# The Security Times

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#### January 31, 2014

### Munich, Germany

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### The lone optimist

John Kerry's indefatigable Mideast diplomacy is tested to its limits | By Roger Cohen



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The Snowden revelations have shaken trust in the digital economy. European Union Justice Commissioner Viviane Reding appeals for stronger data protection standards in Europe and the United States.

#### Surveillance matters

Modest limits on domestic US intelligence gathering - and virtually none abroad. David E. Sanger on why President Obama's half-hearted NSA reforms have left just about everyone dissatisfied.

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Reaching out: John Kerry thanks a Swiss Air Force pilot after a helicopter ride across the Alps on his way home from the Syrian Peace Talks in Montreux.

hen after his election in 1997 Tony Blair embarked on peace negotiations in Northern Ireland and refused to allow any setback to deter him, one of his close aides, Jonathan Powell, suggested to the prime minister that he had a "Messiah complex." There is something of that complex about John Kerry, the US secretary of state.

Already defeated in the 2004 presidential campaign, with no ambitions for higher office, Kerry, 70, has brought to America's top diplomatic post a readiness to take political heat on the toughest dossiers: Iran and Israel-Palestine. In this he differs from his predecessor, Hillary Clinton, who viewed the job primarily through the prism of domestic political ambition. Kerry has restored diplomacy to the lexicon – the idea of tough give-and-take in pursuit of compromise. In an age of polarized certainties, the very notion of painful

ifty years and two months ago, on Nov. 30, 1963, Ewald von Kleist convened the first Internationale Wehrkunde-Begegnung, as the Munich Security Conference (MSC) was then called, at the Hotel Regina in Munich. It is, above all, a testament to the extraordinary work and personality of Ewald von Kleist that it developed and maintained such a high reputation throughout the decades.

Since its inception, the conference has changed in many ways - not just in terms of its name. Yet in some ways, it has not changed at all. The main rationale behind the first conferences remains true today. Munich was, is, and will continue to be an independent venue for policymakers and experts for open and informal discussions about the most pressing security issues of the day – and of the future.

Then as today, the conference's goal has been to give its partici-

trade-offs in the name of the suboptimal middle ground where peace is made had often appeared lost.

The Nov. 24 six-month interim deal between major powers and Iran constitutes the most important diplomatic event since 9/11. The ground has shifted.



The warfare itch of the wounded has run its course in Washington. Negotiated largely between the United States and Iran, the deal marks the end of the traumatized alienation that has prevailed since the Islamic Revolution of 1979

first lodged the image of the bearded Islamist fanatic deep in the US psyche. The American acquiescence in November to a "mutually defined enrichment program" for Iran in any long-term agreement, and the Iranian commitment that "under no circumstances" will it "ever seek or develop any nuclear weapons," constitute precisely the kind of painful compromise through which inimical relations may be reimagined. Yet the deal is now under threat.

Prime Minister Netanyahu has called it "a historic mistake." The US Congress, generally in Netanyahu's thrall, has not been far behind. House Majority Leader Eric Cantor has demanded that Iran "irreversibly dismantle its nuclear stockpile and not be allowed to continue enrichment." A bill that could impose further sanctions (and so scuttle the deal), authored by Senators Robert Menendez and Mark Kirk and backed by 59 co-sponsors in the Senate, also calls for complete Iranian

dismantling. This is precisely the Israeli position and tantamount to saying no agreement is possible.

Having acquired more than 18,000 centrifuges and a low-enriched stockpile of about 10,000 kilograms, Iran is not about to forgo enrichment entirely. The objective must be to ring-fence the acquired Iranian capability, subject it to vigorous international inspection, and reduce enrichment to a level where its use can only be for a peaceful, civilian program.

The alternative to such an agreement is a war of limited possible gains but limitless possible disasters, or living with a nuclear Iran (whether armed with a bomb or with the technology and enriched uranium for large-scale breakout). Some would call that a no-brainer.

Hassan Rouhani, the Iranian president, has come to Davos and declared,

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A global forum By Wolfgang Ischinger

Arab uprisings and the debate about Iran's nuclear ambitions have brought leaders from the Middle East to Munich, sparking both controversial arguments and the opportunity for fur-

ther dialogue on and off the conference stage.

Many urgent issues confront us in early 2014 - from the catastrophe in Syria and Iran's nuclear program to the NSA disclosures and European defense integration. Thus, only limited time will be available to celebrate our anniversary. But I hope you will pick up a copy

of our book Towards Mutual Security – Fifty Years of Munich Security Conference, about which you will also be able to read in this edition of The Security Times. And I am thrilled that we will have a special anniversary panel on Saturday afternoon, which will bring together participants of the very first Wehrkunde conference with younger decision-makers.

Fortunately, the Cold War, the conflict that defined the agenda of the conference for decades, is long gone. But that does not mean that the Munich Security Conference's reason to exist has become obsolete. On the contrary: it may well be even more important in an era in which global governance in general, and international security in particular, is certain to become messier and more difficult to manage, and in which the transatlantic partners will have to both stick together as well as reach out to new partners.

Wolfgang Ischinger, Germany's former ambassador to the US and the UK, is the Chairman of the

ships and to better understand the **Munich Security** positions of their Conference since partners or adver-2008. saries. While the early conferences were mainly a "transatlantic family

meeting" focusing on European security, this family today meets with partners from across the globe and discusses a broader range of regional and global challenges.

pants the oppor-

tunity to enhance

their personal and

political relation-

Today, we welcome high-ranking participants from key rising powers, such as China, Brazil, and India. Both the



### Redefining the mission

NATO needs to better coordinate its collective defense, cost management and cooperative security strategies | By Alexander Nicoll



combat troops from ties. Afghanistan this year much public cogitation about the Without a commitment to mutual future of the Alliance. But when defense in the event of an attack, ingness of NATO governments NATO leaders meet in Wales in there is no Alliance - though to intervene. Their publics are September, they are most unlikely there is scope to consider again weary of such actions. The British to seek to re-fashion it. In fact, what, in the cyber-age, could be the broad lines of the Alliance's post-Afghan future are already well defined.

will still be plenty of uncertainty War, with long-term operations likely to incline towards reassert- have participated in many other

I hese were set out with admirable clarity in the Strategic Con- The end of the NATO-led Intercept of 2010, which defined three national Security Assistance Force core tasks: collective defense, (ISAF) in Afghanistan is being seen crisis management and coop- in some capitals as a watershed. will assume that there will be continue to be important as the initiative. erative security. However, this But in fact, there is no obvious more operations, and that the United States 'rebalances' its milidoes not mean that nations are reason why demand for interven- Alliance, as a primary instrument tary focus towards the Pacific. It commitment to NATO itself ness.' But members have hardly devoting the necessary resources tion in the world's hotspots should for crisis management, will be is also important to work more in in member states' corridors of embraced it as such: there is to achieve them. Important ques- decline. In the past year, there called upon again to lead some tandem with the European Union power. For many Americans, some progress, but much more tions hang over members' will- have been two French-led expe- of them. Such operations may - and it was notable that Secretary- NATO means 'Europe' and is could be done. This perhaps is ingness to participate in future ditionary actions in Africa, and be unlikely to be as far away as General Anders Fogh Rasmussen synonymous with inadequate the greatest barrier to NATO's operations, to maintain spending repeated calls for Western inter- Afghanistan, but could well be in addressed the December 2013 EU commitment to sharing the capacity to forge a post-Afghan on defense and to co-operate to vention in Syria's civil war. Like parts of Africa.

he departure of NATO obtain more effective capabili- the Libyan revolution in 2011,

will provide the cue for defense, is what defines NATO. deemed an attack.

ment, has been NATO's primary vided evidence of this. At the time of the summit, there focus since the end of the Cold about the future of Afghanistan in Bosnia, Kosovo and Afghaniitself, and the multiple power stan as well as smaller missions is Senior Fellow struggles under way in the Middle such as those in Libya and coun- for Geo-economics East will be continuing. Against tering piracy off the Somali coast. this background, leaders are Meanwhile, NATO members for Strategic Studies. ing NATO's essential purposes. operations, notably in Iraq but

also in Africa and elsewhere.

situations that prompt sudden The first core task, collective action can rapidly arise, and are impossible to predict.

What is in question is the willparliament's rejection in August



#### NATO

Nevertheless, NATO's planners

This means there should be an emphasis on learning the lessons expected under which NATO of past missions and on keeping up skills and collaborative experience through exercises. Most importantly, NATO would be rash to relax pressure on members to reform armed forces so as to make them more deploy- tion marks over NATO's abil-2013 of action against Syria over able and flexible. While NATO's ity to fulfil its goals. First – as a question over NATO's long-The second task, crisis manage- its use of chemical weapons pro- European members still have some two million people under arms, a low proportion of them are deployable on crisis manage- forces that can rapidly intervene. repeatedly turned to NATO for ment missions.

> NATO' is hardly heard anymore, do so. Rasmussen, for whom the obtain together better capabilion-member nations such as Australia and South Korea have been last in his post, has been seek- tain alone with reduced budgets. strong partnerships with them will ness with his 'Defense Matters' his Smart Defense cooperation summit session on defense.

An initiative can also be would assist fragile states in building the capacity of their security establishments - and so Europe, civil servants plainly help to ward off future crises that admit that commitments to the might demand intervention.

However, there remain quesmentioned – is the degree of term endurance – though this is willingness to commit to future countered by the fact that, when interventions, and to maintain crises have arisen, leaders have Second is the will to commit military intervention. The third core task, cooperative resources to defense as a whole: September summit will be the ties than they are able to main

world's defense burdens. In future.

Leaving Afghanistan, and what's next? Pakistani trucks transport NATO and US military vehicles

out of Afghanistan, July 25, 2013.

Alliance do not gain sufficient traction with their colleagues and political masters. This raises

The final question hangs – as it security, is the area where there defense spending has been fall- has done for many years - over is most scope for adapting the ing significantly in the United NATO members' willingness to Alliance to deal with a changing States and many European coun- embark on more effective coopworld. Though talk of a 'global tries, and is likely to continue to eration with each other so as to active participants in ISAF, and ing to rekindle public aware- Two years ago, Rasmussen said initiative offered 'a new way for Third is the awareness of and NATO and Allies to do busi-

### Beyond burden-sharing

What the Asian pivot, the NSA spying scandal and European austerity mean for the future of NATO | By Stanley R. Sloan

NATO up to the task?

out the alliance have forced gov- to provide the highest level of consensus behind the idea of the ernments to reduce discretion- security for their nation at the transatlantic alliance as a central ary spending. For most of them, lowest possible cost. For the coordinating point for cooperathis has entailed further cuts in United States, NATO's largest tive efforts to promote peace and on the transatlantic level the nonmilitary budgets, and therefore in single economy and generally the security, rather than simply to military instruments of security Europe while maintaining a for- Perhaps it is the time to have a forces available for use by NATO. alliance's most ambitious foreign deal with armed conflicts. The United States, as part of the policy actor, the cost imposed NATO, in some ways, already ments. "pivot" toward Asia, has been by smaller allies is their reliance has moved in this direction. The shrinking its military presence in on whatever defense efforts the wide range of cooperative secu-Europe, which some Americans United States is willing and able rity efforts found in the partnerbelieve is long overdue.

part by traditional burden-shar- than a simple military alliance, bed for the possible transformaing concerns. From Senator Mike representing values and interests tion of NATO from an organiza- secrets leaker Edward Snowden tinue an effective military part- the transatlantic community will Mansfield in 1961 to former Sec- shared by the member states. Yet tion perceived only as a "miliretary of Defense Bob Gates in the organization never has had tary alliance" to one that relies Russia, the issue of how to deal and partners. This would not be commitments and tools needed 2011 and current Pentagon chief the mandate from the member increasingly on diplomatic and with Putin's authoritarian gov- a presence shaped to "defend" to deal with 21st century chal-

American commitments ans for not bearing a sufficient save for the field of military coop- of interoperable military capa- Middle East will continue to chal- maintain the capability for the and resources toward Asia, share of the collective security eration. Over the past several bilities. revelations of US spying on burden. This perception drives years, NATO communiqués and allied leaders has strained trans- both the perpetual US burden- its new strategic concept have allies off the hook for providing of the Atlantic who see the cur- command when political deciatlantic relations at a time when sharing complaint and the hope reflected the need to take compre- required military capabilities for rent transatlantic crossroads as sions are made to act militarily allies are contemplating the rel- (or expectation) that the Euro- hensive approaches to security. security of the collective, but it an opportunity to dispense with on behalf of allied interests. evance of NATO to their security pean Union will become suf- Such approaches call for focus- would broaden the possibilities the paternalistic US role in the At the same time, allied govrequirements. Is this community ficiently cohesive to allow the ing the allied security eye on the for integrating more effectively of shared values and interests, United States to abandon its lead- broad range of factors that create with NATO at its heart, worth ing role in the alliance. These security challenges, and to address maintaining? If transatlantic sentiments are decades old, but those factors before crises turn to ties are still important to North are often dressed up in new cloth- armed conflict. American and European democ- ing to suit the style of the times.

racies, does this relationship need That a burden-sharing issue NATO's future might well be an institutional core and, if so, is continues should not be surpris- trying to move beyond the tradiing. In an alliance of democra- tional parameters of the burden-Economic conditions through- cies, national leaders will attempt sharing debate in order to build to maintain.

The next important step toward

ships the alliance has established

n the wake of the shift in have consistently chided Europe- values and interests into action, backed up by a still-relevant set sense of urgency. Crises in the coming, but rather would seek to

Such an approach would not let



### NATO

tions to improve NATO coopera- East region. It should also tailor tion remains vital to nations on tion will seem like rearranging the force to ensure that it will both sides of the Atlantic. If chairs on the deck of the Titanic if American policy is driven in NATO has always been more on a global scale provides a test the alliance loses political support allies as well as demonstrate that only acts as, a military alliance, in its member states. With US the United States wants to con- the institutional framework for enjoying "temporary asylum" in nership with the NATO allies be sorely lacking the relevant Chuck Hagel in 2013, Americans states required to put those shared economic instruments of security, ernment has now taken on a new Europe from an attack that is not lenges.

dens.

continue to refine its presence in rity threats and opportunities.

lenge US and European interests. United States and the Europeans There are those on both sides to combine forces under a NATO

alliance, leaving European coun- ernments should enhance their tries finally to take responsibility collective ability to use NATO for their own security. European to promote effective utilization of advocates of "more Europe" in non-military instruments of secudefense are joined by Americans rity, ranging from intelligence who argue that only by removing sharing and concerted diplomatic the US "crutch" will the Europe- efforts to building consensus for ans learn to stand on their own, economic incentives (assistance) relieving the United States of both and sanctions. Planning at NATO responsibilities and financial bur- should increasingly bring allied political advisors into the mix As a convinced Atlanticist, I with military officers to promote believe the United States should broad-based approaches to secu-

available to all allied govern- ward air, land and sea presence wide-ranging debate about these sufficient to support contingen- issues, hopefully infused with the However, this and other sugges- cies in Europe or in the Middle belief that transatlantic cooperasupport joint training with our NATO remains perceived as, and After Afghanistan

ifty years ago, when the forerunner of the Munich Security Conference convened for the first time, NATO had just prevailed in two trials of strength between East and West: Khrushchev's onslaught on West Berlin (1958-61), and the Cuban Missile Crisis (1962). No one in Europe or America questioned its raison d'être.

This remained the case to the end of the Cold War. NATO's protective shield held firm, and after four decades of armed confrontation the alliance was able to celebrate victory without having fired a single shot. But When the Berlin Wall fell and Europe became whole and free again, NATO began to resemble a hammer in search of nails.

After the break-up of the Soviet Union, the idea emerged to extend NATO's radius of action to the whole world: The regional defense force was to become a global policeman. In 1993, US Senator Richard Lugar put it in a nutshell: "Out of area or out of business." In the same year, NATO partners reached beyond the boundaries of the alliance for the first time: to Somalia. That intervention ended in an ignominious retreat and Somalia remains a failed state.

Other interventions, which the alliance as a whole or individual NATO members embarked on over the past 20 years, proved no more successful - with the exception of the two Balkan wars in the nineties, against Serbia on behalf of Bosnia and Kosovo. While their internal situation leaves much to be desired, at least they are at peace.

The same cannot be said about the outcome of other recent interventions: Afghanistan since 2001, Iraq (2003-2011), Congo in 2006, Libya in 2011, Mali and the Central African Republic since 2013. Iraq, convulsed by spiraling sectarian violence between Shia and Sunni, threatens to fragment. Hutu and Tutsi continue to slaughter each other in the Congo. Libya has fallen prey to rival militias; the central government is all but powerless. Mali and Central African Republic are riven by frequent coups, tribal feuds, jihadist attacks and violence between Christian and Muslim communities. France's attempt to restore order with thousands of its own forces in sub-Saharan Africa has met with limpid support from regional peacekeepers.

Nor are the prospects for Afghanistan overly bright. In several respects the country has made progress; increased school and university attendance, even for millions of girls; better roads and power supply; expanded national health services; mobile phones for 54 percent of the

#### continued from page 1

"My social, political and economic view of is one of prudent moderation." There is no reason to take him at his word. Iran has dissembled. It has amassed a nuclear program out of all proportion to any conceivable civilian application. If Iran has not wanted a bomb it has at least sought the technology. So Rouhani, who indeed seems moderate, should be tested. That is the purpose of the second phase of the negotiation toward a lasting deal. To dismiss him out of hand, as Netanyahu does, amounts to grandstanding.

Pushing forward will be tough, especially if the Syrian war festers Iranian enrichment?

Two former Republican secre- cumstances." lenge well in an article in the metic isolation – that is to say cussion of centrifuges.



have not resulted in an overall planning, logistics, intelligence ing territory and installing no-go by outside contributions. Poppy improvement of the military, and air support. The attrition zones for government forces. growth and opium production - Fogh Rasmussen talks about could set the scene for NATO to economic and political situation. rate – soldiers killed in action, Economic development has Afghanistan supplies nine tenths post-Afghanistan NATO mor- play a meaningful, realistic and The Afghan security forces wounded, deserters - is close to been stunted by inertia and ram- of the world's heroin consump- phing from operational engage- convincing role in the globalized have acquired basic capabilities, 50 percent. Where ISAF with- pant corruption. Eighty percent tion – account for 15 percent of ment to operational readiness, world over the next decades,

The lone optimist

it will condemn Iran to marginal- Palestinian state risible.

