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NATO and Subregional Security Construction in Europe's Periphery: Dialogues in the Mediterranean and the Baltic Sea

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Executive Summary

The end of the Cold War gave rise to a very different security architecture in and around Europe, in which the divided continent suddenly became a single security space. This called for a reevaluation of the trans-Atlantic security agenda to account for the changes that had taken place in Europe and in the international system. It was a historic opportunity to mend fences and to create a new positive vicinity on a continent in which neighbors had, at different times during history, been bitterly opposed. In this changed security landscape, NATO and other European security providing organizations have developed cooperative security programs to promote shared security interests between integrated Europe and neighboring countries. These initiatives have led to the proliferation of dialogues and establishment of institutionalized partnerships, between NATO and its periphery, for example, the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC) later reformed into the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC), the Partnership for Peace (PfP), as well as the Mediterranean Dialogue.

This report investigates the implication of the Alliance's cooperative security as a security strategy in the 21st century, concretely as it pertains to the two subregional spaces the Baltic Sea, on the one hand, and the Mediterranean, on the other. This will be explored through a closer examination of NATO's efforts to promote subregional stability and security construction through the EAPC and PfP, as well as through the Mediterranean Dialogue. The intention of the study is to draw some early conclusions on NATO's actorness in these two widely different geographical areas as a producer of security and stability.

Any list of security problems concerning the members of NATO will be dominated by challenges emanating from areas on the periphery of the Alliance's treaty area or, in many cases, well beyond it. There is little disagreement about this. What has yet to emerge is a clear picture of the roles NATO can and will play in dealing with this long list of challenges.

-- David Ochmanek, *NATO's Future*, RAND publication, 2000 –

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Introduction

With the bipolar order and its principal Cold War adversary gone, the Atlantic Alliance has in the past decade worked hard to reform itself in order to fit the new security landscape. While retaining its basic collective defense function, the Alliance has added a range of new missions to stay relevant for its members in the changing international order. NATO's member states have in other words in the past decade transformed the Alliance away from one predominantly preoccupied with territorial defense into a much more flexible political organization, increasingly intent on the defense of commonly held values and projecting stability beyond the NATO Treaty area. In the words of the former NATO Secretary General Javier Solana –

> "In broadening [the Alliance's] concept of security, in taking on new roles and missions, in carrying out wide adaptation, the NATO of today is no longer about defending against large-scale attack. It is about building security within societies, creating the conditions of stability in which respect for human rights, consolidation of democratic reforms and economic patterns of trade and investment can flourish…"[1]

The 'new' NATO that is emerging has yet to consolidate into its final form; however, one of the most notable characteristics of the changing NATO is the desire to reach out to neighboring countries and to play a decisive role in and around Europe.

Over the past decade the Alliance has reached out in different ways to its neighbors in the Baltic Sea, Russia, trans-Caucasus, Central Asia, Balkans and in the Mediterranean to incorporate them into "a truly comprehensive approach to security."[2] The Czech, Hungarian and Polish enlargement in 1999 and pending accessions in near the future, the special bilateral agreements with Russia and Ukraine (both signed 1997) and the creation of partnership initiatives such as the 1992 North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC), the 1994 Partnership for Peace (PfP),[3] the 1994 Mediterranean

[1] NATO Speeches. Javier Solana, "NATO's role in Building Cooperative Security in Europe and Beyond," speech at the *Yomiuri Symposium on International Economy*, Tokyo, Japan, October 15, 1997.
[2] NATO Speeches. Lord Robertson "European Defence: Challenges and Prospects," JCMS Annual Lecture, delivered at the Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, 11 June 2001, as published in the *Journal of Common Market Studies* 39 (4) (November 2001): 793.
[3] 19 NATO allies and 27 partners form the PfP: Albania, Armenia, Austria (1995), Azerbaijan, Belarus (1995), Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Croatia (2000), Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France,

Dialogue[4] and the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC),[5] which in 1997 replaced the NACC – are different ways in which the trans-Atlantic community has embraced their neighbors in the post-Cold War era. The manifold different strategies by which NATO relate to its neighboring non-members have at times have seemed haphazard, short-termed and fortuitous. However, over time these initiatives have consolidated to integrate the majority of the non-member countries in the periphery of the Alliance into common frameworks for confidence building, dialogue and practical cooperation.[6]

NATO has thus taken on a tall order in the 21st century as an agent for security restructuring in Europe and beyond. The objective of the dialogue and collaboration between Allies and non-NATO members is to establish a 'network of partnerships' that may favor a process of integration and cooperation that enhances stability "in ever-increasing circles through new patterns of cooperative security not only in the Euro-Atlantic region but also in the Southern Mediterranean."[7] One may thus infer that the Alliance has in the past decade in effect become the core of a multi-layered security system encompassing Europe and beyond, i.e. a single overarching space, albeit which is composed of a number of different subregions with distinct security concerns (Baltic Sea, Caucasus, Central and Eastern Europe, Central Asia, Southeastern Europe and the Mediterranean).

This report will attempt to sketch an outline of the transformation of the Atlantic Alliance in the past decade, especially in terms of NATO's new security concept and the emphasis on cooperative security and outreach programs for its neighbors. Our focus here -- the EAPC/PfP and the Mediterranean Dialogue -- are reviewed as two different facets of NATO's aspiration to foment cooperative security regimes in nearby geographical areas: the Baltic Sea and the Mediterranean. Comparison of two such widely differing geographical areas helps to highlight what the NATO's cooperative security strategy really entails in the post-bipolar international setting and how it is applied in different subregions. The Baltic Sea is an area where subregional security cooperation has had positive results, in spite of initial tension levels between Russia and the Baltic States being high. The actual results in the Mediterranean are, in contrast, meager, although hopes were initially high as they were nurtured by the seeming potential for change in the security situation as a consequence of the launching of the Middle East Peace Process in Madrid 1991. However, the Mediterranean nevertheless continues to be an important geographical area for NATO, in that it is perceived as the linchpin of the 'arc of crisis,' spanning the Mediterranean, Middle East, the Gulf region and the Caucasus.

The Baltic Sea and the Mediterranean are spaces that form part of the global post-Cold War redefinition of international security and is still "feeding heated debates on issues like the reform of security institutions…; the role of nuclear deterrence; the limits to national sovereignty ensuing from concepts like 'humanitarian intervention'; or the collective responsibility of the international community in defending 'common

Georgia, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland (1999), Italy, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyz Republic, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Moldova, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Russia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland (1996), Tajikistan (2002), the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (1995), Turkey, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, United Kingdom, United States and Uzbekistan.

[4] The Mediterranean Dialogue comprises: Algeria (2000), Egypt, Israel, Jordan (1995), Mauritania, Morocco and Tunisia.

[5] 19 NATO allies and 27 partners form the EAPC, i.e. the same participants as in the PfP, see footnote 2 this chapter.

[6] NATO Press release. The Alliance's Strategic Concept. North Atlantic Council in Washington 23-24 April, 1999, pt. 38.

[7] NATO Speeches. Deputy Secretary General at NADEFCOL, 7 November 1997.

goods' of international security such as the environment or human right" and thus worth exploring.[8] How has the 'new' NATO attempted to shape the subregional security environment in and around post-bipolar Europe? And has the cooperative security strategy been successful in contributing to the creation of subregional security and/or stability? Moreover, while recognizing that these two areas are completely different in composition and security needs, and that a differentiated approach is called for, experience from programs working in one area may be implemented and/or modified in another, in this aspect this report will not so much stress the differences between the Baltic Sea area and the Mediterranean in that these are widely known, rather the report will single out some aspects of commonality which are equally important to understand in order for finding a successful solution to a set of security problems affecting a particular geographical area.

[8] Laura Guzzone, "Who Needs Conflict Prevention in the Mediterranean?" *International Spectator* 35 (1) (January-March 2000): 83.

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An Expanded Security Concept and Cooperative Security in NATO's periphery

Managing security relations of non-member neighboring countries in Europe and beyond, is not a new ambition for NATO, in that the 1949 Washington Treaty also expresses the Allies will to —

> "…contribute toward the further development of peaceful and friendly international relations by strengthening their free institutions, by bringing about a better understanding of the principles upon which these institutions are founded, and by promoting conditions of stability and well-being. They will seek to eliminate conflict in their international economic policies and will encourage economic collaboration between any or all of them."[9]

Notwithstanding, except for a few attempts to live up to these objectives during the Cold War – as for example, the 1967 Harmel Doctrine, which sought a relaxation of the tension in East-West relations; the German Chancellor Willy Brandt's 1969 *Ostpolitik*, which was to influence a whole generation of trans-Atlantic-Soviet relations; or the 1975 adoption of the Helsinki Act, creating the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) – it was not until the end of the bipolar era that Article 2 would be explored in earnest. Thus, NATO's largely dormant political facet would not spring into life until in the late 1980s; when the relative relaxation in the new international environment, as a consequence of Gorbachev's *perestroika* and the unexpected sequence of events which took place in 1989, permitted concepts such as 'strategic balance,' 'flexible response,' and 'deterrence' to gradually fade into the background, and give room for a reinterpretation of what security entails in and around Europe.

The new international scenario was indeed on everybody's mind as the Heads of States and Governments met at the NATO Summit Meeting in London in July 1990. The Summit resulted in an unprecedented joint Declaration by the NATO governments, which revealed the desire to create a new European security order, as well as offering the first bold brush-strokes of what was to become an ambitious program to adapt NATO to the needs of the new post-bipolar international scene.

The new international environment called for a 'new' NATO and internal adaptation, in that: "[t]he walls that once confined people and ideas are collapsing… Europeans are choosing their own destiny… As a consequence this Alliance must and

[9] North Atlantic Treaty, Washington DC, 4 April 1949: Article 2 in *NATO Handbook*. Brussels: NATO Office of Information and Press, 2001.

will adapt."[10] The first step of this adaptation, as envisioned by the London Declaration was that the Alliance should become an agent of change and "help build the structures of a more united continent, supporting security and stability…"[11] based on democracy, rights of the individual and the peaceful settlement of conflicts. The Americans, Canadians and Europeans as the self-anointed 'guardians' of European stability,[12] should thus "work together not only for the common defense, but to build new partnerships with all the nations of Europe."[13] Moreover, NATO governments realized quickly that, if not guided, the security situation in Europe could create a security vacuum and chronic instability in NATO's periphery. As a result and as a first step, the London Summit extended a 'hand of friendship' to the Soviet Union and former Warsaw Pact members, inviting the Central and Eastern European countries (CEECs) to establish regular diplomatic contact with NATO as a way to provide opportunity for dialogue.

However, even if the desire to shape this new international environment was certainly present in the early 1990s, "the ability of the Alliance to respond effectively to the new challenges of instability to Europe's east and south was open to serious doubt" in that NATO was essentially a military institution and ill-adapted for such a task.[14] Therefore the London Declaration would be followed up on the very next year, when at the NATO Summit in Rome a new Strategic Concept was adopted (later revised at the 1999 Washington Summit). The new Concept formally broadened the scope of the Alliance's concept of security, edging away from a bipolar vision of security in favor of concerns for 'new' security threats and enabling the Alliance to undertake unprecedented missions in the new international setting. The 1991 Strategic Concept reflected the shift within NATO in terms of reconceptualizing security, by emphasizing the multitude of 'new' sources of insecurity, as well as acknowledging that security and stability within the Alliance was dependent on the security and stability of its closest neighbors.

A New Security Concept

The Rome Strategic Concept changed four decades of security thinking within NATO, by affirming "that security and stability do not lie solely in the military dimension, and we intend to enhance the political component of our Alliance as provided for in Article 2 in our Treaty."[15] In other words, security, which during the era of the U.S./Soviet superpower tension had become equated with nuclear parity and physical survival of the

[10] NATO Basic Texts, "Declaration on a Transformed North Atlantic Alliance issued by the Heads of States and Government Participating in the Meeting of the North Atlantic Council ("the London Declaration"), London, 6 July 1990: pt. 1.
[11] *ibid*., pt. 2.
[12] Ronald A. Asmus, "Double Enlargement: Redefining the Atlantic Partnership After the Cold War," in David Gompert and Stephen Larrabee (eds.), *America and Europe: A Partnership for a New Era* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997): 37.
[13] The London Declaration, 1990, pt. 4.
[14] Andrew Cottey, "NATO Transformed: the Atlantic Alliance in a New Era," in William Park and G. Wyn Rees (eds.) *Rethinking Security in Post-Cold War Europe,* (London: Addison Wesley Longman, 1998): 45.
[15] NATO Press Release. NATO Strategic Concept, North Atlantic Council, Rome, 7-8 November 1991.

state, would slowly begin to take on new connotations as the bipolar order unraveled.[16] In the 1991 NATO Strategic Concept the threat of military aggression against any of the NATO member's territory was perceived as radically diminished,[17] and hence the Concept, divided in five parts, started off conveying the NATO governments' satisfaction over that substantial arms control and limitations in Europe had already been achieved. The Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty had been signed in 1987, the implementation of the 1991 Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START) Treaty had begun and the Conventional Armed Forces in Europe Treaty (CFE) had been signed at the end of 1990.

Notwithstanding, although military threats in Europe had receded into the background, the strategic distension had brought new risks and challenges to the Alliance and its member states into the foreground. The risks aimed at the Allies in the new post-bipolar Europe, as the Concept highlights, were more likely to stem "from the adverse consequences of instabilities that may arise from the serious economic, social and political difficulties, including ethnic rivalries and territorial disputes, which are faced by many countries in Central and Eastern Europe."[18] The Rome Concept also mentions, for the first time, the link between European security and that of the southern Mediterranean and Middle East, where, as a result of the Gulf War, the Allies continued to be concerned about traditional military build-up and proliferation issues as regards to these countries. With such a wide range of 'multi-faceted' and 'multi-directional' security challenges to NATO coming from its near neighborhood, the Allies had to commit itself to a broad approach to security.[19]

The 1991 Strategic Concept stressed the importance of underlying factors behind insecurity and the necessity to find solutions to its neighbors 'soft' security problems, in that —

> "[r]isks to Allied security are less likely to result from calculated aggression against the territory of the Allies, but rather from the adverse consequences of instabilities that may arise from the serious economic, social and political difficulties, including ethnic rivalries and territorial disputes… The tensions which may result, as long as they remain limited, should not directly threaten the security and territorial integrity of members of the Alliance. They could, however, lead to crises inimical to European stability and even to armed conflict… having a direct effect on the security of the Alliance."[20]

The 1999 revised Strategic Concept also adds religious rivalries, inadequate or failed efforts at reform, the abuse of human rights, and the dissolution of states as sources of local or subregional instability.[21] Moreover, the wide-ranging scope and nature of the new security threats — from nuclear, chemical and biological arms

[16] In the past 15 years, academics in the field(s) of security and strategic studies have contributed toward a profound reconceptualization of security to explain the current international order. As new conceptual perceptions of security and its referent objects began to take hold, the concept has in the 1990s become a more ambiguous (but, one might infer, at the same time a more dynamic) concept as it is subject to various interpretations. The referent object of security (formerly only the state) has also become an open-ended concept. This report will largely focus on state-to-state level relations and the means by which NATO has made available to address the insecurities against the state in the post-bipolar era.
[17] The relation between Greece and Turkey usually mentioned as the only potential exception.
[18] NATO Strategic Concept, 1991, pt. 10
[19] *ibid*., pt. 8.
[20] i*bid.*, pt. 9
[21] *ibid*., pt. 20.

proliferation, terrorism, sabotage, organized crime and disruption of the flow of vital resources, to ethnic, religious and territorial disputes, the abuse of human rights, as well as the uncontrolled movement of large numbers of people (refugees or migrants) etc.[22] — were and are interconnected in such a way that a only global or comprehensive approach can be effective in addressing these problems.

The Alliance has thus in the past decade been guided by the notion of **comprehensiveness** in reforming its concept of security, both in terms of its meaning (spanning military and non-military security), its referent object (state, individual, groups of individuals, the environment etc.) and that a holistic approach to creating security and peace must be taken. In other words, taking a note from current academic research, comprehensive security "implies that security should be seen as existing – or not – at several levels ranging from the individual, through national, international to the global, and that its components are wider than the military, including – *inter alia* – environmental, economic and human rights concerns."[23] This approach to security take issue with the notion that security in the 21st century can be achieved through military means alone, pointing out that many security problems that European citizens perceive today are of a 'soft' security character and the solution to these problems are not to be found in military spheres. NATO's 1991 (and the 1999 revised) Strategic Concept acknowledges the link between the peace and stability, on the one hand and the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms as well as political, economic, social and environmental problems on the other.[24] Thus, abuse of human and minority rights which during the Cold War were treated as strictly internal affairs of the state, have today gained recognition as something affecting security and stability beyond the borders of the state, thus having a clear impact on us all. As Richard Cohen explains –

> "[i]n an age of growing interconnectivity between states and peoples, concern about the human condition within a state has become the direct and immediate interest of the world community. Violations of human rights in one state become very quickly known to the citizens of other states [i.e. the 'CNN-factor']. Damage to the security of individuals in one country, by external or more often internal forces, now means that other peoples and their governments feel that their own security is diminished."[25]

This tie in with another factor which has radically altered the Allies new concept of security in the early 1990s was the feeling of being an island of tranquility in a raging sea, where, if not controlled, the outside turbulence could create insecurity and instability within NATO territory. This notion is reflected in the 1991 Strategic Concept, which notes that there is a growing **interdependence** in terms of security and stability between the Alliance and non-member countries, which effectively translates into that the Alliance cannot isolate itself from the events taking place in and around Europe. The 1999 revised Strategic Concept elaborates on this point, stating —

[22] NATO Strategic Concept, 1999, pts. 20 -24.
[23] Hans Mouritzen, "Security Communities in the Baltic Sea Region: Real and Imagined," *Security Dialogue* 32 (3) (1997): 6.
[24] NATO Strategic Concept, 1991, pt. 24 and NATO Strategic Concept, 1999, pt. 25.
[25] Richard Cohen "From Individual Security to International Stability" in Richard Cohen and Michael Mihalka. "Cooperative Security: New Horizons for International Order." The George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies, Papers 3, (April 2001): 8.

