if the situation demanded. Moreover, by setting stringent deployability and responsiveness requirements to the NATO nations, and also demanding much enhanced capabilities in many areas, the NRF will also act as a key driver for Alliance transformation. As a result, both Strategic Commands are engaged in NRF development.

Transformation represents an extremely demanding challenge for the Alliance. Although the basic task of transformation is to expedite Alliance capability development and interoperability, it is far more ambitious – in terms of scale, scope and pace – than any similar programme in Alliance history. In developing the transformation concept, the Alliance used as its starting point the US Joint Forces Command (USJFCOM) model, the internal change engine for the US forces. Drawing on this, NATO defined the following five main transformation “pillars”: Strategic Concepts, Doctrine and Policy Development; Requirements, Capabilities, Planning and Implementation; Joint and Combined Future Capabilities, Research and Technology; Joint Experimentation, Exercises and Assessment; and Joint Education and Training.

---

## The new NATO Command Structure is perhaps the most important development in the Alliance’s military organisation since NATO’s creation

---

The first four pillars are intended to work together to identify, develop and document transformational concepts and strategies. Of these, the second pillar will be the delivery vehicle for selected transformational concepts, while the fourth and fifth pillars will coordinate and implement the outputs from the other pillars in training and exercises. NATO’s transformation will not be a one-time event; it will be an ongoing development process to ensure that the Alliance remains at the military “cutting edge”.

Hence the importance of having a dedicated Command tasked with leading this effort. The second Strategic Command, Allied Command Transformation, is headquartered in the United States in Norfolk, Virginia, a location that not only helps to keep the transatlantic link strong, but also permits it to engage directly with USJFCOM, which is headquartered nearby. An entirely new organisational structure – consisting of four main elements – has been developed to allow Allied Command Transformation to support the various transformation pillars. The Strategic Concepts, Policy and Requirements element, is being

undertaken partly by the newly established ACT Staff Element in Europe. Joint Concept Development, the second main ACT element, will be centred on the Joint Warfare Centre in Stavanger, Norway, linked to the Joint Analysis and Lessons Learned Centre in Monsanto, Portugal, and the Joint Force Training Centre in Bydgoszcz, Poland. The Future Capabilities, Research and Development element includes the Undersea Research Centre in La Spezia, Italy, but will also link into other national and international research institutions. A NATO maritime interdiction operational training centre in Greece, associated with ACT, is also envisaged. The final element – Education – includes the NATO Defense College in Rome, Italy, the NATO School at Oberammergau, Germany, and the NATO Communications and Information System School at Latina, Italy. Each of these elements will be integrated into the head office organisation in Norfolk, Virginia. Through that, they will be linked into both those NATO agencies and bodies and the various National “Centres of Excellence” involved in promoting Alliance transformation and USJFCOM.

## Speeding change

Early delivery will be a key criterion for success of the new NATO Command Structure, and thus implementation is now proceeding apace. Allied Command Transformation and Allied Command Operations were formally inaugurated on 19 June and 1 September 2003 respectively. 19 June 2003 also saw the transfer of the former ACLANT operational headquarters to (the then) Allied Command Europe, and tasking authority for the NATO School to Allied Command Transformation. These were the simplest aspects of what will be an extremely challenging task. Many headquarters from the 1999 NATO Command Structure will have to be deactivated, while several entirely new entities must be created, some from scratch. The massive functional realignment that must take place will be realised initially through cross-staff working in which management chains will change but people will remain in their current locations. The use of seconded “Voluntary National Contribution” personnel will help to bridge the gap, but the pressure is on to complete the transition to the new NATO Command Structure within three years. Ultimately, a progressive migration of personnel will take place, within and between the various headquarters. As with any organisation, NATO’s most important resource is its people, and a major effort is being made to smooth the transition and reduce to the minimum the inevitable disruption that will flow from such a far-ranging reorganisation.

That all this must be accomplished without degrading NATO’s capability to conduct current operations (by forces such as SFOR, KFOR and ISAF IV), while also

promoting further partnership initiatives and integrating seven new members, is an indication of the scale of the challenge that the Alliance has set itself. That challenge is both real and unavoidable. If NATO is to remain relevant, it must keep pace with rapidly evolving international defence and security needs. As the only international organisation capable of undertaking the full spectrum of military operations it has a unique role to play in ensuring security, one which will arguably be even more important in the future than it has been to date. That role benefits not only its member nations and Partners, but also the wider international community by providing the means needed for forces from many nations to operate together effectively. It can only do that if both the organisation itself and the nations of which it is composed, embrace fully this transforming challenge. In the meantime, both Strategic Commands are driving hard to ensure the most rapid transition to the new structure and the earliest practical delivery of the products required of it.