Israelis and Palestinians have been is still set on reversal of 1948 and 21st century. But they are pernegotiating under Kerry's auspices. mass return to Haifa. Mahmoud sistent. That is the only achievement: Abbas, the Palestinian president, Just because diplomacy is back, keeping the parties in a room. Oth- says no; this "nyet" will endure. does not mean it will succeed. erwise, the signs are bad. There has For Palestinians, such a form of Kerry's Messiah complex will be (as it surely will) and Shia-Sunni Wall Street Journal: "American without a breakthrough toward been a steady uptick in violence. recognition would amount to tested to the limit. tensions sharpen further. Will diplomacy now has three major a constructive US and European Settlement construction continues explicit acquiescence to second-Iran's Supreme Leader, Ayatol- tasks: to define a level of Iranian relationship with Iran. The Ira- in the West Bank, infuriating Pal- class citizenship for the 1.6 millah Khamenei, be prepared to nuclear capacity limited to plau- nian nuclear program has done estinians. An Israeli ministerial lion Arabs in Israel; undermine dismantle, even partially, the sible civilian uses and to achieve many things – but producing a committee has advanced legisla- the rights of millions of Palesanti-American core of the Islamic safeguards to ensure that this weapon or any significant elec- tion to annex settlements in the tinian refugees; and demand of Republic's ethos? Will Obama, level is not exceeded; to leave tricity is not among them. It has Jordan Valley. Saeb Erekat, the them something not demanded eyeing the history books, stand open the possibility of a genu- been a political statement - an chief Palestinian negotiator, has from Egypt or Jordan in peace up to a Congress and to an Israel inely constructive relationship expression of Iran's rejection of suggested this "finishes all that agreements. still unprepared to concede any with Iran; and to design a Middle American tutelage, an assertion of is called the peace process." The One way to avoid discourage-East policy adjusted to new cir- technological pride, and a procla- Palestinian Authority is undemo- ment over an Iran deal is to conmation of revolutionary indepen- cratic and corrupt. The promise clude that Israel-Palestine is even taries of state, Henry Kissinger I do not believe a long-term dence. It will require a political of a Palestinian election has gone more difficult. Perhaps that conand George Shultz, put the chal- nuclear deal is possible in her- solution that goes beyond a dis- nowhere. So, too, has the prom- soles Kerry. A better, more incluise of Fatah-Hamas reconciliation. sive, less violent Middle Eastern

GNP. A massive economic col- one would like to know what situation. President Hamid Kar- cies might be? zai's erratic leadership has been but only half-heartedly, while a grated command structures? political settlement including all not even been broached.

partition, a return of the Taliban, going to be self-defeating. or a post-Karzai administration For 60 years, NATO has served peaceful and prosperous future. "fleet in being," to use a hisfaces the fundamental question of its continuing purpose. The allies have finally grasped a Theo Sommer is lesson they could have learned the executive editor much earlier: that military interventions, with or without a UN and Editor-at-Large mandate, whether for apparently of the German wee compelling national interests or for humanitarian reasons, regularly turn out to be more difficult than expected, last longer and cost more than planned, and

another Middle-Eastern war on being heard. its reluctance to deploy combat and define its future course? troops is undiminished. To that How can the allies still bencatching on elsewhere.

the alliance should remain provide the indispensable basis focused on expeditionary forces of trust, especially after the NSA for contingencies beyond its bor- snooping scandal? These quesders. Refocusing on territorial tions need to be answered. gic regression, they believe.

lapse seems likely once the bulk kind of contingencies should we of the ISAF forces and the inter- be thinking of? The alliance must national organizations grouped be able to meet any eventuality, around them leaves the country. he says, but where is even a vague Worse, however, is the political allusion to what these contingen-

And, how can NATO resolve characterized by dysfunctional the dilemma that coalitions of the governance, financial misman- willing depend to a large extent on agement, and pervasive graft. contributions from the "unwill-The political consensus between ing" to maintain joint NATO the different Afghan factions assets such as AWACS surveilhas frayed. Reconciliation with lance aircraft, forward bases in the Taliban has been attempted Germany and elsewhere, or inte-

With defense budgets being the neighbors in the region has squeezed and slashed everywhere, intervention fatigue is powerfully NATO plans to withdraw the reinforced by a growing awarelast combat troops by the end of ness that political ambitions 2014. No one knows what will must be tailored to diminishing happen after that. The options military means; that punching include renewed civil war, ethnic continuously above our weight is

with enough Western support to us well. We must not abandon manage the transition to a more it, nor let it wither away. As a Beyond Afghanistan, NATO torical metaphor, safeguarding



rarely produce the desired result. our security, it is still extremely Americans and Europeans alike valuable. It should not, however, have become more reluctant to go out in search of monsters to rush into ultimately unwinnable slay. Lawrence Freedman is right: wars. The resounding "No" of just existing is its vital role in this the British House of Commons to day and age – "it does not need involvement in Syria, the skepti- to be active and busy." Such cism in the US Congress that a minimalist rationale may not forced President Barack Obama satisfy the NATO insiders. But to drop his attack plans, and outsiders - our politicians, our the overwhelming rejection of publics - will increasingly insist

by the European public clearly Experience indicates that no reveal a new mindset. Even the mammoth organization easily French now seem worried about adapts or reforms under its own getting bogged down in the desert steam. Perhaps it is time to set sands. The new grand coalition up a high-ranking international government in Germany is pre- commission to conduct a widepared to assume more respon- ranging debate about the present sibility within the alliance, but problems of the Atlantic Alliance

extent, its "culture of restraint" efit from military cooperation, lives on – and it appears to be albeit at a lower level of threat and activity? Do they still shar NATO strategists argue that enough interests and values to

defense would amount to strate- Fifty years ago, when the allies were quarreling about what They realize, of course that, should be accorded priority, absent an unambiguously exis- defense or détente, the Harmel tential threat like that posed by Report - based on the work done the former Soviet Union, the by a Special Group of Represenallies will react quite differently tatives – defined a wide-ranging to contingencies arising in far- compromise that served to reasaway regions. Donald Rums- sert alliance unity and cohesion. feld's concept of "coalitions of Ultimately, it blazed the trail to When Secretary General Anders War. A similar joint effort today

The Islamic Republic has made The Israeli government has several order can be built. Iran and the its point. To keep hammering at members who find the notion of a United States have much to learn from each other. Their enmity is ization and impoverishment. The Then there is the rebounding outdated. Israel will be safer in West is not what it was in 1979. Israel-is-a-Jewish-state bugbear: the long run with an Iran that has We have entered the Age of Reluc- Netanyahu wants Palestinians demonstrated its nuclear program tance. No single power has the to recognize his nation as such. is only peaceful, restored to its treasure or inclination to impose His argument is that this is the rightful place among nations; an its will. It is unlikely that a more touchstone by which to judge Iran with cordial, even profound, propitious moment will come whether Palestinians will accept disagreements with the United for a deal. Yet, as with Israel- "the Jewish state in any border" States but not at war with it, an Palestine, the interests entrenched — whether, in other words, the Iran with closer ties to Europe. against one another are powerful. Palestinian leadership would Cheap allusions to 1938 are a For more than six months now accept territorial compromise or poor template for Israel in the

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#### January 31, 2014

s the Munich Security Conference celebrates its fiftieth year, the anniversary meeting is likely to be the scene of many pleasant encounters, as friends old and new gather to discuss global issues of defense and security. Much less pleasant is that many of the problems facing the participants are all too familiar. And there is no shortage of new crises and challenges crowding onto our agenda.

The European Union, solid bedrock of German foreign and security policy, has gone through a rough patch with the debt and banking crisis. Much of our attention is focused inwards to rebuild confidence in the EU and to strengthen both its competitiveness in a globalized economy and its internal social and political cohesion. Success in that endeavor is critical to our ability to act beyond our immediate borders.

South and east of the Mediterranean a political awakening rocked the established order in early 2011. Three years later, we see a few hopeful developments, such as in Tunisia, where an inclusive process of political reform is underway. security, is torn between great demand for more and more effi- democracy, peace and prosperity ing an outside perspective from Yet, we also see many worrying developments. In some places a tiations on a broad Transatlantic address the challenges of climate decade. But in order to secure those parameters and performance of the battles of the Marne and the return of repression, in others a Trade and Investment Partnership change, of financial instability or foundations for the future, it is no our foreign and security policy. Somme, the terrible slaughter in the fragmentation of political and state (TTIP) promising to reinvigorate of establishing reliable rules for longer enough to simply repeat This will help to breath new life trenches of Verdun, we are forceorder that threatens to destabilize our economic and political ties cyberspace. the whole region of the Sahel, and – and the great challenges of the was brutally suppressed, gradually turning an opportunity for political math of leaked NSA documents. transition into the nightmare of a bloody civil war.

In Europe's eastern neighborsively than ever before, are strugdividing lines on our continent.

The transatlantic relationship, always the core of the Munich ing ambitions are not always easily eign policy would do well to take review of Germany's foreign policy fateful weeks of July 1914 hold nothing better than to re-invest all Security Conference and at the reconciled. In a broader sense it stock of the solid foundations over the course of the next twelve for diplomacy - or rather, what the tenacity and creativity we can



### Rethink, retool, reaffirm

German foreign policy 25 years after the fall of the Iron Curtain

By Frank-Walter Steinmeier

worst of all, the unabating carnage digital age that have exposed deep with these challenges, the Euro- ask ourselves tough questions and arly discussion. We want to initiate behind us, but also of how crucial in Syria, where peaceful protest differences over the proper balance pean Union needs an integrated of liberty and security in the after- approach to foreign and security ative answers. We need to rethink policy. This approach should not our assumptions and approaches the degree of our interdependence, At the same time, new powers be based on strategy alone, but in the face of new challenges. We the limits of our capabilities and also include a pragmatic view of need to retool the instruments of the scope of our responsibilities. with entire economies having the available instruments as well hood, the people of Ukraine, not become part of the global produc- as the conditions for their use. the light of the difficult experiences public debate and through a lively for the first time, but more inten- tion chain and millions of people Germany has understood that it of the last decade and we need to exchange with an informed public lifted out of poverty in Asia, Latin can only act as an influential coun- adapt them to the tasks of today gling to set their own course for the America and Africa in that process try as part of a globally powerful and tomorrow. And finally, we future. Tensions are running high, we call globalization. But the rise Europe. Therefore, Germany feels need to reaffirm the very core that with a real danger of still greater of new powers poses new chal- responsible for developing such a will continue to guide our foreign bloodshed and ultimately, new lenges. Old orders are put under European foreign policy to enable policy. strain, dependencies produce vul- Europe to be a global player.

have emerged beyond our shores,

nerabilities and frictions, compet-

same time the core of Germany's is increasingly hard to satisfy the of the unprecedented period of months. We will start by solicit- terrible price our continent paid muster into this relationship.

opportunities – such as the nego- cient global governance, be it to in which we live, now in its seventh experts all over the world on the and reapply the conventional into our German thinking. But fully reminded not only of how far In order to deal successfully wisdom of years past. We need to what we need is more than a scholwe need to think harder about cre- a broader public debate on the Franco-German reconciliation and diplomacy and of security policy in It is only on the basis of such a

> In order to rethink and to retool, For that purpose, German for- I want to put on track a broad

proper definition of our interests, that we can build a responsible and security policy.

Throughout this year, we will

"A vibrant, strong Franco-German core at the heart of the EU is the indispensable first step towards a peaceful, prosperous Europe and a more cohesive and proactive European foreign, security and defense policy." German Foreian Minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier (I.) meets his French counterpart Laurent Fabius, Jan. 21, 2014 in Paris.

for the lack of diplomacy, the lack of creativity, the lack of institutions to peacefully settle disputes and conflicting national interests and the lack of sober assessments of the cost of war. Rereading the accounts of those weeks in 1914 s a powerful reminder of the enduring value of diplomacy for a world as interconnected and interdependent as ours in the age of globalization. The complexty of our challenges defies easy answers. We need to be meticulous in our analysis, courageous in defusing tensions and creative in building a more sustainable and peaceful world.

Finally, 1914 holds another lesson to be reaffirmed. La Grande Guerre, as every French pupil learns to call it in school, was neither the first nor the last Franco-German war. But it was by far the bloodiest. When we remember we have come in leaving this past cooperation is for practically every challenge that we face within and beyond our European Union. A vibrant, strong Franco-German core at the heart of the EU is the indispensable first step towards a peaceful, prosperous Europe and a more cohesive and proactive Eurosustainable German foreign and pean foreign, security and defense policy. The centrality of this lesson is indeed not so new – and yet it has remember the beginning of World always required tenacity and cre-War I. In our commemoration, we ativity to translate it into practical should point out the lessons those action. To start with we could do



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### Passion to Perform

### 50 years Munich Security Conference

### The founder: a hero

Angela Merkel The success story of the Munich Security Conference is and remains first and foremost linked to the name Ewald-Heinrich von Kleist. As a young lieutenant, he was one of those willing to risk their lives in the resistance to Hitler. After the end of World War II, the promotion of transatlantic relations was a matter very close to his heart. A key expression of this endeavor was the establishment of the International Wehrkunde Conference fifty years ago, later renamed the Munich Security Conference, which Ewald-Heinrich von Kleist developed within a short space of time into a central forum for exchanging views on transatlantic security policy and which he chaired until 1998. This conference offered an excellent opportunity for Germany to actively take part in the dialogue on the global political situation.

John McCain The Munich Security Conference, for me, will always be synonymous with Ewald von Kleist. It was Ewald who created the annual Wehrkunde conference fifty years ago. It was Ewald who turned it into the world's premier gathering for policymakers, military officials, civil society leaders, and journalists to debate the world's most pressing security challenges and strive to overcome them. And despite his passing last year at the age of ninety, it is Ewald who will always be Wehrkunde's deepest inspiration, just as he was my inspiration for over thirty years as well as a personal hero and friend to me.

I have known quite a few brave and inspiring people in my life, but never anyone quite as brave as Ewald von Kleist, who twice prepared to sacrifice his life to rid the world of one of the cruelest, most depraved, and dangerous tyrants in history. It is never easy to answer fully the demands of conscience and always to have the courage of your convictions. There is always some price to be paid to live that nobly





Kleist's successors: former national security advisor Horst Teltschik (1998-2008, r.) and Ambassador Wolfgang Ischinger (since 2008).

Sam Nunn The Munich Security Conference has both influenced and paralleled my five decades of interest and involvement in the security field. At the helm at its founding in 1963, Ewald von Kleist was an inspirational figure and a hero – a man who through his leadership of this forum helped inspire, support, shape, and maintain NATO's firm and sustained response to the threat from the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact. He was also one of the first to recognize, in the early nineties, that the post-Cold War era presented both new challenges and new opportunities and that we must think anew. This remarkable forum has played an enormous role on numerous fronts during its five decades of influence.

Igor S. Ivanov When Ewald-Heinrich von Kleist incepted the Munich Security Conference, he realized that the division of Europe that had resulted from the outcome of World War II was a temporary phenomenon that did not reflect the longterm interests of Europeans in the East and in the West of our continent. The whole idea behind the Munich conference was to create a locus for an open dialogue between politicians, military leaders, and independent experts on how to build a new Europe that enjoyed democracy, security, and prosperity for all Europeans.

Today, this vision of the Munich Security Conference remains as compelling as ever. The Cold War ended more than twenty years ago, but Europe is not yet united.

Testimonials taken from: "Towards Mutual Security – Fifty Years of Munich Security Conference, (editor Wolfgang Ischinger, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014).





Conference," as it was then known, would exchange of views was more than justified. develop into arguably the world's leading inde-

pendent foreign and security policy forum. the defense gathering is now known, is meet- Throughout his life, Kleist's security credo was initially, the Hotel Regina, then the Bayering for the fiftieth time, bringing together some based on his understanding that security policy ische Hof, now the traditional location for of the most important decision-makers in the was responsible for saving lives and avoiding the annual meeting. But each time, the point fields not just of defense and security but also bloodshed. Kleist had been a member of the made by German General Gerd Schmückle of politics and economics. The history of the group of conspirators around Colonel Claus at the 18th Security Conference in 1981 usu-Munich Security Conference aptly illustrates Schenk Graf von Stauffenberg, who launched ally prevailed: "Of course, we Europeans are the dramatic changes to the parameters of an unsuccessful attempt on the life of Adolf complicated allies. But do you find better ones the global international foreign and security Hitler on July 20, 1944. infrastructure.

At the time of the Cold War there were era – former US Secretary of State Henry Kiss- debates in Munich. For yon Kleist topics reasons enough for holding such a conference. inger, former German Chancellors Helmut like building a common European security The Berlin Wall shocked the Bonn Republic, Schmidt and Helmut Kohl, former German architecture, Washington's extended role as as did allegations in the news magazine Der Defense Minister Manfred Wörner or the world policeman, NATO's eastward enlarge-Spiegel that the West German military, the Bavarian politician Franz Josef Strauß did suc- ment and the conflicts in former Yugoslavia Bundeswehr, was not fit for purpose. The ceed in drawing comprehensive attention to became top agenda items. The new era was Cuban Missile Crisis had brought the world strategic security issues, underscoring Kleist's marked by a wave of system transformations to the brink of a nuclear war.

In setting up the Wehrkunde Conference, between East and West. which he chaired from 1963 to 1998, founder Both then and later there was not always history" forecasted by Francis Fukuyama. In Baron Ewald-Heinrich von Kleist (1922 - 2013) agreement on security issues on both sides of reality, the end of the bipolar order did not aimed to bring together decision-makers and the Atlantic. The conference was often used make the world any safer.

As a frontline nation in the Cold War, Ger- in Munich," or "Harsh words in a club atmomany lived under the constant threat of com- sphere" were evidence of controversial and The Munich Security Conference (MSC), as plete destruction in a nuclear-armed conflict. heated discussions in the conference hall of,

Wehrkunde Conference attendants from that credo in an age of high-risk confrontation throughout the world. However, it quickly

Two highlights of the MSC: Joschka Fischer (left picture, r.) telling Donald Rumsfeld: "Sorry, I am not convinced" (2003). Right picture: Vladimir Putin attacking the United States in 2007: "We are witness to an uncontrolled power that disregards the fundamental rules of international law."

### A remarkable torum

### Fifty Years of the Munich Security Conference By Oliver Rolofs

beams are creaking," "Atlantic arm-wrestling anywhere in the world?"

The end of the Cold War resulted in new turned out that this did not mean the "end of



Ewald von Kleist and German Defense Minister Franz Josef Strauß, 1962.

US SALT negotiator Paul Nitze, 1986.



a wounded thumb, 1996.



German Chancellor Helmut Kohl with Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov and US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton after signing the New Start Treaty in Munich, 2011.



Hamid Karzai, 2011.



Adopting the motto "peace through dialogue" and renaming the meeting Munich arms race as a result of its unilateralist policies., attendees from more than 70 countries there is Conference for Security Policy, the new con- including statements such as "We are witness to also an increasing number of leading industrialference director, Horst Teltschik, tried to fur- an uncontrolled power that disregards the fun- ists, joined by representatives of international ther intensify the exchange of ideas between damental rules of international law," he ranted, and nongovernmental organizations. the North Atlantic partners, while for the first adding "[America's] military adventures cost security issues to Chancellor Helmut Kohl, ton marked another watershed moment in the was Director of the Munich Security Conference from 1999 to 2008.

By the beginning of the new millennium, Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer will always power and wealth is shifting eastward. be remembered. Fischer's comment: "Sorry, Europeans then assumed towards the Iraq "Davos of security policy." Held at the begin- its central concern in the next fifty years, too. war and marked a low point in transatlantic ning of each year, it provides information, relations.

demonstrated that the Cold War was still cast- Today, about 100 government delegations from ing its shadow on the international scene. In all over the world come to the Bavarian capital, his speech in Munich he harshly attacked the while more than 500 journalists report on the



history of the Security Conference.

controversial debates in Munich. The leg- global outreach of the conference. It has become the turmoil in sub-Saharan Africa endary exchange of blows on the eve of the a global forum reflecting the shifts of power in

The Munich Security Conference has long orientation and networking opportunities In 2007, Russian President Vladimir Putin for decision-makers as well as media leaders.