> "[n]otwithstanding positive developments in the strategic environment and the fact that large-scale conventional aggression against the Alliance is highly unlikely, the possibility of such a threat emerging over the longer term exists… These risks include uncertainty and instability in and around the Euro-Atlantic area and the possibility of [sub]regional crises at the periphery of the Alliance, which could evolve rapidly…The resulting tensions could lead to crises affecting Euro-Atlantic stability, to human suffering and to armed conflicts. Such conflicts could affect the security of the Alliance by spilling over into neighbouring countries, including NATO countries, or in other ways, and could also affect the security of other states."[26]

The interdependence and risk for spill-over was further exacerbated by the fact that a number of NATO's neighbors in and around the Euro-Atlantic space are 'weak states,' i.e. "those that lack legitimacy, cohesion and a sound community… [and whose] external threats are of concerns, but national security consists primarily in containing threats from within."[27] In sum, security and stability are currently perceived by the Allies as indivisible, and the Alliance's approach therefore stipulates the "enhancing the security of all, excludes nobody, and helps to overcome divisions and disagreements that could lead to instability and conflict" in and around the Euro-Atlantic area.[28]

The revised Strategic Concept has also paved the way for internal reform, enabling the Alliance to add to the organization's purely defensive purpose and assume a new role as a political leader and agent for peace and stability beyond the Treaty area. The Alliance is currently undertaking tasks outside the Treaty area, a fact which only a little more than a decade seemed incompatible with the organization's competencies. Moreover, it engages its neighbors in activities such as 'soft' security tasks (education, civil emergency measures etc.), out-of-area peacekeeping missions and political dialogue and practical cooperation, i.e. unorthodox tasks for a collective defense alliance.

The new Strategic Concept illustrates, one might infer, that the 'new' NATO has adopted a definite post-modern view on security relations and a vision of Europe and its closest surroundings, where distinct or overlapping regional and subregional security complexes are evolving.[29] The reconceptualized notion of security, as expressed by the London Declaration 1990 and the reformed Strategic Concept, has, in other words, enabled the Allies to widen their security horizon in the post-Cold War era and take on new missions. NATO's new post-bipolar approach to security is well captured by the notion of cooperative security.

[26] NATO Strategic Concept, 1999, pt. 20.
[27] Patrick M. Morgan, "Regional Security Complexes and Regional Order," in Lake, David A. and Patrick M. Morgan (eds.). *Regional Orders: Building Security in a New World*. (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997): 23.
[28] NATO Strategic Concept, 1999, pt. 33.
[29] According to Barry Buzan a regional security complex refers to a set of states with a significant and distinctive network of security relations that ensure that the members have a high level of interdependence on security: a "group of states whose primary security concerns link together sufficiently closely that their national securities cannot realistically be considered apart from one another." Barry Buzan, *People, States and Fear: An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era*, 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1991): 190.

Cooperative Security in the 21st century

The notion of 'cooperative security' arose as a central concept in the then Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE),[30] which from 1975 on tried to further economic, security and political as well as cultural cooperation between Warsaw Pact countries on the one hand, and Western Europe and North America on the other, with the ultimate goal of preventing a nuclear war.

The cooperative security concept lives on in the post-Cold War security environment, referring to a model of intrastate relations that seeks to promote collaborative rather than confrontational relations between states, by engaging heterogeneous actors in dialogue and cooperation and regulating the interaction by a set of rules and procedures. Cooperative security is "a strategic principle that seeks to accomplish its purposes through institutionalized consent rather than through threats of material and physical coercion."[31] It presupposes fundamentally compatible security objectives (peace/stability), while allows great diversity among participants in terms of their socioeconomic level, defense tradition and even in terms of their intermediate objectives (i.e. opting to participate in the cooperative security activities, such as for example, defense reform, peacekeeping etc. as according to individual needs and interest). What ties heterogeneous actors together is the recognition that in the current interdependent world order, unilateral undertakings to secure basic security objectives are rather futile. Moreover, in the growing globalized world "armed aggression can become as futile as self-destructive."[32]

Cooperative security is essentially a conflict prevention strategy for the long term, in that its purpose is to diffuse tension between states at an early stage and preventing it from escalating. To promote distension and good neighborly relations a cooperative security regime may choose to undertake any number of tasks, ranging from basic arms control or transparency in armed forces capability, to promoting democratic control over military establishment, the eradication of 'soft' security problems and promoting social and economic interdependence. In terms of military security, cooperative security tries to avoid armed conflict by "preventing the means for successful aggression from being assembled. By eliminating the material basis for organized aggression, …[cooperative security] also reduce[s] or even obviate[s] the need for states otherwise threatened to make their own counter preparations."[33] The cooperative security strategy is in other words an attempt to target the security dilemma, at the heart of a nation's security calculations.[34]

By dealing with the security issues in a preventive way, where institutionalized dialogue, cooperation and transparency in the relation between states are the key ingredients, the theory of cooperative security supposedly diminishes the need for military build-up to counter perceived threats from other states. Hence a large-scale

[30] Although some would argue that the notion of 'cooperative security' goes as far back as the Concert of Europe, or the postwar inter-state cooperation in Europe etc.
[31] Janne E. Nolan (ed.), *Global Engagement: Cooperation and Security in the 21st Century*, (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1994): 4.
[32] *ibid*., 5.
[33] *ibid*.
[34] The security dilemma refers to "a structural notion in which the self-help attempts of states to look after their security needs, tend regardless of intention to lead to rising insecurity for others as each interprets its own measures as defensive and the measures of others and potentially threatening." John Herz, "Idealist Internationalism and the Security Dilemma," *World Politics* 2 (2) (January, 1950): 157.

military aggression cannot start or be prosecuted on any large scale.[35] Moreover, a successful cooperative security system is characterized by the:

> "…mutual acceptance of and support for the defense of home territory as the exclusive national military objective and the subordination of power projection to the constraints of international consensus. A fully developed cooperative security arrangement embodying these principles would set and enforce appropriate standards for the size, concentration, technical configuration, and operational practices of deployed forces. Reassurance would be the principal objective, as distinct from deterrence and containment, although as a practical matter both the latter objectives would be securely accomplished."[36]

Notwithstanding, while in many ways resembling other liberal theories, such as for example, collective security, the development of a cooperative security regime does not hold any normative or 'messianic' aspiration for international organization, nor does it provide us with insights into the underlying causes of conflict.[37] It is more a practical and pragmatic recognition that although armed conflict is likely to be a continued feature of the international system also in the future, concrete measures can be taken to limit the scale and maybe even the number of conflicts. As Janne E. Nolan puts it:

> "Cooperative security is a model of intrastate relations in which disputes are expected to occur, but they are expected to do so within the limits of agreed upon norms and established procedures. While tolerating diversity and even animosity among disparate governments and cultures, this kind of international system allows for conflicts to be resolved without recourse to mass violence."[38]

The notion of cooperative security bridges two of the fundamental schools of thought theorizing about NATO in the post-Cold War era. Some scholars have argued that the Alliance is pursuing the creation of collective security in Europe, especially through the EAPC/PfP outreach programs, and they are concerned because this is fundamentally at odds with the collective defense purpose of NATO.[39] Pointing to failed attempts at creating collective security (ex. League of Nations), they fear the fundamental drift to fragmentation and eventual destruction of the Alliance.

Cooperative security holds certain similarities with collective security; however, while the latter is designed to manage a joint response toward aggression, automatically defeating it when and if it occurs, the former is designed to diffuse aggression before it occurs, through the voluntary consent of the contracting parties. Cooperative security relies on institutionalized diplomacy and reassurance to resolve disputes. Collective security, on the other hand, is fundamentally an agreement to deter armed conflict situations through military preparedness and relies on a threat of material or physical

[35] Ashton Carter, William Perry and John Steinbrunner, cited in Michael Mihalka, "From Theory to Practice" in Richard Cohen and Michael Mihalka. "Cooperative Security: New Horizons for International Order." *The George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies*, Papers 3, (April 2001): 39
[36] Nolan, 4-5.
[37] *ibid*., 8.
[38] i*bid.*, 5.
[39] See for example, David S. Yost, "The New NATO and Collective Security," *Survival* 40 (2) (Summer, 1998): 135- 60; Richard Rupp, "NATO 1949 and NATO 2000: From Collective Defense toward Collective Security," Special Issue *Journal of Strategic Studies*, NATO Enters the 21st Century. Vol 23 (3) (September, 2000):154-176; or Tanner, Fred. "Conflict Management and European Security: the Problem of Collective Security." *Columbia International Affairs Online*, 5 (1999).

coercion to make parties comply. However, the preparedness to defeat and any preparations taken to ensure capability to deter and defeat, thus add to the security dilemma.

There are several different forms of collective security; however, perhaps the most widely used one in the past century has been the reference to a Wilsonian collective security system. [40] The basis of a Wilsonian collective security is the explicit acceptance of all members of the collective security system that they will share the responsibility of assisting in creating a massive deterrence threat, as well as implement it when necessary. However, the system has many weaknesses, for example, there is a clear credibility problem, since history has shown that only rarely can the system act in unison; it is also difficult to keep truly collective if the main punitive capabilities belong to only a few states — they are likely to insist on a prominent role in if and how the subregion's security should be managed.[41]

Collective security does not seem to explain NATO's outreach programs very well, since it is highly unlikely that the Allies, - seeing their general reluctance to intervene militarily whether in Europe or beyond – would want to extend an indiscriminate 'all-against-one' defense guarantee formula to all participants in the outreach programs if the newfound partners' territorial integrity is threatened. Although PfP partner countries have been offered the possibility to 'consult' with the Allies if they feel their territorial or political sovereignty threatened, this obviously does not translate into an obligation of automatic military response from the Alliance nor from other PfP partners. Nor, does it appear that NATO has created its post-bipolar outreach programs to purvey a power-balancing mechanism or a collective security system à la 'concert of Europe.' Rather the outreach programs are created as mechanisms focused principally on preventive measures to avoid conflict and diplomatic resolution of crisis situations if conflicts arise. If a military operation to settle a conflict is deemed as needed, e.g. Bosnia and Kosovo, the tendency has been to intervene rather as a NATO coalition-of-willing, not involving outreach program participants (with the exception of Russia) in the first stage of the military campaign. PfP and Mediterranean Dialogue partners have later been invited in the follow-up peacemaking and post-conflict reconstruction stages in Bosnia and Kosovo. This difference, compared to a collective security system, allows the Allies to maintain flexibility in their strategic decision-making and to be able to act efficiently and coherently with maximum inter-operability,

[40] Historically, many refer to antecedents of collective security systems, such as the Concert of Europe, which arose in 1815 after the end of the Napoleonic Wars. However, the main reference for collective security systems as they are referred to today is the 'Wilsonian collective security system' (e.g. League of Nations). Richard Rupp describes a Wilsonian collective security system in this way: "[r]enouncing power politics, [U.S. President Woodrow] Wilson argued that human beings possessed the capacity and reason to alter the manner in which international relations had historically functioned. Wilson championed the establishment of an international organization – a League of Nations – that would be based on a near universal membership of states, encompassing both the great and the small nations of the world. He assumed that all member states would be desirous of peace, and would commit themselves to repel and punish aggressor states regardless of specific circumstances. Wilson rejected the contention that states inevitably function in a self-help system in which they necessarily place their own national interests above all other concerns. He assumed that because states have 'clear interest in protecting an international order that they see as beneficial to their individual security, they will contribute to the coalition even if they have no vital interests at stake in the actual theater of aggression.' Wilson presumed that his collective security's 'all-against-one' formulation would serve as a deterrent to aggressor states because a potential violator of the international order would be subject to a massive and coordinated global response. Given that no state would possess the necessary resources to resist the combined military forces of the collective security organization, peace would become the norm in international politics." Rupp, 157.

[41] Morgan, 35.

when the Allied public opinion pressure so demands or the conflict hold threats to Allies' stability or natural resource interests. This might change in the future, and increasingly take on the characteristics of a collective security arrangement, as more PfP participants gain greater military inter-operability with NATO and as the actual tendency within the Alliance is to rely increasingly on coalitions-of-willing (often U.S., U.K., France and one or several southern NATO members) becomes more marked, in view of the political discord which each out-of-area military mission generates among the Allies (and hence practical paralysis of the organization until a political accord is reached).

Other NATO analysts hold that the advent of the EAPC/PfP outreach programs signal Euro-Atlantic ambitions to extend their security community in order to provide stability in its periphery.[42] Karl Deutsch's classic definition of a security community from 1957 which referred to a group of people which has become integrated (sharing a sense of community, institutions and practice) to the extent that "real assurance that the members of that community will not fight each other physically, but will settle their disputes in some other way."[43] However, this report will hold that at this juncture of time it is too premature to affirm that there is a possibility that a security community may be established between the Alliance and the partners it has invited to take part in the different outreach programs. This is due to that the participants in NATO's outreach programs are too diverse and shares neither a 'sense of community' nor many 'practices' considered central in the trans-Atlantic security community, such as democracy, respect for rule of law and human rights etc. Perhaps the notion of building a security community is better applied to the Alliance's enlargement effort, in that here the candidates have to adopt similar practices of democracy etc. since these are pre-enlargement stipulations by NATO and by later integrating themselves fully into NATO the sense of community develops.

NATO and Cooperative Security in its Neighborhood

Cooperative security clearly permeates the thinking in the post-bipolar trans-Atlantic community in that the political outreach programs undertaken are not concerned with balancing or deterring or defending against aggression, and emphasis has clearly shifted onto reassurance, as well as creating and maintaining stability in and around the Euro-Atlantic region through institutionalized confidence building measures.[44] NATO's outreach programs in this sense have provided Allies and partners with an indispensable tool for shaping the European security environment.[45]

The model laying the basis for the current NATO cooperative strategy can be found in the Cold War cooperation among the Allies in terms of armament control,

[42] See for example Jan Hallenberg, "The Extension of the European Security Community to the Periphery: France in the Mediterranean and Finland and Sweden in the Baltic Countries," *NATO Fellowship Final Report, June 2000;* Andrew Cottey, "NATO Transformed: the Atlantic Alliance in a New Era," in William Park and G. Wyn Rees (eds.) *Rethinking Security in Post-Cold War Europe,* (London: Addison Wesley Longman, 1998): 43-60; or Marybeth Peterson Ulrich, "NATO's Identity at a Crossroads: Institutional Challenges Posed by NATO's Enlargement and Partnership for Peace Programs," *Columbia International Affairs Online*, 3 (1999).

[43] Karl Deutsch et al. *Political Community and the North Atlantic Area* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1957): 3.

[44] Mihalka, 2001, 33.

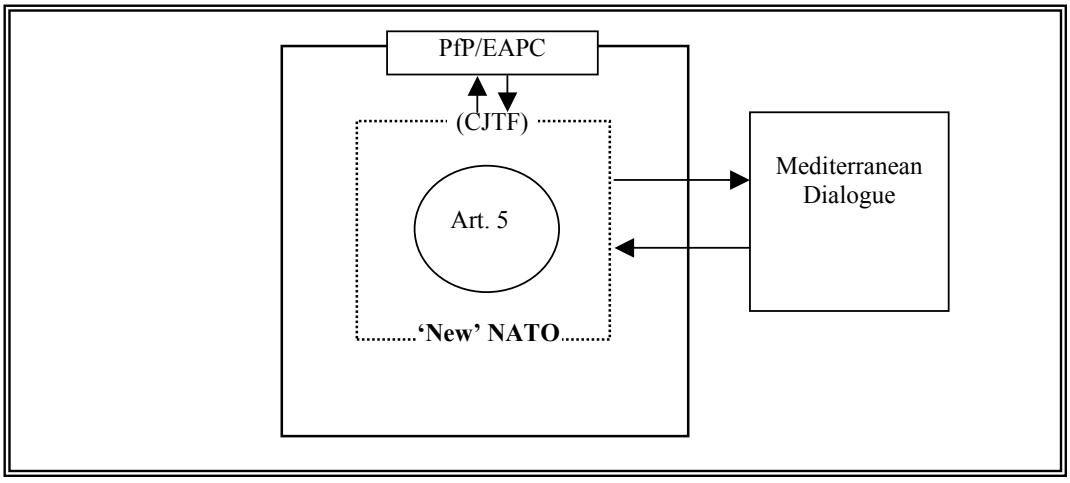
[45] NATO Speeches. Solana, 1997.

infrastructure and scientific programs. This collaboration is often credited for bringing a divided continent together after the end of the World War II and to increase transparency and confidence among neighbors. This formula was almost instinctively applied to the Central and Eastern Europe in the early 1990s as a means to contribute to the internationalization of security and avoid the potential destabilization as a consequence of the dismantling of the Warsaw Pact and the subsequent renationalization of defense. This meant that the objective of the 1991 Strategic Concept and the NACC would thus be dual, NATO had to assist to overcome the Cold War divisions of Europe and to introduce a new pattern of security relationships to ensure pacific relations and stability on the old continent.

