

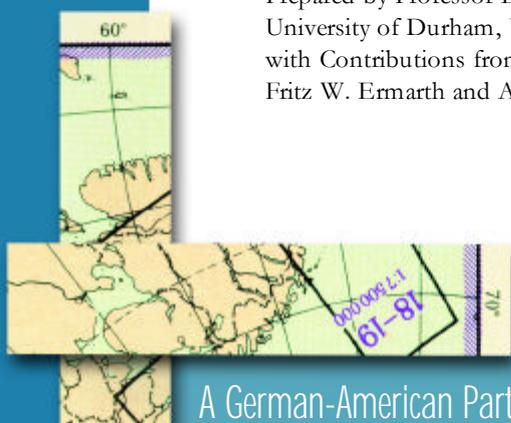


A Report of the George C. Marshall
European Center for Security Studies Conference on

Enhancing the Security of States in a Multipolar World: Vulnerabilities and Opportunities

13-15 March, 1999

Prepared by Professor Ewan W Anderson,
University of Durham, United Kingdom,
with Contributions from Rapporteurs
Fritz W. Ermarth and Alan Smith



A German-American Partnership





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Edited under the direction of the Marshall Center's
Conference Center

Preface-Scope of the Conference

This conference was held from 15-19 March 1999 to

- Examine developing issues that have the potential to threaten or destabilize the security of states in Europe and Eurasia;
- Discuss how states without a superpower's resources can affect their regional geopolitical environments;
- Explore the means that non-superpower or geographically smaller states have at their disposal to improve their security;
- Develop proposals on how security of a region could be enhanced through cooperative action.

The geographical scope of the conference included 26 countries in an arc running around Russia from the Baltic States through Central Asia. Of these 26 countries, 18 were represented at the conference by delegations drawn from government, military and academic life. Expertise within these country delegations was complemented by international experts presenting papers on potential threats to the stability of countries within the region and possible cooperative procedures for dealing with them.

To facilitate the consideration of common problems, conference participants were divided into three working groups: East Central Europe - North, East Central Europe —South, and Central Asia. The main emphasis of the conference was on the working groups, which were tasked to discuss potential threats, security options and security initiatives. The accent throughout their deliberations was on the identification of potential solutions to security problems and the development of clear-cut, practical suggestions for the conference to put forward.

The core of this report is a review and analysis of the statements produced by each of the working groups on the major conference themes. It also capitalizes on the expertise offered by the international experts present at the conference by blending in key points from their regional and thematic presentations.

Contents

Preface	2
Table of Contents.....	3
Key Issues.....	4
Characteristics of the Region	9
Categories of Threats to Stability.....	11
A Broadening Concept of Security.....	14
Working Group Perspectives on Threats and Opportunities	18
East Central Europe —North.....	18
Potential Threats	18
Actions Taken	20
Future Options	21
East Central Europe —South.....	22
Potential Threats	22
Actions Taken	24
Future Options	25
Central Asia	26
Perceived Threats.....	26
Actions Taken	27
Future Options	28
Common Concerns.....	30
Recent Approaches to Security.....	35
Possible Security Initiatives.....	37
Agenda	41
Attendees	48

Key Issues

Representatives of the eighteen countries present at this conference had broad and demanding visions of security. These visions centered on “soft” security issues, including assurances of economic, social and political stability and a healthy natural environment. The delegates were less concerned over traditional “hard” threats to security—nuclear or conventional war. In most cases, this even applied to the militarization of large-scale interethnic fighting. These delegates recognized, however, that the comprehensive security they were seeking was impossible without difficult domestic changes and an unprecedented level of cooperation with their neighbors and with regional organizations.

The conference closed on the eve of what became the NATO air campaign in Kosovo. Though unaware of what was to come, delegates to this conference were either noncommittal or skeptical about the deployment of military forces in preventive diplomacy roles, especially in situations short of actual invasion of one country by another. They were far more attuned to their own needs to preempt Kosovo-like situations by embracing the stability-promoting measures discussed throughout the week at the Marshall Center.

The most important common concerns of conference participants included, in order of declining urgency:

- Economic Instability. **Economic stability is intimately interrelated with all other forms of stability. Anything that undermines it**—such as illegitimate political leadership, corrupt legal or banking systems, unskilled workers and unfair taxes — **undermines the security of the state.**
- Refugees and Illegal Immigration. **Uncontrolled**

movements of people seeking refuge from conflicts, ethnic persecution or dire economic conditions can quickly overwhelm the absorptive capacities of any small state, creating economic chaos and social upheaval. Many viewed the presence of large numbers of illegal immigrants as precursors of criminal activity, including narcotics trafficking and black market arms trade.

- **An Unstable Russia. Further political and economic decline within Russia is a grave concern because of the far-reaching consequences.** Participants referred to the possibilities of the reemergence of a nationalistic foreign policy, cuts in regional trade and energy supplies, increased emigration to wealthier neighbors, and increases in transnational criminal activities.
- **Ethnic Tensions. Ethnic tensions arising from historical grievances, perceived economic inequalities, unresolved borders and political opportunism were viewed as worrisome sources of social instability, migration and, in the worst cases, active conflicts with the potential for transnational spillover.**
- **Environmental Disasters. Virtually every state represented at the conference was concerned about major pollution problems.** These concerns included cleaning up contamination from former nuclear testing and waste disposal sites, chemical and toxic waste dumps and obsolete industries, as well as dealing with ongoing cases of international river contamination. **The single, greatest environmental challenge was the drying up of the Aral Sea, which is rapidly creating a saline wasteland over a vast portion of Central Asia.**

To deal with these concerns, working groups endorsed several international activities that have proven effective in promoting

stability in the past and enumerated a number of additional initiatives for new comprehensive security measures.

Participants specifically cited the following ongoing activities as critical for the continued maintenance of stability in the region:

- **OSCE's cooperative diplomacy and peacekeeping efforts;**
- **NATO's Partnership for Peace;**
- **Those economic reform measures required either to accede to the European Union or to participate in alternative subregional economic groupings.**

Ideas for additional initiatives included:

- **Creating regular multilateral roundtables to share information** on movement toward the creation of multiethnic societies; border control issues; illegal immigrants and refugees; economic integration; arms control and CSBMs; and controlling narcotics and organized criminal activities.
- **Calling on Western technical support** (such as offered during the conference by Commander of the North Atlantic Division, US Army Corps of Engineers) to deal with widespread issues of nuclear, chemical and industrial contamination. Additionally to dispose of ordnance and toxic materials left over from the Cold War.
- **Alleviating pollution through a combination of national and regional plans** for cleaning up rivers; closing obsolete industries and remediating areas contaminated by radioactive materials, abandoned ordnance or toxic chemicals and metals.

Enhancing the Security of States in a Multipolar World:

- **Continuing to review the CFE Treaty to rebalance conventional forces across the region.**
- **Creating a “nuclear weapons-free zone” in Central Asia.**
- **Setting up an economic and customs union of the entire Central Asian subregion** that would transform it into a single economic zone.
- Working throughout the region to agree on borders and **establishing appropriate boundary control and management systems.**
- **Forming interstate organizations to deal with the effects of natural disasters and power shortages,** modeled along the lines of the Baltic States’ BALTRING energy sharing and development group.
- **Involving Russia in all possible cooperative agreements, particularly those concerned with defense and security.** Russia remains a military superpower casting a large shadow across the region. Its scope for transnational activity may be limited at present, but **Russia’s influence remains strong.**
- **Recognizing the sensitivities of states other than Russia to the potential imbalances that could result from NATO and EU accessions policies** as some states are chosen and some are not. In the case of EU membership, the boundary between neighboring states would become a trade barrier. The differences in security status would be even more stark in the case of NATO, as one nation received a guarantee of military support while its neighbor did not.