United States, accusing it of provoking a new proceedings. Among the approximately 400

The topics debated are no longer limited time also taking a look at the nations in Asia. the lives of thousands of peaceful people" This to strictly military issues. Thus, the effects of Teltschik, a former advisor on foreign and frontal – albeit rhetorical – attack on Washing- the financial crisis threaten to jeopardize the stability and security of states. Cyberwar, climate change, scarcity of energy and resources, In 2008, Ambassador Wolfgang Ischinger population growth and migration have increastook over the chairmanship from Horst Telts- ingly become a focus of interest, as they, too, the conference agenda was dominated by the chik. In the past few years, the former state sec- pose potential threats to peace, stability and asymmetric threats emanating from inter- retary in the Federal Foreign Office and German prosperity. More traditional security issues are, national terrorism and the interventions Ambassador to Washington and London has of course, by no means neglected. The ramificain Iraq and Afghanistan. This led again to further extended the thematic scope and the tions of the revolutions in the Arab world and

Today, it is – more than ever – the task of third Gulf War in 2003 between US Secretary the early 21st century and the changed security the Munich Security Conference to bring the of Defense Donald Rumsfeld and German scenery in a world in which the gravity center of global security community together once a year for frank and fruitful discussions about foreign and security issues. As in the past half-I am not convinced", with which he con- since become an integral part of the interna- century, eliciting fresh ideas and seminal visions fronted Rumsfeld, mirrored the attitude most tional calendar of high-level meetings - the for global peace, order and stability will remain

> Oliver Rolofs is press spokesperson of the Munich Security Conference.

## The meaning of Munich

Joseph R. Biden Munich is the place to go to hear bold policies announced, new ideas and approaches tested, old partnerships reaffirmed, and new ones formed. Like no other global forum, today's Munich connects European leaders and thinkers with their peers from across the world to have an open and frank exchange of ideas on the most pressing issues we currently face - from the crisis in Syria to the global financial crisis and its impact on security, as well as cyber security. And while the formal discussions are important, it is the informal chats in the coffee bar and the Stuben that cement relationships, foster intellectual ferment.

That's why I chose Munich as the place to outline the Obama administration's new approach toward foreign policy, including our desire to reset relations with Russia while maintaining our principled position rejecting spheres of influence.

It's why, in 2013, I returned to Munich to take stock of what America had accomplished with our friends and partners, including responsibly ending the war in Iraq and drawing down our forces in Afghanistan, to lay out a new agenda of cooperation for the next four years.

All of us who have participated in the Munich Security Conference over the years know something simple and fundamental: important partnerships do not build themselves. They require hard work and constant conversation, and are best fostered at forums like the Munich Security Conference. I have every confidence that Munich's best days are yet to come. Congratulations on fifty years of essential work!

Javier Solana The Munich Security Conference have brought Chinese scholars and public figures to speak, granting perspective on security issues in a strategically important and perpetually strained continent. Closer to home, no matter how rocky bilateral relations may be, both Russia and the United States are always well repre-



Javier Solana (I.) embracing US Vice President Joseph R. Biden



Guido Westerwelle (Germany), Hillary Clinton (US), Leon E. Panetta (US), NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen (from left).

sented. The presence of senior Russian ministers such as Igor Ivanov, Sergei Ivanov, and Sergei Lavrov, and the attendance of such prominent American figures as Hillary Clinton and John McCain are very important ingredients; the United States Congress is consistently well represented as well. Discussions and speeches are frank and sometimes downright provocative, but the channels of dialogue are open.

**Ohn Kerry** The Munich Security Conference has become a truly global security policy forum – and we need that kind of thoughtful, creative, nonpartisan input on tough issues now more than ever. We face tremendous foreign policy and national security challenges worldwide - from helping countries manage peaceful, democratic transitions in the Middle East and preventing violence, conflict, and terrorism from engulfing key partners to leading humanitarian responses to forestall drought, famine, and natural disasters.

We need a strong, prosperous, and confident Europe to meet these challenges – and Europe needs our unwavering commitment and support. As we look to the future demands that will define our alliance, we must continue to adapt to meet new threats and push forward a transatlantic renaissance to seize the common possibilities that lie ahead of us.

Anders Fogh Rasmussen When I arrived at NATO headquarters in Brussels in August 2009 to start my job as secretary general, the dates of the next Munich Security Conference were already blocked in my calendar. I was well aware of the conference's unique reputation as a focal point of the international security debate, and I was keen to contribute to that debate. So every year since 2009, I have looked forward to coming to Munich, to set out my vision for the Alliance, and to discuss new initiatives to turn that vision into reality. (...) If our experience over the past five decades is any indication, the fiftieth Munich Security Conference will provide an excellent opportunity to help set the stage for what will be a key year for NATO.

The Security Times, 2012.

Nobel Peace Prize laureate Defense Minister Ng Eng Tawakkol Karman from Yemen, 2012. Hen, Singapore, 2013.



Liberia, 2013.



### Rapprochement is not impossible

As non-Arab Middle East countries, Israel and Iran once had many shared interests | By Avi Primor

it to revive their political frame- as such. work. As a result, Cyrus is the only non-Jew who appears in the Holy Scriptures as someone akin to a listed on the official list of foreign secret services. Many represented saint or a truly righteous leader.

be made between those ancient Iranian Foreign Ministry. None- construction and in the developtimes and the 20th century, it theless, they were treated with ment of modern agriculture. The the two governments. So was the must be the bonds between the all the honors and privileges of tremendous trade between the two Jewish state and Persia, physically foreign diplomats, and even of countries, including Israeli arms territories of common enemies. the echelons of the Iranian state. top trading partners worldwide.

contradictory interests when dealing with Israel.

tions between Israel and with the Arab countries in the UN bring the diplomatic courier, to transport Iranian oil to Israel. believing that the raison d'État the Islamic world. Israel became Iran cannot be under- General Assembly against the Pal- collected by an Israeli embassy Eleven years later, after the Six would lead the new master of Iran a target of vituperative propastood without at least estine Partition Plan, thus rejecting official in a car with diplomatic Day War, another pipeline was to renew the cooperation with ganda. Yet it was not necessarily some knowledge of ties between the independence of a Jewish state. license plates at the airport. All built, ten times as big as the first Israel for its own benefit. The raison the way Israelis conceive it, as a the two countries before the 1979 In 1950, however, Iran recognized this was in full view. Yet the El one. It was destined to supply d'État of Ayatollah Kohmeini was, political target. This target lay Iranian Revolution - and even Israel, and after Turkey became Al flights were not listed on the Europe via Israel with 350 million however, something very different. and continues to lie elsewhere: about the relations between the the second non-Arab Islamic coun- arrival/departure board of the barrels of oil per annum under the His aim was not the strengthening Striving for hegemony over the two countries in the very first years try to do so. Officially there were Tehran airport and there was camouflage of a neutral Canadian of the Iranian state, but the imposi- Islamic world, Iran saw the Sunni of Ayatollah Khomeini's regime. no diplomatic relations between no official aviation agreement company. The investment in the tion of Iranian Islamic leadership world as its major hindrance. Iran Israelis like to stress the ancient Iran and Israel, but in reality the between the two countries. pipeline, as well as in the tankers over the entire Islamic world, and also has an urgent interest to exerhistorical background of the two countries conducted a very More important were the eco- that carried the oil from Israel to particularly that of the Arabs. In cise its influence, if not more, over exceptionally emotive relations intensive diplomatic relationship. nomic, political, military and secu- Europe, was shared equally by pursuing this ambition, Israel was its immediate neighbors, namely Iran established a consulate in rity relations. When the relation 2,500 years ago, Emperor Cyrus Jerusalem, and Israel established between the two countries were the Great allowed the Jewish exiles one of its most important embas- severed by the Avatollah regime in Babylon to return to Jerusalem, sies in Tehran, albeit an embassy in 1979, around 1,700 Israeli to rebuild their temple, and with that was never officially declared advisors and businessmen had to

The members of the Israeli dip- served as advisors in various Ira- 1993 to 1999. lomatic corps in Iran were not nian ministries, armed forces and diplomats accredited in Tehran Israeli firms with investments in If there is any comparison to and published annually by the Iran, mainly in city planning and

and Johannesburg.

leave the country. Most of them to Germany from

for the Tehran-Jerusalem alliance. airline El Al operated a daily the common interests between the Modern Iran is an Islamic coun-flight from Tel Aviv to Tehran. two countries was the joint venture try, part of the Islamic world This flight also served as the con- in exporting Iranian oil via Israel. surrounding Israel. Yet it is not nection between Israel and East When, as a result of the 1956 an Arab country, hence it has and South Africa. From Tehran, war against Egypt, the Suez Canal between Eilat on the Red Sea and the new regime's stance would not nian regime returned to its ini-



ownership of the entire project.

Under these circumstances, separated from one another by the very important diplomats, by all exports, made Iran one of Israel's Israel, the main target of the Arab oil boycott 1967, and particularly This is the natural background From 1953, the Israeli national The most spectacular aspect of after 1973, after the Yom Kippur War, never suffered from an oil shortage, nor did the Europeans or even the Americans.

> by the Ayatollah's regime. In the neighboring country. planes flew southwest to Nairobi was closed, a pipeline was built beginning, Israelis thought that

perceived as an obstacle.

exiled Shah and his family. That does not mean that the

Ayatollahs did not also have clasengaged in a fateful war against Iraq during the 1980s, they did not hesitate to purchase arms, including missiles and warplanes,

After the Iran-Iraq war the Ira-

The current state of rela- In 1947, Iran voted together The El Al plane would also Ashkelon on the Mediterranean, differ greatly from that of the Shah, tial ambition: the leadership of

Iraq, Saudi Arabia and the Gul Precisely at the moment of the states. Should the Iranians be sucoverthrow of the Shah, Israel signed cessful in this venture, they would its first peace agreement with the gain dominance over of 56 permost important Arab country. cent of the world's oil reserves. Egypt was a traditional rival of With that, they could become a Iran and in 1979 the only country great power and would have the in the world to grant asylum to the potential of blackmailing the entire world.

Iran's Arab neighbors are perfectly aware of this danger. When sical raison d'État considerations the Arab League, under Saudi concerning Israel. When they were Arabian leadership, made a peace proposition to Israel in 2002 (a proposition repeated in 2007), it was not because of a sudden love for Israel, but because the Saudis from Israel, albeit in secret. Israel realized that the real danger for saw in this not only a commercial the Arab states is Iran and not interest, but also a chance for a Israel. They became aware of the renewal of the extremely impor- fact that they needed peace and All this was abruptly halted tant cooperation with this giant quiet in their backyard to be able to defend themselves against Iran.

continued on page 10

Munich Security **MSC** Conference Münchner Sicherheitskon

### Munich Security Conference 50 years of dialogue





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A platform for a broader agenda? Iran and six world powers reached a breakthrough agreement on Nov. 24, 2013, to curb Tehran's nuclear programme in exchange for limited sanctions relief, in a first step towards resolving a dangerous decade-old standoff. British Foreign Secretary William Hague (left), US Secretary of State John Kerry (3rd from left), EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy Catherine Ashton.

The world powers and Iran signed an interim nuclear deal on Nov. 24, 2013, with plans to begin a new round of talks to reach a mutually agreed longterm comprehensive solution that would ensure Iran's nuclear program would be exclusively peaceful.

Compromise by all parties on the elements of the final comof State Henry Kissinger and level of Iranian nuclear capac- that go beyond it. ity limited to plausible civilian Demands based on the NPT have announced plans to explore of all types of WMDs. The fol- Tehran has provided more than enrichment beyond five percent bility of a genuinely constructive relationship with Iran; to design maximum level of transparency a Middle East policy adjusted to by implementing the Safeguard new circumstances".

Further statements by informed US figures suggest that Code 3.1. These three arrangein a final deal, the US will ask Iran to accept strict limitations parency measures the world on its nuclear program beyond the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). Such measures include dismantling a significant por- would have to deal with demands Low Enriched Uranium stock- sible approach could be one of piles (LEU); closure of Fordo, the following three scenarios. the second enrichment site near reactor; and intrusive inspections and monitoring that go Second, establishing an inter- alism and populist sentiments, beyond the NPT and its Additional Protocol.

NPT, the fact is that the demands added that US companies could Middle East.

## Outlines of a compromise

### A deal between Iran and the West seems possible | By Seyed Hossein Mousavian

addressed by the world powers be involved in building and engito Iran go beyond the treaty, and neering the program. most likely, as a member state of The third scenario envisages a become the platform for a Iran has pioneered banning NPT, Iran would not accept to be broader initiative in which the broader agenda. It could alleviate all WMDs through the passing prehensive deal would be key to singled-out and discriminated. world powers would look for present concerns over the nature of a religious edict or fatwa. success. Former US Secretaries A sustainable solution necessi- a deal with Iran benefiting the of Iran's nuclear program and The Supreme Leader Ayatollah tates an end to the discrimina- region by creating a Weapons concurrently be recognized as a Khamenei's fatwa declares the George Shultz in an opinion piece tion of Iran compared to other of Mass Destruction Free Zone "model" to address future prolif- use of nuclear weapons and all Middle East. for the Wall Street Journal on member states of the NPT. A (WMDFZ). Dec. 2, 2013, outlined the three realistic solution should distin- Demand for nuclear energy In this scenario, Iran would tac- destruction are "haram" or formajor tasks for American diplo- guish between demands within is on the rise in the Middle itly take the responsibility to lead bidden - constituting a sin, being Middle East.

uses and to achieve safeguards can be agreed upon permanently. the adoption of nuclear energy. lowing reasons provide the jus- 5,000 man-days of inspections to in the Middle East. that ensure that this level is not Based on the NPT and the inter- A major challenge to nuclear tification as to why Iran is the the International Atomic Energy • No stockpiling beyond exceeded; to leave open the possi- national regulations, a member non-proliferation arises from only country with the potential, Agency (IAEA) since 2003, the domestic needs for nuclear civilstate would demonstrate the Agreement, Additional Protocol and Subsidiary Arrangement ments are the maximum transpowers can expect.

To be realistic, however, the EU3+3 and Iranian negotiators tion of existing centrifuges and that go beyond the NPT. A sen-

First, measures beyond the the city of Qom; elimination of NPT would only be implemented the Arak heavy water research for a specified period as a confidence building measure.

national consortium to oversee coupled with extremism and ter-Iran's enrichment program as rorism led by radical Salafists

least 13 countries in the region nonproliferation and elimination serious threat to humanity.



#### Middle East

the "Arab Awakening." The revolutionary transitions in the Middle East changed the priorities of regional leaders: instead of advancing the WMDFZ domestic issues. Rising nationThe Comprehensive Agree- Iran-Iraq war, which killed and ment with Iran, however, could injured 100,000 Iranians.

apacity and credibility this leadership role:

In 1974, Iran, followed by have gone beyond the realm of Egypt, was the first country to the NPT for a decade. propose a Nuclear Weapons Free Zone (NWFZ) in the Middle East that led to the 1974 UN General Assembly resolution.

for the zone.

As the biggest victim of chemi- under G8 export controls. initiative they now focus on cal weapons, Iran has always Iran has called for an "interof chemical weapons during the with private and public sectors weapons of mass destruction.

eration challenges in the region. other types of weapons of mass

most during the Agency's history, including access to facilities that

Since 2004, Iran has proposed the adoption of the IAEA Additional Protocol and continuous on-site inspections at key facili-Although the issue has been on ties, limiting the expansion of the agenda for more than three Iran's enrichment program and peaceful nature in the region. decades, it has yet to be real- a policy declaration of no reproized. In 1990, Egypt, followed cessing, immediately converting reach the "comprehensive packby Iran, proposed a WMDFZ all enriched uranium to fuel rods. age" deal on the Iranian nuclear in the Middle East. To this day, In return, Iran seeks recognition dilemma. The next six months Iran has maintained its support of its rights to enrichment and of diplomacy will be decisive normalization of Iran's status and the world powers and Iran

of countries in implementation of uranium enrichment program in Iran.'

And last but not least, Iran has signed onto every WMD convention, such as the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) in 1997; the Biological Weapons Convention (BWC) in 1996; and the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty in 1970.

Within such context, the world powers and Iran can agree on six principles: • No nuclear weapon in the

• A ban on production of plutonium and reprocessing in the

macy right now: "To define a the framework of NPT and those East. Over the past five years, at the Middle East toward complete useless, costly, harmful and a • Stopping the production of highly enriched uranium, with no

ian use.

• Establishment of a regional or international consortium for producing nuclear fuel.

 Regional confidence-build ing and verification measures by creating a regional authority in charge of regulating nuclear development and verifying its

This would be the best path to should be open to pursuing an agenda of long-term co-operasought a world free of the threat, national consortium." Former tion. Iran's nuclear deal has the production and use of weapons of Iranian President Ahmadine- potential to begin controlling mass destruction, including chem- jad during his September 2005 fissile material in the Middle ical weapons. Instead, history speech at the United Nations East and take meaningful steps Despite the negotiating parties proposed by former Iranian would definitely hamper prog- shows that the US and the West stated "Iran is prepared to toward a Middle East zone free committing to a deal based on the President Ahmadinejad, who ress towards WMDFZ in the supported Saddam Hussein's use engage in serious partnership of nuclear weapons and all other



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continued from page 8

Aside from the fundamentalist hatred of Israel by the Iranian Ayatollahs (not necessarily the Iranian population), Israel merely serves as a propaganda means in Iran's ambition to dominate the Islamic world. Posing as the most stubborn and most loyal enemy of the common enemy -Israel – Iran strives to influence Arab public opinion over the heads of the Arab governments. The repeatedly promised destruction of Israel is not a real political aim of Iran, even though it would view such a destruction with much satisfaction.

So why does Iran need nuclear weapons? To begin with, it should be made clear that the idea of nuclear energy for Iran was not initiated by the Ayatollahs, but by the Shah. He was the one who initiated the project and he did so with the help of Israel. Israeli experts were behind the first Iranian nuclear plants. The idea was to create both civil nuclear capacity to enhance the economy, as well as a military capacity to be used to deter against the Iraqi dictatorship.

The nuclear venture is not merely the ambition of the regime, whether old or new, but of the entire population, including Iranians who oppose the regime. This is probably the reason why, in the long run, Iran will achieve Syria. What is more important knees. Instead, the Israeli governits nuclear aspirations. We can is that Israel has the power to ment today faces an American, only hope that when this hap- retaliate, even if the state is dev- and indeed an international com- is reason to be concerned by the pens, Iran will have a different astated. Submarines acquired by munity, eager to reach a comproregime. Nuclear arms in the hand of a liberal regime are a different story than nuclear weapons in the hands of the Ayatollahs.

In Israel, Iran's nuclear plans are seen as a mortal danger. In Israeli eyes, a fanatic regime motiopenly promises the destructo destroy Israel.

True, this is not a very rational way of looking at things. After all, attacking tiny Israel (20,000 square kilometers) with hopes on a joint American-Israeli broader context. Are Iran and ist Sunni elements, nuclear deal or

### Rapprochement is not impossible



destructive to Israel's neighbors, nian nuclear plants. As a fallincluding Iran's best friends: back position, it hoped that the Hamas, Hezbollah and Assad's sanctions would bring Iran to its Israel over the last 20 years are mise with Iran. equipped with nuclear missiles that can reach every city in Iran. Their purpose is to deter Iran.

Many Israelis, however, believe that we are not facing a rational all cost.

The Israeli government believes that as soon as the sanctions are lifted, Iran will resume is nuclear program, knowing that it is much easier to lift sanctions than to regime, so we should not count impose them anew. This causes vated by religious hatred that on logical arguments such as the great frustration for the Israeli danger to Israel's neighbors, or government, but also for a great tion to Israel can only develop Israel's deterrent power. They part of the Israeli public. Israeli has its origins and sources in nuclear weapons for one reason: believe Israel must prevent Iran leaders believe that Israel has lost Saudi Arabia. from having nuclear weapons at not only the military option, but now sanctions as well.