As the cooperative security strategy matured in mid-1990s and the Partnership for Peace and Mediterranean Dialogue were created, the approach would 'widen' in the geographical sense and 'deepen' in the sense of expanding the existing political dialogue and undertaking new activities ones as a part of the outreach programs. The most significant change was perhaps the addendum of practical security cooperation activities undertaken in the framework of PfP.

The primary objectives of the Allies cooperative security approach has been to contribute to confidence building, reassurance and mutual understanding, as well as fostering stability in and around the Euro-Atlantic region.[46] The objective of the dialogue and collaboration between Allies and non-NATO members has been to create processes of integration and participation, where new patterns of cooperative security, not only in the Euro-Atlantic area but also eventually in the Mediterranean, enhance peace and stability in 'ever-increasing circles' around the Alliance.[47] This remark gives rise to the notion of NATO as a 'core' of an increasingly complex set of security relations in and around Europe. One may thus infer that NATO's cooperative security strategy has effectively placed the organization in the operative center of multiple loose and flexible security regimes.

Figure 1. *The 'New' NATO and its partnership programs*



[46] NATO Speeches. Solana, 1997.
[47] NATO Speeches. Deputy Secretary General at NADEFCOL.

The cooperative security strategy developed by NATO from mid-1990s on has been as broad as it has been comprehensive, in that it has targeted multilateral as well as bilateral security relations in the Alliance's periphery, thus enabling all interested partners to satisfy their own national security requirements, while simultaneously contributing to the security of the Euro-Atlantic-Mediterranean area as a whole. NATO's approach has also been complete in terms of the instruments used for facilitating reassurance and confidence building. These include three basic, but complementary, ingredients: political dialogue, practical cooperation and collaboration with other international security providing organizations and entities.

First, NATO's cooperative security strategy focuses on **political dialogue**, which aims at confidence-building through information sharing/exchange exercises, – especially in terms of informing about NATO programs and activities – and political consultation on specific political and security-related matters, including regional and subregional issues, arms control, peacekeeping, defense economic issues, civil emergency planning, and scientific and environmental issues. Moreover, in the wake of the terrorist attacks in New York and Washington in September 2001, increased attention has been given to measures to combat international terrorism. The political dialogue may take place in meetings of ambassadors, foreign and defense ministers and occasional meetings of heads of state and government, as well as 19+1 meetings of the Allies and individual partners. The Alliance regularly invites its outreach partners to send representatives to assist topical seminars, conferences, educational courses, as well as engages in formal political dialogue with its partners (bilateral and multilateral). The political dialogue is to promote transparency and openness, so as to bring about better understanding of Allied and non-member concerns on different security issues and to discuss potential further areas of collaboration. In the future the EAPC partners might even be able to influence the designing and execution of different NATO programs and activities in that they may be consulted before NATO takes a final decision. The expectations have been especially high among EAPC partners in regards to that they may be able to help design peacekeeping missions in which they participate. This notwithstanding, although foreseen by the founding act of the EAPC in 1997, has yet to be implemented, due to the reluctances of some NATO members to allow non-member countries to influence trans-Atlantic decision making processes in whatever limited form.

Second, the Allied cooperative security approach also encompasses a **practical cooperation** facet. The practical cooperation is two-tiered, targeting the military and defense-related fields, as well as security related to political and economic issues. Cooperation in the military and defense fields vary from outreach program to outreach program, however, in general they include undertaking measures to ensure regional and subregional stability. The EAPC/PfP, moreover, include the objectives as to promote transparency in national defense planning and military budgeting as well as democratic control of national armed forces. The areas of military security cooperation involve arms control and verification cooperation as well as training and exercise to face situations of crisis management, peacekeeping, search and rescue, humanitarian operations and inter-operability with NATO forces. Moreover, military cooperation may also include the development of the capacity for planning and joint action between forces from partner countries and those of NATO member countries, for example, in peacekeeping or disaster-response operations. Non-military related activities entail a host of topics ranging from civil emergency planning, air-traffic management, to courses and training in specific economic, political, environmental and scientific activities. NATO practical cooperation has the advantage over other security providing

organizations in Europe that the cooperation is highly flexible in that individual national programs allow outreach partner countries to choose from an extensive menu of military and civilian activities within the framework set out by their particular outreach program.

Thirdly, the Alliance's cooperative security approach also entails developing **closer ties with other international organizations and regional institutions**, principally the United Nations, the OSCE and the European Union. Although this is an important objective for the Alliance, and present in the Strategic Concept, one might infer that this is the Alliance's most underdeveloped cooperative security facet. The 1999 Strategic Concept holds that –

> "The United Nations (UN), the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the European Union (EU), and the Western European Union (WEU) have made distinctive contributions to Euro-Atlantic security and stability. Mutually reinforcing organizations have become a central feature of the security environment."[48]

The growing interdependence among states in the post-Cold War environment and the general acceptation that security can only be obtained through a complex mixture of military, political, economic and social factors, have led to the realization that no one global or regional organization can alone create the conditions for peace and stability. Thus the generally accepted wisdom in the post-bipolar era have been that the various international security providing organizations must collaborate in a mutually reinforcing way. Moreover, the same organizations should preferably, according to rational theory, promote a division of labor of sorts among these entities, each specializing in the area where they have the greatest competitive advantage to avoid waste of scarce resources.[49] Nevertheless, inter-institutional ties between NATO and other international entities still remain limited, although NATO has oft-repeated its pledge to hard on developing closer ties and further contact and exchanges of information and enhance coordination with the UN or OSCE;[50] Moreover, in terms of the Alliance and the European Union there is definitely space for increased cooperation between the two organizations on topics of common concern, especially in the light of that EU has developed its own economic, political assistance programs for practically the same areas as NATO's EAPC/PfP and Mediterranean Dialogue.[51] Moreover, in view of the development of an incipient European Defense and Security Policy (ESDP), cooperation is needed, in that the new ESDP will rely on NATO planning structures etc. to perform civilian and military crisis management tasks.[52]

In summary, one might infer that NATO applies its cooperative security strategy to transfer stability by molding the foreign and security policy behavior and

[48] NATO Strategic Concept, 1999, pt. 14.
[49] For a few examples of the discussion regarding overlapping institutionality in terms of the European Union, please refer to Elisabeth Johansson, "EU's Foreign Policy and Subregionalization in the Baltic Sea area." Helmut Hubel et al. (coords.) *European Integration as New Framework of Evolving Relations in North-Eastern Europe: the 'Triangle' European Union — Baltic States — Russia*. Berlin: Berlin Verlag, 2002. pp. 371-92; or, Elisabeth Johansson, "EU and its Near Neighborhood: Subregionalization in the Baltic Sea and in the Mediterranean." Levrat, Nicolas, Willa Pierre (coords.), *EU's Influence and Capability in International Relations* EUROPA, Graduate Institute of European Studies de la Universidad de Ginebra, Ginebra, 2001.
[50] NATO Press Release. Final Communiqué, Ministerial Meeting of the North Atlantic Council, Washington, U.S. 24 April 1999: pt. 38-39.
[51] *ibid*., pt. 40.
[52] *ibid*., pt. 41.

expectations of the countries composing NATO's periphery. The Alliance and its neighbors are thus striving for a more transparent and predictable relationship among the participants in the different outreach programs, as well as better coordination between the efforts of the different regional and global organizations working for security in Europe. The evolvement of the relationship with the former will fundamentally depend on the willingness of the non-members to accept to adhere to the cooperative security regime. A comparative look different outreach programs reveal that motivation of non-members to adopt NATO norms has varied greatly from program to program, and between individual states within a determined outreach framework. The incentive to adhere to NATO's cooperative security regime is of course the strongest among potential future NATO members, while less strong among countries with enough leverage in the international system to 'go it alone' and among countries with pre-existing open conflicts where NATO is not seen as a credible actor to resolve the conflict, such for example the Middle East conflict.

(3)

NATO and Baltic Sea Security

During the Cold War, the Baltic Sea area[53] would find itself very much on the fringes of the superpower confrontation, as the strategic value of the Scandinavian peninsula and the Baltic Sea diminished after the World Wars with the introduction of new military techniques, for example, the inter-continental cruise missiles and space surveillance. The Alliance's northern European focus during the Cold War era would rather be on the strategic theatre in the North Atlantic, especially on surveying the Soviet submarine activity off the coast of Norway. Thus, apart from the occasional unidentified submarine, the postwar Baltic Sea would be what one analyst has qualified as a 'strategic backwater' and hence received little to no international attention.[54] Consequently Baltic Sea/Nordic security issues ranked low on NATO's agenda, especially from 1980 on, as Ronald Reagan took office in the White House, which generated a dramatic acceleration in the technological arms race between the two superpowers. The scarce interest in Brussels for Baltic Sea security issues; however, did not mean that these issues were completely absent from the NATO agenda. The three Nordic NATO members (Denmark, Iceland and Norway) from time to time voiced different pan-Nordic concerns in the North Atlantic Council. Informal consultations between the Nordic-5 during these years, the so-called 'Nordic balance,'[55] has been credited for maintaining relative stability and distension in the whole of the Baltic Sea area and enabling that joint Nordic interests could be defended at the seat of NATO (e.g. a nuclear-fee zone in the Nordic area, etc.).

The end of the Cold War and the emergence of new nation-states around the Baltic rim, as well as the union of the two Germanies, was met with widespread euphoria in the Baltic Sea subregion and called for a redefinition of the security logic in the area. Moreover, northeast Europe as a result of the changing international environment became "an important focal point of U.S. policy" and is to a certain extent viewed as "a laboratory for promoting closer [sub]regional cooperation and re-knitting

[53] Expression used to refer to the nine countries surrounding the Baltic Sea and includes Norway and Iceland that have historical ties to the area.

[54] Zbigniew Brzezinski, (Chairman). "Independent Task Force Report: U.S. Policy toward Northeastern Europe." *Independent Task Force on U.S. Policy Toward Northeastern Europe*, Council on Foreign Relations, Washington, (April, 1999). <http://www.cc.columbia.edu/sec/dlc/ciao/conf/cfr05/cfr05.html.>

[55] Concept referring to the informal agreements between the five Nordic states during the Cold War to develop their national security doctrines in close consideration of what effect it could have on any of the other Nordic states' security situation. Arne O. Brundtland. "The Nordic Balance Past and Present" *Cooperation and Conflict* 1 (2) (1966): 30-66.

Europe – both East and West – into a more cohesive economic and political unit."[56] Thus, the erstwhile indifference for Baltic Sea issues has given away to a more positive evaluation in NATO capitals of this particular geographical area in the past decade. The disappearance of the Soviet threat and new post-communist nation-states which appeared worthy of Western support for their democratic and economic reforms, have paved the way to a dynamic compatibility of American and European interests in the Baltic Sea subregion and a trans-Atlantic will to collaborate on northern European issues. NATO's reformed 1991 Strategic Concept which imparted a broadened security vision, including 'soft' security risks such as those originating from political, economic, social and environmental factors, has been fundamental for explaining the newfound interest in the Baltic Sea subregion.

Security consultation was begun with the NACC in 1992, however, the continued precariousness of the Baltic States' and other central and eastern European states' security situation, especially with the backdrop of the 1994 Russian general elections when Vladimir Zhirinovsky ran on a populist, imperialist, anti-Western ticket, called for more tangible measures. In the midst of several NATO membership applications from the CEECs, the Alliance launched the Partnership for Peace initiative. At the North Atlantic Council in Madrid 1997 Poland, along with the Czech Republic and Hungary, was invited to join the Alliance, especially supported by unified Germany, and thus expanding the Treaty area into former Warsaw Pact territory. The next NATO enlargement is likely to put the attention on the Baltic Sea again, whether the Baltic three receives an invitation to join or not.[57]

NATO and its Neighbors: the Early Days of the Partnership

If "[d]uring the Cold War, the European North was an area of gradual political transition from the western NATO in Norway over the neutrals Sweden and Finland to [Warsaw Pact] Soviet Union in the East," the post-Cold War international changes has meant that Denmark, the unified Germany, Iceland, Norway and Poland are NATO members, the Baltic states, Finland and Sweden are non-aligned, with the former knocking on the door for NATO membership, and Russia is considered a military power in its own right, due to its significant military arsenal.[58] The Baltic trio, the Nordic neutrals and Russia are all NATO partners through the EAPC/PfP and Russia, in addition, has a special bilateral relation with Brussels, in that Moscow concluded with the North Atlantic Council in 1997 the NATO-Russia Founding Act. However, although the bipolar rivalry vanished, especially after the fall of the Soviet Union, old military structures and outdated perceptions still lingered. This translated into that in the early 1990s the Baltic Sea became a venue where two 'new' actors not sure what to make of each other – the Russian Federation and the 'new' NATO – came together in uneasy coexistence. The continued presence of Soviet and later Russian military troops on

[56] Through the Council of the Baltic Sea States, the Barents Euro-Arctic Council, the Arctic Council, the Northern Dimension, the Northern European Initiative, the EAPC/PfP and a multitude of bilateral cross-border cooperation projects, especially in terms of 'soft' security problems. Brzezinski, *op. cit*.

[57] At present, with the post-11 September rapprochement between Washington and Moscow, the NATO invitation to the three Baltic States seems more than likely.

[58] Jan Prawitz "Some Measures of Confidence-Building in the European North," in Lassi Heininen and Gunnar Lassinantti (eds.). *Security in the European North — from 'Hard' to 'Soft.'* (Rovaniemi: Arctic Center, University of Lapland, 1999): 20.

Baltic soil until 1994, the (until present) unresolved border and minority issues between Russia and Estonia/Latvia, the strategic and environmental impact of the high concentration of Russian military equipment and personnel stationed near Norwegian, Finnish and Baltic borders — triggered in the early to mid-1990s considerable strain among the countries in the Baltic Sea area. This was further aggravated by the ambiguities surrounding the development and stability of the newly democratized states on the Baltic Sea rim — especially in the case of Russia and the Baltic States. A sure sign of the magnitude of the uncertainty in the area was that Sweden (a neutral country for over 185 years) and Finland sustained heated public debates during these years about whether or not they should join the Alliance.

In this increasingly tense and uncertain climate, NATO was to become a clear reference point for most of the non-member countries in the Baltic Sea area. The first attempt of the Alliance to create a multilateral partnership program for its northern neighbors was the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, which was launched in 1991 on a joint German-U.S. initiative. However, the merely consultative NACC would prove to be unsatisfactory to most countries and especially not for those Central and Eastern European countries which had unfinished business with Moscow and their Cold War legacy. Nor did NACC prove satisfactory for those post-communist countries aspiring to 'return to Europe,' i.e. to integrate as full members into Western European organizations. Thus, for many of NATO's neighbors, membership of that organization became seen as the best option to ensure political 'rehabilitation' and territorial integrity. The situation in the Baltic Sea echoed the experience in other parts of Europe, Poland and the Baltic countries made clear that they wanted NATO membership, upon finding little comfort in the Alliance's NACC arrangement. Thus, in 1994 the Alliance, unable to extend memberships to third countries at the time, launched the Partnership for Peace program, designed to assuage some of the perceived insecurities in the post-bipolar security environment.

All seven non-NATO member Baltic Sea countries joined the same year the Partnership was launched. The PfP was appealing to the Baltic Sea countries in that it offered a highly flexible formula and allowed the participants to pursue bilateral cooperation (NATO-partner country) based on a differentiated approach, where each country decides its own level of commitment and areas of cooperation. This was welcomed by the Baltic Sea countries in that, for example, Poland and the Baltic countries were able to pursue cooperative activity with the Alliance through the Partnership to improve their chances of becoming NATO members. Meanwhile, Sweden and Finland have benefited from the EAPC/PfP framework in that it allowed them to upgrade their national defense standards and hone their crisis management capabilities. They were able to undertake what they have defined as their new post-Cold War strategic missions — to perform peace support, search and rescue as well as humanitarian operations — together with NATO which they consider to be the epicenter of such activity at the present time. Moreover, the positive spin-off effect of PfP cooperation was that Sweden and Finland adjusted themselves to military practices on the European continent, which is serving them well as the European Union's security and defense policy (ESDP) is taking shape. Russia also joined the PfP in 1994; however, for a very different reason. Moscow perceived the initiative as a welcome substitute for NATO Baltic enlargement and *de facto* defusing the ambitions of the Baltic trio to join the Alliance.[59] However, Russia continued to view its own participation in the initiative with ambiguous feelings. "PfP represented at once a

[59] Graeme P. Herd, "Russia's Baltic Policy After the Meltdown," *Security Dialogue* 30 (2) (1999): 200

welcome respite from the possibility of [NATO] enlargement and a potential trap. For some time Russia had championed its own version of a European Security Architecture in which NATO's cooperation activities would be subordinated and dovetailed within the OSCE"[60] However, as the Partnership for Peace program took form and non-NATO countries lined up to join, Russia could no longer ignore NATO or PfP. Staying outside of the Partnership initiative would entail that Kremlin would not be able to influence the development and agenda setting of the PfP. The flurry of applications to join the PfP after January 1994 intensified Moscow's anxiety of remaining outside what was to become the most extensive military security cooperation programs of post-bipolar Europe.[61]

The EAPC/PfP

Twenty-three countries joined the Partnership for Peace when it was launched in 1994, and seven more has joined since. The PfP program was designed to make available the possibility for NACC partners, as well as willing OSCE states, to cooperate in terms of military and defense matters. The Partnership for Peace is a program with the ambitious objective to forge security links between the Alliance and its neighbors through practical cooperation, especially in the field of enhancing interoperability between partners and NATO, transparency in national defense planning and budgeting; democratic control of defense forces; preparedness for civil disasters and other emergencies; and the development of the ability to work together, including in NATO-led PfP operations. Each PfP partner country establishes its own cooperative objectives in collaboration with the Alliance, reflecting national capacity and interests. Moreover, NATO has committed itself to consult with any partner country in the PfP if that country perceives a direct threat to its territorial integrity, political independence or security.[62] Today the Partnership for Peace has converted itself into the perhaps foremost flagship of NATO's post-bipolar outreach programs and cooperative security strategy. Its rationale is clear, to avoid a return to history of World Wars and division, NATO Allies and other nations, including former Warsaw Pact members and neutrals within the Euro-Atlantic area must work together. Even countries with a strongly neutral tradition have been willing to join PfP and ready to help in peace support operations, and increasingly sympathetic to the ideals and goals of the Alliance.

