

Europe: *How Much Unity, How Effective?*

How much unity will Europe achieve, and how effective will it be? Central and Northern Europe are seemingly headed for greater unity, but there are dangers on its periphery. Overall, the trend is toward further integration—deepening and widening institutional frameworks to include selected eastern neighbors. Less clear, though, is whether Europe will have the vision and political will to protect its larger interests, especially outside Europe. Additionally, several contradicting trends could weaken or halt European integration if not managed well.

From the U.S. perspective, Europe's core appears largely secure. The chances of a major war in Europe are remote. However, conflicts like those in the Balkans are likely in the area from Turkey to the southern perimeter of the former Soviet Union (FSU). Such conflicts will probably not undermine Europe's overall security; however, managing them will test the Euro-Atlantic partnership, principally the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The Kosovo crisis is a reminder of Balkan instability and its capacity to affect all of Europe as well as relations with Russia.

The most serious future security challenges facing European and U.S. strategic interests lie on Europe's periphery and outside Europe. Future transatlantic debates will center on how Europe and the United States will share responsibility for meeting these challenges.

While it faces a relatively peaceful future, Eastern Europe is not finished consolidating its transition to democracy and free markets. Russia seems headed for a long period of stagnation and social and economic decay. Its evolution as a partner, competitor, or adversary will affect the strategic direction of the Alliance.

Questions arise regarding overall European security. The most significant question is what kind of security architecture will serve all European interests and how will the United States relate to it. Institutions, ideas, and instruments have been created, but their results remain to be seen. Other questions remain to be answered:

- What will be the ultimate shape, coherence, and internal arrangements of the European Union (EU)? Can it assume security responsibilities commensurate with its resources and interests?
- How will NATO meet new challenges?
- How will Europe and the United States share responsibilities for European security on the continent and beyond?
- How will Russia evolve?
- How will the Balkans be stabilized?

Members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization



These questions will be the focus of European security over the next decade. The 1999 NATO, U.S.–EU, and Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) summits are first steps on the way ahead.

Key Trends

European Integration Moving Forward

At the decade's close, the EU seems caught in cross currents. The European Monetary Union (EMU) took effect January 1, 1999, as scheduled. Some fear the EMU will strain weaker economies and politically overstretch the EU. Others believe that the EMU will bind Europeans closer and ultimately convince them to build a federal European state.

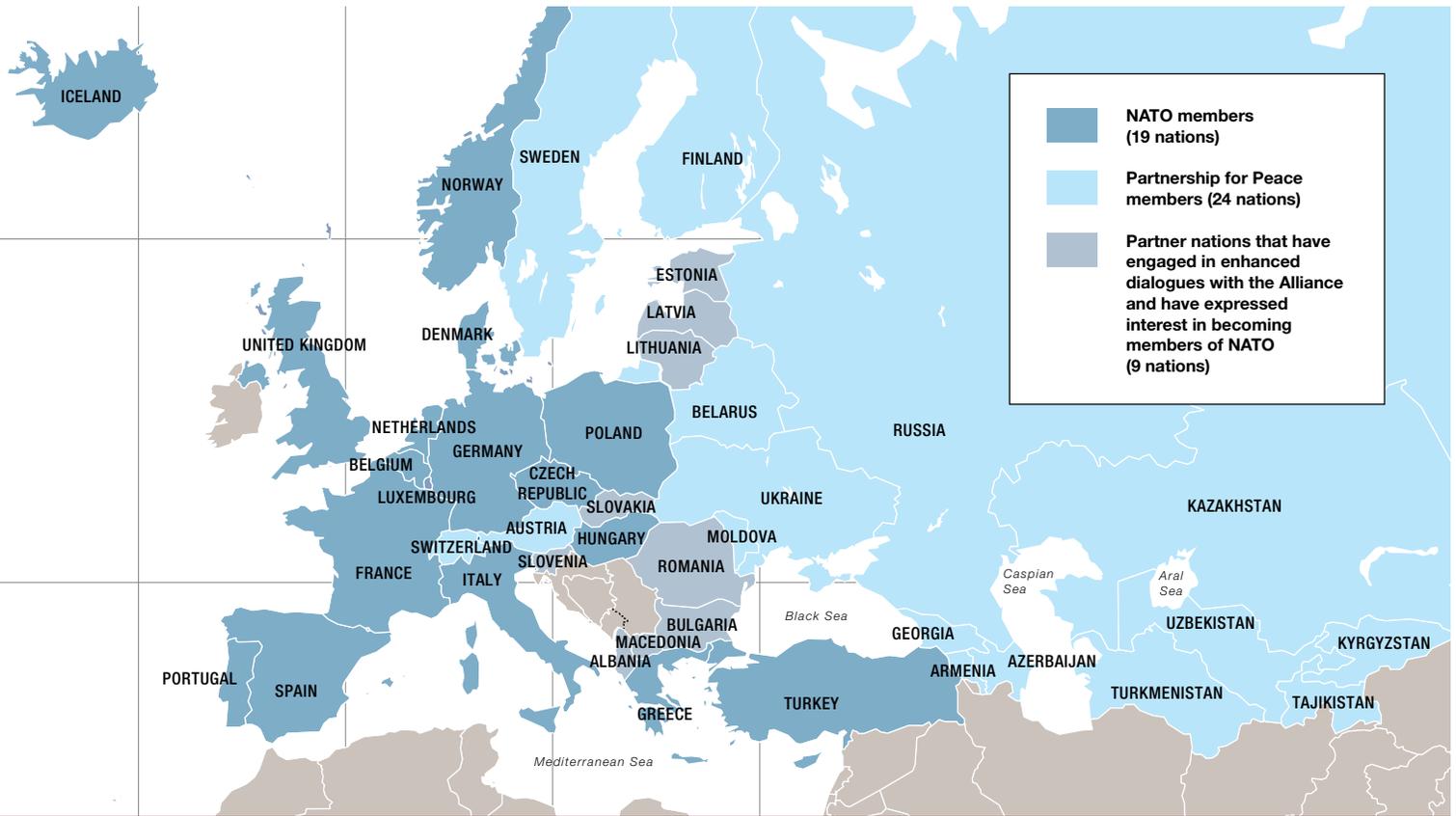
At Maastricht in December 1991, the EU established the goal of an "ever closer union." This has meant deepening the union incrementally, without an agreement regarding its ultimate shape. The union is committed to the

principle of "subsidiarity"—powers not specifically granted to the EU are left at the lowest possible level. This acts as a brake on centralizing authority in Brussels.

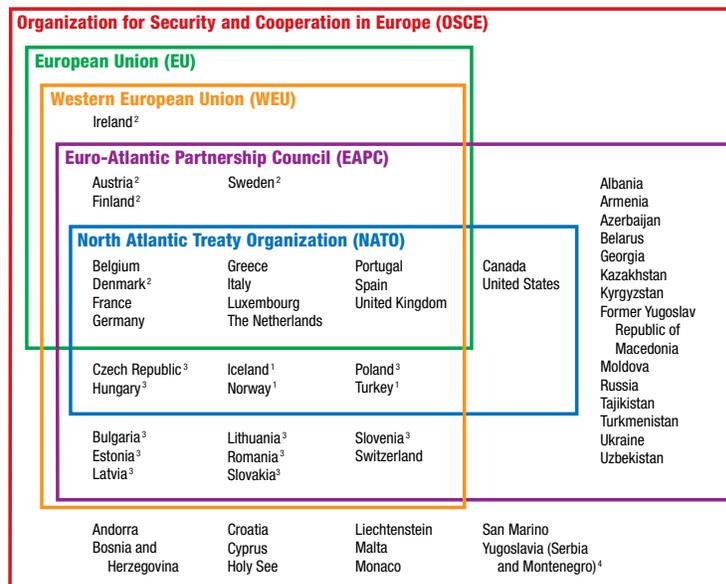
Recent political trends do not favor European federalism. The three largest EU members, Germany, France, and Britain, have elected center-left governments. While each government is unique, they focus on domestic priorities, especially unemployment.