In the recent past, the Israeli One should, however, also try Israel once again to an objective government placed some of its to evaluate the situation in its alliance against the most extrematomic weapons, would also be military action to neutralize Ira- Israel doomed to be mortal ene- not?

knows how long the Ayatollah regime will last. This regime already faces the opposition of the majority of its own people. A liberal pro-Western regime, corresponding to the wishes of the younger generation in Iran, will probably modify Iran's attitude towards Israel. The old common interest of these two countries separated by Arab neighbors might surge forward again.

mies forever? First of all: Nobody

Beyond that: It is clear that the dream of Ayatollah Khomeini to dominate the Muslim world is a total failure. At best, Iran leads the Shia part of that world, and this is a minority. The hostility of the majority Sunni world is becoming ever more dangerous for Iran, particularly with the political hostility of Iran's immediate Arab neighbors.

Furthermore, if Iran and Syria benefit from Russian support, this is not only for economic reasons. To a great extent, Russia is deeply entangled in its own struggle against Sunni extremist elements. It therefore sees the support of the Shia elements as a kind of shield. This could also become a consideration for Israel.

True, Israel has peace agreements with two Arab Sunni states, Egypt and Jordan. It is negotiating with another Sunni-dominated entity, the Palestinians. Still, there penetration of extremist Sunni elements such as Al-Qaeda into its immediate neighborhood. Israel is well aware of the fact

that its allies in the struggle against Iran - Saudi Arabia as well as some of the Gulf States finance these extremist elements. And this, besides the worrying factor that the Salafist movement

Who knows if the future will not drive the enemies Iran and



Intervention fatigue and austerity hamper EU-NATO defense planning

By Judy Dempsey

fter a gap of seven when they increased their defense years, European Union spending. leaders gathered in Brussels last December to discuss security and defense issues. The debate was long overdue, given the immense changes and capabilities - how else would in Europe's eastern and southern neighborhoods.

Even the paperwork is badly out Strategy that the EU ever put forward was published back in 2003. Despite the changing geopolitical landscape, several member states, including Germany, have consistently refused to update it.

But most important is the double impact of the Euro crisis: saving Europe's common currency has for several years taken precedence over all other issues, especially foreign and security policies. Indeed, until late last year, the Euro crisis dominated every EU summit. That crisis, Merkel vetoed the merger of Britinevitably, also took its toll on ain's BAE Systems with EADS. defense spending as governments Almost perversely, short-term thought of ways to save and rein national interests prevailed. in their budget deficits.

In 2012, for example, France slashed its military personnel by 10 percent and reduced its rapid deployment capacity by a whopping 50 percent. Britain cut its plans by Prime Minister David armed forces by a fifth. In Spain, the armed forces were cut by in Syria. France, the lone excep-20,000 with further reductions tion to intervention fatigue, went on the way. The Netherlands it alone in Mali a year ago and scaled back its orders for new again last December in the Cenfighter aircraft, and Germany tral African Republic. EU leadcut spending too. Denmark and ers praised the French effort but Poland were rare exceptions offered almost no help.

This enormous pressure on defense budgets should have spurred governments into pooling

and sharing military equipment Europe be able to afford modern armed forces? Yet nothing of the sort happened. Indeed Europe lost of date. The only proper Security a great chance to have its own



genuine top-notch defense company when Chancellor Angela

What all of this reflects is the fact that among European countries, there is very little appetite for military missions. Britain's parliament last year scuppered Cameron to intervene militarily



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has never sent its battle groups such as drones, air-to-air refuelinto action. Launched with great ing, cyber security and satellite fanfare in 2003, the battle groups communications. The European the two biggest issues: the need were supposed to be Europe's Commission will play a greater for a strategy, and the impact the crack rapid reaction forces. role since the 'strategic enablers' Highly trained for combat mis- also have a civilian use. sions, they were supposed to be able to deploy within days. Yet (EDA), set up several years to of strategy for several reasons. when soundings were made in reduce duplication and make early December to get a battle savings, has always faced an different security and defense group sent to the Central African uphill struggle. That now may cultures and different military Republic, Britain and other coun- be changing. The EDA received tries immediately and unequivo- the green light to speed up procally said no.

Given this background, the biggest surprise was that the EU's states. defense summit in December produced any concrete results at all. With most governments recog- will require much cajoling and what constitutes common threats, over the EU's security and erine Ashton, the EU's High European security strategy.

No wonder then that the EU develop "strategic enablers,"

The European Defense Agency curement rules and harmonize European strategy. standards among the member

cific timetables. Even though it ficult for their leaders to agree on able, there were agreements to Security Policy and her successor, that no such threats exist. In to the Western world, but no budget. Most importantly, it is policy will remain elusive.

projects off the ground.

Yet leaders failed to deal with US pivot to Asia will have on the transatlantic relationship. EU leaders shirked the issue

First, the 28 member states have experiences. These differences Also, most Europeans simply

do not feel threatened by the These decisions are tied to spe- outside world. This makes it dif-

there is a real chance to get these Europe's Eastern and Southern attempt was made to end the shifting its attention away from neighborhoods and in the Cau- long and debilitating dispute that Europe to Asia. Yet Europeans casus, it isn't just the rise of has prevented NATO and the EU still seem to believe they can conradical Islamic movements that from working together. This is a tinue to take America's security concerns Europe. Possible threats problem because sooner or later guarantees as well as its miliaffecting Europe's interests and both the EU and NATO will have tary and financial commitment values range from the impact of to start asking hard questions to NATO for granted. This is high unemployment and politi- about what happens to European a dangerous and short-sighted cal instability, demography and defense as America's interest in assumption. migration to competition for Europe wanes. scarce water and energy sources.

discussion about how to deal alone make it difficult to forge a with threats and conflicts. Just security and defense seriously ficult to see Chancellor Angela as there is no appetite to debate strategy, they show no desire to US defense secretaries have casti- lande or Prime Minister James discuss the relationship between gated the Europeans for failing to Cameron engaging in a real dissoft and hard power.

leaders shirked concerns the state nizing that the current impasse focus by the Commission, Cath- undermining efforts to arrive at a of the transatlantic relationship. have played deaf. There was plenty of lip serdefense policy was not accept- Representative for Foreign and This doesn't mean, of course, vice about NATO's importance ica is cutting its own defense issues, a strong European foreign

It is not as if the Europeans Yet EU leaders avoided any don't know that Washington economies are finally taking an judges their unwillingness to take upward turn. Even so, it is difvery harshly. Time and again, Merkel, President Francois Holdevelop their military capabilities cussion over strategy, threats and The second big issue summit and to share and pool resources. the future of the transatlantic And time and again, Europeans relationship. Yet without a big

The Euro crisis seems to have been contained, and Europe's push by Berlin, Paris or London Add to that the fact that Amer- to finally start tackling these

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# Security Challenges

January 31, 2014

he year 2014 marks the

centenary of the out-

break of World War

I. It was, as George F.

Kennan famously expressed it,

the seminal catastrophe of the

20th century. What is the mean-

ing, what is the message of the

Great War today?

to deliver.

and revolution.

destruction."

are going out all over Europe, and

we shall not see them lit again in

our lifetime." He was right – as

"Instead of a few hundreds of

thousands of men meeting each

other in war, millions would now

The Security Times

Section **B** 13

### The times are out of joint again

Asia, Middle East, Africa: There is no hegemon, no nuclear discipline, no new balance of power to put it right - much as one hundred years ago in Europe By Michael Stürmer

The assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the heir to the crowns of Austria and Hungary, was the Danube monarchy's 9/11. After a long period of managing all kinds of conflicts short of war, summit diplomacy failed The uncertain alliances linking the Great Powers for better and for worse forced their own logic upon Europe's state chancelleries. In the summer of 1914 everybody had his own irrefutable rationale to accept war - a war long anticipated but never fully imagined to the brutal finish, although the American Civil War, half a century before, should have sufficed as a stern warning against the horrors of industrial warfare and its baneful political dynamism. When the guns of August started thundering, war was seen by the masses as a relief from the boredom of peace. The leaders, as Christopher Clark tells us in his magisterial treatise (The Sleepwalkers. How Europe Went to War in 1914), were sleepwalking toward the edge, as both a reaffirmation of imperial strength and a wager against decline, upheaval Sir Edward Grey, Britain's Foreign Secretary, hoping in vain that the Great Powers would recoil from the abyss, is on record for the realistic prediction: "The lights

> Europe's 9/11: The Serbian student Gavrilo Princip shooting down Archduke Franz Ferdinand. After the assassination of the heir to the imperial throne of Austria-Hungary in Sarajevo on June 28, 1914, diplomacy failed to prevent war. Can it do better in Asia 100 years later?

deserved soul-searching? By far the most important the hydrogen bomb. In 1957 the question remains whether 1914, "Sputnik" signalled to the world meet, and modern weapons would somewhere some time, could multiply manifold the power of happen again. The answer, one listic missiles would be part of hundred years later, is less reas- the Soviet arsenal. In the double Was it, as the writer Stefan suring than one would hope. crisis over Berlin and Cuba (1958 Zweig put it, "emotional exu- Europe and the Atlantic world -1962) both superpowers moved berance" that caused the great seem to have moved beyond the close to the abyss. What they saw clash in 1914? Or was, what likelihood of war. But through- was not the promise of victory happened the first instalment of out the Greater Middle East and but the ashes of their national a Europe-wide civil war, with around the Pacific Rim nothing existence - and they recoiled. the Americans putting in a first can be excluded. There, a great Soon after, the red telephones brief appearance on the Euro- deal of wisdom could be gleaned were established between the > pean stage? Was it, as Charles from the European experience Kremlin and the White House. de Gaulle suggested in 1944, of two world wars, the global An unprecedented kind of "the Thirty Years' War of our turmoil of the inter-war years and superpower cartel emerged. century," with the two interwar the Cold War.

decades nothing but a delusional The Cold War, however, fol- Cold War was driven by both on Berlin (1971) and the Ger- pre-1914 years, totally new chal- famously remarked: "The time interlude? Or could the disaster lowed rules and patterns without fear and reason. The superpow- man-German Basic Treaty (1972) lenges. Global warming is merely is out of joint." No hegemony, simply be blamed on Germany precedent. According to Ray- ers set up a nuclear consortium, and the Kaiser's vainglorious mond Aron, the French strate- inviting Britain, France and the the German Question. Raymond population shifts, mass poverty balance of power is there to put designs, as stated in the Treaty gist-philosopher, it was global, People's Republic of China to Aron described the worldwide and social upheaval, most vis- it right - much as one hundred of Versailles, drawn up to make nuclear, and bipolar. The initial join while inventing the Nuclear status quo as "paix impossible, ibly throughout the Maghreb and years ago. The long and the short Germany pay endlessly for the phase was characterized by the Non-Proliferation Treaty in order guerre improbable." The exis- Mashraf regions of the Greater of it: Beware of sleepwalkers in

that soon intercontinental bal-

damage done and save the West- American nuclear monopoly. But to keep insiders in and outsiders tence of vast nuclear arsenals Middle East.

own nuclear arsenals.

Michael Stürmer has been chie AR correspondent daily Die Welt since 1989.

Flashpoint ASIA TENSIONS

he was right in his prediction: ern allies the pain of some well- in 1949 the Soviet Union tested out. However, Israel, India and forced upon the powers, whatits first nuclear bomb, in 1953 Pakistan stayed aloof from the ever differences and conflicts At the same time, outside powers NPT System; they developed their they might continue to have, a -Russia, China, and the US - are policy of conflict control and war keen to defend and expand their avoidance. Unlike 1914, when interests in the region, Europe the powers took a wager against being among the also-rans. In Historian fate, the superpowers were united the Greater Middle East there

by a commitment to peace. of the Berlin-based has survived only in a reduced and rudimentary form. New bidcate the game.

world without world order. The region cannot be excluded. On the geopolitical Cold War system will not come The subsequent phase of the level, the Four Power Agreement back. And there are, as in the As Hamlet, Prince of Denmark,

What global warming will mean in the polar regions, where vast natural treasures seem to wait for exploitation, is anybody's guess. And technology creates novel areas of friction, notably the intrusion of cyber technology into nearly every dimension of human activity, including cybercrime, cyber-espionage and cyberwar. It carries with it both the promise of paradise and the threat of hell.

Geopolitical challenges come in two packages, one in the Far East, where China, much as Imperial Germany a century ago, keeps upsetting established relationships between the powers, not being able or willing to exercise restraint. This forces the US, already overstretched, into an ill-defined posture to keep the balance and to give reassurance to minor players.

"We are a Pacific power, and we are here to stay" - that was US President Barack Obama's message to Beijing when in 2012 he reactivated an out-of-use US Marine base in Australia. The Pax Americana and the Pax Sinica will have to learn how to coexist – or the world may see a sad encore, 1914 style, only worse.

While the Balkan zombies of the Ottoman Empire, instrumental in initiating the 1914 train wreck, have been put to rest during the last decade, throughout the Greater Middle East the demons of Ottoman rule and Western intervention are rising from their shallow graves.

What followed World War I. the war to end all wars, was, to quote David Fromkin, "a peace to end all peace." The settlements of 1919, imposed on the Levan from outside, are waning. The Arab state system of post-1945 vintage is bursting at the seams.

is no established code of con-But this system is no more. It duct, no serious arms control, no confidence-and-security-building system: there is only a complex ders for nuclear warheads and and unpredictable playing field intercontinental missiles compli- with no bounds and deeply divided players in the middle and So what are the lessons from greedy spectators all around. A 1914 for today's world? It is a spill-over from fighting in the

Similarities to Europe in 1914? settled, for the foreseeable future, one of them. It is already causing no nuclear discipline, no new serious political affairs.



Nine million soldiers perished during World War I. Here: in the trenches of France and Flanders (left). War cemeteries all over Europe like this one near Verdun serve as a warning to future generations.







### A maritime test of strength

Bejing believes the US lacks the will and the capacity to dominate the South China Sea | By Carlyle A. Thayer

between China and Japan. The new Asian pelago in the south.

more fluid than its European regularly conducted military exerbilateral alliances, one between fighters and H-6 bombers flew the US and Japan in East Asia and overhead. the other between the US and the Philippines in Southeast Asia.

The new Asian Cold War sharpened last year when China began the Senkakus and by continuto aggressively challenge Japa- ally scrambling F-15 fighters to nese sovereignty over the Senkaku monitor flights by Chinese civil islands and Philippine sovereignty and military aircraft. In Septemwest coast.

five small islets and three rocky ened to shoot the drone down if outcroppings covering a land it intruded into its airspace. China Korea and Japan separately flew for Japan's war dead which Chiarea of eight square kilometres. responded by declaring that this military aircraft through China's na's views as a symbol of Japan's They are located approximately would be an act of war. 445 kilometers southwest of Okinawa. The Senkakus re-emerged after China unilaterally declared bombers. On Nov. 29, China as a point of tension between an Air Defense Identification Zone announced that it had carried China and Japan in September (ADIZ) over the East China Sea out its first patrol of its ADIZ. 2012 when the new Japanese gov- including airspace over Japan's China also scrambled jet fighters ernment led by Prime Minister Senkaku islands. All aircraft to monitor two US surveillance took its territorial dispute with Shinzo Abe purchased three of the – civilian and military – were aircraft and ten Japanese planes. islets from private owners. China required to obtain prior authori- China's declaration of an East tral Tribunal for resolution. China and stability of the region," Viet- ity to respond to China's continclaimed that Abe had nationalized zation before entering the ADIZ, China Sea ADIZ, following a year responded by singling out the Phil- nam declared the measure "illegal ual assertions of sovereignty over its territory.

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new Cold War is taking the Senkakus where they continu- to establish other ADIZs "after shape in East Asia ally intrude into Japan's territorial necessary preparations." waters and airspace.

Early last year China escalated Cold War is maritime in character its aggressive tactics when, in dangerous act that unilaterally with a geographic focus on the separate incidents, two People's changes the status quo... [and] so-called first island chain that Liberation Army (PLA) warships unduly infringes on the freedom runs from the Kuril islands north locked their fire control radar of flight in international airspace." of Japan to the Philippine archi- on a Japanese helicopter and Japanese Maritime Self-Defense The new Asian Cold War is Force vessel. Also PLA warships counterpart. It involves confron- cises in waters adjacent to the tation between China and two Senkakus, while Chinese J-10 jet

Japan responded to Chinese actions by permanently stationing Coast Guard ships around over a small shoal lying off its ber, Japan identified China's first use of an unmanned aerial vehicle The Senkaku islands comprise near the Senkakus. Japan threat-

Tensions in East Asia erupted dispatched two unarmed B-52s follow prescribed procedures of continual pressure on the Sen- ippines for special attention. China immediately deployed to identify themselves, or face kakus, proved to be a tipping In May 2013, Chinese para-

Japan vehemently condemned

China's ADIZ as a "profoundly



ing China's ADIZ. In late November the US, South

ADIZ without incident. The US

first National Security Strategy Thomas Shoal to prevent the Phil- first time its only aircraft carrier, and revised National Defense Guidelines. Japan also established its first National Security Council.

to defending its islands in the southwest. Japan's defense budget was increased over the next five years to cover the procurement costs of twenty-eight F-35 stealth fighters, two Aegis destroyers, five and fifty-two amphibious vehicles. to seek prior approval before protest. Prime Minister Abe also

announced a policy of "proac- kilometres of water claimed by the tive pacifism" under which Japan would play an enhanced leadership role in the region and strengthen its military ties with the US, South Korea, Australia and Southeast Asia. On Dec. 26, Abe visited the Yasukuni Shrine, a burial ground past militarism and aggression. The Chinese media carried reports Zones proclaimed by the Philipthat senior Chinese leaders were so offended that they vowed not to meet with Abe.

civil marine surveillance aircraft to China also declared its intention cabinet approved the country's ate suddenly appeared at Second public, China dispatched for the of US resolve.

ippines from repairing a Landing the Liaoning, and an escort of two Ship Tank (LST) that had been destroyers and two frigates to the deliberately beached there in the South China Sea for a series of Specifically citing China's intru- late 1990s. The LST serves as training exercises. The flotilla was sions into waters around the a base for a handful of marines shadowed by the USS Cowpens, a Senkakus, Japan gave priority as a demonstration of Philippine guided missile cruiser. sovereignty

other commercial boats.

operating in two million square province. This represents nearly 60 percent of the waters included in China's nine-dash line claim to the South China Sea.

According to the regulations foreign vessels that refuse to comply will be forced from Chinese waters or boarded and seized. The waters claimed by Hainan province over- China Sea. lap with the Exclusive Economic and invalid."

On Dec. 5, a Chinese naval ship Chinese paramilitary ships ordered USS Cowpens to leave remain on station and continu- the area where the Liaoning was ally harass Filipino fishermen and operating. When it refused an Amphibious Landing Ship Dock Six days after China announced crossed within 500 meters of the Defence Force conventional submarines, three its ADIZ, Hainan province legisla- Cowpens' bow and stopped dead Academy, Canberra. surveillance drones, and the cre- tive authorities approved a new in the water. The USS Cowpens ation of a marine force equipped regulation requiring all foreign was forced to take evasive action. with seventeen Tilrotor aircraft fishing boats and survey vessels The US later lodged an official

The Cowpens incident raised regional concerns that China has decided to begin contesting the presence of US naval ships in the South China Sea. The deployment of the Liaoning aircraft carrier raised further concerns that China might follow through on its Nov. 23 declaration and establish an ADIZ over the South

China has instigated a new maritime Asian Cold War to disrupt pines and Vietnam. Both countries the network of alliances linking lodged official protests. Manila Japan and the Philippines to the declared, for example, that the United States. China seeks to dem-In January 2013 the Philippines regulation "is a gross violation onstrate to Tokyo, Manila and of international law... escalates other regional states that the US China to a United Nations Arbi- tensions... and threatens the peace lacks both the will and the capacremote islets and shoals. China On the same day that the Hainan does not expect quick results and civilian paramilitary ships and "defensive emergency measures." point. In December the Japanese military ships and a PLAN frig- province regulations were made is preparing for a prolonged test



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**Opposing views** 

from Asia

### Peaceful rise or a new Cold War?

Appeasing domestic nationalist concerns comes at a strategic price for China | By Kishore Mahbubani

now has to bend to strong winds or manipulated against China. of domestic nationalism? We will By contrast, a divided ASEAN never know the answer to these naturally provided geopolitical implications for China if it contin- could exploit. ues down this assertive road. For every gain it makes on the regional front, it could pay a heavy price on the global front. This is the new dilemma that China will have to deal with.