Vulnerabilities and Opportunities

- **Organizing effective help to address the massive problems surrounding the desiccation of the Aral Sea.** Conferees decided it was vital to address the problems of the Aral Sea basin in their entirety—beginning with a detailed cost benefit analysis that could attract global financing to combat the problems. ■

Characteristics of the Region

The challenges to the security of the 26 states in the region covered by this conference and the abilities of the countries to deal with them reflect the histories and characteristics of the various states. All these countries have in common their creation through the implosion of larger states—either the Soviet Union or Yugoslavia. They share the pervasive influence of Russia. Over half are landlocked. Otherwise, they are a disparate group. Most have small populations, the average for the region being 10.2 million; however, they range in size from Estonia (1.5 million people) to Ukraine (50.7 million). They also vary greatly in area from the 2.7 million square kilometers of Kazakhstan, one of the largest countries in the world, to the 20,000 square kilometers of Slovenia. Taken together, the region includes a population almost the size of the United States and encompasses a land area roughly one-third the size of Russia. The political background of the region is differentiated according to whether the states are former members of the Warsaw Pact, former Soviet Union (FSU) republics, products of secession, previously independent states or new states.

Because all these states are acutely resource-limited, they have greater problems than larger states in meeting threats to stability

Because all these states are acutely resource-limited, they have greater problems than larger states in meeting threats to stability or constraining the effects of conflicts potentially affecting them. They have limited resources for defense. Generally, the states lack forces appropriate for the security issues they now face. They are simultaneously pursuing difficult programs to promote economic growth, democratization, and defense reform. They are also seeking support and security assurances from international organizations working to promote new regional mechanisms to preempt or manage a rapidly diversifying array of future threats.

Vulnerabilities and Opportunities

While dealing with this challenging array of changes, **the states of the region represented at this conference are also forced to balance their quests for sovereignty and distinct national identities against pressing needs for greater regional cooperation and integration.** Political independence has required that the states reengineer economic links with neighbors, rethink security and border control issues, appreciate common environmental goals, and become more sensitive to their interconnectedness in virtually all aspects of national life. ■

Categories of Threats to Stability

Conference participants brought with them a well-developed sensitivity to a broad range of security concerns that went well beyond the traditional Cold War focus on straightforward military threats. The extent to which each participating state expressed concerns about a mix of economic, political, social, cultural, environmental and military issues varied. **Most, however, were more worried about the potential for economic, social or environmental crises than military issues.**

Internal economic stability is a prerequisite for dealing flexibly with change on a national level and for competing successfully in the global economy

Economic Instability was regarded as both a symptom of other problems and a fundamental cause of other types of instability, from social upheaval to armed conflict. The intimate relationship of economic stability to a functioning market economy and a transparent legal system was made dear in a paper entitled, “Economic Development and the Impact on Stability” by

Professor Friedemann Muller of the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, Ebenhausen, Germany. In his presentation he also observed that a functioning market economy could not exist without a solid legal system, open capital markets and an honest banking system. **Because internal economic stability is a prerequisite for dealing flexibly with change on a national level and for competing successfully in the global economy, those states with unreliable banking systems, hostile legal systems, excessively restricted competition or politically driven economic decision-making processes are likely to be threatened by economic instability.**

Political and Social Instability arising from ethnic tensions was

treated extensively in two papers on ethnic tensions by Professor Tom Gallagher of the Department of Peace Studies, Bradford University, United Kingdom, and addressed in each of the working groups. Ethnic nationalism —a claim that ethnic identity should be the basis of citizenship —was raised as the root cause of social and political challenges through most of the region covered by the conference. As the working groups noted, **the most serious threats to stability occurred in circumstances when ethnic nationalism combined with border disputes or economic disparities and leaders were willing to use the resulting discontent to build political power.**

Environmental Risks were noted as threats to stability throughout the conference. Though the greatest emphasis on environmental problems was in the Central Asia working group, all noted the destabilizing effects of lost arable land, diminished health, and reduced economic opportunities that result from mismanagement of water, industrial contamination and military testing or improper disposal of toxic nuclear or chemical materials.

Military Threats were treated last during the conference, but the existence or possibility of armed conflict was included in the deliberations of all working groups. Although traditional military balance-of-power issues, including questions of nuclear weapons use, were left largely in the background, problems of **subregional conflicts with horizontal escalation and multinational involvement were areas of concern.**

Conferees also were aware of the broadening geographical range of sources for future security problems. Where appropriate, the conference used a three-level classification system to array the geographical scales of threats to states in the region:

- **Substate Threats** —those affecting areas within states. Substate threats could range from an internal ethnic conflict to a region of severe environmental contamination within the boundaries of one country.

- **Interstate Threats** — those occurring directly between neighboring states. Interstate threats to stability could arise over unresolved boundary issues and contested access to water.
- **Transnational Threats** — those with multinational or global scope, such as drug trafficking, arms smuggling, refugee movements or conflict involving multinational organizations.

The boundary between the three levels cannot be precise and a threat at one level may spill over into another. Dr. Ewan Anderson, Professor of Geopolitics in the Centre for Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies at the University of Durham, United Kingdom, noted in his conference presentation and paper, “Geopolitical Overview,” that the complexity of the post-Cold War world results in large measure from the fact that intractable problems tend to transcend even these three levels of analysis. For example, Kosovo is a substate problem of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY), an interstate problem with Albania and Macedonia and a transnational problem with the dispersion of refugees to other parts of Europe and North America. Similarly, a transnational problem can cascade down to the lower levels. The transnational problem of arms smuggling is an interstate threat between Afghanistan and Pakistan and a substate threat in Pakistan’s Northwest Frontier Province. ■

Broadening Concept of Security

In the face of macropolitical threats, the concept of security has broadened. This broadening was highlighted at the opening of the conference in a paper entitled “Regional Overview North Central Europe” by Major General Dietrich Genschel addressing the concepts of hard and soft security.

- **Hard Security** is a state’s capability to deter external threats to the country and, should this fail, to defend the country’s territorial integrity and core values. **Hard security is largely the province of a nation’s armed forces and its defense establishment.**
- **Soft Security** is the product of economic, political and social stability and sound environmental policy. It has domestic and interstate attributes. **Domestically, it rests on the preconditions of sound economic health-trusted banking and legal systems, open capital markets and fair commercial competition-and a populace willing to accept ethnic diversity.** On the interstate and transnational levels, soft security entails trade and cultural relations with surrounding countries and the global environment, and a multinational approach to preemptive ecological management. **Soft security implicitly presumes that the state is not exposed to external military threat.**

Comprehensive Security. Professor Ewan Anderson combined these concepts of security in the even broader one of comprehensive security. In his words, “the idea of common security has been developed to recognize the legitimate interests of all sides and encapsulates all facets of military-related measures from

Finding legitimacy for military intervention is a major problem in coordinating preventive deployments

confidence–building to arms control, peace-making, peacekeeping and disarmament. However, approaches to security imply more than just military security. Economic, political, social, cultural and environmental security are all identified as possible components. To cover such threats, internal and external, macropolitical, interstate and substate, the term ‘comprehensive security’ is probably the most appropriate.”

Preventive Diplomacy. The sustaining of comprehensive security usually requires some form of preventive diplomacy—that is, taking steps to prevent the causes of instability from growing or spreading across borders. The non-controversial aspects of preventive diplomacy include early warning of potentially destabilizing developments followed by mutually agreed diplomatic, economic or, in the case of environmental problems, technical support actions.