Europe is less inclined to assume international responsibilities. Only Britain shows a significant willingness to shoulder such burdens. The Labour government has reaffirmed the British commitment to Persian Gulf security and opposing weapons of mass destruction (WMD) proliferation.

The EU has grown more powerful, but this is being countered by regional, national, and local views. The United Kingdom is moving toward devolution by establishing regional parliaments in Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland. In Spain, nationalists seek greater autonomy in the Basque region and Catalonia. Italy faces



European and NATO Organizations



¹ WEU associate member ³ WEU associate partner
² WEU observer ⁴ WEU suspended member

north-south differences, while Germany must contend with lingering east-west differences. The demise of Marxism gives rise to nationalist parties and movements that present alternatives to liberal democracy. While most remain on the political margins, they could gain support in the event of a serious economic downturn.

The EU faces several possible futures. It might become a coherent European superstate, with one foreign policy and the military power to pursue its interests on a global scale. This would take many years and might provide the United States with a partner to share global responsibilities. A European superstate could also become a rival in terms of influence and ideas but would likely have interests very similar to the United States, with little grounds for conflict.

Alternatively, the European integration process could become overextended and unravel or stagnate. Publics might resent the loss of identity and sovereignty or believe economic prospects have worsened. Many agree that the EMU is a high stakes gamble. It began with 11 of the 15 EU members. Great Britain, Denmark, and

EMU Facts

The Euro



- January 1999: banking possible in euro
- January 2002: euro notes and coins issued
- 11 EU members participate: Belgium, Germany, Spain, France, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Austria, Portugal, Finland
- 3 EU members opt out: United Kingdom, Denmark, Sweden
- 1 EU member fails to qualify: Greece

Sweden opted out for political and economic reasons. Greece failed to qualify. With rigid labor markets, it is not yet clear if the EU will be able to liberalize and deregulate labor and tax practices or redistribute wealth to less competitive countries and regions. Monetary union may force France to abandon its state and corporate traditions and allow the wage flexibility and labor mobility needed to make the economy more competitive. The results could be a stronger French economy or rising domestic opposition to the EU, with profound consequences for European cooperation. The EMU presents similar challenges to other members, notably Germany, Italy, and Spain.

Most likely, the EU will develop along current lines. It will pursue further economic integration and cautiously expand membership while remaining a disparate collection of states with differing outlooks, policies, and capacities. If so, the EU will seek to negotiate and balance these differences. Over the next decade, Europe's attention will be focused on overcoming economic structural difficulties, consolidating monetary union, and gradually enlarging to include Central and Eastern Europe. Preoccupied with internal affairs, the EU may not be a strong partner in global security. It will look to Washington to ensure its security, while balking at a U.S.-led alliance, in part because of its desire to forge a common European foreign and defense policy.

There is likely to be tension between the U.S. desire to see a more unified, outward-looking, responsible Europe and gradual, halting EU steps toward an entity capable of assuming such responsibilities.

As long as the EU falls short of unity, individual members will lack the vision and capacity to act on the global scene as an equal partner with the United States. Urging small-to-medium powers to follow U.S.-led policies and actions is difficult, partially because it seemingly denies them the world role they collectively espouse. Conversely, if they achieve sufficient unity to assume a global role, they would not necessarily follow the U.S. lead.

The EU is unlikely to reach an effective consensus on defense and security issues in the next decade, given its agenda and membership, which includes three neutral states and Ireland. If the EU does insist on common approaches to foreign policy issues, there is a risk that its policies will reflect the lowest common denominator. It also might avoid acting on its responsibilities outside Europe. At worst, the EU could become a "big Switzerland," unable or unwilling to assume external security burdens.

At the same time the EU committed itself to forging an "ever closer" union, it set out to expand its membership eastward. Eleven prospective new members have signed association agreements with the Union. Six of these—Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Slovenia, and Cyprus—are early candidates for accession negotiations. Unlike NATO, the EU has outlined to these 11 nations the scope of future expansion. Each will be considered on its own merits, with no guarantee of admission unless its economy and laws are in harmony with the EU.

EU expansion will likely be a slow, deliberate process stretching over several years. The Union may not incorporate new members until after the turn of the century and after NATO expansion. Union enlargement will require complex political and economic decisions. The EU Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) will be a major factor and may require reform, if the EU is to afford enlargement costs. Politically, the Union will have to adapt its decisionmaking to accommodate six or more new members. Depending on EMU success, this adaptation could mean greater integration and authority for Brussels or a more diverse and looser structure.

The EU and NATO share common goals: promoting stability, confidence, democracy, and free markets in Europe's former Communist states. General agreement exists regarding the evolution of NATO and the EU. Both should be mutually supportive, and one should not damage the other. Greater cooperation is likely between the two, albeit in slow and measured ways.

NATO—Slowly Transforming

The new security environment following the Cold War prompted the Alliance to pursue four important initiatives:

- Partnership for Peace (PFP)
- Enlargement eastward
- Development of flexible, combined forces that could be fielded with or without U.S. components
- New missions, especially peace operations.

EU Criteria for Membership

In December 1997 the EU established "Accession Partnerships" to help prepare Central European countries to meet the following criteria set by the Copenhagen European Council for membership:

- Stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights, and respect for and protection of minorities
- Existence of a functioning market economy and the capacity to cope with competitive pressure and market forces within the Union
- Ability to take on the obligations of membership, including adherence to the aims of political, economic, and monetary union.

Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic formally joined the Alliance in March 1999. NATO has pledged to keep the door open to other members. Unlike the European Union, NATO has not indicated the extent of future membership. The Alliance has avoided drawing any new line in Europe. In addition to the three countries already admitted, nine countries—Romania, Slovenia, Bulgaria, Slovakia, Albania, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, and the Baltic States—seek NATO membership. Slovenia and Estonia are early candidates to join the EU. The possibility of joining NATO and the EU has fostered cooperation and reconciliation among former adversaries. Historical disputes have been overcome between Poland and Germany, Lithuania and Poland, Hungary and Romania, and Italy and Slovenia.

Initiated at the 1994 Brussels Summit, the PFP has been the principal NATO means of engaging nonmembers. PFP has instilled confidence, eliminated stereotypes, enabled transparency and facilitated non-NATO countries' participation in peacekeeping and other stabilization efforts on the continent. Most European states, including former adversaries and neutrals, have joined, and many participate in NATO peace operations in Bosnia. Partners have participated in hundreds of PFP exercises, seminars, and visits and provided representatives to NATO headquarters. NATO peace operations are

less focused on Article 5 collective defense; this reduces the difference in status between members and partners.

Allied and Partner foreign ministers inaugurated the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC) in May 1997. It provides a framework for political and security consultations and enhances cooperation under PFP. The EAPC allows partners to develop a direct political relationship with the Alliance and gives them increased decisionmaking opportunities in activities in which they participate.