China's leaders have argued that they have reacted strongly because they have been provoked. This is true. The Philippines unwisely upped the ante when it deployed a naval destroyer around the disputed Scarborough Shoal in

April 2012. The Chinese government could not be seen to be weak in its response. Similarly, when the Japanese Prime Minister Yoshihiko Noda went ahead with the nationalization of the disputed Senkaku/Diaoyu islands on July 7, 2012. despite a direct request from President Hu Jintao not to do so, China was forced into a position of responding.

While some of these strong reactions were inevitable, it is unclear whether China worked out clearly the long-term consequences of these moves. They have dramatically changed global and regional strongly against China. Many environment for China. perceptions of China. For over a decade or so, China had pulled off a geopolitical miracle by rising up the ladder of great powers without ringing any alarm bells. A large part of it was due to the wisdom China inherited from Deng Xiaoping who counselled that China should take a low profile, swallow bitter humiliation and avoid any kind of assertiveness. Deng wa strong enough to pull this off. His successors clearly find it more and more difficult to persuade the Chinese population to continue heeding this wisdom.

Despite this, China's leaders can quietly pull back from some of the strong positions it has taken, as they have backfired. Let me cite three. Firstly, as I document in "The Great Convergence," it was unwise of China to deposit a map containing the nine-dash line (that covered virtually all of the South China Sea) with a UN Commission in 2009 (see map page 14). This nine-dash line will become an albatross around China's neck as it is entirely indefensible under contemporary international law, especially the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS). As China continues to grow and emerge as a global power, it will discover like the US that the UNCLOS will protect many of its global interests to have free and open access to seaways around the world.

So if China vigorously defends the nine-dash line, it will essentially be shooting itself in the foot as it will be undermining its own long-term global interests. Clearly China cannot withdraw the ninedash line but it can quietly and privately "clarify" its meaning to indicate that it is only claiming some traditional rocks and islands within this area. Indeed, China has already given some ASEAN countries private assurances that it does not claim all the waters within the nine-dash line as territorial waters of China. To allow China to backtrack quietly from the nine-dash line, it may be best not to push China for a public or official clarification.

Secondly, it was unwise of China to be perceived as dividing ASEAN at the ASEAN Foreign Ministers Meeting in Phnom Penh on July 12, 2012. It will go down in China's diplomatic history as one of its lowest points since only one out of the ten ASEAN countries supported China's point of view at this crucial meeting.

oes China's new asser- But China paid an even heavier Japanese are now clearly appretive stance reflect a price than this short-term diplo- hensive about China's rise. strong muscular gov- matic loss. A strong and cohesive questions. But we can work out the opportunities that China's rivals



### ASIA-PACIFIC

American diplomats were right in asserting publicly that several ASEAN states concern over China's perceived had whispered to them privately that they welcomed a stronger American presence in Southeast Asia to balance a more powerful China. Fortunately, Xi Jin- that it is committed to a "peaceping has made cultivation of ful rise". On balance, it is clear is a product of three domes- reconciliation between the drawn something useful from ASEAN a priority. That should that this remains China's policy. tic developments in Japan: the two peoples, as there has, for its dealings with Taipei. Beijing help China.

Thirdly, Beijing's constant tiveness over maritime disputes,



which is a result of a nationalist One develop-

ment that China needs to watch riencing a dangerous drift. carefully is the growing dialogue and interaction between Russia, India, and Japan. These are the three largest neighbors China has to deal with. If they begin to cooperate closely out of a rising shared assertiveness, China may well sail into a more difficult global geopolitical environment.

China has consistently declared But if it continues with its asser-



Time to respect China's red lines

Beijing, Tokyo and Washington should work together to defuse the tension between China and Japan | By Zhang Weiwei

matic ties in 1972. Many observ- economic, political and social President Xi Jinping, a leader ers now even compare the situa- malaises have shaped among more confident of himself and tion to that in Europe a century the Japanese a strong sense of his country, China has shifted ago when the First World War insecurity and their perception its overall stance from what can was about to rage across the of China's rise as Japan's pos- be called "strategic ambiguity" continent. This scenario may be sible nightmare, given the his- to "strategic clarity." Partly exaggerated, as neither Beijing, torical grievances between the in reaction to the US "pivot

> shared economic interests and is Director of the global prosper- Institute of China ity – but Beijing-Tokyo relations are indeed expe-

While the Western media seem to focus on what they

perceive as a more assertive China, most Chinese blame Japan for the Sino-Japanese predicament, and the Chinese view deserves some attention. From a Chinese perspective, the right turn in Japan's domestic politics is the major cause for the current status of Sino-Japanese relations, and this right turn bly there has never been real In this regard, Beijing may have country has experienced "two instance, between France and officially advanced the theme of lost decades" which ended the Germany, and the memory of China's "peaceful rise" (later deployment of naval vessels and it could dramatically alter global proud Japanese economic mir- Japan's war atrocities remain "peaceful development") in aircraft in the waters around the perceptions and attitudes towards acle; the country has witnessed fresh and sharp in the minds of 2003, but it adopted an Anti-Senkaku and Diaoyu islands has China and also end up creating a a string of weak leaders, liter- most Chinese. After all, it's a Secession Law in 2005, which turned Japanese public opinion more difficult global geopolitical ally 10 or so prime ministers war that caused the deaths of binds Beijing to adopt what's ■ replacing each other within ten some 20 million Chinese and called "non-peaceful means" if

carious since the two woes have gripped much of the angered most Chinese.

Zhang Weiwei Studies, Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences.



cians like Prime Minister Abe seems now to count on Japan's nationalism for more domestic support.

Despite the normalization Beijing and Tokyo, regrettaflag and national anthem and relations we witness now. whose chancellor and cabinet It's time for Japan, and the sters still paid homage Hitler's shrine?

other territories it had grabbed, possible nuclearization. to China. However, China's civil across the world.

in 1978 when the two sides of major power relationship" ize" the disputed islands, as if tensions.

🐧 ino-Japanese relations years; and the 2011 Fukushima China's claim over the islands have never been so pre- nuclear disaster and other social never existed, humiliated and

sides established diplo- Japanese society. The combined With the coming to power of right-wing militarism, President Xi said that China will pursue peaceful development but others should do the same. Actually, between China and Japan, there are already four legal and political documents committing both sides to solve their disputes peacefully and through negotiations. Japan's unilateral action to "nationalize" the Diaovu Islands was viewed by Beijing as violating this principle.

Beijing's "strategic clarity' may be provocative to some. yet it may serve the interests of all the actors concerned to avoid strategic miscalculations, as Beiof the diplomatic ties between jing has only stated its long-held positions in much clearer terms. destroyed the Chinese economy. Taiwan declares independence, Yet China is still faced with an a position that Beijing has held unrepentant Japan and a Prime since 1949. And the law caused Minister who even refuses to call uproar from Taipei and the the war an act of aggression. Just Western media at that time. imagine how the French or the But in retrospect, the law has British public would react to a paved the way for the dramatic Germany that still used the Nazi improvements in Beijing-Taipei

other parties concerned to know Beijing's red line, which is only Against this background, it a clearer expression of Beijing's took only a single event like long-held position, and Beijing, Tokyo's decision to "nation- Tokyo and Washington should alize" the Diaoyu (Senkaku) work together to defuse the tenislands to spark a chain of strong sion between China and Japan, reactions from China. Histori- and the US could play a meancally the Diaoyu islands, as part ingful role as a facilitator in this of Taiwan, were ceded to Japan regard, and after all, Washingafter the Chinese empire was ton does not share Prime Minisdefeated in the first Sino-Japa- ter Abe's position on the Second nese war in the 1890s. Towards World War, and China does not the end of the Second World openly object to the US military War, the Cairo Declaration of presence in Japan, as it is viewed December 1943 issued by China, by many in Beijing as a "necesthe US and Britain demanded sary evil" to check Japan's rising that Japan return Taiwan and all militarism, especially Japan's

China may overtake the US as war broke out soon after, fol- the world's largest economy in lowed by the founding of the less than a decade. In the history People's Republic in 1949, the of the West, relations between Korean War of the early 1950s an established power and rising and the Cold War. Japan, under power are often a zero-sum a peace constitution imposed by game, and the European history the US, became a US ally and is full of examples of such conhas remained so up to now. In flicts. But for the first time, it's 1972, the US decided to return the rise of a non-Western power, the "administrative rights" over with a totally different cultural the Diaoyu islands to Japan, tradition: China does not have which triggered sweeping pro- a messianic culture of converttests from Beijing to Taipei to ing others; it has a long culture overseas Chinese communities of building the Great Wall to defend itself from others rather Beijing's record shows that the than colonizing others; China is two sides agreed to set aside the the only nuclear power to openly dispute when they established state that it will not be the first diplomatic ties in 1972. Deng to use nuclear weapons against Xiaoping famously said at a other countries. China indeed press conference held in Tokyo hopes to establish "a new type signed the Peace and Friend- with the US, based on mutual ship Treaty: "we have agreed respect for sovereignty, common to shelve the dispute for the interests and people-to-people future, and we believe our future friendship. But if the US treats generations will be more intel- China as an enemy, China may ligent than us today in finding indeed become its enemy. Hisa mutually acceptable solution tory presents an opportunity to the dispute." He also advo- to the two countries to become cated a sensible approach to the friends, rather than enemies, dispute: that the two countries moving beyond the old logic of should defer the issue and start confrontation between estabjoint exploration (of resources in lished and rising powers. The the area), which to this author, two sides should grasp it and remains the most feasible option start in this direction perhaps for both sides. Obviously Japan's with some meaningful initiadecision in 2012 to "national- tives to defuse Sino-Japanese

The Security Times • Challenges



Has China's military moved closer to the driving seat of foreign and security policy? Soldiers taking part in a drill January 2014 in Sichuan Province of China.

# Is the military driving China's foreign policy?

Never have the armed forces been so visible beyond the borders of the People's Republic | By Isabel Hilton

advancing capacity rather than and to exploit what Chinese miliaggression, but it was not with- tary analysts see as the strategic seemed to run contrary to China's dence on technology. stated opposition to the militariproduced, the most ever recorded power is set against the country's development; to maintain social by an estimated 10 percent and raises the question of which part armed forces; and to maintain satellites of many other coun- is driving which policies. Has have Chinese forces been so viswas loud and widespread.

the life of the country's diplo- best, are mixed. mats. Rapidly growing military continues to attract concerned vers involving three new satellites. Back on earth, China has made advances in jet technolsubmarine warfare capacity and fighter, Chengdu J-20, a revelation timed to coincide with a visit piracy operations, humanitarian officers, who began to make high by the US defense secretary.

n January 2007, the Chinese China is a long way from match- evacuation of Chinese citizens in military destroyed a com- ing US firepower, but is focusing moments of crisis. munications satellite. It was on developing cyber and space International peacekeeping mis-

the driving seat of foreign and The question is: Does this activ-

Much of China's increased mili- influence with a commensurate expenditure in a rising China tary budget is dedicated to a long strategic maturity, or could it also overdue modernization of the signal a rising influence of the comment, as does Beijing's army. Other elements, including military in China's international advancing space competence, the naval spending, reflect in part actions? evidenced most recently by the the need for one of the world's In 2012, a number of inter-Jade Rabbit moon landing and a largest trading nations to defend national analysts expressed conseries of close proximity maneu- long supply lines, should the need cern that China's armed forces arise. On the other hand, China's were indeed growing increasingly military has also become more assertive, most notably in China's visible internationally as China's sensitive regional politics. Their ogy, concluded sea trials for its role in the world has grown: it is worries coincided with the escafirst, albeit secondhand, aircraft currently the most active peace lation of Beijing's actions over its carrier, developed an important keeper of the five permanent maritime disputes in the South members of the Security Council and east China Seas, and the unveiled a prototype Stealth and are no longer reluctant to get emergence of a number of preinvolved in international counter- viously reticent senior military assistance, disaster relief, and the profile public statements. These

one of their own, so the act technology to support denial of sions serve to support the Peowas judged a demonstration of access tactics against US forces, ple's Liberation Army's (PLA) "New Historic Missions," which demand the capability to operate out diplomatic consequences. It weakness of the US - its depen- overseas. China's 2011 Defense White Paper laid out four national So far, so straightforward. But goals: to safeguard national sovzation of space and the debris it when China's growing naval ereignty, security and national in a single incident, increased the increasingly assertive policies in harmony and stability; to accelvolume of dangerous space junk the South and East China Seas, it erate the modernization of the threatened the communications of the sprawling Chinese state world peace and stability. Never tries. International indignation China's military moved closer to ible beyond China's own borders. It was not the first time China's security policy? In China's opaque ity simply indicate that China is military appeared to complicate political system the signals are, at responding to demands that it matches its increasing economic



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were frequently belligerent in often in Party organizations tone on how China should meet which they lead. its changing security and foreign and security posture.

central role in politics.

Communist Party members; at national policy interests.

The same is true at the highest bors to reach for the United States Zhou Yongkang, that domestic the first time, to improve operapolicy needs and were taken by levels of the Party-State. Since and undoing years of diplomatic security commanded a larger tional integration across its highly some commentators as a sign that Deng's reforms, the Party General reassurance that China's rise was budget than external defense. In regionalized and fragmented the military was trying to impose Secretary has served as President not a threat. This policy may well an important sign of Xi Jing- command structure. Its seven visit by the US defense secretary. its views on China's foreign policy of the State Council. He chairs the have been driven by local mili-PLA's highest decision-making tary ambitions, but it may also recently created a new National be reduced to five war-fighting Political Consultative Confer-Fostering indignant nationalism body, the Central Military Com- reflect the difficulty of running a Security Commission, which he regions, an indication, perhaps, ence in 2008. In 2012, he also is certainly useful for budget dis- mission, itself a department of foreign policy that both reassures cussions, but China's military has the Communist Party's Central the neighbors and satisfies the always had a prominent place in Committee and composed largely domestic nationalist expectations Isabel Hilton is a the People's Republic. In the early of military officers. Formally, at that serve as China's core political London based writer years of the revolution, China's least, the Party still commands narrative today. politicians were also military lead- the gun, and little in President Xi The larger challenge for China's and editor of ers. That era ended with the death Jingping's record to date suggests military is that, despite its growof Deng Xiaoping, the leader who that he has failed to assert control. ing budgets, it remains unfit for began to modernize the armed China appears curiously con- external action. The forces are forces after the Cultural Revolu- tradictory in the management of too large and uncoordinated to tion and reduced the military's its increasingly important interna- be effective against a modern tional role. Its foreign ministry is enemy. Recent developments The relationship between poli- relatively powerless and real deci- would suggest that far from tics and the military remains pecu- sions are made elsewhere, some- increasing its political influence, liar to the Chinese Party-state times in the service of local ambi- the military is about to enter a in which the army belongs and tions or turf wars. China's Minis- phase of a major reorganization answers to the Party. It has been try of National Defense is also a that is firmly under political con- lenge his authority. Zhou Yong- institutional weakness rather than enforcement ships in its dispute a basic tenet of China's highly relatively small office with largely trol. vertical political structure that the administrative and diplomatic China's military has been Party commands the gun and the duties. Senior military officers noto- important as the guarantor of corruption. two remain closely intertwined: riously pursue sectoral, business domestic security and of the Parcareer military officers are also and private interests, regardless of ty's monopoly of political power. under his control, President Xi works in a military think tank, representative, China's military

been diplomatically counterproductive, driving its nearest neigh-



a domestic security force to chalkang, the former security chief, strength. is now under investigation for

much ground under the patron- Chinese military will establish a age of the former security chief, joint operational command, for ping's political dominance, he autonomous military regions will that Xi Jinping wishes the PLA to became a popular micro-blogger focus on new external challenges, and a regular commentator in the such as maritime security, while Chinese media for his belligerhe himself controls the paramili- ent remarks on China's maritime

tary domestic security forces.

Yuan would seem to support this removed from the CPPCC in With domestic security forces interpretation. General Luo, who February last year. If his case is In recent years, rival domestic has launched a major reorgani- was the son of a former aide has a long way to go before it company level and above, politi- China's more assertive stance in security forces, such as the Peo- sation of the PLA. The Chinese to Zhou Enlai and became a can challenge the Party for the cal officers make the decisions, the East and South China Seas has ple's Armed Police, gained so press reported recently that the delegate to the Chinese People's political reins.

Much of China's increased military budget is dedicated to a long overdue modernization of the army. The prototype Stealth fighter Chengdu J-20 (picture) was unveiled to coincide with a

disputes. He was among ten PLA The PLA, according to the Pen- generals who called for military tagon's 2013 report to Congress, preparations following the takecurrently has less representation over by the Japanese government in key party decision-making of the Diaoyu/Senkaku islands in bodies than it had in the mid- the East China Sea, and advised 1990s or even the mid-2000s. that China should not be shy of With the internal power struggles taking forceful action against the that the reorganization will entail, Philippines over the South China the recent willingness of military Sea. He attracted attention, but that a Party faction could use officers to speak out publicly on the government took a different security matters could indicate course, deploying civilian law with the Philippines rather than The case of Major General Luo the PLA Navy. General Luo was





f the Cold War was a confrontation in central Europe between the United States and the Soviet Union over the geopolitics of the Eurasian continent, the 21st century could be characterized by tensions between the US and China over the geopolitics of the Asian-Pacific oceans.

control directly, dispatching gov- quo in its favor. ernment vessels into waters under Framing the case of the Sen- power and the manner in which Japanese administrative control kaku Islands in the context of it intends to project this power and brandishing its naval and air this tactic, China, interpreting globally. force power.

China.

China over territorial issues in the 2012, thus increasing the number keep such issues under control so Yoichi Funabashi's East China Sea cannot be consid- and reach of its law enforcement that they do not affect the entire is the Chairman ered separately from similar such patrols in an attempt to challenge Japan-China relationship. Since of Rebuild Japan disputes in the South China Sea Japan's de facto control of its ter- then, the leaders have repeatbetween China and the Associa- ritorial waters. tion of Southeast Asian Nations China's basic stance on territo- tries will promote a "mutually (ASEAN) maritime countries. rial disputes is to seek to avoid at beneficial relationship based on While until recently, China had all costs the use of armed force common strategic interests." tended to veer away from explic- in the resolution of land-based itly disputing the territorial issue issues, and to adopt a cautious flared up over the Senkaku of the Senkaku Islands, Beijing's stance in that arena. Also, at Islands in 2010 and 2012, the approach to territorial issues in times when there is a high risk modus operandi of the "mututhe South China Sea has, in con- that domestic stability may be put ally beneficial relationship based trast, been markedly stronger, in jeopardy, China tends to seek on common strategic interests" with China readily demonstrat- a compromise with the neighbor- has mostly collapsed. And the ing its willingness to engage in ing country in land-based territo- domestic political dynamics in military clashes with Vietnam rial disputes. When such cases Japan and China only serve to and the Philippines.

the same time as tensions were ness to compromise on territorial point to, for example, the backsimmering between Japan and land issues. However, China also lash of the conservatives against China in the East China Sea, shows a strong tendency to resort Japan's post-Cold War efforts Chinese vessels engaged in a pro- to the use of military force at to overcome the issue of history, tracted standoff against vessels times when it feels that its own the decline of Japan's national of Vietnam and the Philippines negotiating position is weak in strength, the rise of identity poliover territorial rights in the South territorial disputes. China Sea. Cases of anti-Chinese In the case of the Senkaku Shrine by prime ministers from the demonstrations also transpired in Islands, two factors overlay Junichiro Koizumi Administraboth countries within this same China's stance: the first being tion onwards, and the diplomatic time frame.