For further information on SHAPE, see [www.shape.nato.int](http://www.shape.nato.int)

## Beijing calling

*Zuqian Zhang examines the potential for closer relations between China and NATO.*

Many security analysts were surprised in October last year to learn that the Chinese ambassador to Brussels had met with NATO Secretary General Lord Robertson to discuss the potential for building a closer relationship between his country and the Alliance. Since then, however, this initiative, which had already been discussed informally in Chinese policy-making circles, has increasingly gathered momentum. Moreover, in spite of many differences, the establishment of constructive, cooperative relations between China and NATO is both a logical step and one that is in the long-term interest of both parties, as well as that of the wider international community.

Shortly after the initial Chinese overture to NATO, Strobe Talbott, president of the influential Brookings Institution and a former US Deputy Secretary of State, took up the same theme. Writing in the November/December 2002 issue of *Foreign Affairs*, he suggested that, in the wake of NATO enlargement and the successful Partnership for Peace programme, it was time that NATO planners turned their attention towards relations with China. Moreover, such moves reflect a shift in the principal focus of world affairs since the end of the Cold War that many security analysts, including Zbigniew Brzezinski, have noted away from Europe to Eurasia.

In many ways, the precedent for China's approach towards NATO was membership of the World Trade Organization (WTO). Having become a member of the WTO, China had effectively been integrated into the world economy. From that moment, it was only a matter of time before China took steps to integrate itself in a similar way into the international security system. Although China has the world's largest population, second largest economy (in terms of purchasing power parity), third largest nuclear arsenal and numerically

largest army, the pursuit of a totally independent security policy is not viable in the long term. Rather, China would be better off integrating itself into the international security system in such a way that it comes to enjoy common security together with other members of the international community. In this context, China and NATO, the most militarily capable international organisation in the world, have a vested interest in exploring the possibility of establishing more formal relations. And such a relationship would clearly be important to peace and stability throughout Eurasia.

The terrorist attacks against the United States of 11 September 2001 and subsequent, related developments — the improvements in the NATO-Russia relationship, NATO's second, post-Cold War round

of enlargement and NATO's growing role in Afghanistan — have effectively reduced the physical distance between the Alliance and China. Indeed, in the wake of recent deployments by NATO militaries in Central Asia, soldiers from the two sides are now virtually able to stare at each other across international borders. Such proximity does not preordain any hostility. On the contrary, it should be viewed as a great opportunity that with careful management could lead to substantial China-NATO cooperation in security matters.

Strategic cooperation between China and NATO actually has a long history. Indeed, towards the end of the Cold War, China and NATO were effectively allies against the Soviet Union, even though there was no formal agreement binding them together. Moreover, this tactical alliance played an important part in the Soviet Union's ultimate disintegration, since it contributed to that country's military over-stretch. In addition to its extensive deployments in the west on NATO's borders, the Soviet Union was also obliged to deploy forces in the east. Moreover, before the West imposed an arms embargo against China in 1989 in the wake of the Tiananmen Square incident, NATO members were China's main sources of imported weapons and military technology.



*Belgrade bombing protest: The Chinese have not forgotten how NATO bombed their embassy in Belgrade, even though many accept that the bombing was a mistake (© Reuters)*

*Zuqian Zhang is director of European Studies at the Shanghai Institute for International Studies.*

### Common threats

The events of 11 September 2001 focused minds throughout the world on the nature of security threats in the early 21st century and reinforced the importance of international cooperation in combating them. The threats of terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, drug trafficking, environmental degradation, organised crime, the spread of diseases and the like clearly pose as great a danger to China as they do to NATO. Moreover, as the Alliance has transformed itself in recent years, it has become increasingly engaged in efforts to restore or maintain regional and global peace, all of which are also in China's interest. Unless the world as a whole enjoys peace, stability and prosperity, China cannot, for example, expect to meet the ambitious targets of its economic development programme.

Despite this, China clearly has a different outlook to NATO on many security issues and ill feeling remains in some circles. The Chinese have not, for example, forgotten how NATO bombed the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade during the Alliance's Kosovo campaign, even though many have come to accept that the bombing was an operational mistake and not a politically directed, premeditated act. The fact that then US President Bill Clinton and other NATO leaders all apologised unreservedly for the error helped to minimise the damage, but not to erase the memory.

Differences in some areas, no matter how great, need not, however, be an obstacle to China-NATO cooperation in others where both sides have clear, common interests. Moreover, it is extremely likely that a carefully planned and managed cooperation programme would help narrow differences in viewpoints and increase the areas of consensus between China and NATO.

Several factors augur well for a constructive evolution of China-NATO relations. Firstly, NATO has already broadened its vision of cooperation with countries both inside and outside of Europe and modified its Strategic Concept in such a way as to include issues other than simply military affairs. As a result, it should be relatively easy for China and NATO to agree upon some issues on which they would be able to work together.