The Alliance also accelerated efforts to create new, flexible command arrangements. This is partly in response to a requirement for flexible forces in peace operations and other non-Article 5 contingencies. It also is in keeping with the European Security and Defense Identity (ESDI), the longstanding European project for achieving greater self-reliance and autonomy. The result was the Combined Joint Task Force (CJTF), which likely will be the means by which NATO pursues missions other than those under Article 5. This concept allows European members to act with or without the United States as well as with other PFP members.

The Alliance has progressed in adapting its strategy to missions in the new Europe. The new NATO strategic concept and Defense Capabilities Initiative, adopted at the 1999 Washington Summit, are signs of further progress. However,

The NATO Washington Summit

At the April 1999 Washington Summit, Allied Heads of State welcomed three new members to the Alliance, celebrated the 50th Anniversary of NATO, maintained solidarity on Kosovo, and approved several initiatives to propel the Alliance into the 21st century.

An important centerpiece of the summit was the approval of a new strategic concept to help guide the continuing transformation of the Alliance. This concept reaffirms the allies' commitment to collective defense while also taking full account of such new "fundamental tasks" as crisis management and partnership. In addition, the concept extends NATO focus to "in and around" Europe and reflects allied agreement that outside mandates for non-Article V NATO operations, while desirable, are not required.

Additional summit highlights were the decisions to:

- Reaffirm the open door and approve a Membership Action Plan for countries wishing to join the Alliance
- Enhance the effectiveness of the European Security and Defense Identity within the Alliance
- Launch the Defense Capabilities Initiative (proposed by the United States) to help develop forces that are more deployable, sustainable, survivable, and able to engage effectively
- Intensify relations with Partners through an enhanced Partnership for Peace and a strengthened Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council
- Increase allied efforts against weapons of mass destruction, including the creation of a WMD Center in NATO.

EAPC Membership

There are 44 EAPC members, including all 19 NATO member countries plus: Albania, Slovenia, Armenia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Sweden, Austria, Kyrgyzstan, Switzerland, Azerbaijan, Latvia, Tajikistan, Belarus, Lithuania, The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Bulgaria, Moldova, Turkmenistan, Slovakia, Ukraine, Estonia, Romania, Uzbekistan, Finland, and Russia.

it has a long way to go before it can operate effectively beyond Europe. NATO members are aware of the need to improve power projection capabilities and work with each other in combined operations. Most have modest modernization goals but lack funding and political support for ambitious programs. NATO members must decide how they will contribute to Allied operations and agree on their degree of specialization. For example, should Germany and Britain both invest in airlift, or should there be some division of labor, and if so how? NATO defense ministries will consider such issues over the next 5 to 10 years. Answers will partially depend on Alliance priorities as well as European political and economic developments. Present trends indicate limited progress will occur on these issues in the near term but may improve over the long term.

Latvian airborne soldiers discussing American parachuting techniques during Exercise Baltic Challenge '98



Ambivalent Public Support for Military Forces and Missions

Absent immediate threats, European public support for military preparedness is difficult to sustain, the exceptions being Turkey, Britain, and France. Elsewhere in Western Europe, support for military preparedness was based on the Soviet threat, rather than the need to ensure security beyond national borders. This may be attributable in part to memories of two disastrous world wars. For many Europeans, large military forces are seen as encouraging aggressive behavior.

Most Europeans also perceive threats to their security in continental, not global terms. Consequently, the United States has had to deal with distant threats. Europeans have generally supported peace operations legitimized by the United Nations or OSCE. As Western European countries achieved an unprecedented degree of confidence in cooperative European institutions, they have perceived that security depends less on military power. In 1999, most Europeans see little reason to maintain or modernize combat forces fielded during the Cold War. Their support for peace operations does not translate into large investments in advanced weaponry.

Paradoxically, Europeans understand that U.S. forces in Europe remain vital to their security. They generally recognize that only the United States has the power to deter a major threat to their security. They see the United States as the fire brigade that handles the unexpected. Europeans realize that they lack the unity to decisively confront serious challenges and often resent their continued dependence on the United States. Bosnia demonstrated Europe's inability to conduct risky military operations alone.

Despite Western Europe's remarkable harmony over the past 50 years, European sensitivities make it difficult for European countries to manage conflicts. As an outside power, the United States is able to balance these sensitivities and inspire confidence. As long as the EU and WEU remain a collection of disparate states without a common foreign policy, the United States will continue to play an important leadership role. No European country could assume such a role and be accepted by the others.

Although sentiment in most European countries favors reducing defense budgets, the picture is not entirely bleak. Europeans generally approve of NATO engagements in Bosnia and other peace operations. The Netherlands, for example, modernized its forces around a doctrine



A-10 Warthog at Aviano Air Base, Italy, in support of Operation Joint Forge

stressing peace operations while downsizing its budget and overall posture. Germany has begun to accept responsibility for security beyond its borders, albeit slowly and only within Europe. British armed forces enjoy high public confidence. Military leaders in most NATO countries, including France, want to improve their power projection capabilities and work more effectively in combined operations.

However, it is difficult to shift resources away from standing armies, toward the mobility, logistics, information warfare, and modern doctrine needed to execute long-range missions. European allied forces number 2.5 million, with over 50 divisions and 3,400 combat aircraft. Very few of these forces are configured for power projection. European allies spend about \$144 billion on defense, compared to the \$256 billion the

United States spends to support a force of 1.36 million. The difference reflects U.S. power projection assets—aircraft carriers, satellites, and strategic airlift—along with its modern technology and R&D. European forces lack a comparable power projection capability, and this gap may widen in the future.

Perspectives on Global Responsibilities

While Britain and France are the exceptions, most European countries do not have a modern awareness of responsibility beyond Europe. When they do exercise power outside Europe, it is through the EU, NATO, or the United Nations. For many European countries, colonialism was a bitter lesson. This, together with European wars, obliterated a sense of global involvement. The following details trends in key countries:

- *Germany.* Currently undergoing a difficult period of adjustment after absorbing the former East Germany, it also faces challenges to a social and economic system that favored job security and generous state benefits. Although still Europe’s economic powerhouse, Germany is reluctant to assume new financial burdens.

In recent years, the German public has become less enamored of European integration, particularly its costs. Surveys show a majority opposes abandoning the German mark for the untested European currency. As a result, German leaders have demanded a reduction in the \$13 billion Germany contributes annually to the EU, nearly 70 percent of the Union’s budget.

The Germans have been reluctant to play a major security role, especially beyond Europe. After two disastrous wars, they are wary of using military force except in self-defense. The German public has little stomach for risky military operations and remains sensitive to other

Defense Research and Development and Procurement Spending: NATO-Europe, Canada, and the United States (millions of 1996 U.S. dollars)

	Defense Budget			Research and Development			Procurement		
	1995	1996	1997	1995	1996	1997	1995	1996	1997
NATO-Europe	163,865	158,101	144,447	13,557	12,107	11,236	33,389	34,777	33,071
Canada	8,481	7,741	6,964	83	91	73	1,754	2,120	1,839
United States	268,843	266,018	256,788	35,827	34,970	35,820	45,277	42,420	45,046

Source: *The Military Balance 1997/1998*, International Institute for Strategic Studies (London: Oxford University Press, 1998).

countries' reactions to German military revival. Currently, Germany has little background in naval power projection, which is integral to global security responsibilities. For decades, Germans have perceived threats arising from the east—principally from Russia. NATO inclusion of Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic provides Germany with a large buffer zone to the east and diminishes its sense of a threat. German policy emphasizes good relations with Moscow and stable neighbors to the east.