(ICG), a leading international and the United States, and the Japan (DPJ). Conversely, in the non-governmental organization second being that the issue does case of China, we can identify advising on conflict prevention not impact any domestic vulner- what Chinese intellectuals refer and resolution, notes in a report abilities such as ethnic tensions. to as changes in China's "political that this diplomatic offensive In other words, the case of the fundamentals." Simply put, it is Senkaku Islands have shaken issues of disparity and corrup- Deterrence after all, is basically by China, manifested similarly Senkaku Islands is one in which the manifestation of the unravelin each of the aforementioned it is difficult for China to exert ing of the legitimacy of the Comcases, is characterized by a self-control, and where percep- munist Party of China's (CPC) tactic it terms "reactive asser- tions of its own vulnerability are one-party system of authoritarian China identifies the First Island saur-like entities that swallow up on political leaders. Thus, quiet tiveness." This terminology is easily stimulated.

### Quiet deterrence

Japan needs a careful strategy to manage its strained ties with China By Yoichi Funabashi

Among the situations pointing used to describe a tactic whereby Above all, in the context of alism that the CPC's leadership ther demonstrates its "strategic towards such a future scenario are China seeks to induce provoca- naval power, while China seeks has mobilized to offset this. The will to the sea" by projecting prevailing tensions between Japan tive actions by the other party in to demonstrate its strength in unraveling of CPC's legitimacy naval power to the Second Island and China over territorial rights to a dispute over territorial waters. this regard, it also has a pro- is evident from several devel- Chain, Japan runs the risk of is subject to a conventional war the Senkaku Islands (or Diaoyu, Once the other party takes action, pensity towards what could best opments, including the end of losing a "surplus of security." is they are known in China) in China then responds by pursu- be likened to a the East China Sea. Though Japan ing strong countermeasures that complex." has long exerted administrative it has had time to prepare in Still, the biggest risk for Japan disparities between regions and the sea" may be steered toward that "unless it loses, it will win." control over the Senkaku Islands, advance. Through such tactics, and the United States is the lack China has started to challenge this China seeks to remold the status of transparency surrounding CPC senior members, environ-

Japan's decision to purchase the In October 2006, on the dealing with lingering territorial series of pre-planned actions with Japan and China agreed to build a target of outbreaks of Chinese issues with the utmost calm and the goal of changing the facts on "mutually beneficial relationship nationalism. At times, the CPC composure, and by maintaining the ground. The most important based on common strategic inter- elicits domestic nationalism and strategic communications with action in this regard was Beijing's ests" in line with a belief that, declaration of territorial baselines even in the presence of individual Tensions between Japan and around the islands in September thorny issues, it is important to

involve ethnic unrest, China has undergird this situation. From 2010 to 2012, at almost demonstrated remarkable readi- In the case of Japan, we can

China's perceptions of its own gaucheness of the administrations The International Crisis Group military weakness against Japan led by the Democratic Party of

the build-up of China's naval mental degradation, uprisings by

edly affirmed that the two coun-However, after tensions

tics including visits to Yasukuni

China's rapid growth, the sharp ethnic minorities, and counterattack public opinions on the Internet.

The Japan-China relationship is



#### Flashpoint ASIA-PÁCIFIC

applies deliberate diplomatic pressure on opponent countries. When the opponent is Japan, this often takes the form of "patriotic collusive" nationalism between the CPC and government and the masses. Both 2010 and 2012 saw outbreaks of such "patriotic collusive" nationalism. For the Chinese leadership, Japan remains a whipping boy for quickly obtaining legitimacy.

A more fundamental and longbuilding peace by engagement.

rounding the sovereignty of the period has already ended - and tain peace. up the "strategic fundamentals" tion could propel the CPC regime a sort of strategic communicaupon which Japan had premised into a state of crisis. State-owned tion. The firing up of nationalism its relationship with China. If enterprises are turning into dino- in either country puts pressure rule and the chauvinistic nation- Chain as "China's seas" and fur- private enterprises. Furthermore, deterrence is required.

attempt such an effort.

Accordingly, all countries have "long, long struggle." no choice but to pursue a strategy that combines assurance and of "quiet deterrence." It must be dissuasion, or engagement and quiet so as not to incur China's hedging. However, it is not pos- reactive assertiveness; that is, sible to determine unambiguously Japan must exercise self-restraint what circumstances will cause in order not to overreact to Chisuch a strategy to tip between na's provocations. Moreover, assurance and dissuasion. After the deterrence must be quiet so all, the main purpose of a deter- as not to cause an outbreak of rence strategy against China is Chinese nationalism and not to neither suppressing the rise of tempt the Chinese government China, nor outdoing China; it is to enflame Chinese nationalism. to make China understand that The deterrence must also be quiet military expansion, particularly for Japan and the United States to the expansion of naval power, jointly address this challenge by will have the reverse effect on fully exercising the Japan-US alli-China's future peace and security. ance. Should Japan lose either its If China attempts to alter the composure or its determination, "status quo" of the international should it let its strategically defenorder by using its newly acquired sive posture waver, or should it economic strength as leverage, the lose self-control and overreact, "interdependent peace" between this could give the United States a Iapan and China would no longer pretext for avoiding its obligation function. Should this happen, a to defend Japan. Furthermore, a vision for a multifaceted regional quiet approach is also required in order based on "principles of order to achieve the widening of a liberal international order" must China deterrence system in coopterm structural factor is the end be developed. However, both the eration with the Japan-U.S. Alliof China's path to a peaceful rise trade and investment needed for ance and other countries such as that had characterized the last China's growth evolve sustain- Australia, the Philippines, Indo-30 years. If China sees economic ably precisely because there is a nesia, Vietnam, and Singapore. interdependence only from the peaceful environment. The pri- Finally, and paradoxically, the perspective of power, this is not mary contradiction of Chinese essence of "quiet deterrence" in China's own best interests. power is economic growth and must be to maintain strategic "Interdependent peace" is noth- the sustainability of development. communications with China, ing more than the concept of China's high growth will not last carry out risk and crisis managelong – indeed, many observers ment simultaneously, stabilize the Japan-China tensions sur- believe that the high growth bilateral relationship, and main-

China is quickly falling into the trap of middle-income countries. The cost-effectiveness of the Japan-China battle over "administrative control" is decidedly asymmetric in nature. In order to continue to demonstrate its "administrative control," Japan must always maintain a sense of alert on the ground. As Katsuji Nakazawa, a Chinese expert on security issues has said, "Japan can no longer rest." While Japan of "unless it wins, it will lose," It can be said that the question China is using guerilla warfare increases in wealth and income of how China's "strategic will to tactics premised on the principle individuals, corruption among contributing to the development Amidst the somber situation of of "principles of liberal interna- Japan's loss of the surplus of tional order" in the Asia-Pacific security provided by the sea, the is the biggest strategic challenge weight of anti-Japanese presfacing the Asia-Pacific in the 21st sure that uses China's economic century. This involves neither the strength as leverage, and the percontainment of China, nor an petual onus of proving Japan's The challenge for Japan will islands as a unilateral change to occasion of then-Prime Minis- confounded by the fact that Japan encirclement of China. China is administrative control of the Senbe to form "quiet deterrence" by the status quo, implemented a ter Shinzo Abe's visit to China, frequently becomes the primary too big and too interdependent to kaku Islands, Japan has no other choice but to be prepared for a

Japan should pursue a policy

or the past fifty years, the Munich Security Conference has magnetized those wishing for a more peaceful and stable Europe and beyond. The conference has extended its arms to the other sphere of the world, particularly the Asia-Pacific. The Asia-Pacific is the epi-

center of the rapid shift in the global power balance. The region is also the driver of global economic growth. These trends are incremental but decisive. The region is full of hope, yet not without anxieties. In a world where everything is connected, the peace, stability and prosperity of the Asia-Pacific are closely intertwined with those of Europe, and vice versa.

That is why Japan is ready to work even more closely with European partners.

Japan has pledged to be a "Proactive Contributor to Peace" based on the principle of international cooperation. Our resolution is simple but robust: Japan is going to contribute even more proactively to securing peace, stability and prosperity of the international community, in cooperation with our partners.

Based on this principle, the government of Japan has already launched some new initiatives. They include the establishment of the National Security Council (NSC) and the adoption of the National Security Strategy (NSS). The NSS presents in the clearest manner what and how Japan aims to achieve as a "Proactive Contributor to Peace." Japan has strength lies in our common consistently followed the path of belief in freedom, democracy, a peace-loving nation, upholding human rights, and other funfreedom and democracy after the damental values. In particular, war.

the 70th anniversary since the guides the way for our future end of World War II, I would like collaboration. to emphasize how much peace, First, Japan and Europe should security strategy by June of this duct for Outer Space Activities. tion from Europe when propelling await taking these actions with



long formed an integral part of the identity of Japanese people. The NSS clarifies Japan will continue this path. The NSS also reveals how much importance Japan attaches to collaboration

with Europe. All major powers share responsibility for securing peace and prosperity in the world. Therefore, Japan will strengthen relationships, based on trust and cooperation, with our partners inside and outside of the region while navigation and overflight over deepening cooperation with the United States, our ally. In this context, Japan believes that coop- stability. eration with Europe, including through the EU and NATO, has vast potential which has yet to be fully cultivated.

Japan and Europe have both the capability and will to make this world safer and better. Our



Europe based on our respective new strategies.

Second, Japan and Europe cyberspace. Our daily lives are thoroughly dependent on cyberspace. It is surprising and disturbing that there is no agreement in the rules to govern this global sequences of their use and the commons

Japan believes that existing international law, including the UN Charter and international humanitarian law, applies to non-proliferation: the prevention cyberspace. When we talk about of the emergence of new nuclearcyberspace, geographical distance has no meaning. Cyberspace reminds us how closely interlinked are the securities of Europe and Asia, as well as other parts of the world.

Third, Japan and Europe need to ensure free access to, and tions" for nuclear disarmament: sustainable use of, outer space. the reduction of the number of Japan and Europe can take hand Preventing anti-satellite weapons nuclear weapons, the reduction in hand with other partners for (ASAT) testing and avoiding col- of the role of nuclear weapons, the good of the world. We can our shared commitment to the ment of disputes in accordance lisions between satellites benefits and the reduction of incentives drive change by exhibiting lead-As the year 2015 approaches, rule of law will be a beacon that with relevant international law us all. Japan and Europe should for the development and posses- ership anchored by our shared increase efforts to quickly realize sion of nuclear weapons. I would decided to establish its maritime an International Code of Con- appreciate support and coopera- to peace and realism. I eagerly democracy and human rights have further cooperate towards year. Japan is looking forward Technological advancement has this initiative.

brought a massive opportunity and a new threat at the same time. Together, by strengthening the rule of law in this field, Japan and Europe can secure the benefits the risks. Our strength also lies in our

> supplemented by suffer atomic bomberate towards a world

The world is still riddled with over 17,000 nuclear warheads.

The Iranian and North Korean should further cooperate toward nuclear issues, as well as the Fumin Kishirk consolidating the rule of law in threat of nuclear terrorism, are is Minister for sources of serious concern for the international community. In pursuing a world free of nuclear weapons, we should be mindful the Sea, since Japan and Europe the international community on of both the humanitarian conreality of increasingly diversified nuclear risks.

Based on this recognition, I propose "three preventions" for weapon states, the prevention of proliferation of materials, equipment as well as technologies weapons programs, and the pre- controls for arms and dual-use vention of nuclear terrorism.

I further suggest "three reduc-

Non-proliferation and disarmament is an urgent challenge. Japan and Europe should substantially contribute to the success of the 2015 Non Proliferation Treaty of outer space while minimizing (NPT) Review Conference and its process as well as the rapid entry into force of the Comprehensive commitment to peace Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty.

> I am pleased to have worked astute realism. with my colleagues from Europe Disarmament and including Germany, the Nethernon-proliferation lands, Poland, and Turkey, among demand such others, through the NPDI (Nonstrength. As the for- Proliferation and Disarmament eign minister of the Initiative), an initiative to make only country to ever practical proposals in this field.

The next NPDI meeting will ings and as a person be held in Hiroshima in April. from Hiroshima, I I would like to send a powerwould like to focus ful message towards realizing here on how Japan the lofty goal of a world free of and Europe can coop- nuclear weapons from a city on which the first atomic bomb was dropped. As for nuclear security,



Japan and Europe should ensure that the Nuclear Security Summit 2014, to be held in the Hague, will bring about tangible outcomes. Regarding export controls, Japan and Europe should lead by example through which could contribute to nuclear implementing responsible export items and technologies, particularly to countries of concern.

> These are some of the paths values as well as our commitment our European friends.



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With you from A-Z



Japan and Europe: Securing world peace for the next 50 years By Fumio Kishida

Hand in hand

upholding maritime order based

on the rule of law including the

UN Convention on the Law of

highly benefit from "Open and

Stable Seas." Specifically, ensur-

ing the freedom and safety of

the high seas is critical not only

for global prosperity but also for

Supporting coastal states in

enhancing maritime law enforce-

area. Japan and Europe are work-

ing together to counter piracy off

the coast of Somalia and in the

Gulf of Aden. We can encourage

the parties concerned in the South

China Sea to conclude an effective

and legally-binding Code of Con-

duct and ensure peaceful settle-

– not by force or coercion. The EU

ment capabilities is one promising

### Managing Mali

France needs European support in the Sahel | By Nathalie Guibert

African military commitis to respond to the threat posed by Islamic terrorism in the Sahel- had already began playing host ing from failed states, in whose committee late last year. Sahara region. On a tour of Mali, to an unit of American drones uncontrolled territories mafias Niger and Chad at the start of in 2013. January, French defense minister Jean-Yves Le Drian offered specifics: France's military presence in the Sahel - its 3,000-strong mission - ought to be more "flexible" and "closer to the problem," he said.

Only five years ago, France hoped it would keep just two permanent bases on the African continent, dubbed "axes of cooperation" at the time.

Now, Paris talks about around 15 support points. Under its plan, a dozen mini-bases tasked with intelligence gathering will be spread throughout the zone, operating in tandem with the gar-"pre-positioning" bases, though, will see personnel reduced.

As such, the overall picture includes legacy garrisons, capable of leading operations or functioning as reserve bases, such as Dakar in Senegal, Ndjamena in Chad, Libreville in Gabon or Djibouti. And then there are landing sites - Douala in Cameroon and Abidian in Côte d'Ivoire – from where reinforcements can be sent. Finally there are outposts (often hosting special forces), whose location shifts depending on the imperatives of counterterrorism. out, French soldiers say. Plunged These include Atar in Mauritania, Gao and Tessalit in Mali, Ouagadougou in Burkina Faso and Zouar and Faya-Largeau in Chad. tial pivot connecting the crises in senator and former socialist In Niger, where France is rene- Mali and Syria", according to the minister Jean-Pierre Chevène-

uranium mines, the country the Sahel.

Trance is once more announced on Jan. 1, that its From Senegal to Djibouti, then, has meant 'hit and stay'. But we redrawing the map of its Niamey base would become a France clings to the old cartogra- have proved [in Mali] that we "stronghold" devoted to intelli- phy drawn up during the colonial can change tack and do 'hit and ment of two Reaper MQ9s. Niger of weakness" (namely those deriv-



From there, the French army and its Nigerien allies be done better – and for less. will head to sites northeast of the country. Its targets are the Passe tions, including those bringing 20,000 African troops per year de Salvador and the Plateau of out the big guns where neces- for this. risons that the United States has Mangani in Southern Libya, tran- sary, will continue to be launched

into chaos since the 2011 war led

6

and terrorist groups mingle) improved division of responsibilities with its allies. And this is not local forces. without its difficulties.

The terms of defense agreements renewed during Nicolas Sarkozy's presidency insist: "Everything ought to be done so that Africans can assure their own security." It is old rhetoric but now has added urgency. After all: In the midst of a financial crisis, everything must also

Still, French military opera-

"France was forced to inter-

France's

involvement in Africa

will be refocused

on providing

direct operational

support.

is where the next wars will play "responsibility" on the interna-

by NATO and the fall of Muam- vene in Mali; no one else had the

mar Gaddafi, Libya is "the poten- capacity to do so," said French

tional stage.

ments. Its proposed aim gence gathering, with the deploy- epoch. But today, citing the "risks transfer'," the French chief of the defense staff told a parliamentary In the long term, France's involvement in Africa will be described in its 2013 Defense refocused on providing direct White Book, Paris is seeking an operational support, with assis-

> tance units serving alongside "The aim is to afford the same help throughout the whole region - controlling zones, controlling borders, fighting trafficking – so that the countries cooperate much more amongst themselves," defense sources say. Basic training of local forces can be conducted favorably under the banner of the European Union, Paris believes. President François Hollande has floated a figure of

"France has lived up to its deployed there. Historic French sit areas for criminal groups. This in the name of the country's past," Hollande has said in relation to Operation Serval in Mali. But some commentators say the country's past in Africa has instead caught up with it. Despite itself, they add, France taking charge without giving its such as Nigeria, argue a number has fallen back into its old role as partners a choice in the matter. of French diplomats. the "policeman of Africa."

But the executive sees this as unrealistic. Could we just let the jihadists take Bamako? Could we just sit back and do nothing when confronted with a looming massacre in the Central African Republic? it asks. And the generals, who once styled themselves the guardians of France's relationship with Africa, today salute this policy as "brave."

walk a tight rope. The presidency heaps praise on multilateralism. gotiating contracts for Areva's French Senate's recent report on ment in the recent report on the But simultaneously it dispatches interests are now elsewhere in at the Council of Europe on Dec. Sahel. "For us historically this the country's army unilaterally, emerging Anglophone countries 20, 2013.

France does not count on other European nations to fight side by side with its troops, with the exception of Britain. Instead, the country seeks out ad hoc coalitions that are able to overcome its deficits in its own capabilities, for example in terms of transportation, aerial refueling and IRIS analyst Serge Michailof in intelligence.

even at the level of the French

More generally, the multi-layered character of the Sahel crisis makes finding new solutions necessary. Hence: "It is concerning to note that recent events in Mali did not merit a mention in the chapter on development aid of the 2014 French budget," wrote the French daily Le Monde.

"France is not the policeman who is there to protect this or Yet Paris' choices doom it to executive. Although the secu- that in Africa. It has got there rity of the old French backyard before Europe, which will catch matters, the nation's economic up with it," Hollande declared

This policy attracts criticism,





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stretch from Senegal to Somalia. A vast area shot through with smuggling and drug traf-African states of Mali, Niger and Chad or by France, the former colonial power. And yet, Paris inopportune times for the governkeeps intervening militarily in the ment in Paris. For years, France region.