Military Intervention. Preventive deployment of military forces to limit or affect the outcome of an armed conflict is the most extreme and controversial extension of preventive diplomacy. This measure is controversial because the threat or act of deploying military forces in another country constitutes forcible intervention in the affairs of a sovereign state. Any such deployment raises moral, practical and legal issues. In a paper entitled “International Interventions in Secessionist Conflicts in Europe: A Threat to Sovereignty, a Challenge to Stability,” Dr. Pavel Baev of the International Peace Research Institute in Oslo, pointed out that **most secessionist movements, if left alone, usually fail of their own accord. In addition, many military interventions fail to meet their political or humanitarian objectives. But if they are undertaken for clear and limited objectives, are justified in the minds of their supporting publics as necessary responses to cruel or collapsing regimes and are properly planned and executed, they can make a difference.**

Finding legitimacy for military intervention is a major problem in coordinating preventive military deployments. It is an open question whether it can be bestowed through anybody other than the UN. **There was no consensus at the conference on this issue**, so there is clearly a need for far more thought and discussion on the subject before any overall guidelines can be produced.

Roles of International Organizations. At the transnational level, the UN with its Charters and Resolutions, together with the International Court of Justice (ICJ) provides a legal underpinning for many aspects of security. NATO, a Cold War defense alliance, has been transformed in both function and membership to address security issues, both in-area and increasingly out-of-area. While full NATO membership is limited and accession will be judged case by case, its far more broadly based Partnership for Peace program has been active in many states of East Central Europe and Eurasia. Indeed, with the development of the Combined Joint Task Force (CJTF) program, the key difference between full and associate membership is the guarantee of direct supporting military intervention to members when threatened. NATO has also forged relationships with Russia and the Ukraine and has spawned the European Security and Defense Identity (ESDI).

More widely based in its membership than Partnership for Peace, is the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), whose essential role is to promote soft security. It has a membership of 55 states, including all those of the former Soviet Union. OSCE is pragmatic and it implements measures by cooperative means. **Through preventive diplomacy and cooperative security measures, most delegates considered it the body most prepared to address the complexity of modern, soft-security problems.**

Because economic stability is a major determinant of security, the extension eastward of the European Union with its all-embracing criteria for membership also provides a security

Enhancing the Security of States in a Multipolar World:

safeguard. Its Common Foreign and Security Policy addresses both soft security and hard security. Finally, more **focused regional cooperative groups such as the Council of Baltic States and the Arctic-Barents were noted during the conference as important for security at the interstate level.** ■

Working Group Perspectives

While they have much in common and perhaps even a common destiny, each of the three subregions addressed by the conference is different politically, geographically, economically and militarily. Furthermore, the states within each region differ considerably from each other. This heterogeneity led to significant differences among the conference's three working groups in their modes of operation, the foci of their discussions and the content of their reports. To provide consistency summarizing their work, their reports are presented using the conference's guideline that they address potential threats, actions taken and future options for dealing with security issues within each sub-region.

East Central Europe — North

This sub-region included Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Ukraine, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia. All but Slovakia participated in the conference.

A consensus emerged among conference participants that **this was the most stable of the three subregions covered by the conference.** The Czech Republic and Poland had acceded to NATO as the conference began —easing their concerns about hard security provisions. **Moreover, the preconditions for economic stability were agreed to be relatively well established in a majority of the states, and concern over hard security issues was relatively low.**

Potential threats. Though the risks presented for the subregion did not apply to all countries that participated, **the majority of the states present viewed their major security concern to be uncontrolled immigration.** Any large-scale transborder movement of people seeking refuge from economic hardships would create

instability by overwhelming the receiving country's labor market, social services, educational systems and health care facilities and by prompting a rise in drug trafficking and arms smuggling.

The group was concerned over an interrelated set of political and military threats to stability that included possible changes in Russia — such as:

- Increasingly negative perceptions of NATO;
- Unwillingness to cooperate with neighbors;
- A rise of extremism;
- The subverting influence of organized crime;
- Unconfirmed borders;
- The uneven distribution of forces in border areas such as the Leningrad Military District;
- The black-market sale of weapons from Russian military units.

Working Group members were also concerned over any slowdown in EU enlargement, which could produce increasing economic and political disparities between those who are members and those who are not, and any geographically unbalanced pattern of accessions to NATO.

Economic, social and environmental risks were a concern to conferees from the area. Participants pointed to:

- Financial crises affecting the sub-region;
- The rise of discriminatory trading practices;
- Collapse of the social consensus behind economic reform;
- Specific areas of ethnic tension (such as between returning Crimean Tartars and Russians in the Crimea);
- Growing differences in wealth between different regions within a state — particularly if there appeared to be discrimination against minorities;
- Natural disasters, for example, extended flooding; unsafe

Vulnerabilities and Opportunities

nuclear power plants;

- Environmental issues, to include polluted water supplies, toxic material deposits, and unexploded ordnance in the Black and Baltic Seas.

One technical security issue identified by the states of the north central subregion was the potential for year 2000 computer failures. The potential for uncontrolled military weapons activation, power plant failures and failures in hospitals were of particular concern.

Actions Taken. Initiatives taken in the subregion to limit uncontrolled immigration include establishment of readmission treaties that make repatriation effective and the strengthening of border controls, including converting military border troops into police forces with new geographical orientations. Military stability in the subregion had been promoted through the implementation of the Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) Treaty, the NATO-Ukraine Charter and the NATO-Russia Founding Act. Nuclear weapons have been removed from Ukraine and Belarus and NATO offices have been established in Kiev. There have been numerous bilateral and multilateral agreements on political, economic and military issues and an overall agreement to the terms of the OSCE Treaty (Vienna document 1994). Furthermore, Russia has been included in OSCE stabilization efforts. Economically and socially, the two major initiatives have been accession to both the global and regional trade regimes (WTO and CEFTA respectively) and Partnership for Peace which has provided the means to train search and rescue disaster relief teams.

In the environmental field, a number of far-reaching measures have been set in place. BALTRING, a regional energy sharing network, has been established and all existing power plants have been categorized according to their risk potential. Tax incentives have been enacted to encourage industrial modernization and pollution control. Participants cited examples of the Ecoconversion Policy, under which bilateral arrangements are made to exchange foreign

debt relief for ecological projects of direct benefit to the debt holder. Initial work has also been undertaken to enhance public awareness of pollution problems and to begin reclamation measures. Some major cities have installed new water purification systems. Year 2000 commissions have been tasked to address the problem of computer failure.

Future Options.

To preempt problems associated with uncontrolled migration, the conferees proposed that:

- Visa policies be better coordinated;
- Russia and Belarus should be encouraged to adopt readmission agreements;
- Activities of border and immigration personnel needed to be coordinated by establishing a council of border control organizations and services.

To promote political and military stability, the conferees considered it important to:

- Review the CFE treaty to rebalance forces;
- Integrate Russia into existing multilateral structures;
- Open a planned NATO mission in Moscow;
- Sustain and intensify Partnership for Peace activities;
- Assist in the retraining of excess military personnel.

To promote economic stability, conferees proposed to:

- Promote long term foreign investment;
- Reform social security and pension systems where it has not been done;
- Promote the development of relatively poor regions through tax incentives;
- Work on the long-term reform of features required for EU membership.

Vulnerabilities and Opportunities

- Reach an agreement with Russia to remove double tariffs on imports.

To alleviate the effects of natural disasters and environmental problems, several regional cooperative measures were suggested:

- The expansion of the BALTRING energy-sharing network;
- Creating transboundary plans for water pollution control;
- Exchanging specific information on the nature and location of explosives and toxic materials;
- Establishing international restrictions on the transport of environmentally hazardous products;
- Creating “green lung” areas of forests on a regional basis;
- Allowing obsolete industries to dose with alternative employment assistance.

East Central Europe — South

This subregion included Slovenia, Romania, Macedonia, Croatia, Bulgaria, Albania, Hungary and Moldova. All countries had delegations at the conference. **In contrast to the overarching concerns of the North Central European delegates on the higher priority of longer-range soft security issues, representatives of the South Central European area were focused on more immediate hard security issues and the need to deal simultaneously with painful economic transformations.**

Potential Threats. The major concern of delegates from this subregion was the volatile situation in Kosovo in the wake of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia’s rejection of the Rambouillet Agreement. **Attendees were concerned about the risks that a conflict in Kosovo could pose for a spillover of fighting to adjoining countries as well as the humanitarian and economic damage from conflict there. Additionally they were concerned with the disruption that a Kosovo conflict could pose to a process of regional integration, and the potential for crime and**

smuggling to develop if current government controls broke down.