German attitudes are changing in favor of greater participation in NATO peace operations, such as Bosnia. However, Germany will likely be reluctant for some time to engage in missions outside UN Security Council or OSCE authorization. Its conscript army reinforces this reluctance.

German forces number about 330,000 troops. They include 22 brigades, 450 combat aircraft, and 29 naval combatants. They can defend Germany's borders but cannot rapidly project power beyond them. Germany is preparing a reaction force, primarily for peace operations.

- *France.* Unlike Germany, postwar France has felt secure from historical foes. Its security has been based on membership in NATO and the EU and cultivating relations with Germany. Of all European nations, France today favors an ambitious global role for Europe.

French policy is driven by a pragmatic desire to tie Germany into cooperative structures

with France and the rest of Europe. It also seeks collective European structures that promote French policy and influence. Consequently, France supports EU development on quasi-federal lines in some areas, but not at the cost of French interests of prerogatives.

The French seek an independent European role on the world stage as a vehicle for France to regain some of its former status as a world power. French policy in NATO is designed to make Europe less dependent on the United States and encourage it to assume responsibility for its own interests. The French often view U.S. leadership as an obstacle to a more independent Europe. French policymakers realize that this vision is far from a reality.

French leaders are in no hurry to re-enter the integrated NATO military command, especially on U.S. and NATO terms. They continue to seek a stronger European pillar in the Alliance through command arrangements or some other visible manifestation of European power. Their demand to transfer command of the NATO southern flank (AFSOUTH) to a European reflects ambivalence toward a U.S.-led Alliance. Nonetheless, the French general staff participates in most NATO military bodies, such as CJTF headquarters. France also actively participates in

Patrol boat near Iskenderum, Turkey during Exercise *Dynamic Mix*, involving the United States, Turkey, Canada, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, and the United Kingdom



French Force Structure

Army: 220,000

- 1 corps with 2 armored and 1 mountain division rapid reaction force;
- 1 airmobile division;
- 1 light armored division;
- 1 Marine infantry division;
- 1 airborne division

Navy: 63,300

- 14 submarines;
- 2 aircraft carriers;
- 1 cruiser;
- 4 destroyers;
- 35 frigates;
- 25 mine warfare vessels;
- 23 patrol vessels;
- 9 amphibious vessels;

Air Force: 83,420

- 92 bombers;
- 200 fighters;
- 274 attack;
- 4 early warning;
- 53 reconnaissance;
- 97 transports;
- 11 tankers;
- 84 communications;
- 4 command post;
- 4 electronic intelligence aircraft.

Source: *Military Balance 1998/1999*, The International Institute of Strategic Studies (London: Oxford University Press, 1999).

SFOR and any NATO operations anticipated for Kosovo. French military leaders understand that only NATO can meet serious security challenges to Europe, and they follow Alliance plans and operational developments. As a result, the French tend to participate in military structures through informal means. Some allies resent France's *a la carte* approach to the Alliance.

The French defense budget experienced a 21 percent cut between 1995 and 1997, which affected France's standing forces. President Chirac has resisted deep cuts, but the Socialist-led government trimmed defense to meet deficit targets to qualify for the EMU. Chirac has set ambitious goals for modernizing France's power projection forces, increasing them from 10,000 today to 60,000 early next century. Conscripted will be eliminated by 2001.

France plays an important political role in Southern and Eastern Europe, Africa, and parts of the Middle East. The challenge for the United States and France is to work toward common interests, even though they differ over leadership roles. Of Europe's major players, French strategic thinkers mostly favor the idea of Europe's assuming greater responsibility for its own security.

● *Great Britain.* Of all European countries, Great Britain is the most willing to commit its forces for global security. The United Kingdom operates with coalitions or bilaterally with the United States. For centuries, British forces have been designed for power projection, and, unlike most continental European countries, Britain has usually been on the winning side of wars.

The British have traditionally been reluctant to give the EU or Western European Union (WEU) primary responsibility for European security. They see NATO as the only organization capable of enforcing policy. The British generally distrust collective continental decision-making, and understand the importance of strong, cohesive leadership when confronting adversaries. London opposes any strategy shift in the Alliance that would be at the expense of the transatlantic link. At the same time, the United Kingdom has recently joined France in an initiative to strengthen the EU role in security and defense policy. How this initiative develops remains to be seen.

Because of other allies' reticence over a global role for NATO, London is comfortable with small coalitions under U.S. leadership. The

British see these as being more decisive and less cumbersome than larger institutional arrangements and as providing Britain with a significant role. The British completed a major defense review in spring 1998, calling for smaller but more capable forces for power projection.

● *Turkey.* Of all NATO members, Turkey is the most strategically located and the least secure. Internally, Turkey is experiencing Islamic movements, demographic pressures, and economic stress. Secular political parties are weak and have yielded to the military's influence. Ankara's crackdowns on the Kurds in northern Iraq have complicated relations with Iraq, Syria, and the EU. Turkish instability threatens U.S. interests in the Middle East, Central Asia, and potentially NATO.

The EU has denied Turkey the candidate status it seeks while giving it to Cyprus, alienating Turkey's leaders. Citing shortcomings in democratic development and human rights as well as the Cyprus situation, the EU is unlikely to consider Turkey for membership as long as it continues to repress Kurdish nationalists and reject a political settlement for Cyprus, and while Turks continue migrating in large numbers to Western Europe. This has alienated many Turks, who increasingly look to the Caucasus and Central Asia for markets.

Turkey has a large military establishment of 639,000 troops, which includes 15 division-equivalents, 440 combat aircraft, and 37 naval combatants. Turkey is modernizing its forces and improving readiness. NATO reinforcement would be needed to defend against major aggression.

Key Relationships Guiding European Development

While European integration will continue, Europe's politics and security will center on relationships among key nations: Britain, France, Germany, and Russia. The three Western powers realize that they can achieve more together, particularly in the global marketplace. The overall trend is toward deeper cooperation between Western Europe's principal players, while Russia remains outside, floundering and unable to enact coherent reforms.

Relations between Germany and France are key in Western Europe. Since the 1950s, cooperation between these two former adversaries has been the cornerstone of European stability and integration. Both have invested enormous political and economic capital in this relationship, to Europe's benefit. As a result, little happens in

the EU or NATO without French and German concurrence. Neither country is likely to diverge significantly from common vital interests. Nevertheless, Germany and France do not share common views on key issues, including Europe's future shape, and Central and Southern European relations.

Germany has pursued its European vocation out of a desire to build a more prosperous economy and forge cooperative relationships with its neighbors after two disastrous world wars. As a strong advocate of European integration and generous contributor to the EU, Germany has gained the respect of its neighbors. Today, it exerts a constructive influence in Europe. The Germans favor building a federal Europe with strong institutions and high standards, including an independent central bank. The Germans are less ambitious than the French about transforming the EU into a world power or giving it authority to administer itself. Germany sees its security depending on Eastern and Central Europe, and a strong link with the United States. Germany also seeks to cultivate the best possible relationship with Russia, the only European country that could plausibly threaten its interests. Balancing relations with France, the United

States, and Russia has preoccupied German foreign policy for several decades and will likely remain its focus.