As a military, bilateral cooperation the PfP has functioned well, however, it was soon evident the need for complimenting the bilateralism with a multilateral political organ, which included all the PfP partners. The NACC which had until then served the function of concerting policies for the former Warsaw Pact countries, was reformed and opened up to invite the non-aligned states and hence in 1997 the NACC was replaced by the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC). Today the EAPC encompasses 19 NATO allies and 27 partners at the level of Ambassadors and Foreign and Defense Ministers.[63] The EAPC facilitates consultation and cooperation on a range of political and security-related matters, including regional and subregional issues, arms control,

[60] Nicholas Williams, "The Future of Partnership for Peace," *Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, Arbeitspapier* (April, 1996): 18.
[61] *ibid*.
[62] NATO Ministerial Communiqué**.** Ministerial Meeting of the North Atlantic Council/ North Atlantic Cooperation Council, NATO Headquarters, Brussels, 10-11 January 1994.
[63] Although meeting at Heads of Government or State may also occur.

international terrorism, peacekeeping, defense economic issues, civil emergency planning, and scientific and environmental issues. The EAPC has also held consultations and practical cooperation courses on issues such as: civil emergency and disaster preparedness; armaments cooperation; nuclear safety; defense related environmental issues; civil-military coordination of air traffic management and control; scientific cooperation; and issues related to peace support operations.[64]

The 1999 Strategic Concept holds that —

> "[t]he Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC) will remain the overarching framework for all aspects of NATO's cooperation with its partners. It offers an expanded political dimension for both consultation and cooperation. EAPC consultations to build increased transparency and confidence among its members on security issues, contribute to conflict prevention and crisis management, and develop practical cooperation activities, including in civil emergency planning, and scientific and environmental affairs."[65]

The EAPC thus complements PfP which essentially a vertical cooperation scheme (NATO-partner cooperation), by fomenting interaction and dialogue at a multilateral or horizontal level. This interaction has been positively reinforced by the fact that many EAPC members have established diplomatic missions on the premises of or accredited to NATO HQ in Brussels.

The EPC/PfP programs have, in other words, provided a needed larger European framework in which specific cooperation among partner countries may be played out. This is how the Baltic Sea subregional cooperation have developed and prospered, although it is worth noting that its first years were shrouded with uncertainties. Notwithstanding an early recognition by the various Baltic Sea governments that subregional cooperation in terms of defense-related security could be a positive experience with important positive spill-over effects for other areas of cooperation, there was at first a great reluctance to proceed from words to deeds. The Baltic States and Poland were at first unenthusiastic to engage in security cooperation with other Baltic Sea countries in fear of that that would reduce their chances of becoming members of the Alliance. The Baltic States, while welcoming the assistance they were receiving from the Nordic countries, kept their eyes set on what they saw as a national imperative – NATO accession.[66] Finland and Sweden were initially prodded on by the Clinton administration to assume greater responsibility for the security of the Baltic States. However, the two Nordic neutrals were disinclined to do so, coinciding with the Nordic NATO members that such security guarantees could and should only be offered by the trans-Atlantic community. There was a perceptible fear among the non-NATO Baltic Sea countries of a fragmentalization of the European security space, whereby the Baltic Sea would become an entity separate from Euro-Atlantic security spheres. Speaking at a North Atlantic Cooperation Council in Dec. 1996, Jan Eliasson (the then State Secretary for Foreign Affairs of Sweden) stated that Baltic Sea "[subr]egional activities should have a strong link to central PfP and NATO structures, as well as to

[64] NATO Press Release. Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC) Action Plan 2000-2002. 16 December 1999.
[65] NATO Strategic Concept, pt. 34
[66] Algirdas Saudargas, (then Foreign Minister of Lithuania), "Baltic Security is European Security" *NATO Review* 46 (4) (Winter 1998): 4-7.

NATO member states outside the immediate [sub]region."[67] The indivisibility of Baltic security from larger European security structures was echoed by the former Foreign Ministers of Finland Tarja Halonen and of Sweden Lena Hjelm-Wallén, in an oft-cited joint article in a Swedish and a Finnish daily in 1997.[68] The Nordic countries' strategy would therefore correspond to a formula which offered the Baltic States assistance according to a three track recipe: "to develop PfP exercises and training both in terms of quality and quantity. The second would be to give specific support to the Baltic countries, in order to strengthen their capacity for participation in the PfP. The third track would be to attract broad participation, including that of Russia and the US, in [sub]regional PfP activities."[69]

The Nordic strategy was to be facilitated by that the PfP and the EAPC formally opened the door for subregional consultations to take place among interested actors in a particular geographical area under NATO tutelage.[70] The EAPC has actively helped to promote dialogue and cooperation among neighbors in a subregional format, allowing interested partners to come together and discuss subregional security problems in South Caucasus, the Baltic Sea, Central and Eastern Europe, Southeastern Europe and Central Asia. The first EAPC subregional cooperation seminar was hosted by Georgia in October 1998. Since then similar events have been held in Lithuania, Slovakia, Bulgaria and Uzbekistan in 1999. Moreover, a host of different military multilateral cooperation activities between the countries in the Baltic Sea area in terms of training and joint maneuvers on peacekeeping, search and rescue, maritime safety etc. have been organized within the framework of NATO's Partnership for Peace.[71] However, perhaps the best example of military cooperation between NATO countries, Sweden and Finland on the one hand and Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, on the other, has been the proposition to create, train and deploy a Baltic peacekeeping force.

Subregional Initiatives under the EAPC/PfP Umbrella

Security cooperation among Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania was commenced in 1992, and since 1994 it has received regular outside assistance from the Nordic countries, especially Denmark and Sweden, together with Great Britain, the Netherlands, France, the United States and Germany.[72] In June 1992, the Baltic States signed the *Protocol on Agreement on Co-operation in the Field of Defence* by which they committed themselves to jointly explore formal military security cooperation.[73] In 1993, a proposal to create a Baltic Peacekeeping Battalion (BALTBAT) was put forward by the Estonian Defense Forces at a meeting of Baltic military commanders. While the proposal was met favorably by Riga and Vilnius, experience and financial resources to carry out such an initiative were limited and, therefore the Baltic States approached the Nordic states

[67] Jan Eliasson (then State Secretary for Foreign Affairs of Sweden) *North Atlantic Cooperation Council Minister Meeting*, 11 December 1996.
[68] Tarja Halonen and Lena Hjelm-Wallén. "Finland och Sverige inför NATOs utvidgning" published in *Hufvudstadsbladet* as well as *Dagens Nyheter*, 15 March 1997.
[69] Eliasson, *op. cit*.
[70] Although informal consultations at subregional levels had already become a practice previous to the EAPC.
[71] Prawitz, 20
[72] Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "The Baltic Battalion, regional and international co-operation", *Estonia Today*, 1999 <http://www.vm.ee/eng/estoday/1995/9509bat.html>.
[73] *ibid*.

for assistance. Hence, in 1994, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, the Nordic-5 and United Kingdom signed the 'Memorandum of Understanding Concerning Co-operation on the Formation of a Baltic peacekeeping Battalion (MOU). In 1996 Holland joined the group of supporting nations and since France, Germany and the United States also contribute to the development of the BALTBAT project. The objectives of BALTBAT are "to provide a mechanism for the development of Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian defense forces, to enhance the capacity of Baltic international peacekeeping, to assist Baltic security and military co-operation, to prepare the Baltic States for PfP activities and to promote sovereignty and security in the region."[74]

The BALTBAT project was established in three different phases. First, Baltic officers participated in Nordic peacekeeping training courses, where they received basic military training, language training and specialist UN training. Second, the Baltic officers received training in their framework of their national infantry companies (ESTCOY, LATCOY and LITCOY). Finally, the training was continued in real peacekeeping scenarios, where Baltic BALTBAT officers participated alongside their Nordic peacekeeping homologues. BALTBAT contingents have been deployed in various missions organized within the framework of the Partnership for Peace, for example, in the IFOR/SFOR mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina together with Nordic and Polish troops as a part of NORDPOLBDE.[75] In Bosnia, Russia cooperated side by side the NORDPOLBDE thus giving the effort there a Baltic Sea flavor. The same peacekeeping forces were also present in Kosovo for the KFOR mission. In addition, all three Baltic peacekeeping units have also taken part in practice missions and real operations under the auspices of the UN, for example, the Estonian national infantry company (ESTCOY) was deployed to the UN peacekeeping operation UNIFIL in southern Lebanon as part of the Norwegian battalion.

The BALBAT experience generated almost immediately complementary multilateral and bilateral military cooperation projects in the Baltic Sea, which are also designed to provide added value to the EAPC/PfP framework, for example, the Baltic Defense College (BALTDEFCOL) in Tartu (Estonia), which receives outside financial and technical assistance, in particular from Sweden and Denmark. Moreover, other projects include a naval Baltic Mine-clearing Squadron (BALTRON), which has been funded by NATO members Germany and Norway. These two countries also provide technical assistance to a Baltic Air Surveillance (BALTNET) project, with ties to the American Regional Airspace Initiative.[76] In addition a 'PfP Baltic Sea Area Exercise and Training Center' was established in 1997 in Almnäs Sweden, by the Swedish Armed Forces.[77] One of the objectives of the PfP Center is to strengthen Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian capacity for maximizing the use of their participation in Partnership exercise. To this end the Center organizes 'pre-PfP exercises' prior to major

[74] Danish Ministry of Defense, "An overview of Danish defence co-operation with Partners" Copenhagen, 1998. < http://www.fmn.dk/udlandet/ostsam.htm >

[75] Ola Tunander : "Norway, Sweden and Nordic Cooperation" in Lassi Heininen and Gunnar Lassinantti (eds.). *Security in the European North — from 'Hard' to 'Soft.'* (Rovaniemi: Arctic Center, University of Lapland, 1999): 47-8

[76] Royal Danish Embassy, Estonia. Defense Attaché's Office. "Multilateral projects." <http://www.denmark.ee/uk-main.htm>

[77] The purpose of the Center is to organize, train for and support an international command in peace operations. The command is composed of a multinational force, large enough to be able to form an independent unit (battalion) within a larger international force. Special attention is paid to areas such as mine-clearance, transport and medical care, civil humanitarian operations and cooperation between civil and military defense components. A mine-clearance center was established in Eksjö, Sweden, 1 of July 1997. Speech by Björn von Sydow (Swedish Minister for Defense) at the Inauguration of the Swedish International Command and the Partnership for Peace Regional Training Centre, 1997-06-14.

Partnership for Peace maneuvers, adapted to the needs of the Baltic States.[78] The establishment of a subregional Partnership center has acted to increase the quality of PfP training and courses and to avoid 'bottlenecks' where all PfP countries cannot take part in pan-Partnership for Peace exercises.

The Baltic Sea and Cooperative Security

The EAPC/PfP has provided a highly pliable cooperative framework in which the different non-member countries in the Baltic Sea subregion have been able to pursue a flexible engagement based on differentiated levels and different commitments with NATO, while never separated from pan-Euro-Atlantic structures. This has enabled the majority of the Baltic Sea countries find a place in the shadow of NATO and improved their confidence in the Alliance as central to a new security order. Moreover, the EAPC/PfP structures have allowed the majority of the Baltic Sea countries to cooperate among them on a regular basis in terms of security matters, which has acted as confidence building measures among the countries in the subregion. One might thus infer that the EAPC/PfP has worked well in fomenting confidence among most countries on the Baltic Sea rim and decisively helped to develop confidence, stability and security in the area.

The success of the cooperation initiatives in the Baltic Sea, especially via the BALTBAT initiative, lies with that it has managed to create and maintain a functioning Baltic peacekeeping capacity, which in turn has generated subregional confidence for undertaking other security cooperation activities. This view is supported by the Danish Ministry of Defense which argues that: "one measure of BALTBAT's success – and the model of co-operation that is has spawned – has been the blossoming of other multilateral projects in the region…"[79] Not only has the battalion led to other Baltic multilateral defense projects but it has also inspired other groups of states, for example, the cooperation between Romanian and Hungarian peacekeeping battalions as well as their Polish-Ukrainian homologues.[80]

Moreover the success with the BALTBAT project has also been that it has helped the Baltic defense forces to develop and adapt to the demands of the current international security environment, thus enhancing the Baltic trio's preparedness to join the Atlantic Alliance. While there is no direct link between the BALTBAT project and NATO membership, the exposure and training that the Baltic forces have received makes them increasingly compatible and interoperable with NATO forces as the experience is passed on to the remainder of Baltic armed forces. The multilateral Baltic Sea cooperation, where countries from outside the subregion also participate on an *ad hoc* basis, has in general served to consolidate and modernize the Polish and the Baltic States' national armed forces. Nordic military cooperation has also been able to flourish within the PfP framework Nordic military cooperation, formerly carried out under U.S. banner, has now developed into an open collaboration on military initiatives in Europe under UN and NATO leadership. Since 1997, the Nordic countries have staged joint military maneuvers, *Nordic Peace*, inside the framework of NATO's Partnership for Peace. The Nordic-5 have in the past decade intensified their military collaboration

[78] Swedish Ministry of Defense, "International Cooperation."
<http://forsvar.regeringen.se/inenglish/issues/internationellt.htm>
[79] Danish Ministry of Defense, *op. cit.*
[80] *ibid*.

under UN and NATO leadership, being especially active in the former Yugoslavia. One Nordic battalion — NORDBAT I — was deployed in Macedonia while a second — NORDBAT II — coordinated the efforts of the Nordic-Baltic-Polish brigade NORDPOLBDE in Bosnia.[81]

Notwithstanding the relative success of the Alliance cooperative security approach in the Baltic Sea area, the cooperation has not managed to resolve two important security concerns, which must become the focus of increased attention in the years to come.

The first concern is related to NATO's reluctance to fulfill the promise it pledged by the EAPC founding act to "provide the framework to afford Partner countries, to the maximum extent possible, increased decision-making opportunities relating to activities in which they participate"[82] Although some efforts have been made to engage EAPC members "within limits, in political consultations and decision-making, in operational planning and in command arrangements for future NATO-led operations in which they participate" the actual input allowed has been limited.[83] The continued NATO member unease to allow non-member states to have a say in the direction of the outreach program and some limited decision making powers as concerning some cooperative activities, is perhaps what has made EAPC somewhat fragile. The lack of decision making potential may result in indifference and apathy among partners in some cases for entire NATO outreach programs, thus NATO's ability to shape its nearby external security environment may diminish. Fundamental in most cooperative undertakings is a sense of ownership by all participants over the political programs and therefore participation in the decision making in terms of the cooperation programs must be strengthened. The EAPC could and should therefore be explored gradually as a possible primary forum for deliberations over a wide range of topics, such as conflict prevention, peackeeping, terrorism, disarmament etc. and not just a place to brief EAPC partners on the results of North Atlantic Council decisions as it is currently.