Conferees were well aware of the stresses caused by ethnic nationalism in areas other than Kosovo. Though many grievances and territorial issues had been or were being resolved, (such as conflicts over Transylvania, minorities in Macedonia, and border issues between Romania and Moldova), the **potential for instability arising from irredentist feelings among nationalistic minorities identifying themselves on ethnic rather than civic values, was still present.** Bosnia-Herzegovina was seen to exemplify many of the security risks attending this sort of nationalistic identification. Though Bosnia-Herzegovina was being stabilized by the presence of SFOR and foreign assistance, it was a subject of concern because it suffered from war damage, displaced populations, disputed boundaries, and internal violence. The situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina supports an observation by Dr. Tom Gallagher that **the greatest risk for ethnically driven conflict would occur when civic values were weak, economic opportunities limited, and there were tangible grievances that could be manipulated for short-term political ends.**

All countries in this subregion were concerned about the economic effects of illegal immigrants and the related problems of the spread of crime and corruption. **The problem of organized crime was seen to be more severe than that encountered with the traditional Mafia. The groups involved were characterized as highly sophisticated, flexible, ruthless and enterprising.** Their operations included the smuggling of arms, drugs and commercial products and money-laundering. For many states in the region this could result in the corruption of state entities and the undermining of law and order, a particularly serious problem in states where new law enforcement and judicial structures were still being developed.

Beyond Kosovo and alienated ethnic minorities, **conference delegates saw threats to stability caused by Russian economic**

instability, which in the worst case, would spill over into the economies of this subregion. Economic instability or collapse in Russia would also exacerbate problems stemming from the activities of organized crime groups and weapons proliferators. To a lesser degree, delegates were concerned that Russia might have a post-imperial nostalgia for influence in the region, and thus back Serbia in future regional confrontations.

The problem of organized crime was seen to be more severe than that encountered with the traditional Mafia.

Though overshadowed by the hard threats of armed ethnic conflicts, risks to stability from natural disasters and environmental problems, particularly those resulting from heavy industrial and radioactive contamination, were noted as areas of continuing concern. Finally, as was the case with the North Central European region, the states representing South Central Europe expressed **a general anxiety over boundaries and poor border control which could exacerbate tensions in areas such as the Transdniestr.**

Actions Taken. Recent, key actions to promote stability in this subregion involved a mix of national and international initiatives. **Largely through national or bilateral efforts, many potential sources of ethnic conflict had been reduced or eliminated. These included territorial issues between Hungary and Bulgaria in Transylvania, between Romania and Moldova, and the status of minorities in Macedonia and Albania.**

International activities of NATO and the OSCE in stabilizing Bosnia-Herzegovina were noted—though no consensus developed on how long forces should remain there. Preparations for **membership in the EU**—seen as the key avenue for integration into the rest of Europe—had been taken by most states in this subregion. Although the results varied from acceptance in the first round of enlargement (Hungary and Slovenia) to associated state status

(Bulgaria and Romania) to trade and cooperation agreements (Macedonia and Albania), **the entire process was viewed as essential for achieving the long-range goal of integrating the subregion economically with the rest of Europe.**

Future Options. Delegates from this subregion highlighted a need to strengthen diplomatic relationships on a subregional and pan-European basis. They considered it crucial that **the integration of their countries into the major European political, economic and military communities should not be retarded by current problems since this would demoralize their populations and jeopardize the creation of stable and prosperous democracies.** Specific steps might include:

- Pursuing French and US initiatives to promote subregional cooperation;
- Promoting the development of structures necessary to join the EU;
- Working through OSCE to develop confidence and security-building measures (CSBMs) for the region;
- Continuing to work with the United States on reconstruction efforts which, in the best case, could become a new Marshall Plan;
- Normalize relationships with the FRY and engage it in a positive way in the affairs of the subregion;
- Continue to develop relationships with NATO through Partnership for Peace initiatives.

Conference delegates were clear that **pending problems in Kosovo would have to be resolved and relations with the FRY normalized before critically important economic reconstruction could begin. There was no clear consensus, however, on how to do this.** Some delegates favored NATO intervention; others favored a hands-off, containment policy; others favored various forms of positive engagement with the contending states.

To work toward settlement of unresolved border issues and deal with refugee issues, **conference delegates proposed a series of regional roundtables.** These roundtables also could help develop measures to promote local arms control and strengthen steps necessary for building civil societies in areas of conflict.

Central Asia

This subregion included Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. All but Turkmenistan were represented at the conference. For these representatives, **the basic problems of the subregion flow from its isolation and unpreparedness for sudden independence in 1991 and the consequences of the subsequent struggles to achieve internal political and economic stability while dealing with major cases of environmental mismanagement.**

Perceived Threats. **The basic concern of conference delegates was over the internal stability of their countries.** Their list of internal political and economic threats to stability included:

- Limited experience with democratic processes. Prevailing political cultures center on clan structures and authoritarian regimes that are prone to sudden power shifts, rather than organized succession.
- Ethnically based sub-national differences that contain the potential for active conflict, as has been the case in Tajikistan and Nagorno-Karabakh.
- Lack of social cohesive forces to replace communism.
- High population growth rates, exacerbating pre-existing economic inequalities.
- Crime and corruption.

Conferees stressed that these political and economic challenges were aggravated by a number of serious environmental and health issues. The most prominent was the desiccation of the Aral Sea basin.

Serious instability or an implosion of the Russian economy would affect directly the economies of Central Asia though reductions in trade and increases in cross-border criminal activity

Through over-abstraction of water for irrigation, the Aral Sea has now diminished to under two-thirds of its previous size, resulting in widespread water shortages and hazards ranging from severe health issues to salinization of farmland. Other environmental threats, particularly the widespread environmental pollution created at heavy industrial sites from the Soviet period and radioactive contamination from former Soviet nuclear test ranges and waste sites, afflict the region.

Representatives from the subregion viewed Afghanistan as their major transnational threat. While Afghanistan poses no direct military problem, it is associated with cross-border terrorist infiltration,

drug trafficking and, potentially, religious extremism. Any spillover of its civil war could affect the stability of the entire region.

Less significant than Afghanistan, but nonetheless **important in generating potential instability is the economic state of Russia.** Though relations with Russia were generally seen as good, **serious instability or an implosion of the Russian economy would affect directly the economies of Central Asia though reductions in trade and increases in cross-border criminal activity.**

The Fergana Valley, which is located across the boundaries of Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, was cited by Professor Ewan Anderson as a potential flash point for instability. It is the locus of unresolved border issues, a crossroads for drug and weapons movements, a site of numerous nuclear waste dumping sites and potential water problems resulting from old and unreliable dams.

Actions Taken. In the face of these geopolitical and natural

threats, a number of initiatives have been taken in Central Asia. Early attempts were made to address the plight of the Aral Sea region when the International Foundation for the Salvation of the Aral Sea was established in 1993. Membership includes the World Bank, together with a number of Inter-Governmental Organizations, including the EU. In addition, the problems of the sea are being addressed through Green Parties and various environmental societies.

To promote military stability, a treaty on collective security has been signed. It includes Russia in its membership. States of the subregion cooperate with NATO through its Partnership for Peace program and join in UN peacekeeping activities. CENTBAT, a Central Asian peacekeeping battalion, has already been deployed within the region. Finally, to promote the integration of minorities into national life, one of the states has established an Assembly of Peoples.