The United Kingdom's relationship with the continental powers and the EU has long been ambivalent. It is reluctant to pursue political union with Europe because of its history as a maritime world power and its ties to the commonwealth and English-speaking world. The British play a strong intellectual role in European councils. As a nuclear power with small but capable military forces, they play an even stronger role in NATO. London works to develop good relationships with all European partners but does not rely on any one relationship as much as it relies on the United States for security. The Blair government has moved to improve Britain's ties to its EU partners, with considerable success.

Russia will remain important to overall European stability. However, its future remains cloudy. Its internal development could take various directions. In the near term, Russia will not pose a significant security threat to Western Europe because of economic distress, political divisions, and regional tensions. NATO would have

NATO meeting with members of Bosnia's Tri-Presidency, representing Muslim, Croat, and Serb groups



Conclusions of U.K. Defense Review

The 1998 U.K. Defense Review called for retaining the nuclear deterrent along with conventional forces prepared for long-distance deployments and multinational operations. The review trimmed Britain's defense budget but called for improvements in power projection.

To meet these challenges, the United Kingdom will modernize its forces by:

- Creating joint rapid reaction forces that can rapidly deploy in response to all crises
- Introducing new capabilities, such as larger aircraft carriers, an air maneuver brigade, and improved nuclear, biological, and chemical defense
- Improving strategic transport, logistics, medical support, headquarters deployment, and communications
- Further integrating defense to achieve the maximum military capability from the three services. This includes a joint helicopter command, the *Joint Force 2000* concept for Royal Navy and RAF carrier-based operations, and greater responsibilities for the Chief of Joint Operations
- Balancing forces in the United Kingdom and Germany to match today's priorities
- Fully modernizing reserve forces. The Territorial Army will be given a relevant role and the tools and training to accomplish it.

3 to 5 years warning, if Russia renewed its expansionist aims and military strength. More likely, Russia will be occupied for years trying to maintain internal order. At best, reform will proceed slowly, with periodic setbacks, until the Soviet generation passes from the scene. Until then, Russia will be a difficult partner for the West.

Current Russian trends are worrisome. Unable to manage economic reform, Russia will likely be ruled by oligarchs or power brokers. It is unlikely to achieve a market economy or stable democratic political system in the near future. Russia and much of the former Soviet Union could become a strategic area apart from Europe, unable to share Europe's interests. Although it could not directly threaten Western Europe, it could play a spoiler role, attracting support and influence from rogue states. Russia could even become a rogue state itself, motivated by resentment of the West. The challenge for the West will be to relate to an unstable and unpredictable Russia that is neither partner nor adversary.

It is also possible that emerging threats from Islamic radical movements from the south or an aggressive China to the east would reorient Moscow's defensive strategy away from Europe and make Russia a more cooperative partner for the West.

Kosovo Peace Mission



Source: U.S. Department of Defense.

Balkan Instability— A Long-Term Challenge

The Balkans are likely to remain unstable for decades, with significant risk of conflict among states. The Yugoslav succession wars have left weak, unstable states in the south and unresolved national issues.

- *Serb Nationalism.* Extreme Serb nationalism contributed to Yugoslavia's downfall, and the ensuing conflicts in Croatia, Bosnia, and Kosovo, and it continues to afflict the region. Serbs have not accepted their diminished status in a smaller Yugoslavia. Nationalist feelings still dominate Serbian politics, preventing the rise of a constructive, democratic leadership. Comprising less than two-thirds of their republic's ethnic population, Serbs are insecure about their future and susceptible to nationalist appeals.

- *Albanian Nationalism.* Serbia's harsh rule in Kosovo fueled rising Albanian nationalism, especially with the massive flow of Albanian refugees out of Kosovo. While Albanians in the Balkans have long been fragmented along regional and tribal lines, the struggle in Kosovo has aroused a pan-Albanian consciousness. The

The Kosovo Crisis

Circumstances in Southeastern Europe will continue to threaten U.S. and European interests, whatever the eventual outcome in Kosovo. A militarily decisive outcome might ease the challenges somewhat; a negotiated termination, the more likely outcome, will tend to make the postconflict challenge more complex and persistent.

Despite NATO success in securing Kosovo from Serb repression, Serbia will remain a major source of regional instability. Milosevic may remain the central figure in what remains of the former Republic of Yugoslavia, with his security forces diminished but functional, and with unfinished business in Montenegro.

At the same time, Kosovars may themselves be a key source of postconflict instability. The traditional political leadership will have been weakened by events and under challenge by the Kosovo Liberation Army, which may continue its struggle for independence; some Kosovars may turn to the goal of a Greater Albania.

Frontline states will be uneasy not only about Serbia's intentions in the region, but about possible violent suppression of internal minorities, such as the Magyars in Vojvodina and Muslims in Sandzak. Frontline leaders hopes for closer relations with NATO will be challenged by public majorities in sympathy the Serbia and resentful of the damage done by the Kosovo conflict to their economies.

The main pillar of any postconflict strategy is the eventual Europeanization of the region. Politically, culturally, and economically, Southeastern Europe is destined eventually to become one more region of an increasingly diverse, sprawling Europe. It is in U.S. and Western European interests to encourage and accelerate this long-term trend, as in Central and Northeast Europe of the past 10 years. Conditions in Southeastern Europe will make the effort substantially more difficult, however: the physical and psychic scars of a decade of ethnic war, the shallow commitment to democracy and market economy, pervasive corruption, and deep penetration of organized crime will all hamper efforts at reconciliation and political reform, as well as attracting needed investment. Moreover, no such efforts will make much headway until the region has been stabilized—with the threat of further Serbian aggression contained, and with Frontline states freed of the need to accommodate their troublesome neighbor.

The results of NATO efforts in Kosovo will have an important influence on how Europe and the United States decide to share security burdens and responsibilities in the future. If the Alliance succeeds in achieving its near-term goal of returning the refugees to Kosovo, it will likely find itself involved in an extended deployment of forces to guarantee a secure environment. Having provided the bulk of the combat air power to achieve NATO goals, the United States will contribute a much smaller proportion of the ground force, which will be overwhelmingly European manned as well as led. For missions within Europe, this model may prove workable in the medium term, until European forces gain the technological advances, command and control, mobility, and sustainment to allow them to operate without or more equally with the United States in combat operations.

Kosovo conflict could unite Albanians in Kosovo, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, and Albania. If it does, Albanian nationalism could spark a larger conflict in Macedonia, drawing in Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia, and possibly Turkey.

- *Bosnia.* Implementing the Dayton accords has been slow and uneven. The central government in Sarajevo remains weak, with little cooperation among Muslims, Serbs, and Croats. Few refugees have returned to their homes, and ethnic tensions are high in areas where they have. The Serb region of Bosnia has established a separate government, with ties to Belgrade. Over the long term, some form of peaceful coexistence among ethnic groups may occur in Bosnia, but under

loose international supervision. The central government will need foreign support for decades.

- *Serbia.* Prospects for democracy in Serbia are uncertain. It has a history of nationalist and ruthless leaders. Serbia is not likely to change its inclination toward authoritarian regimes. Outside Montenegro, the opposition to Milosevic has been disorganized and ineffective. Many opponents advocate nationalist agendas that would not help resolve Serbia's problems. Serbia could evolve into a rogue state with close ties to other rogue regimes. For now, economic mismanagement, sanctions, and war weariness leave Serbia a weak power.