The second concern is related to the relative disinterest Russia has shown for EAPC/PfP and for subregional military cooperation in the Baltic Sea. Although on average the stability and the good neighborliness of the Baltic Sea has improved dramatically in the past decade, the incognito in Baltic Sea security continues to be the Russian Federation. The Baltic States' NATO ambitions and Western desire to accommodate Russia into Baltic Sea as well as European security structures have until recently been two seemingly contradictory aspirations. The Partnership for Peace initiative was at first seen as the perfect solution. The trans-Atlantic hope was that Russia would find its own role in exploiting the possibilities of PfP and developing an Individual Partnership Program suitable for its size and importance.[84] However, Russia soon felt at unease within the new partnership program and desisted from participating in the PfP exercises and activities which NATO or partner countries organized. The logical follow-up then seemed to create a special forum between NATO and Russia, which came into being up as a part of the framework in the NATO-Russia Founding Act (1997) in the form of the NATO-Russia Permanent Joint Council (PJC).[85] Notwithstanding, Moscow soon discovered that the new PJC did not differ much from

[81] Tunander, 47-8.
[82] As cited in Robert E. Hunter, "NATO's Evolving Partnership:Getting Cinderella to the Ball," *NATO Review* 49 (2) (Autumn, 2001): 10-12.
[83] *ibid*.
[84] Williams, 18.
[85] *ibid*., 19.

earlier arrangements, in that the Council mainly served to inform Moscow about the decisions taken by the North Atlantic Council. The creation of this special arrangements for Russia (and Ukraine) outside the Partnership structures, is seen by some analysts as evidence for the clear failure of the EAPC/PfP, in not being flexible enough to satisfy cooperation requirements of all partners. As one analysts puts it, the –

> "apparent devaluation of PfP thus risks creating a wider disincentive for the type of military-to-military cooperation which PfP is superbly organised for. In Russia's case it is arguable that an intensive programme of military cooperation with NATO would bring an even greater long term benefit than political consultations, as useful and necessary as they may be… The NATO Enlargement Study implicitly confirms the idea that Russia and NATO have different interests, which could even be at odds with each other, by aiming for a relationship 'based on reciprocity, mutual respect and confidence, no surprise decisions by either side which could affect the interests of the other'. Such a relationship might inspire strategic confidence and reassurance. It does not necessarily transform attitudes. Alone, it would do little to dispel the misunderstanding and mistrust of NATO and its members that persists in large segment of Russian society and particularly in Russian military circles."[86]

In practice, Kremlin's relationship with NATO has since the mid-1990s been based on the developments of *ad-hoc* political consultations outside the EAPC/PfP format[87] Moreover, the negative reaction in Moscow over the 1999 NATO air campaign over Serbia, led it to withdraw from the Permanent Joint Council temporarily. As one analyst has put it: "Russia's historic distrust of NATO and of the United States, which had dampened at the beginning of the 1990s, flared back alive when NATO, a defensive alliance, took up arms in an offensive action against Russia's Slavic kinsmen and political allies in the 1999 Kosovo conflict."[88]

NATO's and in particular certain NATO members' bilateral and multilateral efforts to create a lasting cooperative security regime with Russia in the framework of EAPC/PfP and in the Baltic Sea area has thus been largely unsuccessful. However, Russia remains an important piece in the puzzle of Baltic Sea security, which should be pursued through a constructive and inclusive security dialogue and cooperation. If Russia integrates smoothly in the Baltic Sea it is more likely to integrate seamlessly with the rest of Europe. "But if Russia fails — or refuses — to build strong ties based on mutual respect and mutual benefit with this strategically and economically vital [Baltic Sea sub]region, it will be much harder for Russia to find its place within the new Europe."[89] Thus the involvement of Russia in Baltic Sea cooperation is a 'test case' and an important part of the larger scheme to reach out to Russia and draw it closer to European institutions and cooperative practices and to diffuse tension between NATO and Russia over NATO enlargements.[90] In other words, the great conundrum for the Alliance in the short to medium term will be to assuage Russian apprehensions, by pressing for greater engagement at both the bilateral level, as well as providing Moscow

[86] Williams, 21.
[87] Nicholas Williams, "Partnership for Peace: Permanent Fixture or Declining Asset," *Survival* 38 (1) (Spring 1996): 107.
[88] James A. Baker III., "Russia in NATO?" *The Washington Quarterly* 25 (1) (Winter 2002): 96.
[89] Lyndon L. Olson, "The U.S. Stake in Northern Europe," in Lassi Heininen and Gunnar Lassinantti (eds.). *Security in the European North — from 'Hard' to 'Soft.'* (Rovaniemi: Arctic Center, University of Lapland, 1999): 57.
[90] Brzezinski, 9.

with incentives for participating in various subregional partnership activities — among them in the Baltic Sea.

Perhaps the 11 of September 2001 U.S. attacks, where several thousand Americans, 800 other NATO citizens and almost 100 Russians died, has opened a needed window of opportunity for drawing Russia closer to NATO structures and programs.[91] The terrorist attacks in New York and Washington and Russia's support for U.S. efforts in Afghanistan has created a unexpected *rapprochement* between Washington and Moscow. As a consequence, a 'NATO-Russia Council,' i.e. the 19 Allies plus Russia, replacing the PJC, is to be established on 28 May 2002, "where NATO member states and Russia will work as equal partners in areas of common interest, while preserving NATO's prerogative to act independently"[92] The Council will operate on the principle of consensus, and alledgedly focus on political issues such as joint actions against terrorism and monitoring weapons of mass destruction.[93] Of course, fears abound on each side, in Moscow, on the one hand, Russia's more Western-oriented and liberal sectors worries about that the new Council will only prove to be yet another 'empty scheme' involving the Alliance, while the hawkish sectors are apprehensive about the potential loss of national sovereignty and freedom of action. Some NATO Allies, on the other hand, fear that Russian political and economic reforms are still too recent and fragile to be a reliable partner on sensitive issues. Notwithstanding, one might infer that this Council could proved to be pivotal as a NATO-Russia confidence building exercise, that is if the objectives set for the Counicl are taken to heart. However, the Brussel-Moscow connection may also still be severely tested in the months to come, in that, as one author holds: "[g]etting along peacefully with one's antagonists is the real challenge, as NATO has gradually discovered in dealing with Russia" especially as the Prague Summit and the question of NATO enlargement draws closer.[94]

[91] Willem Matser, "Towards a New Strategic Partnership," *NATO Review* 49 (4) (Winter 2001): 19-21.
[92] NATO Press Release. Final Communiqué. Ministerial Meeting of the North Atlantic Council. Reykjavik, Iceland, 14 May 2002.
[93] "Russian bid to 'weaken' NATO alienates West," *The Times* (London), 16 March 2002.
[94] Olav F. Knudsen, "What Promise for Regional Cooperative Security? A Comparison of the Baltic Sea Region and Northeast Asia." Pacific Focus 14 (2) (Fall 1999): 11.

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NATO and Mediterranean Security

During the Cold War the Mediterranean, similarly to the Baltic Sea area, only assumed importance for NATO as a backdrop to the globally played out East-West bipolar competition, with the added twist of being the scene of the Middle East conflict. In the decades following upon the end of the World War II, the only Mediterranean causes for the Allies' concern would be the USSR overtures towards Greece and Turkey (USSR containment) and the consequences of the Arab-Israeli conflict. In the 1960s, the seemingly increasing Soviet influence over some non-aligned countries in the southern Mediterranean, led to the permanent establishment of American presence: the Sixth Fleet. In the same period, the European countries (with the exception of France) were neither able nor willing to develop a European policy for the Mediterranean region. Accordingly, Washington would largely become the sole agenda setter of the Atlantic Alliance in the Mediterranean, a fact which was deeply resented in Paris. Notwithstanding, the Mediterranean 'southern Flank' of the Alliance would remain a secondary front all through the bipolar era, completely in the shadow of the perceived all-important Central Front running north-south in continental Europe.

The end of the Cold War, however, would alter the existing order in the Mediterranean and would call for a change in the trans-Atlantic definition of security and strategic purpose in this area. As the Soviet influence disappeared, other international events took the center stage and would draw the trans-Atlantic attention to Mediterranean security. The 1991 Gulf War and negative reactions from the public in some of the southern Mediterranean countries alerted the Alliance to the need to engage its southern neighbors in dialogue. Moreover, developments in Algeria and the generally reluctant attitude among Arab states – especially Egypt – to adhere to the non-proliferation treaty (NPT) and prevent the proliferation of other weapons of mass destruction (WMD) were also decisive factors in redefining the trans-Atlantic post-bipolar vision of Mediterranean security. The newfound interest for the *Mare Nostrum* in Brussels is reflected in that the Mediterranean was mentioned in the 1991 Strategic Concept. However, Mediterranean issues continued to be perceived in different ways by Americans and Europeans and already in the early years of the 1990s a noticeable divergence began to develop among member states regarding a potential role of NATO in the Mediterranean. Moreover, the consolidation of the European Union as an important political and economic seat of power with the Treaty of Maastricht (1991), emancipated the Europeans to develop its own Mediterranean policy (heavily promoted by France). This would take shape in 1995 in the form of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership, which targets 'soft' security issues in the Mediterranean basin, by

encouraging political and security cooperation, economic development and trade, as well as increased attention to social issues. Washington's interest in Mediterranean issues was on the other hand more focused on non-proliferation and as a vehicle to enable NATO to adapt to the new post-Cold War security environment.

Thus, even if the Mediterranean had made itself onto the agenda in Brussels in the early 1990s, the Mediterranean continued to be a relatively low priority for the Alliance, in that the developments in Eastern and Central Europe and in the Balkans absorbed NATO's attention. Only in 1994, as a result of the positive experiences gathered from the NACC and progress the Middle East Peace Process, would NATO declare its willingness to open a dialogue with selected southern Mediterranean countries.[95]

NATO and its Mediterranean Neighbors: the Run-up to the Dialogue

In the new context in the early 1990s, with the removal of the superpower overlay and the seeming withdrawal of Western political presence and lessening economical interests (except for energy), and with a grim socioeconomic prognosis facing the area in the coming years, the Mediterranean became victim of a general destabilization. Moreover, the Gulf War had shown the growing sensibilities in the Arab world. Thus, the early 1990s saw a rise in Islamic fundamentalist violence in Algeria, growing tension between Greece and Turkey in the Aegean Sea and an increasing proliferation of conventional arms and weapons of mass destruction, which gave cause for alarm both in southern Mediterranean as well as in Europe. Moreover, the already precarious situation in both Maghreb and Mashreq was further exacerbated by an acceleration of the world economy (leaving most of the southern Mediterranean countries at the sideline), by rapid demographic growth and by a growing ineptness of many southern Mediterranean states to provide needed public goods for their populations.

This led to that in the early 1990s a host of different European security providing organizations began launching (or relaunching) different Mediterranean Initiatives. Italy and Spain, perceiving that the Alliance needed a counterweight to its focus on Central and Eastern European security issues, lobbied hard for NATO to become more involved in Mediterranean security. However, their lobbying met some initial resistance in that the U.S. was anxious about the status of the Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean and France supported a Euro-Mediterranean initiative through the WEU, rather than NATO. Furthermore, many other NATO members were fearful that increasing ties with the South would divert scarce resources from the East. However, finally the Italo-Spanish proposal gained ground in that "[i]t would have looked odd for NATO to ignore the Mediterranean given the interest, for example, of… the EU, the OSCE, and WEU in the south."[96] The Mediterranean Dialogue would come following a period of heavy negotiation between the NATO Allies. The Mediterranean security concerns, and whether the Alliance should be involved in addressing them, was not felt equally important by all NATO members. The Dialogue would thus not enjoy the Alliance-wide support which NATO's policies towards Central and Eastern Europe after the fall of the Berlin Wall had enjoyed. The urgency was perhaps the strongest among the southern

[95] M. Fatih Tayfur, "Security and Co-operation in the Mediterranean," *Perceptions* 5 (3) (September-November, 2000).
[96] Gareth M. Winrow, *Dialogue with the Mediterranean: The Role of NATO's Mediterranean Initiative*, (New York: Garland Publishing, 2000): 154.

NATO members, which led to some strain inside the Alliance between different prioritization of Mediterranean issues. However, some evidence point to that eventually the "northern members of the Atlantic Alliance realized the importance of supporting its southern members on what at the time looked like a relatively low key diplomatic exercise."[97] The Mediterranean Dialogue thus took form after a consensus had been reached between the Allies on which non-member countries should be invited to form part of the Dialogue, what issues to discuss, and at what level the dialogue should be conducted. Canada and the northern European NATO members finally gave their approval "when they were assured that the exercise would be cost free, would remain at the diplomatic level for the foreseeable future and would not divert NATO's attention away from Central and Eastern Europe."[98]

The North Atlantic Council meeting in Athens in June 1993 had noted that: "[s]ecurity in Europe is greatly affected by security in the Mediterranean" and thus, NATO must encourage "all efforts for dialogue and cooperation which aim at strengthening stability in this [sub]region. The example of [the Alliance's] improved understanding and cooperative partnership with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe could serve to inspire such efforts."[99] Thus, a political dialogue with selected countries in the Mediterranean basin was formally launched in 1994. The lack of references or the scarce references to the Mediterranean during the time period which spans from the adoption of the Strategic Concept in 1991 and the launch of the Mediterranean Dialogue in 1994, illustrates well the continued existence of internal differences between NATO members on the issue of NATO involvement in the Mediterranean.

NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue was not to be initiated under the most favorable circumstances. The cohesive which finally unified the Allies behind a NATO initiative for the Mediterranean was the risk factor which had been drummed up by the southern NATO members, where proliferation of WMDs figured prominently. On 5 February 5 1995, at a conference in Munich, Germany U.S. Secretary of Defense Perry openly stated that the Mediterranean, in the form of North Africa, posed a security threat to the Atlantic Alliance and its members. Moreover, in an interview with the German newspaper *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, coinciding in time with the Munich conference, the then NATO Secretary-General Willy Claes was cited as to have declared that Islamic fundamentalism was at least as dangerous as Communism used to be during the Cold War and further adding that it was to be impossible to reconcile Islamic fundamentalism and democracy.[100] Perhaps this was the unifying factor which the trans-Atlantic community needed to go ahead with their plans to launch a Mediterranean Dialogue; however, the implications of these statements were of course not received positively among Arab governments and societies. The scandal was served and feelings flared high on both sides of the Mediterranean. One week later Secretary General Claes moderated his remarks by dropping the comparison between Islamist fundamentalism and Communism, but this did not do much to assuage sensitive Arab minds in that Claes maintained that Islamic fundamentalism was a major threat to NATO.

[97] Winrow, 155.
[98] i*bid*., 154-5.
[99] NATO Press Release. Ministerial Meeting of the North Atlantic Council. Athens, Greece, 10 June 1993.
[100] Winrow, 157-8.

The remarks of the U.S. Secretary of State and NATO's Secretary General would therefore cast an ominous shadow of mutual suspicion over the Mediterranean Dialogue before it even began.

The Mediterranean Dialogue

Five countries joined the Dialogue initially: Egypt, Israel, Mauritania, Morocco and Tunisia. Jordan joined in November 1995 and Algeria in February 2000. The Mediterranean Dialogue started off with the limited objective "to establish contacts, on a case-by-case basis between the Alliance and Mediterranean non-member countries with a view to contributing to the strengthening of [sub]regional stability."[101] This unassuming objective was both a reflection of the realization that many security problems inherent to the area could not be resolved within the framework of the Dialogue (ex. the Arab-Israeli conflict, non-proliferation etc.) and a recognition that the southern Mediterranean socioeconomic insecurities would be better addressed by more adequate institutions (e.g. the European Union). Moreover, without organizational experience in dealing with this particular set of Mediterranean non-member countries, the Alliance could not set more ambitious objectives for the Dialogue in that it first needed to explore the basis for possible security cooperation between the transatlantic community and selected countries Northern Africa and the Middle East.

The Dialogue is predominantly bilateral (NATO – Dialogue country) in character, encompassing political dialogue and practical cooperation. The political dialogue is used to inform the southern Mediterranean partners about NATO, thus "achieving a better understanding and correcting any misperceptions about the Atlantic Alliance."[102] Moreover, the Dialogue also invites the Mediterranean partners to share with NATO their views on stability and security in the Mediterranean area. The Dialogue provides for political discussions with the participating countries and an opportunity for extensive briefings on NATO's activities. Up until the NATO Madrid Summit 1997 the political dialogue was conducted on an *ad-hoc* basis, and, as one analyst has pointed out: "the dialogue appeared to be a dialogue between the Political Affairs Division of the international staff of NATO and the officers from the embassies of the non-member Mediterranean states in Brussels. Thus, is turned out to be a diplomatic-administrative rather than a political dialogue since neither NATO nor the NAC [North Atlantic Council] was directly involved in it."[103] However, since 1997, institutionalized periodic bilateral meetings between the Alliance and Mediterranean partners take place. The Madrid Summit also created the Mediterranean Cooperation Group (MCG), which now constitutes the driving force behind the Dialogue, where the short term objectives for the Dialogue are set between Allies and Dialogue country (meeting under a 19+1 formula). In the Mediterranean Cooperation Group the NAC and the NATO Allied ambassadors have complemented the NATO International Staff as interlocutors with the Mediterranean Dialogue countries.

In terms of practical cooperation in security and defense-related areas, the work is organized through an annual Work Program focusing on information, civil emergency planning and science. Participants from Dialogue countries have been invited to take part in courses at the NATO School in Germany and the NATO Defense College

[101] NATO Press release. North Atlantic Council, Final Communiqué, Brussels, 1 December 1994.
[102] *ibid*.
[103] Tayfur, *op. cit.*

(NADEFCOL) in Rome.[104] The Mediterranean partners are invited to participate in specific activities, such as science, information, civil emergency planning and courses at NATO schools covering peacekeeping issues; arms control; environmental protection; civil-military cooperation for civil emergency planning; and European security cooperation. A number of international fellowships have also been made available to researchers from Dialogue countries. Activities take place on a self-funding basis and the level of participation varies from country to country.[105] Moreover, in 1999 for example, NATO's two major commands (Allied Command Europe and Allied Command Atlantic) organized 49 specific military activities involving participation by Mediterranean Dialogue countries. This included the observation of Partnership for Peace activities in the fields of search and rescue, maritime safety and medical evacuation, as well as exercises related to peace support and humanitarian relief.[106] Another example of practical cooperation is the Sixth Fleet's regular West African Training Cruises that bring Navy-Marine amphibious ships and even Coast Guard cutters to various Dialogue country ports for teaching and training purposes.[107]

The NATO Mediterranean Dialogue is progressive in character, which leaves room for new activities to be undertaken when the political circumstances so allow. Moreover, although the Dialogue is predominantly bilateral in form, some multilateral meetings on a case by case basis have also been undertaken. In terms of multilateral activities, meetings in a 19+7 format have taken place in Rome (1997), Valencia (1999) and in Brussels (October 2001). At the meeting in Rome the future agenda and a reform in the functional operation of the Dialogue was agreed upon. The conference in Valencia 1999, organized by the Spanish government in cooperation with NATO, brought, for the first time, together the Ambassadors from Allies and Dialogue countries.[108] At Valencia concrete measures for multilateral future practical cooperation were also proposed, among them, for example cooperation in terms of civil emergency planning.

The main emphasis of the Mediterranean Dialogue is thus, as we have seen, the political dialogue, diplomatic exchange and briefing sessions, while the practical cooperation facet of the Dialogue has until present been rather limited.