Secondly, since the end of the Cold War, NATO and the United Nations have frequently demonstrated that

they are able to form a complementary rather than antagonistic relationship. To be sure, China wishes to see the United Nations play the leading role in global affairs. However, in the absence of a standing military capability, the United Nations will always have to rely upon its members' contributions and to cooperate with other international organisations, including NATO. Moreover, the United Nations has already worked effectively together with NATO for the best part of a decade in the Balkans to rebuild peace and stability and, in the coming months, it will likely forge still closer relations with NATO in both Afghanistan and Iraq. As a permanent member of the Security Council, China will surely accept and even welcome the complementary working relationship between the United Nations and NATO.

Thirdly and most importantly, China itself is undergoing profound changes which are likely to bring its security policy more into line with that of most other countries. In the wake of more than 20 years of economic reforms and ever-increasing contact with the rest of the world, significant changes have already taken place not only to China's economy,

but also to its politics, society and people's mindset.

In the initial years of reform, then Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping coined the phrase "Socialism with Chinese characteristics" to describe the path he had embarked on and reassure conservative critics. Jiang Zemin, his successor, benefited from an ideologically more flexible environment in which to pursue an increasingly pragmatic reform programme. Indeed, in the political report delivered at the Communist Party's 16th Congress last November, Jiang urged his comrades to abandon incorrect interpretations of Marxism and to learn from the practical achievements of political civilisation in such a way that socialist democracy would have institutionalised procedures. Jiang also said that since the realisation of Communism was an extremely long historic process, people should not expect the end state to be reached any time soon. Moreover, it appears likely that Hu Jintao, Jiang's successor, will take the reform programme yet further both in the economic and political spheres.

### Evolving security thinking

In the light of these internal political developments, Beijing's thinking about security has also evolved. Since

---

## Differences in some areas need not be an obstacle to China-NATO cooperation in others where both sides have common interests

---

the mid-1990s, Beijing has issued three White Papers on national defence, the first of which was issued under the somewhat less sensitive title of China's Policy towards Disarmament and Arms Control. In these papers, it is possible clearly to identify the increasing importance of transparency and international cooperation in Beijing's security thinking. Moreover, Chinese leaders have repeatedly made clear that China's so-called New Concept of Security will be based on mutual trust, mutual benefit, equality and cooperation with other countries. Hence the attention that Beijing now pays to collective security and common security with other countries and especially with its neighbours.

Despite this, the question of China-NATO relations, let alone potential cooperation between China and NATO, remains controversial and sensitive. In many ways, the situation is akin to that prevailing in the initial years of economic reform when many Chinese fiercely opposed opening China to foreign investment fearing exploitation by foreign capitalists. Today, however, few Chinese continue to oppose their country's integration into the world economy. Moreover, as Chinese come to see tangible benefits from a policy of international cooperation in the security field, the attitudes of many will likely change.

Since 11 September 2001, a number of Chinese security analysts have come to realise that their country has already benefited from its commitment to the international campaign against terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. To be sure, the threat posed by terrorism is not the priority for China that it is for the United States and some other countries. What is more important for China is to prevent separatist forces from splitting the country. As a result, the main purpose of Beijing's efforts to strengthen its military capabilities is to build a greater deterrence against separatist forces in Taiwan and elsewhere in the country.

Beijing has, however, seen that its participation in the international coalition against terrorism has also been useful to its efforts to curb internal, separatist forces. Largely as a result of China's cooperative position on issues of importance to the United States, relations between China and the United States have consistently improved in recent years. The US State Department officially classified the Eastern Turkestan Islamic Movement, one of the separatist groups in Xinjiang province, as a terrorist organisation. And the Bush Administration has gone on the record several times to say that the United States will maintain its One China policy and will not support Taiwan's independence. Indeed, as far as the Taiwan question is concerned, Washington's more pro-Beijing stance is worth far more in terms of deterrence than the deployment of another 100 Chinese missiles targeted on Taiwan. Moreover, China's

international image has clearly improved as the country has committed more resources to international security and this, in turn, serves long-term Chinese interests.

Concerning the potential of a future China-NATO relationship, it might be tempting to look to the precedent of the Alliance's relationship with Russia. However, the nature of a possible relationship between Beijing and NATO will always be very different from that between the Alliance and Moscow. This is because China will surely always be out of area as far as NATO is concerned and, therefore, there can be no speculation as to whether one day China too might become an Alliance member. But this should not minimise China's potential importance to NATO.

As NATO takes on missions beyond its traditional area of operations in an effort to combat the threat posed by terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, it will come ever closer to China in Central, South and Southeast Asia. Given the virtual absence of geopolitical and strategic rivalry between China and NATO, relations between the two are likely to evolve in a much smoother fashion than, for example, in the case of NATO and Russia. At the same time, with a rapidly growing economy and equally dynamic shifts in strategic thinking, China will be increasingly capable and willing to cooperate with other countries and organisations, including NATO, in the security field. With NATO taking command of the International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan, the time may be ripe to put relations with China on a more formal footing. ■