- *Kosovo.* The success of Operation *Allied Force* is likely to leave the Alliance (and the United Nations) deeply involved in Kosovo for

many years. The province will become a de facto UN protectorate, with Serbia continuing to have legal sovereignty but losing control on the ground to NATO and eventually to the Kosovar Albanians. Few Serbs will remain under those conditions. Russia, which helped broker the agreement allowing the UN mandated peace-keeping force, Kosovo Force (KFOR), to enter Kosovo, and which has troops on the ground, will remain an uneasy partner. The Russians acted not to protect the ethnic Albanians from Serb depredations, but to exert power and influence vis-a-vis NATO and to protect Serbian interests. The future of the province will hinge on how the Albanians and the Serbs behave toward each other and their neighbors and on what can be agreed in the UN Security Council.

Albania and Macedonia will be unstable for years to come. With political and economic structures far less developed than elsewhere in Europe, Albania's tribal traditions remain powerful. The central government remains weak, especially in the north, and the population is heavily armed. The economy is heavily dependent on smuggling and the drug trade. Macedonia faces uncertainty with a large and growing ethnic Albanian population (at least 25 percent). Nationalist pressures aggravated by Kosovo's conflict, refugee flows, and economic dislocations will challenge its government.

Outside Dangers

The greatest dangers to Western Europe will come from the geostrategic arc stretching from Pakistan through the Persian Gulf, Egypt and North Africa, and into the Balkans. The region's interstate conflicts, Islamic terrorism, and rogue states could threaten NATO directly.

Europe remains dependent on the flow of Persian Gulf oil and access to the Suez Canal. This makes it vulnerable to several scenarios. A Middle East war would affect Europe's interests as much as U.S. interests. The fall of Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, or Egypt to Islamic extremists would threaten Western security. A war involving Israel would also endanger Europe's security.

WMD proliferation directly threatens Europe. Pakistan is already a nuclear power. Iran and Iraq may follow soon. Several Middle East states seek ballistic missiles that can strike Europe with WMD warheads, which could, for example, carry biological agents. The Alliance is ill prepared to meet these threats. European publics and leaders are preoccupied with internal issues. Changing this perspective would require a major effort.

U.S. Interests

Preserving European Allied Security

Washington has an abiding interest in the security of its Western European allies. Two world wars have demonstrated Europe's importance to the United States, and ties between the two are even more important in an era of economic globalization. The United States cannot promote democratic values globally without strong partners, first and foremost in Europe. Failure to preserve the harmony Europe has achieved since World War II would seriously impact U.S. interests.

Russia no longer threatens Western Europe, but the United States and its allies cannot ignore developments in Russia and the surrounding areas. While Western Europe grows more cohesive, Russia and the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) lag behind or stagnate. The United States and its allies share an interest in supporting the independence, prosperity, and sovereignty of all former Soviet Union countries.

A deteriorating Russia would challenge the EU and the United States. Both have interests in limiting the spread of crime, corruption, terrorism, and refugees from Russia and the CIS and in supporting Russia's political and economic reform, however uneven. As the EU grows stronger, the United States may encourage the Union to assume greater responsibility for assisting Russia in its reform efforts. America and the EU share an interest in preserving the independence of the Ukraine and other CIS countries.

The United States has supported European integration, although with some ambivalence. Economically, the United States benefits from the efficiencies of a larger market and a single negotiating partner for trade issues. Politically, the United States has supported cooperation within the EU. Efforts to forge the ESDI, however, have received mixed U.S. reactions.

The United States has not supported French efforts to create a defense organization separate from NATO, either through the EU or WEU. Such an organization would be a costly duplication of some NATO capabilities. Also, Washington could be excluded from decisions affecting its security interests. The United States might find itself coming to Europe's defense under the

Article 4 and Article 5 of the Washington Treaty

Article 4

The Parties will consult together whenever, in the opinion of any of them, the territorial integrity, political independence or security of any of the Parties is threatened.

Article 5

The Parties agree that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all and consequently they agree that, if such an armed attack occurs, each of them, in exercise of the right of individual or collective self-defence recognised by Article 51 of the *Charter of the United Nations*, will assist the Party or Parties so attacked by taking forthwith, individually and in concert with the other Parties, such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area.

NATO Article 5 after decisions made outside NATO resulted in conflict. Washington has insisted on the primacy of NATO while allowing Alliance members to undertake military engagements with NATO concurrence.

This principle of “separable, but not separate” forces and command structures allows European nations to conduct military operations with NATO procedures and forces apart from the United States, or supported but not led by the United States. The NATO CJTF concept embodies the flexibility to operate in a similar way.

Preserving Europe’s Postwar Harmony

The United States has a strong interest in preserving Western Europe’s postwar harmony and sense of greater community so that these countries do not become rivals again. The agony of two world wars and the dangers of the Cold War helped Europe overcome centuries of rivalry. U.S. interests include not only preventing wars in Europe, but also enabling a stronger European partner, capable of assuming wider responsibilities in and beyond Europe. A fractious Western Europe would be ineffective in encouraging democracy in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. It would be unable to respond cohesively to dangers from the Middle East or Asia’s financial crisis.

Not all of Western Europe’s quarrels have been solved. As a friendly but distant power, the United States can balance and stabilize local or regional disputes. For example, the United States

played a stabilizing role in Greek and Turkish disputes, to include Cyprus, an important role in Northern Ireland, and a key role in trying to resolve conflicts in the Balkans and the Caucasus. While the EU and other European countries also contribute, the United States often wields the greatest influence in these disputes.

The tragedy of the former Yugoslavia makes it clear that NATO cannot stand aside when wars occur on European soil. The Balkans lie on the southeastern NATO flank. The humanitarian consequences of neglecting this region would be costly. The United States cannot disengage from a region that directly affects Europe’s stability and confidence.

Encouraging Allies to Share Global Responsibilities

The United States and Europe share common interests in a stable world order, which must be defended if threatened. America has a growing interest in Europe’s sharing wider responsibilities for global stability. These include preventing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction; ensuring Persian Gulf stability, a free flow of oil, and access to the Suez Canal; and ensuring Asian stability, including cooperative relationships between China, Japan, and India.

Europe has the means to contribute to global security. The EU has a larger population (320 million) and gross domestic product (\$8.1 trillion) than the United States. NATO-Europe and Canada have even greater resources.

CJTF Concept

The combined joint task force (CJTF) concept was first articulated at the informal meeting of Defense Ministers at Travemünde, Germany, in 1993. A “task force” is a military command formed and structured for a particular operational purpose. “Combined” denotes participation by two or more nations. “Joint” means the involvement of two or more services. A CJTF, therefore, is a deployable multinational, multiservice unit established for specific contingency operations. It could conduct a range of potential missions including humanitarian relief, peacekeeping, or peace enforcement. The CJTF could be employed in Article 5 operations.

Comparative Resources:*

	United States	NATO (excluding U.S.)
Population (millions)	270	379
GNP (\$ trillion)	7.8	8.4
Defense Expenditures (\$ billion)	258	152
Research and Development (percent)	35	8
Active Duty Forces (millions)	1.36	2.5

*1997 data
 Source: *The Military Balance, 1998/1999*, International Institute of Strategic Studies (London: Oxford University Press, 1999).

Reductions in Defense Spending 1988-97

(percent)

	United States	Europe
Defense Spending	30	20
Manpower	34	20
Division-Equivalents	40	36
Combat Aircraft	43	20
Naval Combatants	40	15

Source: *The Military Balance, 1998/1999*, International Institute of Strategic Studies (London: Oxford University Press, 1999).

In the Cold War’s aftermath, the United States and Europe have reduced their armed forces considerably. Consequently, the United States is less capable of executing major military contingencies, without assuming large costs and risks. U.S. forces in Europe alone declined from 330,000 to 100,000.