However, there are some indicators pointing to that this might change in that in the wake of the 11 September 2001 attacks. Several rounds of meetings have been held since, i.e. the 19+1 meetings in October 2001 and the 19+7 meetings of 23 October 2001 and 9 January 2002, were Allies have affirmed their intention to upgrade and raise the level of the Mediterranean Dialogue, especially in terms of practical cooperation.[109] In view of the next Summit of NATO Heads of State and Government in Prague in November 2002, a new round of bilateral consultations is to take place in June-July 2002 and a 19+7 meeting in May 2002, following the NATO Ministerial meeting in Reykjavik, will hopefully bring forth new ideas for how to strengthen the practical cooperation facet of the Dialogue.

[104] NATO Fact Sheets. "The Alliance's Mediterranean Dialogue." < http://www.nato.int/docu/facts/2000/med-dia.htm>
[105] *ibid.*

[106] NATO Press Release "A reader's guide to the NATO Summit in Washington" 23-25 April, 1999.
[107] James Kitfield, "Danger Zone," *National Journal* 29 (May 10, 1997): 925.
[108] Alberto Bin, "Le dialogue méditerranéen de l'OTAN: La contribution de l'Alliance atlantique à la coopération en matiére de sécurité régionale," *Défense* 89 (September, 2000): 32.
[109] NATO Partnerships. "Mediterranean Dialogue" <http://www.nato.int/med-dial/summary.htm>

The Mediterranean and Cooperative Security

The relative success of the Mediterranean Dialogue is that it has of late become recognized as "an integral part of the Alliance's cooperative approach to security and is based on the recognition that security in the whole of Europe is closely linked to security and stability in the Mediterranean region."[110]

However, NATO's cooperative security approach in the Mediterranean is troublesome for a number of reasons. In the years which have passed since the inauguration of NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue, only modest advances in terms of confidence building can been heralded. It is true that Europe's attention has been steadfastly focused on the more urgent problems in the Balkans and on the necessity to also see about the European house and deal with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Moreover, the return of violence in the Middle East has placed a notable obstacle in the way of further progress in terms of the NATO Dialogue (as well as for the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership). In addition, since many Mediterranean countries' prime regional security/stability problem is precisely the Middle East situation, the failure of Brussels and Washington to effectively deal with the various setbacks in the Peace Process since 1995 has compromised Europe and U.S. in the eyes of the Arab world. Thus, in spite of the stated desire to keep the Mediterranean Dialogue bilateral as a guarantee against that the situation in the Middle East would affect the NATO-Dialogue country relation, the unresolved Arab-Israeli dispute has still had a clearly negative influence on the Dialogue as a whole.

The practical cooperation initiatives proposed by NATO, in the framework of the Mediterranean Dialogue, have met a varied, but in general a reputedly fair reception among the Dialogue countries. Nevertheless, until recently southern Mediterranean countries' participation in practical cooperation activities open to them has been relatively low and varied greatly from one Dialogue country to another, due to the stipulation that most Dialogue activities are to take place on a self-funding basis. This has to some extent been remedied in the past few years, in that individual NATO members now have taken upon themselves to provide some financial assistance to enable the Dialogue countries to participate in Obergammau educational and training programs, as well as observers during PfP military exercises.[111] Notwithstanding, a thorny issue between the NATO and Dialogue countries in terms of the practical cooperation has been the differentiated and somewhat divergent north-south cooperation agendas. Finding common cooperation projects, outside the pre-established framework, in order to deepen the practical facet of the Dialogue has thus been difficult. NATO's broader security agenda in the Mediterranean includes non-proliferation, counter-terrorism, peacekeeping and humanitarian assistance, while the broader security agenda of the southern Mediterranean countries involves migration and cultural security and economic problems.[112] Adding to this problem has been the reluctance on the behalf on certain NATO member countries, as well as some Dialogue countries, to further deepen the practical cooperation due to real or perceived fear of the domestic public opinion's reaction to closer collaboration. The result has been that the range of cooperation

[110] NATO Fact Sheets. "The Alliance's Mediterranean Dialogue," *op. cit.*
[111] Javier Jordán Enamorado, "La seguridad en el Mediterráneo." in Carlos de Cueto and Javier Jordán (eds.). *Introducción a los estudios de seguridad y defensa*. (Granada: Editorial Comares, 2001): 282.
[112] Stephen Larrabee, et al. "NATO's Mediterranean Initiative: Policy Issues and Dilemmas," RAND Corporation, 1998): xiii

projects has remained rather limited, especially in contrast with the spectacular development of the EAPC/PfP in the past few years.

However, a perhaps more serious problem for the Dialogue and NATO's cooperative security strategy in the Mediterranean is the failure to improve on two of its fundamental objectives, to achieve better relations and understanding with its Dialogue partners, as well as promoting subregional security and stability. An integral part of the Alliance's cooperative security approach in the Mediterranean has been the intent to reduce feelings of threat and risks between the Alliance and its neighbors through political dialogue, information and confidence building, i.e. 'correcting misperceptions' about the nature and aims of the 'new' NATO in the post-Cold War era. The Alliance, however, has not managed to communicate to the Dialogue countries that it is today a fundamentally changed organization. The prevailing notion among Arab countries continues to be that the Alliance is a 'Cold War relic,' and the Dialogue an instrument which is currently used to subjugate security necessities in Northern Africa and in the Middle East to a trans-Atlantic greater good. There is thus a distinct lingering suspicion that the Mediterranean and in extension the rest of the Arab world has become the new 'East bloc' for the Alliance in the post-bipolar era. The Mediterranean Dialogue "is regarded as a project that, while intended to provide Europe with the stability it seeks for inter-regional (North-South) relations, does not necessarily provide the Arabs with a solution to intra-regional (South-South) conflicts so badly needed for their national security."[113]

Moreover, southern Mediterranean preoccupations stem from what they see as apparent contradictions in NATO words and deeds. While the Alliance in the Dialogue professes friendship and a benevolent interest in the security and stability of its Dialogue partners, internal reform and isolated activities undertaken by the NATO or NATO countries seems to prove otherwise. A clear example is the NATO reform of its military command in mid- to late 1990s, which perceptively strengthened NATO presence in the northern Mediterranean. The fact that Mediterranean NATO countries (France, Spain and Italy) are strengthening their capacity for rapid intervention forces, monitoring and reconnaissance and in general the reinforcement of air-naval capacity in AFSOUTH have not been interpreted lightly by the Arab neighbors, who feel themselves being the target of these reforms.[114] Moreover, NATO's ambition to undertake further out-of-area activities apart from the Balkans, humanitarian missions as well as the list of risks for the Alliance mentioned in the 1999 NATO Strategic Concept (WMDs, migration, drugs, organized crime and terrorism), are interpreted by the Mediterranean Dialogue partners as well as other southern Mediterranean countries as measures undertaken to justify any future potential trans-Atlantic military intervention in the Maghreb or Mashreq, which would in effect mean an infringement on their national sovereignties.

The Mediterranean Dialogue has thus provoked ups and downs in southern confidence in and reassurance of the Alliance's new post-bipolar objectives, "and what little confidence there was has been eroded by the intervention in Kosovo in 1999 — ironically enough, even though NATO endlessly pointed out that its actions where in

[113] Roberto Aliboni "Between Dialogue and Partnership: What North-South Relationship Across the Mediterranean?" Paper presented at the conference *Governing Stability Across the Mediterranean Sea: A Transatlantic Perspective*, organized by the Istituto Affari Internazionali. Rome, Italy, 21-23 March 2002.
[114] Roberto Aliboni. "Security Cooperation in the Mediterranean: Perceptions and Notions in Mediterranean Arab Countries," *Columbia International Affairs Online* 1/00 (1998): 4

support of a Muslim population...."[115] However, as George Joffé points out, it is not merely been the out-of-area agenda and the interventionist stance of the Alliance that has provoked such anxiety among southern governments. In addition, Arab Dialogue partners have resented the unilateral nature of the decision-making process in which southern states would be objects of Mediterranean security, not consulted participants, with full say on how matters related to the subregion's security should be solved.[116] The climate of mistrust and suspicion that has ensued and the failure of the Mediterranean political dialogue to correct and reassure the southern Mediterranean countries is evidence that the Dialogue is clearly not making the intended impact of creating a cooperative security regime bent on reassurance and confidence building.

In sum, the result is that the NATO Dialogue has turned into something of a vacuum, languishing in numerous policy committees and with a poor final result. The Alliance has to invest more deeply in the development of a more cooperative relationship with its Dialogue partner based on greater reciprocity, mutual respect and confidence. Perhaps by 'sub-subregionalizing' the Dialogue and give the Dialogue a dimension where southern Mediterranean countries can cooperate with individual or a group of few willing NATO states, a cooperation which might be easier to sell to the domestic public opinion, rather than continuing to cooperate only with NATO as a whole. Such an added dimension in the NATO-Dialogue country relationship might inspire strategic confidence and reassurance among the Dialogue partners. In addition, NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue could also focus on expanding practical security cooperation programs with those Mediterranean partners which have demonstrated an interest in deepening the bilateral Dialogue. The most effective way to achieve this would probably be through bilateral military cooperation with interested Dialogue partners based on a similar principle of "self-differentiation" as inherent in PfP, allowing Dialogue countries to establish on their own terms their individual political and military relationship with NATO. Moreover, in terms of multilateral cooperation, perhaps the most promising areas to explore right now in terms of multilateral exercises in the Dialogue's framework are NATO-Mediterranean cooperation on civilian emergency operation or maritime search and rescue.

Moreover, a fact which became evident fairly quickly is that as the EAPC/PfP is too large and heterogeneous a forum to impact substantially on individual countries' security perceptions (50+ countries), while on the other hand the Mediterranean Dialogue in contrast is a too restricted forum (with only 7 countries) in order to efficiently promote subregional security. There have been voices advocating an enlargement of the Mediterranean Dialogue, (which it did to include Algeria in 1999), however, the current continued conflictual situation in the Middle East and the fact that NATO is largely perceived with suspicion does not facilitate further accessions of new members. Thus, in order to become a more efficient cooperative security regime, the Alliance has to work hard to reform and constantly improve the Dialogue, filling it with relevant activities as well as continue to reassure its Mediterranean partners about the organizations new post-Cold War profile.

[115] George Joffé, "Europe and the Mediterranean: the Barcelona Process Five Years on," The Royal Institute of International Affair, Briefing Paper 16 (August 2000): 5
[116] *ibid*.

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NATO and Subregional Security Creation in and around the Euro-Atlantic area

The different outreach programs which have been created by the Alliance in the past decade, are testament to the changed and changing nature of NATO in the 21st century. NATO's member states have in the post-bipolar era gradually converted the Alliance into an instrument of cooperative security, intent on drawing its non-member neighbors into different mechanisms of engagement and cooperation. The Alliance has, in other words, converted itself from a passive Cold War provider of deterrence and defense into an active agent promoting a new approach to security in and around the European continent. This post-Cold War transformation of NATO is not yet completed; however, one may infer that today the Allies have most definitely shifted their conception of the Alliance –

> "…away from one devoted primarily to the defense of territory to one increasingly focused on the defense of common interests. The shift in conception is occurring in fits and starts, and it is not shared evenly among the allies. [However,]… it seems an inescapable reality that the most serious threats facing NATO's members lay beyond the treaty area. Hence, NATO's 'area of regard' is growing. The recent accession of the three new members (and their almost immediate involvement in a NATO military operation in the Balkans) is only one manifestation of this broader reality."[117]

The changing Atlantic Alliance and its cooperative security strategy has during the 1990s in general met a favorable welcome by its neighbors, a fact which is well illustrated by the large number of adherents which the different NATO's outreach programs have today, both in Europe and in the Mediterranean, with new partners adding themselves to the rank and file every now and then. However, there have also been moments of tension and confusion. Discrepancies, as we will see, have in particular arisen over the interpretation of what this 'defense of common interests' which the 'new' NATO is supposedly espousing, really entails and what consequences this may have for the Alliance's neighbors. Outreach program partners have in this sense been especially concerned over what appeared to be an outright contradiction in terms of the Allied cooperative security ambitions, creating stability and predictability

[117] David Ochmanek, "NATO's Future: Implications for U.S. Military Capabilities and Posture," *RAND Publications* MR-1162-AF, (2000): 8.

in inter-state relations, and NATO as a military alliance intervening over Kosovo in 1999.

Moreover, NATO's cooperative security strategy, and in more broad terms the changing nature of the post-Cold War Alliance, has not been an unambiguous exercise for the Alliance's member states. Although the internal and external adaptation of the 'new' NATO has been valuable to the Allies in that they have served to help preserve the Atlantic Alliance intact in the post-bipolar era, and at the same time been useful as a means to steer events beyond the Treaty area; the outreach programs have not escaped discordant notes in different NATO capitals. The most controversial items, as we will see, have been the differences of opinion between Article 5 traditionalists and reform-minded Allies, as well as the concrete content and scope of NATO's 'area of regard' and the further development of the different outreach programs.

The Neighbors and NATO's Strategy

In the flux of the early post-bipolar security environment, NATO's spontaneous gesture to reach out to the countries composing the former Warsaw Pact without exceptions, was met with much appreciation from NATO's Eastern European neighbors. Later the same and new outreach arrangements would open up to include the participation of a broad array of non-member countries, without distinction. This capacity for inclusiveness has maintained itself as a guiding line throughout the Alliance's post-Cold War development and this, one might infer has been one of the factors decisively contributing to NATO's outreach programs' relative success. The Alliance's inclusive approach has facilitated that "for the first time non-aligned countries have been able to institutionalise their relations with NATO countries without risking to be engulfed in Cold War rivalries."[118] NATO's outreach programs today encompass the majority of non-aligned or neutral western European countries, former Soviet space countries as well as selected southern Mediterranean countries, while keeping the door open for possible new accessions by interested third countries. One of the hallmarks of NATO's outreach programs is thus the participation of widely differing non-member countries, in terms of economic development and democracy, and the fact that in spite of heterogeneity most participants have found their own niche and level of desired involvement.

A second clear success has been the highly varied and flexible agenda of NATO's outreach programs, which – far from being static – has evolved as the different outreach programs have allowed for. The large number and great variation of security topics which NATO's outreach programs have proposed as possible areas of collaboration, have in general been appealing to partner countries. Since each country are bound to experience the exigencies of the post-Cold War international security environment differently, the panoply of the cooperative topic offered has therefore facilitated that most partners have been able to find a response to at least some of their security necessities. The great exception has of course been the Mediterranean Dialogue where their primary security concern – latent and open conflicts in the area – has not found even a rudimentary response from the Dialogue. Notwithstanding, it is still worth noting that in the assorted menu of different security project in the framework of the

[118] Guzzone, 91.

Mediterranean Dialogue, there have also been possibilities for some of the Mediterranean partners to find a response to minor security concerns.

Another highly positive aspect of NATO's cooperative security strategy has been the evolution of horizontal (multilateral) as well as complementing vertical (bilateral) engagement between the Alliance and the majority of partner countries. Since the partners have highly different security concerns, a single, uniform umbrella program 'one for all and all for one' simply would not have worked. The two-track formula of balancing the bilateral and the multilateral has proven very important and beneficial for EAPC/PfP, and the same formula could be applied more extensively in Mediterranean. The horizontal and vertical engagements have also been complemented well in the EAPC program by the encouragement of bilateral or multipart cooperation arrangements among individual partners. This is a pragmatic recognition, spurred on by extensive lobbying from some members/PfP partners, that an all-encompassing and uniform Euro-Atlantic security space managed by NATO (with 40 plus states in total) would prove unwieldy and not very relevant to most partners in the long term. Therefore, NATO has promoted, where possible, subregional initiatives for security cooperation, although always making sure that these function 'in the spirit of EAPC/PfP' to avoid the development of competing security paradigms. This mirrors well the current complementary twin-trends in the international system of globalization and localization. The forces of globalization generate interdependence between a large number of actors in the international system; however, finding a global joint response is in many cases very difficult. Therefore, states collaborate to form 'less-than-global' arrangements, i.e. regional or subregional initiatives, through which they aspire to manage the global insecurity problems jointly in smaller groups.[119] The reduced scale of the security cooperation and the numbers of participants facilitate the communication, the development of common interests and the confidence needed to confront the new insecurities. Far from interfering with NATO's over-arching scope of cooperative security for the Euro-Atlantic area, these 'less-than-global' arrangements favor the development of confidence building at a local/subregional level which in turn generate larger cooperative security gains at the regional level. In the words of one NATO official –

> "[t]he logic of [sub]regional security cooperation is clear. By pooling resources in the right way, like-minded countries can enhance their own security more effectively… Militarily, cooperation multiplies the potential of any individual country's armed forces. Politically, cooperation in the security field in the ultimate confidence and security-building measure because it requires transparency, coordination and mutual trust."[120]

[119] For further discussion of this trend, see for example: Filtenborg, Mette, Stefan Gänzle and Elisabeth Johansson, "An Alternative Theoretical Approach to EU Foreign Policy: 'Network Governance' and the Case of the Northern Dimension Initiative," *Cooperation and Conflict*, (December, 2002, forthcoming); Elisabeth Johansson, "EU's Foreign Policy and Subregionalization in the Baltic Sea area," in Helmut Hubel et al. (eds.) *European Integration as New Framework of Evolving Relations in North-Eastern Europe: the 'Triangle' European Union — Baltic States — Russia*. (Berlin: Berlin Verlag, 2002): 371-92; or Elisabeth Johansson, *Subregionalization in Europe's Periphery: the Baltic and Mediterranean Dimensions of EU's Foreign Policy*, Cuadernos de trabajo, Barcelona: Instituto Universitario de Estudios Europeos, 2000.

[120] James Appathurai, "NATO's Evolving Partnerships: Promoting Regional Security," *NATO Review* 49 (3) (Autumn 2001): 13-15.