Future Choices. Conference participants agreed that stability in Central Asia would come only with economic development. For this, Western expertise and investment was invaluable. More specifically, it was clear Western support was also required for the development of economic and social infrastructure projects, including water distribution programs and the sustaining of educational activities left to lapse when the Soviet Union collapsed. Delegates noted, however, that to guard against corruption, investing states should take responsibility for implementing their investments. Finally, Western, and particularly US, technical skills were needed to combat radioactive contamination—a problem in Central Asia that is on a scale not approached anywhere else in the world.

Delegates proposed that movement begin toward an economic and customs union for states of the subregion. This concept of a single economic zone for Central Asia was seen as a means of strengthening their fragmented post-Soviet economies and pooling their limited resources.

To enhance military stability at the transnational level,

Enhancing the Security of States in a Multipolar World:

Central Asian representatives considered increasingly close relations with NATO through Partnership for Peace to be essential. Delegates also voiced support for the establishment of a “nuclear weapons-free zone” in Central Asia. ■

Common Concerns

The characteristics of the region covered by this conference make it difficult to generalize about threats and possible options for dealing with them. The states within it vary enormously in population, size, history and level of economic development. Thus, their perceptions of threats to stability and their priorities for dealing with them vary considerably. Each state has a unique geopolitical location and therefore the main issues, in terms of threats and possible responses identified, cannot necessarily be related to all three regions and certainly not to all participating states. However, **there are clearly discernible points on which there was a general convergence of views.**

Ethnic Tensions. Ethnic tensions arising from historical grievances and perceived economic inequalities, exacerbated by political opportunism and contested borders, were of great concern to all participants in the conference. **In the mildest of circumstances, these tensions held the potential for social and economic instability and for uncontrolled migration. In the worst cases, ethnically rooted tensions have led to active conflicts, which exercise significant influence in the area and offer the potential for spillover on an increased scale.** Further conflict in Kosovo, for example, could clearly affect most of Southeast Central Europe, particularly if support from Russia were enhanced. Most at risk would be Albania, Macedonia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. In Central Asia, the effects of spillover from the civil war in Afghanistan are apparent. Settlement of the Afghan conflict would appear to be a prerequisite for the long-term stability of the region.

Refugee Flows and Illegal Migration. **Apart from trans-boundary aggression, the major threats posed by any conflict**

Major pollution problems ranging from industrial to those associated with the military and the nuclear industry exist throughout the region.

spillover are likely to be refugee movements. According to a paper by Dr. Robert Mandel, Chairman of the International Affairs Department at Lewis and Clark College, United States, entitled “Causes and Consequences of the Mass Movement of Peoples: A Security Analysis,” internal conflict has provided the dominant impetus to refugee outflows. Conflict is particularly likely to generate refugee outflows when it involves unrestricted violence directed toward specific vulnerable groups of people. Dr. Mandel also observed that refugee flows and illegal migra-

tion are likely to occur in conditions short of active conflict when political persecution, economic inequality and deprivation, and cultural antagonisms make people seek relief through relocation.

Refugees and illegal immigrants were seen by conferees as risks to stability because they could, when in large numbers, overwhelm the recipient country’s economic and social integrative capabilities. Similarly, illegal immigration can be linked to increased likelihood of arms smuggling, drug trafficking and the appearance of criminal enterprises.

Economic Instability. One of the conference’s themes was that **economic stability is intimately interrelated with political and social stability so any development that undermines it is a threat to the nation as a whole.** Hence, corrupt legal or judicial systems rigged or politicized capital markets and unreliable banks contribute directly to domestic economic instability and to weakness in international competition for capital and markets.

Russia. All conference attendees considered the influence of **Russia in the region to be pervasive. The perceived threats from Russia varied from country to country and ranged from hard to soft.** Predominant among threats to stability originating in Russia were attempts to restore hegemony, the effects of further

economic collapse and the consequences of implosion. There was, among a few delegates, a fear of latent imperialism (referred to as imperialistic nostalgia) and the effect this might have on Russian foreign policy-particularly in the event of renewed conflict in the Balkans.

Far more significant, however, was the fear that the further political, economic and social decline in Russia would generate intolerable stresses in regional economic growth, trading patterns, energy supplies, human migration, growth of criminal activity and related problems such as narcotics and weapons proliferation. The present parlous state of the Russian economy and its greatly reduced level of government control have already allowed the development of transnational drug trafficking and arms smuggling, closely linked to a range of other criminal activities. Apart from organized crime, the break up of the Soviet Union has resulted in widespread corruption, the virtual absence of border controls and the identification of a vast array of environmental problems.

Pollution. Major pollution problems ranging from industrial to those associated with the military and the nuclear industry exist throughout the region. Pollution from anachronistic heavy manufacturing sites, mines and equipment storage areas was noted as a problem in all subregions covered by the conference. Though the specifics varied, there were general concerns over military-associated contamination from the dumping of nuclear, chemical and explosive materials in the adjacent seas; the burial of radioactive material and other toxic substances in insecure sites; and the problem of residual contamination at what formerly were experimental locations, involved in work on weapons of mass destruction. **In many cases, the scope of necessary reconstitution of the environment is beyond anything previously addressed.**

Natural and Man-made Disasters. Throughout much of the region, the rapid onset of natural disasters such as floods,

landslides or earthquakes is relatively frequent. This places a heavy and unpredictable burden on the finances and social structures of small states. Man-made potential and actual disasters include those associated with water diversion projects, dams, nuclear power stations and radioactive pollution. Chernobyl is perhaps the best known example of a man-made disaster which became a transnational issue. **Another is the case of the increasing desiccation of the Aral Sea.** The threat is substate, interstate and transnational and ranges from economic and social disruption to salinization, desertification and the dispersion of dust and salt on a global scale. The issue is closely tied to the hydrogeopolitics of the states of Central Asia and the water budget of the entire Aral Sea basin. **It is perhaps the greatest potential ecological disaster in the world.**

Transnational Issues: Crime, Narcotics, Arms Smuggling and Terrorism. Organized crime and its destabilizing effects on the economy and civil order were of concern to all working groups. The visible example of the problems Russia has had in separating its business and governmental processes from the corrupting influence of criminal organizations was seen as a warning to smaller states to limit the extent of criminal activities in their societies.

The problems associated with narcotics trafficking reflect the fact that the region is on the route from both the Golden Triangle and the Golden Crescent to Western Europe and North America. Similarly, borders and border controls are not sufficiently established. With the deterioration of Russian military discipline and traditional markets for high-value exports, black market arms dealings were seen as another transnational threat. Concerns about possible linkages between illegal immigration and arms or narcotics smuggling was another source of anxiety. However, the movement of weapons of mass destruction or their components was not perceived by conference attendees as a current problem for the region.

Terrorism, particularly in states vulnerable to the effects of

conflict spillover, was viewed as a significant threat. Funding is readily obtainable from the various forms of illegal trade, and given the presence of organized criminal elements in the region, terrorism merges with crime. **The alliance of religious extremism with terrorism was not viewed as a potentially threatening issue.** The feeling was that religious changes would be evolutionary rather than through violent activity.