About 80 percent of European forces conduct border defense at medium readiness. The remainder are high-readiness, reaction forces totaling 10 divisions, 470 combat aircraft, and 160 ships. They are mostly tailored for local missions. As a result, NATO depends primarily on the United States, the United Kingdom, and France to project power. It will be increasingly difficult for the United States to gain public and congressional support for defending interests shared with allies, unless they also participate.

An important step in burdensharing was taken at the Washington Summit with the adoption of the new Defense Capabilities Initiative, which is designed to develop European forces

that are more deployable, sustainable, and serviceable. The key now is whether NATO European members will follow through on this summit initiative.

Preserving Europe’s Political and Economic Stability

Washington has a major interest in the political and economic stability of Europe. In an era of growing economic interdependence, the United States and Europe are not likely to diverge widely on major economic issues. A prosperous Europe can help share the burdens of global security, while a weak Europe would undermine confidence in the international system and leave only the United States to face possible challenges in the Middle East, Central and South Asia, and the Far East.

The EU will continue to be an economic partner of United States. A strong EU can help extend prosperity eastward and instill cooperative habits that have succeeded in Western Europe. The EU has gradually opened its markets to outside competition through agreements with the United States and the World Trade Organization (WTO). This is likely to continue benefiting the United States and Europe, barring an unlikely collapse of EU prosperity.

Expanding and Enlarging Democracy in Europe

America has interests in expanding and enlarging Europe’s democratic core to Eastern Europe. This must done without being overly committed to weak or failing states. By including qualified new members, NATO and the EU can foster security and cooperation in an area that spawned two world wars. The United States has interests in Europe’s overcoming artificial divisions and building partnerships with former adversaries, including Russia. Enlarging the core of democratic nations creates stronger partners for global responsibilities. The PFP is an important instrument for bringing European countries together and fostering a common security effort. PFP is also an important source of manpower for NATO peace operations where participants already share responsibilities with Alliance members.

Consequences for U.S. Policy

Sharing a Strategic Vision with Europe

For 40 years, the United States and its European allies organized and structured themselves to meet a known, single adversary—the Soviet Union. Now NATO seeks to define a new vision for the 21st century. One such vision is a “Wilsonian” Alliance devoted to collective security primarily through political discussion and peace operations under a UN or OSCE mandate. Another vision is a traditional NATO organized primarily to defend its members against external attack. A third vision preserves the traditional NATO defense mission, while engaging wherever key Western interests are affected.

The Alliance may face a variety of conflicts, ranging from regional crises to new adversaries beyond Europe. To be effective, NATO will need a

strategic vision that prepares for a host of uncertainties. It will have to prepare better for new missions that defend common interests.

In Europe, U.S. strategy focuses on shaping a cooperative, peaceful environment while preparing for conflicts in and beyond Europe. The Alliance has made great progress in shaping a cooperative security architecture in Europe. NATO peace operations, enlargement, and the PFP have enhanced the Continent’s security.

The Alliance is less prepared for likely future missions, especially outside Europe. The United States and Europe need a common strategic vision. Public support for U.S. engagement in Europe requires that security responsibilities be shared fairly. If NATO is unable to respond to threats to its interests, the vision will fade and the Alliance could unravel. Implementing the new Strategic Concept and Defense Capabilities Initiative will be key to progress.

The United States and Europe could approach “responsibility sharing” in different ways. One option is a division of labor. European allies would assume primary responsibility for Article 4 missions on European soil under the NATO

Soldiers of the Kosovo Liberation Army on patrol near Lapastica, 20 miles north of Pristina



AP/Wide World Photos

St. Malo Summit

In December 1998, the heads of state of Britain and France met in St. Malo, France, and agreed that the European Union, in the furtherance of a common foreign and security policy, needs to:

- Develop the autonomous capacity to act, backed up by credible military forces, in response to international crises
- Build military capabilities “pre-designated within NATO’s European pillar or national or multinational European means outside the NATO framework”
- Strengthen armed forces to react rapidly to new risks
- Support a strong and competitive European defense industry and technology base.

aeGIS, while the United States would have primary responsibility for defending “global” interests. A second option is an operational division of labor. In European missions, allies would provide most ground forces, with the United States providing airlift, reinforcements, C⁴I, and combat air support. Under this option, European allies would provide supplemental forces in global missions. The third option is a common force structure and doctrine for the Alliance. It would enable combined and joint deployments of European and U.S. forces in both low- and high-intensity environments, including outside Europe.

The first option is attractive among those favoring greater European contributions to security—on both sides of the Atlantic. The disadvantage would be a loss of U.S. diplomatic influence in managing and resolving conflicts in Europe. Also, European forces would be tailored more for low-intensity peace operations, and Europe’s contributions to global missions would be limited. The second option has many of the same advantages and disadvantages. However, the United States would be more involved militarily in European missions. The third option offers the best long-term means of sharing responsibilities but requires the most effort in terms of political cooperation, defense modernization, and development of common military technology.

Managing Transatlantic Relationships

Allied acceptance of greater security responsibilities will require the United States to manage transatlantic relationships in ways that give allies a greater voice in diplomatic strategy. An independent, leading role for Europe in matters

within its capabilities (for example, through ESDI, the WEU, and European-led CJTFs) will have to be balanced with maintaining U.S. influence and leadership when American interests are at stake.

For the United States, the question is often, who speaks for Europe? Europeans themselves cannot answer this question. The EU aspires to provide a common voice on foreign and defense policies but has not yet been coherent beyond generalities. Aside from economic leverage, the EU has little diplomatic clout outside Europe. Without U.S. and NATO involvement, it has been ineffective in addressing such crises as the Balkans. NATO purports to be the forum for coordinating security policies. Yet, it often falls short, especially regarding issues beyond its area of responsibility. The United States has not effectively used NATO to build consensus on security issues beyond Europe’s immediate neighborhood.

With the 1999 summits of NATO, U.S.–EU, and OSCE, the United States has an opportunity to reshape its consultative arrangements and forge new agendas for each of these organizations. In recent years, the United States upgraded consultations with the EU, primarily regarding trade issues. Until the EU achieves internal unity sufficient to articulate and implement a common foreign policy, the United States cannot neglect bilateral diplomacy. Washington will have to give priority to new and closer forms of consultations over going it alone, or explaining after-the-fact decisions and actions. It is in NATO interest to look at external regional issues and consider consultation as a means of crisis management.

Adapting NATO to Respond to Future Challenges

The United States faces a key challenge: how to transform the Alliance while maintaining its leadership and a coherent strategy responsive to a new security environment. In the north, this means consolidating the peace and security achieved since the Cold War’s end. In the south, it means meeting new challenges and threats.

The Alliance has successfully adapted to the new era in Central and Northern Europe. This was done through the PFP program, which seeks gradual enlargement and engagement. Its challenge is to consolidate enlargement that already has been achieved while building constructive relationships with Russia and others. Decisions at Paris and Madrid in 1997 established a two-track approach: gradually enlarge the Alliance while keeping the door open to new members; and

develop dialogue and understanding between NATO, the Russian Federation, and Ukraine. Balancing these two objectives will be difficult.

Expanding NATO poses the risk of overextending it. The further east it expands, the more complex the security environment becomes, and the more challenging it will be to ensure the common defense. The Alliance must ensure that new members can contribute to the common defense and do not bring unacceptable burdens and risks. Each candidate must meet basic requirements: be a stable democracy with civilian control of the military, have a practical defense doctrine, and be able to modernize military capabilities with an adequate level of preparedness and infrastructure.