Finally, another achievement of the NATO's cooperative strategy has been the practical facet of its outreach programs, complementing the political dialogue. The practical cooperation has been acclaimed by partners as much for their aim towards disarmament and better inter-state and civil-military relations etc., as well as in that they have allowed willing non-members to participate actively in NATO operations of crisis management or peace support missions in the Balkans, which the examples of Bosnia and in Kosovo demonstrate. NATO-led Implementation and Stabilization Forces (IFOR and SFOR) in Bosnia and the 1999 KFOR-mission in Kosovo proved to be especially fertile ground for collaboration between the Allies and partner countries which sent peacekeeping units to the area.[121] The Balkan peacekeeping missions contained many non-NATO member peacekeeping contingents, for example, Mediterranean Dialogue countries, such as Egypt, Jordan and Morocco, sent troops which participated in SFOR, and Jordan and Morocco in the later KFOR. The SFOR also enabled a first attempt by the Baltic Sea countries to collaborate in a real peacekeeping scenario, where the three Baltic States' units worked side by side with Nordic and Russian troops.

However, here it is worth noting that the inclusion of non-member countries in NATO peacekeeping missions has turned into a somewhat double-edged sword for the Alliance. In the eyes of critics the inclusion of third countries provides a convenient 'cover' for NATO to promote an interventionist and highly forward-projected stance, which may lead to increased actuations outside the Treaty area. The countries most critical of NATO's military interventions 'out-of-area,' have been Russia and several Mediterranean countries, in particular in what refers to their respective geographical areas. However, they are not alone. It is worth noting that the Kosovo intervention also caused jitters among most of NATO's candidate states and even grave preoccupations among the Alliance's newest members – the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland. The principal concern stems from the manner in which the Alliance began the air campaigns directed against Serbia, without waiting for the approval of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) to undertake that mission. Although the majority of the European Allies profess viewing the lack of UNSC approval as more an occasional exception to the rule, NATO's neighbors are concerned that the Alliance might become poised against them. The concern is of course most acute among those partners in the Central and Eastern Europe and in the Mediterranean that perceive that they may become the brunt of NATO's intervention next. In an attempt to reassure its partners and the world opinion, the Allies affirmed in their 1999 Strategic Concept the UNSC as the 'primary responsible' for European security. Notwithstanding, partners have not failed to notice that this formulation does not in any way preclude the possibility of other future interventions without the Security Council's approval. This is an unfortunate fact in that it reduces partner confidence in the non-hostile nature of the Alliance, as well as in that it undermines the predictability and reassurance which NATO's cooperative security strategy is designed to enhance.

However, in terms of NATO peace missions the Allies paradoxically also find themselves between the proverbial rock and the hard place, in that failure to undertake a peace or humanitarian mission may also damage the Alliance's credibility in the eyes of its partners. Humanitarian emergencies, in principle, does not garner the same sense of unified purpose as a strategic threat does for a military alliance, and thus crisis response operations are treated very much as a discretionary issue by the different NATO members. However, at the same time NATO members find themselves pressured to weight carefully between its will of not overstretching its military capacity and the

[121] David S. Yost, "The New NATO and Collective Security," *Survival* 40 (Summer 1998): footnote 1.

consequences of appearing incoherent in the eyes of their partners and the world public opinion at large. In other words, NATO finds itself before a real –

> "predicament [which] is similar to that confronted by the United Nations in the years 1991-1995. In having made itself into an institution mandated for and capable of stability and peace support efforts, the Alliance is now expected to respond to regional [and subregional] conflicts and complex humanitarian emergencies. Failure to do so will call the NATO into question. Furthermore, failure to achieve an end to conflict or a humanitarian crisis will call the effectiveness of NATO into question."[122]

Since the threat perceptions, as well as individual national interests of the NATO member states in Europe and in the Mediterranean are exceptionally divergent, and very often linked with parochial national interests for the immediate neighboring area, NATO will face serious constraints in articulating a coherent approach and put real content into its security cooperation with its European and Mediterranean partners. Here a difficult equilibrium between military effectiveness, transparency (non-threatening) and credibility must be found. However, the member states also must thread carefully in the fields of peace missions in that there is a potential for a bifurcation of the organization's purpose and the divergent agendas of NATO members. Such a split may have serious consequences for the future of the Alliance and its cooperative approach as well as, in the extension, the willingness of NATO partners to adhere to the Allies cooperative security regime.

Notwithstanding, one might infer that reassurance and the credibility problems which NATO current and future crisis operations present, could be resolved to some extent if NATO developed a clearly defined humanitarian crisis and peace intervention doctrine. Such a doctrine would improve transparency and predictability, in the Alliance relationship with third countries, as Eric Yesson notes –

> "Given NATO's overwhelming military superiority, the temptation for alliance leaders is to tailor the military campaign to suit domestic constituencies and preserve a consensus within the alliance. By pre-committing themselves to obtaining a Security Council mandate before starting an operation, NATO's leading states will be compelled to do some heavy political lifting up front: convincing the international community, their smaller allies, and their citizens [if needed] that maximal military effort is necessary to enforce peace."[123]

Thus, to quell some concerns among NATO's neighbors, a NATO intervention doctrine should be fashioned on a firm commitment to a Security Council approval when the Alliance as such is contemplating the use of force to settle conflict outside the Treaty area. Such a commitment would not infringe on the right of individual NATO members, to send forces abroad in response to external attacks on third parties or requests from recognized legal authorities for military assistance (e.g. Bosnia); however, a pre-

[122] Allen G. Sens, "From Collective Defense to Cooperative Security? The New NATO and Nontraditional Challenges and Mission," in S. Victor Papacosma, et al. (eds) *NATO after Fifty Years*. (Wilmington, DL: Scholarly Resources, 2001): 183

[123] Eric Yesson, "NATO, EU and Russia: Reforming Europe's Security Institutions," *European Foreign Affairs Review* 6 (2001): 218

commitment to UNSC approval settle many outreach partners' concerns and improve their faith in NATO's good will and non-hostile nature.[124]

Another problem related to NATO's cooperative security approach is the lack of an institutionalized channeled input from the partner countries. The different outreach programs today do not allow for the partners to significantly influence or participate in relevant EAPC/PfP and Dialogue decision making processes. Although EAPC has, as noted, adopted in principle the decision to open up some areas for joint decision making and strategic planning, this has still not been implemented. Similarly the concept of Common Joint Task Forces (CJTF), adopted in 1994 to allow partners intervening in peace missions to help plan humanitarian missions etc., has not yet reached operability. Today partners are increasingly calling for an enhanced role for themselves in formulating the political guidance for their different outreach programs as well as in the military operations where they participate. What was perhaps considered appropriate initially, i.e. to essentially guide the partners through the different outreach programs towards a general good of European stability, today looks dated. The political decision making for the outreach programs should thus be reformed and/or implemented as a part of a 'second phase' of the Alliance cooperative security strategy. The lack of ability to influence NATO decisions relevant for the outreach program is beginning to give rise to certain apathy and a lessened interest by the partners. The general feeling among EAPC partners is that they are more often than not 'served' the North Atlantic Council decisions without having been first consulted. In the Mediterranean it is perhaps premature to expect Mediterranean partners wanting to participate in decision making processes, but greater influence over the content of the work program etc. might be a first step. Arab Dialogue partners, in particular, have expressed their resentment over what they perceive as a unilateral decision-making process, in which southern Mediterranean states are mere objects of NATO's security strategy, not consulted participants with partial or full say on how matters related to the area's security should be solved. The climate of mistrust and suspicion that has ensued and the failure of the Mediterranean political dialogue to correct and reassure the southern Mediterranean countries is evidence for that the Dialogue is clearly not enhancing confidence building in the area. Opening up some decision making structures and/or allowing the participants in the cooperative security regime a certain influence over outreach programs and future developments may benefit the consolidation of NATO cooperative security approach across the board.

A final major problem for the Allies' cooperative security approach, and for the Mediterranean Dialogue especially, has been the asymmetry in security engagement between the outreach programs for Europe and that for the Mediterranean. While much attention has been dedicated to Central and Eastern Europe, seven years into the Mediterranean Dialogue there is still a persistent gap in North-South perceptions, which has not been essentially altered since the end of the Cold War. Western efforts to stabilize the political and security space comprehended by Central and Southeastern Europe have clearly had an overriding predominance, both in political discourse and resources devoted. The almost exclusive focus on essentially European concerns have left the Alliance's cooperative security strategy for other parts of its periphery, such as here the southern Mediterranean, marginalized and lopsided. In other words, there is "no symmetry in the Western perception and treatment of the two areas: while the East [is] seen as a matter of 'internal' security… the South remains... a problem of external security addressed through *ad-hoc* containment actions and damage limitation

[124] *ibid*., 219.

policies."[125] This reveals mental maps where the predominant strategic and security concerns of Western leaders are fixed on Europe, which is perceived as a 'natural' common security space ('a Europe whole and free'), while the Mediterranean is treated as secondary in importance and kept separated from that 'natural' Euro-Atlantic security space. The danger lay in placing too much rigidity on what is constituted a 'natural' area of the Alliance (i.e. geographical Europe) and excluding other neighboring countries, merely based on geography. It is evident there is a clear resistance among NATO members towards allowing non-member Mediterranean countries form part of the construction of a Euro-Atlantic-Mediterranean security architecture and this imbalance has been noted in the Dialogue countries, clearly having a negative impact.

The Allies and their Strategy

The development of the cooperative security concept has also had important consequences for the Alliance. One might infer that NATO's cooperative security has been crucial for the Alliance as an organization in that it has allowed for a revitalized trans-Atlantic relationship and given the Cold War military alliance a new lease on life. The cooperative security approach and the outreach programs have contributed to maintaining the U.S. tied to Europe in the past decade by embarking on new projects which the Allies agree are worthy. Moreover, the outreach programs have allowed the NATO members to ensure a stable and largely peaceful post-Cold War transition in its periphery. One could even go so far as to suggest that the Allies, individually and/or collectively, have been able to mold the incipient foreign policy regimes of the new Central and Eastern European democracies to a certain degree, with the successful outcome that today most adhere to principles of human and minority rights, respect for rule of law etc. However, the cooperative security path taken by the Allies has also been strewn with difficulties and generated considerable tension within the organization. While the overall objective of security and stability in Europe has been shared among all NATO members, the difficulty has been the decisions related to how and which instruments to use to reach these goals. Moreover, behind this discussion runs the underlying query of what will be the essence of the 'new' NATO in the 21st century.

The revised NATO Strategic Concept is one example of the ongoing debate among the NATO members about the post-Cold War development of the Alliance. The 1991 Concept pandered heavily to the so-called 'traditionalist' camp; who continues to cling to that the central feature of the Alliance is and must remain the collective defense, even in the very changed security environment of the 21st century. This particular school of thought maintains that any deviation from that fundamental purpose of NATO may irremediable weaken the commitment to Article 5, and maybe even produce the dissolution of the trans-Atlantic community. However, the Concept also reflects the incursion of new ideas from member states which fear that, if not adapted to the needs of the new international security environment, the Alliance will become irrelevant. This debate was revived in the lead-up to the adoption of the 1999 revised Strategic Concept, where sharp disputes took place in regards to –

> "…whether NATO should continue to regard collective territorial defense under Article 5 of the Washington Treaty as its core mission. Advocates of maintaining

[125] Guzzone, 87

> that focus argue that departing from the traditional mission risks a loss of consensus and even a breach in Alliance ranks. The intra-Alliance tensions over the 1999 Balkan war, they warn, were an omen of what will befall NATO if it ventures beyond its original purpose. Their opponents respond that most of the problems that have troubled Europe's peace since the end of the Cold War have occurred outside the territory of NATO's members, and that if the Alliance refuses to venture out-of-area, it risks becoming irrelevant."[126]

Although one might infer that the reiterated affirmations in the Strategic Concept, and elsewhere, of the continued commitment of the Alliance to collective defense have allayed some of the fears of the traditionalists, the debate about NATO core missions remains open today.

The intra-Allies discussion over the essence of the 'new' NATO has clearly conditioned the development of the Alliance's cooperative strategy in several ways. For example, filling the Alliance's cooperative security strategy with concrete instruments has not been easy, in that rivaling agendas of scope and definition abounded in the North Atlantic Council in the early 1990s. Even today considerable disagreement exists among NATO governments if and how to address certain security issues in the periphery of the Alliance. The discrepancy in security agendas has been especially marked in terms of the divergence of U.S. and European interests in the post-Cold War era, although many intra-European differences over the construction of security in 21st century Europe also exist. Divergences between Allied agendas have, for example, been visible in the initial French resistance to the NACC, in that Paris feared that the Council might duplicate efforts of the OSCE. Tensions and confusion were also visible in relation to the U.S.-German push for the Partnership for Peace, which was launched without significant consultation with a majority of European NATO members. Moreover, Washington-Berlin has also been the main driving force behind NATO enlargement process where the other Allies most often have found themselves in a position where they simply have to accept a *fait accompli*.[127]

The effect of converging/diverging security agendas has also been visible once the different outreach programs were established. For example, the Baltic Sea subregional cooperation has been relatively much more successful in generating confidence building compared to the Mediterranean, as a result of the (self-)interest of the Nordic NATO (plus Finland and Sweden) to assist the Baltic countries to build up acceptable level of defense training, technology and know-how. Moreover, the strategic agenda of the U.S. in terms of the Baltic Sea cooperation in general, and the Baltic security situation in particular, has at all times clearly facilitated the subregional undertakings in that it has largely coincided with the northern European interests.

In the Mediterranean, in contrast, no such consensus over strategic agendas has been readily forthcoming. Out of the Alliance's different outreach programs it is perhaps the Mediterranean Dialogue which has suffered the most from the internal divisions within NATO, making the Alliance's future role in its southern periphery unclear. The Mediterranean Dialogue has not yet been able to free itself from the role of a 'stepchild' of NATO's outreach programs and the Mediterranean partners have not

[126] Ted Galen Carpenter, "NATO's New Strategic Concept: Coherent Blueprint or Conceptual Muddle?" in Special Issue on NATO Enters the 21st Century. *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 23 (3) (September, 2000): 7.

[127] Anthony Forster, "Cooperative Security Structures of the Western World: Challenges to Western Security in the 21st Century." in Kurt R. Spillmann and Joachim Krause "Studies in Contemporary History and Security Policy 3 (1999).

failed to note this. As one Mediterranean Dialogue country observer has quipped: "[i]t pays if you have been a former enemy of NATO. If you haven't been an enemy, NATO thinks you're less important."[128] The Dialogue clearly lacks an overall Alliance-wide support. There is a general feeling among many northern NATO members that EU is a better suited actor in the subregion and the Dialogue, in itself, represents a risk in that it may distract Allied attention from efforts in Central and Eastern Europe. Moreover, schisms between southern NATO members (e.g. France vs. Spain) in terms of leadership and '*droit de regard'* over the area have not facilitated the development of a unified Mediterranean NATO agenda. These incongruities between the southern NATO members have unfortunately also inhibited the development of a united lobbying front to defend Mediterranean interests in the North Atlantic Council. The problem, however, does not end there. The situation is further complicated by the fact that U.S. interests in the Mediterranean are highly different from the majority of the southern NATO members (with the exception of Turkey) in that, while the predominant southern NATO security concerns are related to the Western Mediterranean, Washington's strategic agenda is, in contrast, focusing on the Middle East and beyond. As one analyst explains –

> "The US… is promoting the idea of embedding NATO's Mediterranean Initiative in a broader southern strategy that includes the big strategic issues of the Gulf and Eastern Mediterranean. According to the Americans, it is only through establishing a linkage between NATO's Mediterranean Initiative and the broader US agenda in the [sub]region that the NATO's Initiative would obtain backing in Washington, and they imply that, without strong US backing and active engagement, it is unlikely that the Initiative would become a major NATO priority."[129]

The many problems behind the Mediterranean Dialogue and the wider cooperative security agenda of the Allies in the post-Cold War security environment are, in fact, intimately linked to the debate about the geographical scope of actuation for the 'new' NATO. This is, among other things, well illustrated by the 1999 Strategic Concept, where the phrase 'in and around the Euro-Atlantic area' is frequently referred to. However, it is not defined anywhere in the Concept or elsewhere how narrow or how wide one could interpret that area. The Euro-Atlantic area is supposedly the same geographical area encompassing all countries in the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council and the 'in and around'-prefix referring to the Mediterranean for now. However, the term is deliberately vague, in that it could be taken as making a reference to areas further away than the most immediate periphery. In reference to the threats in the revised Concept, which NATO should purportedly defend from this could be take to include geographical areas such as sub-Sahara, Mashreq and/or the Gulf region.[130]

The vagueness of this concept was a partial victory for the Clinton administration's negotiating team, during the run-up for the Washington Summit, which had heavily lobbied for the extension of NATO's geographical 'area of interest' further a field, and hence laying the base for the possibility of the Alliance undertaking out-of-

[128] As cited in NATO Speech "NATO and the Mediterranean - Moving from Dialogue Towards Partnership" Speech by NATO Secretary General Lord Robertson's at the Royal United Services Institute, London - 29 April 2002.
[129] Tayfur*, op. cit.*
[130] Carpenter, 15

area missions at a global level.[131] The U.S. has throughout the past decade openly harbored the idea that NATO should take on a broader geographical field that includes the big strategic issues of the Persian Gulf and the Black Sea area, and perhaps even further a field. The Bush administration largely concurs with its predecessor on this issue. However, a majority of European Allies are today unwilling to commit their troops much further away than the immediate European periphery (and even the Mediterranean, from the perspective of many northern European NATO members, is not an 'immediate' periphery…).[132]

The trans-Atlantic debate about the geographical scope of the Alliance waned somewhat in the aftermath of the Washington Summit; however, the 11 September U.S. attacks have served to retake it. Voices within the Pentagon and the Capitol Hill have urged the Bush administration to use the military mission in Afghanistan to commit the Europeans to a NATO which operates globally. Analysts argue that the Alliance must have the capacity to act in Central Asia, the Middle East and the Gulf or it will risk becoming irrelevant in the emerging post-11 September international environment. U.S. Republican Senator Richard Lugar has made the point that: "[i]f NATO remains [solely] focused on Europe, the alliance will be reduced to what might be called the housekeeping function of managing security on an already stable continent, and it will cease to be America's premier alliance for the simple reason that it will not be addressing the major security issues of our time."[133] Lugar warns that the debate about 'what NATO is for' would sharpen if events in the Middle East or Iraq became a central issue in US-European relations later this year.