Unresolved Boundaries. All three subregions raised the issue of boundaries and the need for improved surveillance and control. Not only are there boundary disagreements throughout the region, but the transnational threats noted above illustrate the need to address the issue. **An essential function of a state is the maintenance of security over its territory and lack of boundary control could equate to a lack of sovereignty.**

Unequal Treatment by NATO and the European Union. Conference participants tended to see, as a general panacea for most of the threats throughout the region, the integration into, or at least cooperation with, various Western economic and security organizations. The EU and NATO were the obvious targets however, accession, except in the medium-to-long term, was unrealistic for many of the states. Thus, the key stability issue that emerged was the consequences of non-selection. States not yet part of these leading European organizations feared that the differences between selected and non-selected states were likely to increase. Three states have already attained full membership into NATO, while their immediate neighbors have not. **Although the OSCE and NATO's Partnership for Peace programs are designed to enhance stability and improve security, they were viewed by most states as second-best alternatives to full membership in NATO or the European Union. ■**

Recent Approaches to Security

The countries of the region covered by this conference have made great strides in joining organizations or entering into treaty arrangements intended to promote long-term stability and security. This is evidenced by the universal

Despite the differences between states and between areas within the region, significant cooperation has already been established

membership of states in the region in the OSCE; extensive participation in NATO's Partnership for Peace program and the recent accession of three states into NATO. The OSCE is viewed as a crucial body for providing soft security and linking the states of Europe-including Russia, while Partnership for Peace has for many states become an adjunct to full NATO membership. Agreements have been reached and actions taken to remove nuclear weapons from Ukraine and Belarus. Former members of the Warsaw Pact have sustained the

Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty. NATO has reached special agreements with Russia and the Ukraine (the NATO-Russia Founding Act and NATO-Ukraine Charter). International operations by NATO and the OSCE have stabilized Bosnia-Herzegovina. To promote economic stability, many states in the region have joined the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the Central European Free Trade Association (CEFTA).

Apart from these links with Western and global organizations, regional cooperation has developed apace. In the northern part of the Eastern Central Europe subregion, for example, the Council of Baltic Sea States and the VISEGRAD group offer models for cooperation throughout the region. Economic collaboration in initiatives such as the BALTRING energy sharing program of the Baltic

States project has been matched in other subregions by cooperative developments in security and peacekeeping such as CENTBAT, a Central Asian peacekeeping battalion. Bilateral agreements have proliferated and bodies such as the Assemblies of People in Central Asia have been developed to safeguard the rights of minorities. Key single issue problems such as the drying up of the Aral Sea have been addressed—though not solved—in a number of ways, including the establishment of the International Foundation for the Salvation of the Aral Sea. The Baltic States have formalized an Ecoconversion Policy, under which bilateral arrangements were made to exchange foreign debt relief for ecological projects of direct benefit to the creditor.

Hence, despite the differences between states and between areas within the region, significant cooperation has already been established. Although it is difficult at present to see that the states of the region have a common destiny, it is clear that they have a common vision. ■

Possible Security Initiatives

The general findings of the conference were that the states represented face a mixture of common and particular threats to their stability. They have accomplished a great deal during their few years of independence but there is a greater need to improve future security than means to pursue them. The first consideration in looking toward the future, however, should be to continue current processes that have proven themselves effective in promoting stability. Some of these current processes include:

- **Recognizing that stability depends on healthy economies that are, in turn, dependent on the rule of law; inclusive democratic processes; and skilled, educated populations.** National efforts to make the changes needed to move toward membership in the European Union — or towards subregional agreements that promote the kinds of economic, legal and social reform that EU accession requires — will promote stability for the countries taking these steps.
- **Supporting the low-key, soft security-promoting activities of the OSCE.** OSCE efforts to promote communication among hostile parties and to invoke cooperative preventive diplomacy and peacekeeping activities have been a positive factor in dealing with dashes involving ethnic minorities seeking self-determination.
- **Sustaining regional programs such as NATO's Partnership for Peace as a means of promoting the economic and political conditions for stability.**

A number of additional initiatives were proposed in the working groups and plenary sessions of the conference:

- **Creating regular subregional roundtables to share information** on the creation of multiethnic societies, resolving border control issues, dealing with illegal immigrants and refugees, promoting economic integration and arms control, developing CSBMs, and controlling narcotics and organized criminal activities.
- **Calling on Western technical support** — of the sort offered during the conference by Commander of the North Atlantic Division, US Army Corps of Engineers — to deal with widespread issues of nuclear, chemical and industrial contamination and to dispose of ordnance and toxic materials left over from the Cold War.
- **Alleviating pollution through pursuing a combination of national and regional plans** for ending water pollution; dosing obsolete industries; and cleaning up areas contaminated by radioactive materials, abandoned ordnance or toxic chemicals and metals. To address the threat posed by pollution requires funding on a vast scale which can only be provided by international sources. There is also the need for scientific and technological cooperation so that the expertise of the West, and particularly the US, can be deployed. Indeed, the US is the only other state which has had to contend with many of the potentially more severe aspects of radioactive contamination.
- **Continuing to review the CFE Treaty to rebalance** conventional forces across the region.
- **Creating a “nuclear weapons-free zone” in Central Asia.**

- **Setting up an economic and customs union of the entire Central Asian subregion** that would transform it into a single economic zone.
- **Working throughout the region to agree on borders and establish appropriate boundary control and management systems.** The largely political process of agreeing on borders —particularly those contested by ethnic nationalists—can be done with the help of Western technical assistance and arbitration. Effective boundary management requires, in many cases, the retraining of former border troop and military units to assume immigration, police and surveillance duties. With effective boundary management, controls over illegal immigration, trafficking in drugs and black market arms, the movement of terrorists and potentially, the spread of human epidemics can be improved. Further, well defined borders and effective boundary management makes possible international water sharing agreements and pipeline routing decisions. These decisions encourage investment by the West and the sharing of high technology.
- **Forming interstate organizations to deal with the effects of natural disasters and power shortages,** modeled along the lines of the Baltic States' BALTRING energy sharing and development group.
- **Involving Russia in all possible cooperative agreements,** particularly those concerned with defense and security. Russia remains a military superpower casting a large shadow across the region. Its scope for transnational activity may be limited at present, but its influence remains strong.
- **Recognizing the sensitivities of states other than**

Russia to the potential imbalances that could result from NATO and EU accessions policies as some states are chosen and some are not. In the case of EU membership, the boundary between neighboring states would become a trade barrier. The differences in security status would be even more stark in the case of NATO, as one nation received a guarantee of military support while its neighbor did not.

- **Organizing effective help to address the massive problems surrounding the drying of the Aral Sea** — caused largely by unwise diversion of its water supplies and their wastage through unlined canals. The entire sea is expected to shrink to one fourth of its original size by 2015 and become intensely saline, causing the surrounding area to turn to desert and releasing dust and salt on a global scale. Therefore, much of Central Asia is suffering economic and social disruption. While a number of bodies have been established to study the problem, nothing has yet been accomplished to relieve the problem. **Conferees decided it was vital to address the problems of the Aral Sea basin in their entirety** — beginning with a detailed cost benefit analysis that could attract global financing to combat the problems. ■

Agenda

Enhancing the Security of States in a Multipolar World Vulnerabilities & Opportunities

Prepared by Professor Ewan W Anderson, University of Durham,
United Kingdom, with Contributions from Rapporteurs
Fritz W. Ermarth and Alan Smith

Sponsored by George C. Marshall European Center
for Security Studies

15-19 March 99
Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Germany

Purpose

To provide a forum to discuss issues that transcend national boundaries, can quickly become destabilizing of countries that have restricted resources or are geographically smaller in relationship to their neighbors, and require bilateral/multilateral cooperation to address.

Objectives

- From a multi-faceted perspective, examine developing issues that have the potential to threaten or destabilize the security of states in the European and Eurasian regions.
- Discuss how states without superpower resources, influence and affect the regional geopolitical environment.
- Explore the means that non-superpower or geographically-smaller states may have at their disposal to improve their security.
- Develop proposals on how security of the region can be enhanced through collective/cooperative action.

Vulnerabilities and Opportunities

Sunday, 14 March 1999

Arrivals and Registration

1800-1830 Reception

1830-2030 Welcome Dinner

Monday, 15 March 1999

Overview

Moderator: Mr. Fritz Ermarth

- 0800-0830 Inprocessing and Set-up
- 0830-0900 Introduction/Opening Remarks and
Administrative Briefing
- 0900-1000 Keynote Speaker: Dr. Werner Fasslabend, Minister
of Defense, Austria
- 1030-1130 Geopolitical Overview Professor Anderson,
University of Durham
- 1300-1615 Overview of the Regions: Three presentations
- 1300-1400 North-Central Europe (Czech, Slovak, Poland,
Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Ukraine) Dr. Dietrich
Genschel, General Major, A.D.
- 1400-1500 South-Central and Eastern Europe (Slovenia,
Romania, Macedonia, Croatia, Bulgarian, Albania,
Hungary, Moldova) Dr. Marie-Janine Calic, University
of Munich and Ebenhausen
- 1515-1615 Eurasia Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan,
Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan. Dr. Shirin Akiner, Director,
School of Oriental and African Studies, U.K.
- 1615-1730 Question & Answers, Panel Discussion with day's
speakers, led by moderator of the day Mr. Fritz
Ermarth.