In Northern and Central Europe, the Alliance has successfully managed to end the Cold War, defuse Central Europe's military confrontation, and transform relationships with old adversaries in the east. The situation is less reassuring in the south, where an arc extends from North Africa, the eastern Mediterranean and Middle East, to the Caucasus and the Balkans. While no country in this arc directly threatens NATO, many are unstable. Conflicts there could dangerously affect Europe's interests. Turkey is particularly vulnerable. It shares borders with Iran, Iraq, and Syria. In the near future, Greece and Italy could be threatened by conventionally armed

missiles and, potentially, by biological or chemical weapons.

The loss of Turkey or Egypt to Islamic radicalism would negatively affect Europe's interests. Prospects for ending the Arab-Israeli dispute appear dim. Another war there could interrupt the region's oil flow and commerce. The Caucasus region has increasing importance to Europe. Including the Middle East, oil reserves in the region may be as high as 200 billion barrels, worth \$4 trillion, or 71 percent of the world's oil reserves, along with major reserves of gas.

Engaging a Failing Russia

Managing relations with Russia will be a major challenge. If the Alliance enlarges without including Moscow, it will appear anti-Russian. NATO has sought cooperation and confidence building with Russia through the Permanent Joint Council (PJC), established in 1997. Moscow has been ambivalent toward the PJC and generally toward the Alliance. This stems from Russia's belief that NATO is an opposing military alliance that may encroach on Russia's borders. Russia resents the U.S.-led Alliance for appointing itself the principal manager of European security. The Kosovo crisis has damaged U.S. and European relations with Russia.

These perceptions complicate Russia's willingness to cooperate with NATO. The latter perception would exist even if Russia were an Alliance member. Russia is not like post-World War

NATO-Russia Founding Act Principles

- Development, on the basis of transparency, of a strong, stable, enduring, and equal partnership and of cooperation to strengthen security and stability in the Euro-Atlantic area
- Acknowledgment of the vital roles that democracy, political pluralism, the rule of law, respect for human rights and civil liberties, and the development of free market economies play in the development of common prosperity and comprehensive security
- Refraining from the threat or use of force against each other as well as against any other state, its sovereignty, territorial integrity, or political independence in any manner inconsistent with the United Nations Charter and with the Declaration of Principles Guiding Relations Between Participating States contained in the Helsinki Final Act
- Respect for sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity of all states and their inherent right to choose the means to ensure their own security, the inviolability of borders, and peoples' right of self-determination, as enshrined in the Helsinki Final Act and other OSCE documents
- Mutual transparency in creating and implementing defense policy and military doctrines
- Prevention of conflicts and settlement of disputes by peaceful means in accordance with UN and OSCE principles
- Support, on a case-by-case basis, of peacekeeping operations carried out under the authority of the UN Security Council or the responsibility of the OSCE.



Polish soldier probing for mines during Exercise Cooperative Osprey in Camp LeJeune, North Carolina

II Germany, a defeated nation ashamed of its past and accepting of the design for the future. Russia today is more like postwar France—humiliated but not defeated, aware of its former great power status, and wary of U.S. dominance. Like France, Russia resents what it perceives as the prevailing *Pax Americana*.

Unable to block enlargement, Russia accepted the Founding Act to gain leverage over NATO decisions. Russia's concern about the Alliance's enlargement was relatively muted following the Madrid summit. If NATO pursues a second round, Russia will attempt to block further enlargement, particularly if it includes the Baltic States. Russia would threaten to walk out of the PJC and

abandon the Founding Act, which would be regarded as a major setback and omen of trouble. But, Moscow could only do this once and would risk losing Western investments and assistance for Russia's transformation.

Russia also signed the Founding Act in order to be regarded as a great power. But the NATO agenda is likely to make Russia feel even more diminished. NATO and the United States cannot do much about this, particularly because they do not want Russia co-managing European security issues that do not directly concern it.

The more important question is, what is Russia's role in a future NATO that seeks to advance and protect European and U.S. interests? If NATO becomes fundamentally an Article 4 alliance, partners will not be treated much differently than members. The distinction comes from Article 5. Russia's treatment will depend on whether it is a responsible partner. NATO pledged to all partners that its purposes and policies will be transparent. It must continue considering how to engage partners, including Russia, without their vetoing or disrupting NATO decisionmaking. A NATO increasingly engaged in Article 4 missions will likely be more

flexible in its procedures than an alliance primarily focused on Article 5.

Modernizing European Military Capabilities

The new NATO strategic concept recognizes that it will have to upgrade its military capabilities. Modernization is needed for likely allied missions ranging from peacekeeping to Article 5 common defense. Many of these missions will require NATO to project force and conduct combined operations. U.S. encouragement will be key to this modernization.

The potential for conflict lies on the NATO periphery. Should NATO respond to Article 5 commitments, it will have to deploy and sustain its forces over long distances. The defense of Turkey is one such scenario.

Non-Article 5 operations, such as peacekeeping, will require similar deployments. Alliance planners are aware of the need to improve these capabilities, but progress is slow.

The Alliance would benefit greatly from the revolution in military affairs (RMA), which promotes development of smaller, more mobile forces that take advantage of advanced munitions, intelligence, and information systems.

NATO requires flexible forces and doctrines for various missions. A building-block approach is needed to operate effectively in combined operations.

The United States will need to share design and production of key systems in order to increase allied interoperability. This will require changes in information sharing, industrial cooperation, and licensing and export control decisionmaking.

U.S. Role in Regional Conflicts in and Around Europe

The United States provides balance in conflicts where European geography or history constrains allies. This is likely to continue in the Balkans, the eastern Mediterranean, and the Baltic region. Ideally, the United States would leave management of local disputes to European friends and concentrate on its global responsibilities. In reality, Europe will likely require extended U.S. engagement. This may mean long-term commitments to regional stability, as in Bosnia.

By helping to defuse tensions, the United States could prevent larger conflicts. Sharing such regional burdens will require the United States

and European partners to work together more closely. Each case is different. Some conflicts require only diplomatic solutions; others require the threat or use of force, as in former Yugoslavia.

Net Assessment

Europe enjoys the prospect of peace with a degree of unprecedented harmony and prosperity. The threat of major war on European soil remains remote. The future of NATO lies in promoting cooperative security between members and partners and lending its political and military influence to peace missions in troubled regions.

The challenge for the United States and Europe is to ensure that risks and responsibilities are shared at a time when the greatest threats lie outside the traditional NATO security perimeter. If these risks and responsibilities are not shared, NATO risks losing the support of its publics and political leaders.

In order to share the burden of global security, the United States will have to include allies in political and diplomatic decisions on courses of action to be pursued. This may be difficult given differing perspectives among European countries. Agreement will not always be possible, especially when potential threats are not imminent.

In the new century, the United States faces the following key issues:

- Ensuring that allied forces develop the capabilities to perform a broad spectrum of missions
- Sharing risks and responsibilities with allies in Europe and beyond
- Ensuring that U.S. and allied forces can operate effectively together and with coalition partners
- Effectively consulting with allies on strategies and decisions affecting common interests.

At the Washington Summit, NATO committed itself to a new era. The ability of European and transatlantic institutions to adapt to this new era will profoundly affect Europe's ability to assume greater security responsibilities and will ultimately affect its relationship with America.