A final aspect which illustrates ongoing tensions behind NATO's cooperative security strategy is the needed coordination with other international organizations and entities, in order to reinforce NATO's cooperative strategy and in turn reinforce other international actor's efforts.[134] The 1999 Strategic Concept places emphasis on the fact that NATO's different outreach programs should complement other related international initiatives, such as those under the auspices of the UN, the European Union, and the OSCE. The ambition for complementarity is clearly to avoid the duplication of efforts and resources between these initiatives and avoid inefficiencies and overlap. Such a coordination and perhaps a clearer division of labor between the European security providing organizations, would improve the functioning of these initiatives overall and increase the benefit for the recipient third country. Moreover, in terms of conflict prevention and crisis management, the tasks are so varied and complex that a pre-established procedure of cooperation between different regional security organizations could possibly facilitate the operationalization of the pre-, during and post-crisis situation. For example, cooperation could take place in terms of building post-conflict security within societies, creating the conditions of stability with respect for human rights, consolidation of democratic reforms and economic patterns of trade and investment.[135] For a vision of how a division of labor between different regional organizations could work, it seems opportune to quote Roberto Aliboni at length, and

[131] *ibid*., 2.
[132] Although the magnitude of the 11 September attacks marks an exception to this rule, in that the events in New York and Washington provoked the Alliance into invoking the Art. 5 for the first time in the organization's history and even jolted normally unwilling NATO members to pledge military support to the U.S. administration in view of the military intervention in Afghanistan.
[133] "NATO in crisis of self-doubt " <http://www.dawn.com/2002/05/14/int12.htm>
[134] NATO Strategic Concept, 1999, pt. 38.
[135] Esther Barbé and Elisabeth Johansson. "EU's Actorness in Conflict Prevention: Prioritising the Regional Dimension in a Global Agenda." *Journal of European Integration* (2002, forthcoming).

although he exclusively refers to efforts in the Mediterranean, the gist of his words could be applied elsewhere in the European periphery –

> "Co-ordinating the organisations is not an easy task because governments, in particular Western governments, are divided about objectives and policies with respect to the areas concerned. The question can be regarded in a medium-long term as well as in a short-medium term perspective. As things stand today, in the shorter term it is possible to envisage a kind of division of labour between the [Euro-Mediterranean Partnership] EMP, expected to specialise in civilian and soft security and act as an essentially [sub]regional organisation, and the [NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue] NMD, with a clearer attitude towards developing security with respect to military instruments and closer to a global vantage point… In the shorter term, the organisations and their agendas of security co-operation, with all their limits, need to be reinforced. The division of labour illustrated above – although limited – can help with respect to two urgent challenges: (a) preventing instability in the [sub]region and preserving the possibility of a long-term democratic political transition, and (b) increasing the opportunities for co-operation on terrorism in both the EMP and the NMD."[136]

NATO has repeatedly recognized the importance of working together with other security providing organizations in Europe, as well as the UN. However, coordination is not forthcoming readily due to the reluctance of a number of NATO member states to engage in schemes of 'inter-locking' or 'overlapping' international organizations in and around post-bipolar Europe. Thus, as Aliboni also point out—

> "As wise and effective as this division of labour would be, however, the political impact of [EU and NATO] organisations is bound to remain limited, uncertain and unsteady unless closer political understanding between the United States and Europe is assured on the different issues and crises... Thus, whatever the co-ordination and its effectiveness in the short term, the question of long-term co-ordination in a regular, possibly institutionalised transatlantic framework remains an open question and – at least from a European point of view – a necessary requirement, particularly in the post-September 11th environment."[137]

In summing up this report, one could infer that all of the above problematic features of the Alliance's cooperative security strategy and its relationship with its non-member neighbors flow together into one basic and overarching issue: the future of 'new' NATO in the 21st century. In order to be able to subscribe a successful cooperative security regime with third countries in and around the Euro-Atlantic security space, the Allies must first settle internally the fundamentals about the Alliance and its future. In the aftermath of the 11 September attacks, the trans-Atlantic fissures appear to have deepened. Clear Euro-American divergence of perspectives in regards to issues such as the Arab-Israeli conflict, the possibility of extending the U.S. war on terrorism further, the rhetoric about the 'axis of evil' and how to best approach the conundrum of the Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein, have become increasingly visible. Moreover, wider trans-Atlantic differences stem from the Bush administration's commitment to a more assertive - and less multilateral - foreign policy, with profound

[136] Aliboni, 2002.
[137] *ibid*.

implications for the future of the Alliance. However, before jumping to alarmist conclusions, it is worth remembering, as one analyst notes –

> "[s]ome of this carping may exaggerate the underlying differences between governments. Behind the noise generated by opposition politicians and newspaper columns…, lies a calmer reality of quiet co-operation on common interests. For all its righteous rhetoric, Washington's response to the trauma of September 11 has been measured. Yet private diplomacy cannot succeed against a rising tide of public distrust and mutual incomprehension. It is time to pay much more attention to public diplomacy, on both sides.[138]

Thus the discrepancies between the U.S. and its European Allies may not be as serious as it sometimes appears. However, one might still infer that the 11 September U.S. attacks, which prompted the first invocation by NATO of its mutual defense mechanism in the half-century of its existence, has introduced an element of urgency into the debate about the future of trans-Atlantic military relations and of the Alliance.

For some policy makers on both sides of the Atlantic, the war on terrorism has presented itself as an important window of opportunity to resuscitate the fledging trans-Atlantic relation. It is clear, for example, that London and Berlin interpreted shared trans-Atlantic duty in Afghanistan as a way of encouraging the Bush administration to preserve the multilateralism inherent in NATO. Moreover, the same politicians would hold, the fight against international terrorism has served to reinforce the Euro-American axis and proving the continuing utility of the Alliance. Policy practitioners and academics sharing this vision have thus urged the European Allies to boost their military capacity and technology in order to be able to act at par with the U.S. in similar scenarios in the future.

For others, the war on terrorism and the military campaign in Afghanistan has proved to be just another demonstration of the growing gap between the rhetoric of European-American political accords and the reality of military collaboration. Some U.S. analysts maintain that the new threats and security challenges, as embodied by the Al Qaeda attacks, are beyond NATO's capability and scope. The same analysts point to the U.S.' superiority in military technology and defense spending compared to the European Allies, and conclude that the U.S. may confront most of these same threats alone or with an ad-hoc 'coalition-of-willing' when needed. Washington would in this way avoid tying itself down by having to share decision-making with the other Allies. This opinion was frequently expressed in relation to the frustration the White House experienced over Kosovo in 1999, when valuable time was lost negotiating unanimity among the Allies, and this argument has resurfaced with vigor in the post-11 September aftermath. As a consequence, they would argue, the Alliance is no longer relevant in the new international security environment or for the challenges imposed by the counter-terror campaign. [139]

As a way to solve these differences arising from diverging perspectives of the Alliance, some analysts have suggested a pragmatic trans-Atlantic division of labor between U.S. and its European Allies. Under this scenario the U.S. would undertake the military mission, while leaving Europe to perform essentially the peacekeeping and post-conflict reconstruction and nation building. However, this suggestion has been heavily criticized in that such a segmentation of NATO would only bring about a situation where more confusion and more opaqueness rein in terms of the functioning of

[138] "Europe's little voice," *Financial Times*, 1 May, 2002.
[139] "Give NATO a Combined Task Force Against Terrorism" 13 November, 2001

the Alliance. This would translate into that completely unilateral decisions would be taken in each ambit, with no or little influence by – over even communication with – the remaining NATO members, and such a scenario would indeed call into question the future of the Alliance.

The fear of NATO becoming a politicized and largely irrelevant and unusable military organization is also fuelled by the concerns raised by the Bush administration's commitment to a 'robust' enlargement, i.e. an extensive NATO expansion. Washington has forwarded a proposal to include up to seven new countries in the next NATO enlargement round, the majority of which currently do not comply with NATO military standards. The high end of this vision goes still further, foreseeing a full 'refoundation' of NATO at a planned summit meeting in Prague next year. Moreover, as an implicit part of the next NATO enlargement process, relations with Russia have also been cultivated. This took its concrete form in the establishment of a NATO-Russia Council (NRC) on 28 May 2002, which replaces the former Permanent Joint Council. In the NRC Russia will sit as an equal partner with the Alliance's 19 members, and enables Moscow a say (albeit not vote) over Allies issues such as countering terrorism, crisis management, search and rescue and monitoring weapons of mass destruction etc. The hope is that the NRC will build up NATO-Russia mutual confidence and break down taboos and thus enhance the effectiveness of NATO's cooperative security strategy in the Euro-Atlantic space. However, both the enlargement, to include members which do not comply with NATO standards and thus might not be able to fulfill fill its Article 5 obligations, as well as the new relation with Russia, have caused grave concern in many European capitals.

The general feeling is thus that the 'new' NATO has found itself at a cross-road, uncertain for how to proceed into the future. Whatever the outcome of the Prague Summit 2002, however, one might infer that a refounding of the Alliance is perhaps not needed, nor does the inclusion of new members or giving Russia an opportunity for more input *per se* spell the end of the Alliance. However, an enlargement (widenening) always provides a good opportunity to take stock of the current situation of an organization. Perhaps a critical revision of the NATO tasks undertaken in the past decade should be performed, trying to pin-point the most relevant NATO programs and activities which bring the Allies (and outreach partners) an added value. This would necessarily mean cutting back on other programs where other security providing organizations could do better, in an attempt to consolidate the achievements in the past decade and make the 'new' NATO more sturdy for the future. One might thus infer that the 'new' NATO could concentrate on developing the following capabilities for the future:

- Continuing to project regional stability into areas in and around the Euro-Atlantic security space, through the consolidation and reform of the various outreach programs, the special bilateral relationships with Russia and Ukraine, as well as maintaining an 'open-door policy' towards qualified candidates for accession;

- Preserving the capacity to provide effective intervention into those humanitarian and civil crisis situation where NATO's added value in the greatest (if not, bilateral or coalitions-of-willing should be undertaken instead). However, in order not to undermine its efforts on cooperative security, the 'new' NATO should first clarify its humanitarian doctrine to improve reassurance and transparency of NATO actuation *vis-à-vis* its non-member neighbors;

- Expanding programs related to the disarmament, proliferation of small arms as well as weapons of mass destruction;

However, these tasks can only be undertaken after a thorough introspection of the Alliance, perhaps using the following short-list proposed by David Ochmanek:

- What concrete responsibilities and operations will NATO and its members undertake to make these general missions a reality? Where will they draw the line between matters that are the business of the Alliance and those that are to be left for unilateral action or responses by ad hoc coalitions of the willing?

- What sorts of military capabilities – hardware, trained people, operational concepts and supporting assets – and activities are most appropriate for carrying out important new missions?

- To what extent are the members of the Alliance fielding the military capabilities needed to undertake these missions? How interoperable are their forces?[140]

[140] Ochmanek, 36.

(6)

Conclusions

Being a creature of the bipolar confrontation, it was thought that as the superpower confrontation disappeared the Alliance would dissolve as well. However, rather than disappearing, NATO has in the past decade undergone a rather dramatic transformation, attempting to adapt itself to the new international security environment and to the exigencies of its members' as well as its neighbors' security concerns. Among the early feats of the 'new' NATO one may count its assistance to facilitate the dismantling of the bipolar structures in Europe, such as the German reunification, the Central and Eastern European transition, and one could also include the various Balkan peacekeeping missions to help settle the Cold War/Tito legacy in ex-Yugoslavia. Moreover, the Alliance's ambition during the 1990s has clearly been to be an 'agent of change,' not only in reference to the post-bipolar transition but also for providing impetus for the restructuring of security relations in Central and Eastern Europe, and, on a more modest scale, in the Mediterranean.

NATO's ambition to play a stabilizing role in reference to non-member countries in Europe and in the Mediterranean, would take its first concrete form in 1991 when the Alliance invited former Warsaw Pact members to form part of the NACC. The Cooperation Council has since provided the blueprint spawning other outreach programs, such as the Partnership for Peace, the Mediterranean Dialogue and the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council. Over time NATO's outreach programs for its neighbors have consolidated into durable initiatives, embracing the majority of the non-member countries in the periphery of the Alliance into cooperative security frameworks of confidence building, dialogue and practical cooperation. Adding the NATO enlargement in 1999 and the special bilateral agreements with Russia and Ukraine to the partnership programs, one might infer that these initiatives have in effect placed the Atlantic Alliance as the operative center of a host of multilayered cooperative security regimes, and in an advantageous position to be able to have a real long term impact on security in Europe and in the Mediterranean.

While the objective of stability and security for all participating NATO non-members have not automatically emerged, the cooperative security strategy undertaken by the Alliance has contributed usefully to a wider process of integration and participation. In this sense, NATO's partnership programs have been malleable enough to manage just the right balance of ambiguity in its purpose to attract and sustain security cooperation among a great diversity of states. In today's transformed European environment, the 'new' NATO thus provides an added value as a wider forum for cooperation among greatly heterogeneous states, where NATO members and partners

may work together to contribute to political stability and long term security in and around the Euro-Atlantic space.

The different outreach programs which have been created by the Alliance in the past decade are also testament to the changed and changing nature of NATO in the 21st century. NATO's internal reforms of mandates and instruments, as well as enlargement and the outreach programs for its neighbors, are all part of an open-ended process, which at the same time as it is shaping the post-bipolar environment in and around Europe is sculpting the Alliance into a new creature of the 21st century. NATO's different outreach programs have clearly helped accelerated this post-bipolar metamorphosis of the Atlantic Alliance. The interaction with partners and experience gained from the different partnership programs have served as a driving force for further reforms and adaptations of the Alliance. These, together with the debates surrounding, the out-of-area missions, the trans-Atlantic burden-sharing within the Alliance, and European Security and Defense Identity (ESDI), are at the very heart of the *finalité* of the emerging 'new' NATO in the 21st century.

Nonetheless, the further evolution and the success of the different cooperative security regimes depend on the continued willingness of the Allies to bear the burden of subscribing the regimes as well as continuing to strive to make the outreach programs relevant to the participating non-NATO members. On the receiving end there must be a willingness to accept NATO leadership among partner countries. The motivation to accept the Alliance's stewardship is of course strongest among potential future NATO members, although the opening up of decision making and planning processes in the framework of EAPC/PfP could been seen as a way to diffuse the line between 'ins' and 'outs' and providing greater incentive for non-members to cooperate with NATO. The challenge for the Alliance for the future will be to boost the readiness of countries with different security needs and traditions (e.g. trans-Caucasus, Central Asia, Balkans and the Mediterranean), or with enough leverage in the international system to 'go it alone' (e.g. Russia, Ukraine), to participate gainfully in NATO's outreach programs. Another test for the Alliance's cooperative approach is how to draw countries with pre-existing open conflicts (especially the Middle East) closer to Allied frameworks, where the incentive to adhere to a NATO sponsored security regime so far has been limited. Here the Alliance could, to act in coherence with its cooperative security ideal, devote special attention and extra resources to press for the partial or total resolution of the conflict.

It is also important to note that the Alliance's outreach programs can never become the sole pillar of a European security architecture, especially not in an age where 'soft' security issues are increasingly demanding a more prominent place on security agendas. NATO and the European Union, each with their special areas of expertise, interests and comparative advantage in their respective sectors, should cooperate to commonly pursue an all-European cooperative security structure that includes the Mediterranean. The European Union's institutional support would be a valuable complement the NATO's cooperative security strategy, by contributing to create stability where the root causes of instability are of economic, political or social nature. However, to maximize the NATO-EU synergies where possible, a measure of inter-institutional dialogue must take place beforehand, to avoid contradictions and the duplication of activities in the field. However, at present time collaboration between NATO and the EU on neighbor-matters, in spite of that they are operating in the same geographical areas, is non-existent and for now it is unfortunately unlikely that such cooperation will emerge anytime soon.

The future success of NATO's cooperative security strategy will also depend on a shared commitment by all NATO's members, current and future, to the cooperative

security approach as a means to restructure security relations in Europe and the Mediterranean, and as a recipe for creating stability and long-term peace for NATO and its neighbors. NATO will need to continue to nurture the security regimes it has created in the past decade, as well as adapting its institution to better fit the needs of Allies and outreach partners, in order to best face the multifaceted and multidirectional security environment of the 21st century laying ahead of us. A lot of work in other words lies ahead and much critical political decision making must be taken up front, in that, as Javier Solana (former Secretary General of NATO) reminds us "the future of Europe [and beyond] cannot be placed on automatic pilot."[141]

[141] NATO Speeches. Javier Solana, "NATO: Ready to Meet the Challenges Ahead" speech at the *Council on Foreign Relations*, Washington, 15 March 1999.

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