France is currently involved in tions with its former colonies in not one but two crisis areas. In Africa on a new footing. On his January 2013 the socialist govern- inaugural visit to Senegal in Octoment of President François Hol- ber 2012, Hollande announced lande dispatched 2,500 troops that the days of "Françafrique," to Mali to stop the advance of the dense web of secret politi- majority Muslim countries and an lack of alternatives. Paris would incapable of stopping the spread in and for Africa.

ahelistan is how people Islamist rebels toward the capital in Paris call the 7,500 Bamako. Eleven months later, kilometers of desert that on Dec. 5, 2013, Hollande gave 1,600 members of the French Army orders to suppress sectarian violence in the Central African ficking routes. It's impossible to Republic and to secure the councontrol, whether by the feeble try's essential supply routes from Chad and Cameroon.

> Both interventions came at has been working to place rela

Solo in Sahelistan

### France is becoming the reluctant regional policeman | By Ronja Kempin

with which Paris had tried to in Christian regions, it stated. responsibility for resolving mili- try, in which 800,000 people are uphold its outsize influence in One consequence, the white tary conflicts to the West African currently fleeing from the rebels. francophone Africa, were over, paper found, was the expansion economic community, ECOWAS. From then on, Hollande pledged, France would treat the states of the Sahel, where they came to France wanted to bring into posi- many, a consensus quickly arose Africa as partners and friends, development.

By intervening in the conflicts in Mali and the Central African Republic (CAR), however, the Elysée Palace gives the impression of remaining attached instead to continuity in French policy toward Africa. Ever since Francois Mitterrand's 1990 speech at La Baule, in which he linked French development aid to progress in democratization, French heads of state have been preaching a new beginning in Franco-African ties – only to order in their forces, at the very next moment, on behalf of corrupt strongmen. Since releasing its colonies into independence. France has conducted 39 military deployments to gangs in the region. influence affairs in the continent. Still, those who would dismiss French activity in the Sahel Belt as neocolonial power politics do so prematurely. They disregard that

matters there are multi-layered, and fail to recognize the complexity of the French predicament. Alone among European governments, Paris has for years been following developments in the Sahel

with concern. The 2008 white paper on defense and national security refers to the area as a "critical zone" for the security of France. Weak state structures, an expansion of lawless regions and the existence of criminal networks were endangering national security, the paper found. These trends encourage undocumented

cal, military and economic ties upsurge of fundamentalist sects only too gladly have passed on of chaos and violence in the counof Al-Qaeda-affiliated groups in Its military capabilities, which skepticism from the EU. In Gerdominate routes for trafficking tion in April 2012 when Mali, against chasing French interests, and would encourage the region's everything from drugs to weapons after a military coup and the Mali and Central Africa were not of mass destruction.

> Paris responded with elite troops, military advisers for security troops, money and material. Since July 2010 France has been "at war with Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb.'

Moreover, Paris is pursuing economic interests. Given growth forecasts of 6.5 percent in 2014, France regards the countries south of the Sahel zone as a new El Dorado that could help create an additional 200,000 jobs in France in the coming years. Not least for that reason is Paris trying to prevent important raw material sources from falling into the hands of terrorists and/or criminal



The fact that France is cur- northern Mali. In the Central Afrirently waging war in Mali and can Republic, following a coup of state structures in the Sahel the CAR, however, is not due to in March 2013, it became clear Zone. Equally important is the either geostrategic or economic that the 3,000-strong task force development of a strategy to susconsiderations. France's mili- from Chad, Cameroon, Congo, tainably influence development tary interventions were caused Gabon and Guinea was poorly in the region - for Europe's own far more by a combination of equipped, uncoordinated and so security, and so that France can migration, sectarian radicalism in historical accountability and a torn by internal conflict that it was finally become an honest broker



SAHEL REGION

subsequent proclamation of the "Islamic Republic of Azawad," was effectively partitioned by the Tuareg, Mali's

Paris also found itself facing in "the first circle of German security policy," said Hans-Peter Bartels, a security expert of the Social Democrats. As early as during the Libya crisis in 2011, EU states signaled to France they their military would not be available militarily even in serious crises.

Yet what option did France have, feeling as it does accountable for decades of corruption and economic mismanagement in its former colonies, other than to take on the pleas for military assistance from government lead ers in Mali and the CAR?

It must feel like the revenge army and the ECOWAS contin- of history for Paris. At a time gents proved too weak to fight the in which the country is trying Islamists that had taken control of to place its relations with Africa on a new foundation, it is being forced into military conflicts that it neither wanted nor planned and likewise lacks the support to disentangle itself from them.

Europe, and especially Germany, should recognize France's sorry predicament. With both of these conflicts, the right thing to do would be to support France politically, financially and militarily In addition to the recently agreed political and financial measures it should support France in its efforts to establish a minimum



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ince early 2011, when two longstanding Arab rulers were toppled through popular uprisings, the Arab world and the Middle East have entered into what seems to be at least one or more likely two decades of turbulence. None of the region's countries will remain will need to take Iraunaffected.

These turbulences arise from consideration. a mixture of domestic and geopolitical contests. On the local Iran's once considlevels, we can expect to see con- erable soft power tinued struggles for power, and among the public shifting alliances between the in Arab states has young demographic majority, given way to a reputhe educated middle class and tation for backing state-bureaucratic elites – as well a sectarian, muras between Islamists and non- derous regime. Islamists and between different And the increasing schools of politicized Islam. Two confessional polarprotracted geopolitical conflicts ization of regional - the Israeli-Palestinian conflict politics constitutes and the struggle for dominance a real danger for in the Persian Gulf area – remain Tehran: the more unresolved and highly explosive. regional conflicts A third flashpoint, the conflict are constructed in and over Syria, may actually as a Sunni-Shiite shake the foundations of the state confrontation, the system in the Arab East. Add to more difficult it this a renewed ideological struggle becomes for Iranian over the appropriate domestic leaders to wield any order

modern approach of the Muslim Hassan Rohani. Brotherhood, the Islamic-demo-Republic. What is the West's reaction going to be?

main geopolitical issues of the also have an effect on regional region will not be resolved within the next five years or so. At the very best, domestic upheavals, the called a survivor. The Kingdom is Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Syria, seized by deep strategic insecuriand security issues in the Gulf ties, but it has once again become region can be managed, brought one of the poles in the regional closer to a solution, or contained, field of forces. Its ruling elite is but they will certainly remain on worried about the balance of the global agenda even by the end power in the Gulf, about Iran's of the decade.

With external players less will- superiority, about the sustaining and able to manipulate or ability of the regimes in Bahrain even just influence developments, and Jordan, about the force of power balance is fluid. Some states fail to manage such challenges. have lost, and some are dling through.

trying to recover from a long civil to be dealt with.

The dynamics of disorder

Power shifts and geopolitics in the Middle East | By Volker Perthes

nian influence into

At the same time, influence or even be

successful, this would not only We can safely assume that the strengthen Iran's position, but dynamics in general.

Saudi Arabia could also be nuclear program and quest for main shapers of regional inter- challenges - not so different from the coup against Egypt's Islamist the Muslim Brotherhood. state dynamics. One small state - the grievances that have fuelled president Morsi. Given its Given its visible, strong involve- question the "Sykes-Picot bor- on regional actors. International Qatar - has made constant efforts the revolutions in Egypt, Yemen resources, Saudi Arabia remains ment, some observers began to ders" that have defined the post- players can help, assist in transto join that club; one of the former or Syria – as well as a difficult a heavyweight in the region. major Arab players – Iraq – is still succession process at the top need Despite heavy investments into power. This ignored that Doha system.

The syria conflict could shake the foundations of the state system in the Arab East: An Al-Qaeda fighter from the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant Syria. The Arab-language inscription on his AK-47 professes allegiance to Al-Qaeda. Today, competition over dom- accepted among the Sunni major- limited domestic reforms and US protection. At the same time, tive sovereignty into a stronger inance in the Gulf and in the ity of the Arab world. These risks flexible regional and interna- adding to their strategic uneasi- position in the regional system. do not come about? And what if Levant is enmeshed with compe- and challenges will continue to tional alliances. The Kingdom's ness, the Saudi leadership and Rather, given its apparent inabil- Jordan's fragile domestic balance tition between different models shape the Iranian agenda, but main regional efforts have been elite have begun to distrust the ity to establish a viable non- was threatened by a definitive of political Islam: the Salafi they may be dealt with differ- geared towards stabilizing Arab US, fearing that Washington may sectarian political system and a failure of Israeli-Palestinian peace Saudi-Wahhabi model, the more ently under Iran's new president monarchies (with force if need at some point leave them alone. workable relationship between processes? be as demonstrated in Bahrain), This insecurity reached boiling Most likely we will see at least containing or rolling-back Iran's point in October 2013 when Kurdish region, the current ter- unpredicted domestic, transnacratic model of Turkey's AKP and some serious attempts at détente reach into the Arab world, and the Iranian example of an Islamic with the West and, regionally, making sure that revolutions on the rotating United Nations perhaps with Saudi Arabia. If and unavoidable change in other Security Council and intelligence countries do not challenge Saudi



interests too much.

war rather than playing regional On all these fronts, the Saudi Saudi Arabia's military power weight. Except for its money, that the territorial contours of try to pick winners in local power politics. It also seems that any leadership has so far been able remains limited, and the King- the emirate has no hard power. Lebanon have begun to evapo- conflicts, or organize regional

the Saudis declined their seat chief Prince Bandar bin Sultan announced a "major shift" away from the United States.

Riyadh along with the largely like-minded United Arab Emirates, has been able to reassert traditional leadership among the Gulf monarchies, which for a be established in Damascus and while seemed to be challenged Syrians may form a new social by the very ambitious and more contract, but this will take many These expectations are hardly adventurous policies of Qatar - a years. The best-case future sce- realistic. Rather than speculatmicro-state that has used various means to put itself on the map for over two decades, particularly its pan-Arab TV network al-Jazeera. In the 2011 to as a strong, centralized state for time. Would the region be torn regional balances of power will popular uprisings in the Arab Riyadh has therefore backed a 2013 period, Qatar supported decades. Its territorial integrity by a series of wars and civil wars? gain importance. But the regional world and about regimes that negotiated transfer of power in the Libyan revolution financially, may well be threatened by seces- Or would the international com-Yemen. It supports the upris- militarily and medially, backed sion or fragmentation. Instead of munity increasingly distinguish have won since the beginning of The rise of the Muslim Brother- ing against the Assad regime, the Morsi government in Egypt projecting power into neighbor- between a zone of disorder that the uprisings in 2010/2011, others hood and its model of election- but it would rather see a secu- as well as the Hamas government ing countries, Syria has become a reaches from the Levant to the based Islamic rule has been seen lar authoritarian or democratic in the Gaza Strip, and became proxy within which other regional Persian Gulf, and a North African as a threat to the Kingdom's own regime emerge in Syria than a the main financier of the Syrian forces can let their geopolitical zone of transformation stretching, Today, Egypt, Turkey, Israel, ideological fundaments. Domes- Muslim-Brotherhood-led state. opposition. The Qatari agenda struggles play out. The disinte- despite all difficulties, from Egypt Iran and Saudi Arabia act as the tically, enormous socio-political And it has clearly underwritten largely overlapped with that of gration of Syria would not be to Morocco?

portray Qatar as a new regional Ottoman Middle Eastern state formation processes, mediate, and

conflict with Riyadh them in the long run? and Abu Dhabi.

their economic strength, retrieval of effec-

Baghdad and the autonomous may actually be at risk.

regional power status, it risks being lost entirely. While neither the regime nor the rebels seem able to win militarily, Syrian society is unraveling. At some point, a broad-based government may nario is a decentralized or federal state; the worst case is the "Somalization" of the country.

its security apparatus, however, was punching far above its Today we can already see But they cannot and should not managed transition in Damascus, to cope, muddling through with dom's own security depends on It is heavily dependent on for- rate under the pressure of the relations.

Syrian conflict. A zone of defacto common Hezbollah and Syrian regime militia control has emerged between Baalbek and Homs, East and West of the Lebanese-Syrian border. Lebanon's political cohesion is threatened by the spillover of the war in Syria. eign labor and on Or could Lebanon's weakness for US protection and once become its strength if (and would be extremely this is a big if indeed) local politivulnerable with- cal forces begin to realize that all out the latter. Its their respective regional patrons regional agenda – Syria, Saudi Arabia, Iran – will also brought it into not be able to sustain and protect

Jordan, too, could be threatened Two other states in its very existence. Pressures in the Arab East, are rising from the civil war in Iraq and Syria, Syria and its regional overflow, have both at times from unfulfilled domestic reform tried to dominate demands, and from the unrerespective solved Israeli-Palestinian conflict. neighborhoods. The monarchy doesn't seem to Today, after years have too many options aside from of occupation and tying the country as closely as civil war, Iraq has possible to both the US and Saudi slowly regained Arabia and trying to re-establish a social contract that offers better but it has not been governance and a certain amount able to translate of welfare in exchange for the the withdrawal of silent acceptance of policies that US troops and its may not always be in line with widely shared ideological convictions. But what if such reforms

Given the ongoing and largely ritorial form of the Iraqi state tional and regional turbulences that have been shaking the Middle Syria, after more than two years East since the beginning of 2011, of civil war, has not only lost its it is not surprising that regional observers have begun to mull over an impending end of the "Sykes-Picot order". More surprising is how many of them expect, warn against, or hope for a "new Sykes-Picot," – the establishment of a new regional order in the Middle East by today's great powers. ing over the contours of a new Sykes-Picot, we should ask ourselves what happens if no regional Syria is unlikely to re-emerge order is re-established for a long

containable and might call into The answer depends largely even support stabilization efforts.



January 31, 2014

# Coming full circle in Syria?

After years of civil war and a spreading Al-Qaeda presence, President Assad may yet become a Western ally **By Michael Lüders** 

or three years now, the Syrian civil war has been dragging on with no end

in sight. The fronts remain the same: On the one side there's the regime of Bashar al-Assad, supported by Russia, Iran and Hezbollah. On the other side are the biggest winners of the past the rebels, trying to force Assad's few months in Syria. Consisting demise by military means.

Recently, the balance of power within the rebel camp has shifted significantly, to the disadvantage are organized under the Istanbul-Syria." The US and the EU, as well the West. as the Gulf Emirate of Qatar, support this spectrum of exile Syrians, whose spectrum stretches from the from Iraq, which regard Syria as the 1990s on Iraq in response secular nationalists to the Muslim only the opening phase of their to Saddam Hussein's invasion Brotherhood. These groups, how- jihad against the West, Israel and of Kuwait drove practically the ever, are occupied primarily with Shi'a Islam. The two best-known entire Iragi middle class into pow their own conflicts and have little factions of this group are the erty. The country's best hope for

The Free Syrian Army, another in Iraq and Syria (ISIS). support for the "Army," which Iran. was restricted to begin with, after Riyadh, like the Israelis, has cally denying the Sunni minority one of its biggest weapons depots, been watching the rapproche- power and resources. In Decemchock full of American arms, was ment between Washington and ber, all 62 of the country's Sunni plundered by Sunni extremists.

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core of Assad's power base. Meanwhile the regime has

retreated from the regions bordering Turkey and Iraq, leaving them to the rule of Sunni extremists who, besides Assad, have been of dozens of militias and gangs, they can be broken down into two Today and tomorrow, Iraq, Syria main camps:

a) Jihadists seeking to establish of its pro-Western factions. They a theocracy in Syria. They have tory, in the immediate vicinity of neither an "international agenda" Turkey. They are also very active based "National Alliance for nor do they want to fight Israel or in Libya, but that's another story.

b) Groups affiliated with Al-Qaeda, many of them infiltrated nomic sanctions imposed during or no public support within Syria. Nusra Front and the Islamic State modernization and democracy was

favorite of the West, has never Until last summer, when US Presbeen an army, but instead a loose ident Barack Obama opted against ing to bolster the central governalliance of small militias with- intervening in Syria militarily, the ment, the US occupation authorout a centralized command. An civil war there was simultaneously attempt by the "Alliance" to take a proxy war between Washingover its political leadership failed ton and Moscow. Since then the across the board. And, in Decem- conflict has evolved into a proxy ber, Washington suspended its struggle pitting Saudi Arabia and

Tehran with great apprehension. parliamentarians, all of them moddestroy its chemical weapons in guardians of the Sunni world and protest against the often brutal itary strikes has greatly strength- foremost geopolitical, ideological intelligence services. ened the position of Bashar al- and economic rival. In response to The beneficiaries have been the Assad. Cleverly and ruthlessly, his the ongoing negotiations between Sunni radicals including the ISIS, army has gone about reconquering Tehran and the West over Iran's which have conquered two large the Alawite homeland, the area of nuclear program, Riyadh has cities in the Anbar Province, Fal-

EXT GREAT GAME?

extremists in Syria. That, in turn, on Syria, with brings us full circle: Crescent" stretching from Basra Israel, and the day after tomorrow has prompted more and more Iraqi Shi'ites to fight on Assad's side. In recent years, the US has

focused its fight against Al-Qaeda-affiliated groups mainly in Afghanistan and Pakistan, Yemen and Somalia. These, however, are yesterday's theaters of conflict. and parts of Lebanon threaten to become the jihadists' core terri-US policy has not been a benign

factor in this process. The US ecoextinguished. After Saddam was toppled in 2003, instead of workity negotiated separately with the Sunnis, Shi'ites and Kurds, further accelerating Iraq's disintegration.

The current Iraqi government of Nuri al-Maliki primarily backs Shi'ite interests, while systemati-The Syrian government's deal to The Saudis see themselves as the erates, resigned their mandates in return for deliverance from US mil- therefore regard Shi'a Iran as their oppression by Maliki's troops and

central Syria that constitutes the redoubled its support for Sunni luja and Ramadi. Anbar borders Qaeda bastions. The entire "Fertile affected next could be Turkey and The war in Syria and the conflict in Iraq complement and condition each other. Iraq, Syria and parts of Lebanon are becoming al



Flashpoint **SYRIA** 

### Germany to help destroy Syrian chemical weapons

Germany will join international efforts to destroy Syria's chemical weapons stockpile, the country's foreign and defense ministries announced on Jan. 9. The decision followed a request from the UN and the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW). Germany has until now refused to accept chemical weapons onto its soil. But Foreign Minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier said Berlin had "decided not to pull back from our responsibility." Waste from the destroyed weapons will be burned at a government facility in Munster.

to Beirut threatens to become a Europe, in the form of exported theater of sectarian conflict. Unfortunately, there are no

straightforward policy prescripand Afghanistan. Reasons for this youths without jobs or future prospolitical elites, destructive Western occupation policies and, especially, the parallel existence of rural-feudal and urban-modern structures. against the radicals. The middle classes, withmodernization cannot succeed, pragmatism and restraint continthe Arab states have reverted to - unless, of course, unwise interdefining themselves along sectar- vention policies such as the use of are the measure of things. The mil- sentiment. itary and intelligence services oper- The bad news is that jihadate almost exclusively to secure the ist groups are decentralized and regimes of the respective dominant mobile, and their fighters are hard groups. And, in direct proportion to catch. They can inflict great to the decay of the state, violence damage and remain immune to spreads.

compromise with their opponents. sanctions, etc.) That would be a sign of weakness tion.

non. Tomorrow, the countries cus.

terrorism and massive refugee influxes.

Bashar al-Assad: from pariah to indispensable ally in the fight against Al-Qaeda?