Tuesday, 16 March 1999

Potential Threats to National Security and Regional Stability

Moderator: Mr. Alan Smith

- 0800-0845 Economic Development and the Impact on Stability, Dr. Friedemann Mueller, Ebenhausen
- 0845-0930 Impact on Regional Stability from the Resurgence of Demographic, Ethnic and Religious Tensions within and between States, Professor T. Gallagher, University of Bradford, UK
- 0930-1015 Mass Movement of Peoples: Cause and Effect of Instability and Potential for Regional Instability, Dr. Robert Mandel, Lewis & Clark College
- 1015-1045 Question and Answer session led by moderator of the day Mr. Alan Smith.
- 1100-1200 Working Groups: The working groups will address such topics as they affect the stability of the state, region, or across-regions:
- Ethnic and religious tensions—actual and potential
 - Possibilities of armed conflict, or political activism
 - Susceptibility to outside interference and influence
 - Possibility of armed conflict in the region and possibility of spillover
 - Migration: Identification of the “losing” and “recipient” states.
 - Underlying causes that may lead to mass migration:
 - Economic disparities;
 - Political issues and divisions;
 - Human rights concerns;
 - Social Issues;
 - Ethnic & religious divisions
 - Demographic impact on losing and recipient states
 - Impact on military manpower planning
 - Illegal migration and correlation with incidence of crime

Vulnerabilities and Opportunities

- Impact on social welfare system and the economy on recipient states
- Inciting right-wing/left-wing radicalism
- Current obstacles to intergovernmental cooperation or interaction

1300-1700 Working Groups (continued).

Wednesday, 17 March 1999

Morning: Potential Threats to National Security and Regional Stability

Moderator: Captain (German Navy) Hartmut Spieker

0800-0930 Regional Environmental Issues. Professor Murray Feshbach, Georgetown University (Includes time for questions and answers)

0930-1200 Working Groups. Identify environmental threats/hazards in the region; explore their potentially politically destabilizing impact, and the adequacy of crisis-management responses. Some topics for discussion would be:

- Hazardous waste
- Deterioration of key shared waterways as means of transport, irrigation, etc
- Regional Air and water pollution and polluters
- Nuclear power plants:
 - An alternative to other polluters/scarcely resources;
 - A source of hazardous waste
 - Potential for international crisis
- Environmental impact of military activities.
- Impact on health and demographics in the region

Enhancing the Security of States in a Multipolar World:

Wednesday, 17 March 1999

Afternoon: Security Options: Recent European

Approaches to Security: Adequacy and Need for Refinement

Moderator: Captain (German Navy) Hartmut Spieker

- 1300-1345 Human Rights/Minority Rights? Professor T. Gallagher, University of Bradford, UK
- 1345-1430 Switzerland: Model for Internal Affairs and Security Policy? Colonel Schneider, General Staff, Swiss Ministry of Defense
- 1430-1530 The EU and New Security Threats, Mr. Fraser Cameron Representative from European Union, Directorate 1A
- 1545-1630 New, Non-Traditional Roles for Military, Humanitarian Assistance, Crisis Management, Dr. Wilfred von Bredow, Universitaet Marburg
- 1630-1730 Panel Discussion, Question and Answer: Moderator Captain Spieker, and Afternoon Speakers.

Thursday, 18 March 1999

Security Initiatives or Models to Address Security Concerns

Moderator: Colonel Howard

- 0800-0845 Secession and Sovereignty, Dr. P. Bayev, Peace Research Institute, Oslo,
- 0845-0930 Mechanisms to Enhance Stability through Collective Security: Peace Keeping, Peace Enforcement, Humanitarian Intervention, Dr. Kuehne, Ebenhausen
- 0930-1015 OSCE: Bilateral and Multilateral Initiatives to Enhance Stability, Professor Viktor-Yves Ghebali, Universite de Geneve
- 1045-1130 Multilateral Cooperation to Alleviate Regional Environmental Issues, Major General Jerry Sinn, Commander, North Atlantic Division, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers
- 1130-1200 Questions & Answers, Panel Discussion led by

Vulnerabilities and Opportunities

- 1300-1700 Moderator Colonel Howard and Morning's Speakers
Working Groups: Developing and Fine-Tuning the Proposals to Enhance Security of States and Regions in a Multipolar World: (To continue into the evening hours if required.) Identify which tools will address the threat, what regional initiatives may be applicable to other states/regions, and what are the requirements for new initiatives/programs. (Include a coffee break in time slot)
- Current responses/preparedness of states to respond —to internally or externally developing situations (to include crises outside the region) — and the adequacy of these means.
 - Bilateral/Multilateral Politico- Military Initiatives of Cooperation in the Region
 - Existing mechanisms for cooperation, communication, and exchange of data
 - Current responses/preparedness of states to respond —to internally or externally developing situations —and their adequacy
 - Regional initiatives of cooperation on environmental issues and their adequacy and applicability
 - Availability and adequacy of information/data on environmental problems and crises
- 1700-1730 Marshall Center Brief, Col Franz-Xaver Lauterer

Enhancing the Security of States in a Multipolar World:

Friday, 19 March 1999

Conclusions and Proposals

Moderator: Professor Ewan W. Anderson

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|-----------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 0800-1015 | Reports from the Working Groups (45 minutes each) |
| 1030-1200 | Synthesis and Discussion: (Rapporteurs and Working Group Facilitators) Compare and contrast across the three regions, the issues and the applicability of proposed solutions/measures to enhance security; requirements and prospects for bilateral, regional, Eurasian cooperation to meet the security vulnerabilities and opportunities for cooperation in the future. |
| 1200-1230 | Closing Remarks. |

Attendees

REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA

Mr. Sokol BARE
General Director
Advisor to Prime Minister Security and Defense
Albanian Police

Prof. Dr. Sabit BROKAJ
Presidenca e Republikes se Shqiperise
Defense and Security Advisor to the President

Dr. Arian STAROVA
Chairman the of Board
Albanian Institute of International Studies

REPUBLIC OF BULGARIA

Mr. Roumen KANTCHEV
Security Advisor, Council of Ministers
Principal Advisor
Council of Ministers of the Republic of Bulgaria

REPUBLIC OF CROATIA

Dr. Ante BARISIC
Assistant Professor, Faculty of Political Science
Department of Comparative Politics
University of Zagreb

REPUBLIC OF CROATIA

COL Mate PADEN
Chief, Defense Policy Departmen
Ministry of Defense

REPUBLIC OF ESTONIA

Mr. Erik MANNIK
Head Defense Policy Planning Bureau
Ministry of Defense

Vulnerabilities and Opportunities

REPUBLIC OF HUNGARY

Dr. Laszlo SZABO
State Secretariat for Security & Defense Coordination
Prime Minister's Office

REPUBLIC OF KAZAKHSTAN

Mr. Rakhimkul A. BALMAKHAEV
Head
Department for Documentary Provisions
Ministry of Defense

Mr. Victor D. FEDOTOV
Chief Expert
Republic of Kazakhstan National Security Council
Ministry of Defense

KYRGYZ REPUBLIC

Mr. Salamat K ALAMANOV
Deputy Head of Department
International Relations
Office of the Prime Minister of Kyrgyzstan

Dr. Esengul J BEYSHEMBIEV
Master of Law, Dean
International University of Kyrgyzstan

REPUBLIC OF LATVIA

Mr. Nils JANSONS
Head
Security Policy Division
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Dr. jur. Talavs JUNDZISaltic
Director
Baltic Center for Strategic Studies
Latvian Academy of Sciences

Mr. Atis LEJINS
Director
Latvian Institute of International Affairs

REPUBLIC OF LITHUANIA

Mr. Evaldas IGNATAVICIUS
Head
CIS Division, Political Department
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Dr. Janina SLEIVYTE
Ministry of Defense
Adviser to the Minister

REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

Ms. Emilija GELEVA
Adviser to the Prime Minister
Prime Minister's Office

Dr. Stojan KUZEV
Assistant Minister for Combat Readiness
Ministry of Defense

Mr. Sasko TODOROVSKI
Assistant Minister for Security Systems
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA

Mr. Nicolae CHIRTOACA
Director
Euroatlantic Center of Moldova

Mr. Dumitru CROITOR
Vice Minister
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Mr. Iurie PINZARU
Consultant
Foreign Policy Issues

KINGDOM OF THE NETHERLANDS

LTC Alexander FIEVEZ
Head Faculty Strategy
Department of Army Studies
Netherlands Defence College

KINGDOM OF THE NETHERLANDS (Continued)

Dr. Petervan der GELD
Deputy Head, Course Leader
Department Interservice Studies
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REPUBLIC OF POLAND

Mr. Jacek BYLICA
Assistant Director
Department of Security Policy
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

BG Boleslaw IZYDORCZYK
Counsellor to Minister of Defense
Ministry of Defense

Dr. Krzysztof SZAMALEK
Director, National Security Council Department
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ROMANIA

BG PhD. Simion BONCU
Chief, Military International Relations Directorate
Ministry of Defense

Mr. George PREDESCU
Deputy Director NATO,
WEU and Strategic Issues Division'
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

COL Grigore RADASLAVESCU
Deputy Editor
Observatorul Militar (The Military Observer)
Ministry of Defense

SLOVAK REPUBLIC

COL Jan HUMENIK
Chief Senior Officer
Department of Defense Policy and Development of Army
Ministry of Defense

Enhancing the Security of States in a Multipolar World:

SLOVAK REPUBLIC (Continued)

Mr. Miroslav WLACHOVSKY
Director, Department of Analysis and Policy Planning
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

REPUBLIC OF SLOVENIA

Mr. Peter BAHČIČ
Secretary of the Committee for Defense
The National Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia

COL Dusan HUDOLIN
Assistant Director, Intelligence Security Service
Ministry of Defense

Mr. Miran JERIC
Deputy of the National Assembly

Mr. Brane KROMAR
Senior Adviser, Center for Strategic Studies
Ministry of Defense

REPUBLIC OF TAJIKISTAN

Mr. Dodarjon M. MAKHSUDOV
Chairman, Commission on National Reconciliation
Ministry of Defense

Mr. Bahriddin S. VAKHIDOV
Senior Office, Department of Foreign Relations
Ministry of Defense

UKRAINE

COL Olexander HYRYCH
Assistant First Deputy Minister
for Relations with the Parliament
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COL Vitaliy KOZAK
Chief of Section
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General Staff of the Armed Forces of Ukraine

Vulnerabilities and Opportunities

UKRAINE (Continued)

COL Serhiy USTYNOV
Chief of Section, Defense Planning & Policy Dept.,
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LTC Mirodil SH ABDURAZZAKOV
Chief of Department
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National Security Service of the Republic of Uzbekistan

Mr. Rustam A. TUKHTABAEV
Main Consultant of the Presidential Apparatus
National Security Issues
Presidential Apparatus of the Republic of Uzbekistan

KEYNOTE SPEAKER

The Honorable Werner FASSLABEND
Minister of Defense 2
Republic of Austria
Ministry of Defense

SPEAKERS

Dr. Shirin AKINER
Director, Central Asia Research Forum
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University of London,

Dr. Evan W. ANDERSON
Centre for Eastern & Islamic Studies
University of Durham
United Kingdom

Dr. Pavel K. BAEV
Senior Researcher, Editorial
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Prof. Dr. Wilfried von BREDOW
Vice President
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SPEAKERS (Continued)

Dr. Marie-Janine CALIC
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European Department
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Ebenhausen, Germany

Dr. Fraser CAMERON
Foreign Policy Adviser
Central Planning Staff of the Directorate General for
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Mr. Fritz W. ERMARTH
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Dr. Murray FESHBACH
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Dr. Tom GALLAGHERS
Chair, Ethnic Peace and Conflict
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Dr. Dietrich GENSCHEL
Advisor (German Member)
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Germany

Prof. Dr. Victor-Yves GHEBALI
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COL Russell D. HOWARD
Deputy Head, Social Sciences Department
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West Point, NY, USA

SPEAKERS (Continued)

Dr. Winrich KUEHNE
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Dr. Robert M. MANDEL
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Dr. Friedemann MUELLER
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COL Peter SCHNEIDER
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MG Jerry L. SINN
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Mr. Hartmut SPIEKER
Director
Department for Regional Stabilization
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THE MARSHALL CENTER STAFF
Ambassador Marshall BREMENTr
Associate Director, for International Liaison

Enhancing the Security of States in a Multipolar World:

SPEAKERS (Continued)

COL Franz-Xaver LAUTERER
Director
Conference Center

LTG (RET) John P. Otjen
U.S. Deputy Director

LTC Wolfgang BRUNNER
Division Chief

Ms. Diane LUSTIG
Conference Planner



The George C. Marshall Center Conference Center

Mission

The Conference Center's mission is to serve as an international forum for defense contacts, to share ideas vital to European security and to focus on methods to promote regional cooperation by incorporating the principles of democracy and the conditions for a market economy. Additionally, the Conference Center assists Partnership for Peace nations in their efforts to establish national security structures and supporting institutions which are compatible with democratic principles and processes; such as, the establishment of civilian oversight of the military and market economies. To accomplish this mission, the Conference Center targets very senior civilian and military government officials and parliamentarians from the Atlantic to Eurasia.

History

The Marshall Center Conference Center began in 1993 with 4 conferences per year, growing to 18 conferences in 1999 and 22 conferences projected in the year 2000. This increase in the number of conferences is directly attributed to its ability to tailor the topics and sessions to the needs of the requesting nation. Over 4,100 participants have benefited from conferences and seminars since the program's inception. The Conference Center organizes conferences on a variety of security related topics as identified by our Partner Nations.

Focus

The yearly conference program is divided between bilateral, single nation, seminars and multinational and regional conferences. Bilateral events focus on a narrowly defined topic, requested by the

Vulnerabilities and Opportunities

partner nation, which provides assistance to solve a specific problem. Examples include: Threat Reduction in a Resource Constrained Environment; Analysis and Revision of National Security Strategy; and Development of Crisis Response Architecture.

Multinational and Regional Conferences focus on a variety of security and economic concerns, giving participants the opportunity to hear from experts and to discuss with their peers impacts and concerns.

During these conferences and seminars, participants are invited to actively engage in exploring avenues toward solving contemporary stability and security problems involving their countries and regions.

Scheduling

Conferences can be requested at anytime however, once the Fiscal Year program has been established, it may take several months to satisfy a request.

The Marshall Center solicits requests for conference/seminar topics through American embassies in January for the Conference Schedule which begins that October. Responses are due by the end of February. Requests should include: a detailed purpose or expected outcome; the scope of the conference (number and level of attendees); identification of participating countries; duration (normally 5 days but shorter or longer if necessary); location; dates; support that the requestor can provide and a point of contact.

Requests are consolidated and submitted to the Director, Marshall Center by 15 April. The final list and budget is submitted to higher headquarters by June. A complete Conference Schedule for the year can be found at the Marshall Center web site.

Submit requests through the American Embassy or to:

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