The good news is that the jihadtions for the region's malaise. State ist movements are incapable of power has eroded in large swathes constructive politics. They recruit of the Arab world and Pakistan from the ranks of uneducated include the failure of respective pects. Their inclination toward senseless violence alienates civilian populations who, as evidenced in Iraq and Syria, have begun to rebel

In the long run, Al-Qaeda and out whom a social progression jihadist Islam have no future in towards industrialization and the region. As their incapacity for have proven too weak to seize ues to spread suffering, their backpower and enact reforms. Instead, ing among the population withers ian, ethnic and regional lines. drones or military operations that Instead of political parties and kill hundreds or even thousands of business leaders, clans and tribes civilians keep enflaming popular

the standard means of political or The rival camps are not seeking military reprisal (regime change,

For the foreseeable future, and runs contrary to the tribal the Middle East will remain a mentality. Instead, they seek to region of great instability with neutralize their rivals or, prefer- politically incalculable effects. ably, to eliminate them. The result, Bashar al-Assad knows that. as Syria amply illustrates, has been Quite possibly, he could soon self-destruction and unimaginable become an important ally in the suffering for the civilian popula- fight against al Qaeda. In any case, from Beirut, the Europeans Having begun in Syria, the pro- and Americans are preparing to cess continues in Iraq and Leba- reopen their embassies in Damas-

The Munich Security Conference (MSC) and the Frankfurter Allgemeine Forum are co-organising the second international »Energy Security« conference under the chairmanship of Ambassador Wolfgang Ischinger (MSC) and editor Dr. Günter Nonnenmacher (F.A.Z.). The conference will be held in Berlin on 28 May 2014.

With global energy demand increasing and markets facing constant change, reliable energy supply has become the no. 1 topic on the agenda for national and international politics. The shale revolution, which began in the U.S., may well herald the next »Great Game« on the geostrategic map and the global energy markets. The first noticeable impacts and the associated challenges of global energy security take centre stage at the second international Energy Security Conference. The conference brings together decision-makers from politics and industry as well as renowned scientists and representatives of international governmental and non-governmental organisations.

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January 31, 2014

he crisis in Ukraine continues – with no end in sight. It may be on

Europe's periphery, yet it remains the European Union's central foreign-policy challenge. Even more importantly, in the longer term, Ukraine has the potential to become a gamechanger in European policy - perhaps in a good way, or perhaps in a bad one.

The record so far is mixed. To its credit, within ten years, Ukraine has twice expressed an ambition to join Europe. The country has stepped out of Russia's long shadow with a determination not to be ignored even in western Europe. Equally important – the pro-European movement in Ukraine has become stronger. It is no longer limited to western Ukraine. This is not a temporary change in mood – it is a lasting trend, which cannot be ignored by either domestic forces or foreign powers.

The hopes placed in Europe gives the rage of Ukrainians over the situation in their country a positive force. That is the most important trump of the democratic opposition, which only has a chance so long as it is able to articulate both the rage and the hopes of the people.

Russia or the EU – the choice is not between rivals for political power. Yet it will certainly have consequences for political EU for many things, but impe- its own corrupt elite and Russian rial tendencies are not among them. When NATO expanded uncomfortable because the allireally at stake here?

less attractive but stronger politi- country.

he Ukrainian government's dramatic refusal last November to sign the Association Agree-

ment with the European Union is often ascribed in the West to Moscow's meddling. First, the reasoning goes, Russia showed Ukraine the stick of the economic cost of Western integration; then, it offered it the carrot of a financial package, to forestall Kiev's likely default and to inject cash into a range of Ukrainian industries of importance to Russia.

On closer inspection, however, it was Ukraine's President Viktor Yanukovich who made the crucial decision. In doing so, Yanukovich was primarily motivated by the considerations of his own political survival and the safeguarding of the wealth amassed by his own family and principal backers. The socio-economic consequences of association with the EU would have threatened Yanukovich's reelection.

Yet Russia's role in Ukrainerelated issues is huge, and needs to be understood by the European Union and the United States.

Since formally returning to the Kremlin in 2012, Russian President Vladimir Putin has revised a few fundamentals of Moscow's foreign policy. Russia's top priority is now constructing a Eurasian union of the former Soviet states. Relations with the EU are now viewed as more transactional, more competitive, and burdened by a value gap which has only grown wider, as the Russian leadership openly embraced conservatism

Union is no longer either a mentor much "ours" as "us". or a model, or even a privileged partner. The "Greater Europe" which Putin still occasionally refers to is a binary construct composed This is not a re-incarnation of However, it does not create the of its joining in a deep free trade dox Slavic super-nation which of two co-equal parts: the EU the Soviet Union or of the czarist critical market mass needed to area with the EU. They were also embraces Ukrainians, Belaruand the emerging Eurasian Union. empire. Russia has neither the compete effectively with the two the ones who bemoaned loudly sians, and Russians. To restore When Putin talks about Russia as will nor the resources to impose other big players in Greater Eur- the deep involvement of Euro- the historical unity of Russia and belonging to a distinct civiliza- itself on its former borderlands. asia: the EU in the west and China pean politicians and US officials Ukraine, Moscow would need tion, with an Eastern Orthodox/ The new states, for their part, in the east. Ukraine's accession to in the Kiev Maidan stand-off. The a new elite in place in Ukraine, Slavic core, which is different from have no desire to give up their the process would significantly impression was that, apart from equipped with a new pan-Slavic/



be solved the Russian way. What the vote for a customs union with drives the country eastwards is Russia is a barrier to reform power. One can criticize the its own weakness – in the face of both political and economic. pressure

In contrast, the alternative – the ern border is set to become a eastward, some Europeans felt European Union - is not a power fault line, the focus of political, bloc but a way of life, which many economic and social tensions. Secance's military nature would Ukrainians today have themselves ondly, if Ukraine drifts east, it will awaken fears - or at least sensi- experienced. Yet while there is a not only become more authoritivities – in Russia. But Moscow's danger of sliding east, they must tarian in itself – it will also resistance to closer EU ties with strive to go west. That requires strengthen authoritarian and Ukraine cannot be interpreted the self-confidence that the pro- imperial tendencies in Russia. along those lines. So what is European protesters have, but To be clear - Ukraine will not which many in Ukraine do not. return into the shadow of its pow- and its links with Russia. What's happening in Ukraine at The country is divided, fear wres- erful neighbor without a fight.

None of Ukraine's problems can age the reform process. However, deaf ear towards Kiev in order to Europeans to continue to offer discussion of abolishing or phas-help

That has serious ramifications

for Europe. Firstly, the EU's east-



#### Flashpoint UKRÁINE

ignore the Ukraine crisis The logic behind the events is the moment is a race between two tles with hope. East meets West in Thirdly, the conflict in Ukraine alarming. Freed from the selfbusiness models, one of which is Ukraine more than in any other presents a long-term threat to restraint expected in negotiations hopes of a closer partnership with the EU, the government that must be contemplated. cally. What Russia has to offer A decision to associate with the between the EU and Russia in in Kiev now believes it is can is the Putin model including gas European Union would not even many areas including security get tough with its opposition. only sustain its offer of associa- important now is that the country and oil supplies – and without take Ukraine close to solving its policy. Brussels would have to not The more repressive it becomes, tion – it must make it even more has a chance to start over – under Russia's great-power tradition. problems. But it would encour- only turn a blind eve but also a the more difficult it gets for the attractive. There has to at least be its own steam and with Europe's

nfluence the Ukrainian public, the

an association accord. And if

Ukrainians' hopes of Europe

are dashed, nationalist move-

ments may become stronger.

Nationalism is perfectly suited

to divide Ukraine and damage

they do not succeed a danger-

increasingly question those hold-

ing power in Kiev. A divided

backed up their emotions with some real money. government stepped forward to Ukraine's new painful break-up bail out Ukraine with its \$15 billion assistance package. This gave Viktor Yanukovich a breathing space as Ukraine faced an otherwise very likely default, but crethe same token, Moscow has tied dent Yanukovich and his Party but its room for maneuver within

Ukraine has narrowed. authorities receive from the United drawn, and the two sides' foreign backers have aligned themselves behind them.

2014 will be a trying year for Ukraine. The opposition is challenging the government directly, while Viktor Yanukovich is resolved to remain in power at all cost, so a showdown is unavoidable. Beneath the issue of Ukraine's geoeconomic and geopolitical orientation there is a deeper issue of Ukraine's own political and economic structure, and its national identity.

Russia's biggest problem is that virtually the entire Ukrainian elite, including Yanukovich and So far, the Customs Union of vedev to Deputy Prime Minister his party, do not want real inte-Dmitri Rogozin, discuss in detail gration with Russia. Their idea the calamitous consequences, for of "Ukrainianness" is inimical Ukraine's economy and people, to Putin's notion of an Ortho-

Escalating conflict: Ukrainian protesters in Kiev, Jan. 22, 2014.

ing out compulsory visas. Pro-European forces in Ukraine need a credible vision so as not to be porits reputation internationally. trayed as naïve fools. If the crisis The pro-European opposition gets worse, there must be close knows that only too well. The coordination between the EU and question is whether they can the United States. The transatlanrestrain the nationalist urges. If tic community's common political goal is to preserve the chance ous rift will develop within the for democracy in Ukraine. Both country, whose western part will Europe and America have a fundamental interest in preventing Ukraine from sliding into chaos. Ukraine is still not very likely But even if the current power but remains a worst case scenario struggle is resolved, the tug-ofwar over Ukraine's future will The European Union must not continue for some time. What is

This, of course, is a tall order Russian leader and his associates A move to bring Ukraine into an were actually expressing their own integration scheme with Russia, concern for a country which they unless supported by a vast majordo not consider fully foreign, or ity of the Ukrainian people, would irretrievably lost. And then they backfire. It would lead to a waste of Russian resources, make Eurasian integration dysfunctional, In December 2013, the Russian and eventually likely result in with Russia.

Fortunately, Russia's future, or even its stature in the world, does not depend on whether Ukraine is integrated with it or not. Russia ated a dependency on Moscow. By can be great - if it wishes and works hard for it - on its own. its policy more closely to Presi- The issue is the nature, state and direction of the Russian economy of the Regions. Russia's stake in and society, and the quality of the the future of Ukraine has grown, elites and the population at large.

Dealing with Ukraine is a test for Russia, but it is also a test At the same time, the more for Europe and the United States. sanctions warnings the Ukrainian Russia's and Europe's stakes are particularly high. If the West, States and Europe, the more they having been disappointed by are pushed toward Russia. The Russia's refusal to follow it, now battle lines in Ukraine have been starts looking at Russia as the new



### UKRAINE adversary, with Ukraine

as a new East-West battleground, the situation will become dangerous. Similarly if Russia interferes directly and massively. Rather than promoting democracy or pan-Slavic unity, Moscow and the Western capitals, particularly Berlin, need to stay out of Ukraine as much as possible, while staying in touch with each other, controlling the risks for themselves and allowing the Ukrainian politicoeconomic factions and the Ukrainian people to define the country's national identity. This will probably take some time.

# Europe and the US need to understand the importance of Ukraine to Vladimir Putin's worldview | By Dmitri Trenin

Moscow's meddling



"Russia's role in Ukraine-related issues is huge, and needs to be understood by the European Union and the United States:" Vladimir Putin during a meeting with Viktor Yanukovich Dec. 17, 2013.

Ukraine as part of that world. To mon. Yet, there are real economic Late last year, it was striking to him, Ukrainians and Russians are interests that make integration hear Russian officials, from Putin For the Kremlin, the European one people, and Ukraine is not so in Central Eurasia worthwhile. to Prime Minister Dmitri Med-

Putin's Eurasian Union mega- Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Russia project is designed to be a key has been voluntary and generally part of Russia's new national idea. beneficial to all its participants. Western/Central Europe, he sees independence to the former hege- improve the balance.

the obvious goal of seeking to Eurasian idea.

Little reason for

"Resolute Optimism"

With ISAF going into its final year, the future of Afghanistan

#### he attack took place only seven kilometers away from the largest assembly of NATO forces in Northern Afghanistan: Several thousand troops, mainly

German and American, are based here with Dutch fighter planes and US helicopters on constant alert. That did not deter insurgents from firing rocket-propelled grenades at a German convoy near Mazar-i-Sharif - only a few days into the year that will bring to a formal end the thirteen-year mission of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF).

Since there were no casualties, the attack did not make headlines in Germany. But for those concerned with the German military involvement in Afghanistan, it provided a glimpse into the future. Not only were German troops attacked in an area that hadn't seen any such incidents in years, it was also remarkable that the targeted convoy did not return fire but instead quickly withdrew to its base. Is that what the international mission will look like a year from now?

At its peak, the international ISAF force was made of 120,000 troops. By the end of this year, it is to be replaced by "Resolute Support," a much smaller mission, officially limited to mentoring and training. According to official NATO figures, by mid-January, there were a total of 57,000 ISAF troops left in Afghanistan, 38,000 of which were American, 5,200 British and 3,135 German. The future mission will have a strength of about 10,000 to 12,000 international troops.

Germany has offered to send 600 to 800 soldiers after 2014, a size only just sufficient to run the last remaining German base near Mazar-i-Sharif and to send Afghan camp.

A year before the official end used to maintain major bases. leave this potentially unpopular of special forces of the Kom- uncertainty does not make planand a small contingent in the ISAF be reached eventually – if only headquarters in Kabul, nearly all because Afghar German troops are now based in billions of Dollars and Euros in the heavily fortified camp outside aid from the US and its allies. Mazar-i-Sharif.

dismissed outright at the moment. back-up forces.



Zhari. west of Kandahar: Suicide bombers killed one NATO soldier, a sheep herder and his daughter in a deadly assault on Jan. 20, 2014. The Taliban keep intesifying their campaign against the Afghan National Army and international forces.

Whatever situation commanders expect to confront in 2015, that the situation remains about previous year. These figures may even in the relatively quiet north a handful of trainers to a nearby they cannot really prepare for it as good or bad as it has been until after a security agreement between the US and Afghaniof the mission, ISAF has already stan enters into force. Although reduced its footprint. Germany the agreement was approved by immediate changes. In northern has completely withdrawn from a Loya Jirga in November, it the Badakhshan, Kunduz and has not been signed by Presi-Baghlan provinces where it dent Hamid Karzai. He wants to Apart from an undisclosed but job to his successor, who will be presumably very small number elected in April. Although this mando Spezialkräfte (or KSK) ning easier, a deal will most likely Without an agreement that

But what situation are they going would grant immunity to US to face next year? Will the by then troops based in Afghanistan, dramatically reduced troops have the US government would pull for the past twelve months. This no choice but to sit on the side- out completely - Obama's "zero lines? Shall they plan for a quiet option." This in turn would mission in a tense but stable envi- almost automatically trigger the ronment? Will they see the resur- departure of US allies as well, gence of the Taliban? Or will they and not just for political reasons: wake up to an all-out civil war? they rely on the US for air sup-None of these scenarios can be port, medevac helicopters and

over the past two years. Since ISAF force levels have been gradually reduced, there will be no

Journalist Eric Chauvistré has reported extensively on the Afghanistan conflict and has spent time embedded with German Bundeswehr troops serving in the ISAF mission there. Flashpoint

AFGHANISTAN

Afghanistan, German troops have kept a low profile led to a sharp decrease in casualties on the German side.

have become the main target of may be safe for heavily armed project also included protection when things get out of control. the insurgents. Only recently, the German military had to admit that in 2013 "security incidents" involving Afghan forces went up

further increase when the Afghan of Afghanistan does not exactly army and police can no longer match the idea of a stable coun-ISAF troops.

that, at least in northern Afghani- rapidly," the intelligence services prepared to take. stan, the insurgents have not reportedly concluded. been able to take control major centers.

international troops, can be dan- money that went into the hands Whatever happens, with Operafor Afghan civilians.

The most optimistic scenario is by 35 percent compared to the While the current situation

tias, a central element of the US resolute optimism.

counterinsurgency approach in Afghanistan, also contributed to the renewed strengths of regional warlords.

However, an all-out war is not really in the interests of the major players in Afghanistan as it would destroy the infrastructure and thereby cut off their own sources of income. A sustained war, which would probably require additional resources from outside, is also not in the interest of Afghanistan's neighbors. Even if one presumes that some of the neighboring countries want to see the US state-building project collapse or simply prefer a weak and unstable Afghanistan, they certainly don't want a full scale war with unpredictable effects on their own territory.

While no one really expects a complete takeover by the insurgents with the establishment of a Taliban state as it existed until 2001, some sort of power sharing arrangement with extreme Islamist groups is likely to come about eventually. In this "Taliban Lite" scenario, there will be no peace deal signed in Rambouillet, Camp David or Montreux. The arrangement may rather develop over time with, on the one hand, a weak, corrupt, autocratic, internationally funded and diplomatically recognized central government in Kabul and, on the other, a set of strong local players, including the Taliban, in the rest of the country.

Such a development may even bring about some sort of tacit agreement which commits the aliban to not hosting Al-Qaeda or similar internationally active terror networks again - an easy to accept condition for the Taliban since Al-Qaeda and its affiliate have long found new battlegrounds in Libya, Syria and Iraq

After twelve years of Western military involvement in Afghanirely on "close air support" by try, it is far from certain that stan, it is harder than ever to preeven this situation will last for dict where the country is going. German military officials long. A recent US intelligence Most likely is a mix of the first and nevertheless point out that the estimate on Afghanistan, leaked the third of the scenarios outlined increased number of attacks on to the Washington Post in Janu- above: The current situation may Afghan forces is a sign that the ary, provides a far more pessi- last for a while, and over time the latter are actually using their mistic outlook. "In the absence influence of the Taliban and other newly-acquired skills and engag- of a continuing presence and insurgents may increase. The speed ing in major combat operations. continuing financial support, the of this process will depend greatly The other line of argument is situation would deteriorate very on the risks NATO forces are

Given the small numbers of This would mean in the worst troops NATO members inten case, an all-out civil war creating to keep in Afghanistan, most of However, in the North in partic- millions of refugees. It is a sce- them will never leave their bases. ular, the takeover of entire prov- nario that cannot be counted out Indeed, one can expect that cominces or cities by the insurgents completely given the resources manders will, by the beginning was never the issue. The question at hand: the influx of money of 2015, mainly resort to underis rather how illegal checkpoints, into Afghanistan over the past cover operations by special forces. improvised explosive devices and twelve years was immense. And The question remains if Western suicide-attacks affect the life of it is an open secret that every governments will be able to stick In turn, however, Afghan forces the local population. Roads that contract for a major construction to that low-profile policy if and gerous for lightly armed Afghan of the established warlords. tion Resolute Support taking off police and even more dangerous Arming and financing local mili- next year, there is little room for



urce: German Federal Government, Bundeswehr; Graphic: M. Schwartz

EUTM MALI MALI 99

**UNAMID** SUDAN 10

#### The Security Times • Challenge

decades was not able to detect these deficiencies.

In the short run, Pyongyang and its diplomatic channels fell into a state of shock. In the long run, though Pyongyang hastened to declare its foreign and economic policies unchanged, the move was highly detrimental to the only remaining close partnership that North Korea maintains - with China. Jang was the regime's China point man and business and political relations certainly were damaged.

The purge also offered new insights into the working of North Korea's elite. The year 2012 with its frequent reshuffles of military posts was seen by some analysts as proof of the comfortable situation Kim Jong-un enjoyed as the undisputed center of power. Certainly, he is the rallying point of the Pyongyang elite. But already in 2012, he failed to seize control of profitable military trading interests. And the current purge was most likely also triggered by disputes over resources between the military and Jang's men.

For now, the military has gained. In the long run however, the squandering of national wealth through the dumping of resources at up to half of world market prices to China will have to go on if North Korea follows its current path of pampering the new middle class without enacting real economic reform.

The new special economic zones, basically a good idea, will not work as long as the country remains internationally isolated. i.e. as long as the nuclear crisis is not solved. A partial opening is undoubtedly taking place. Last year for the first time more than 200,000 North Koreans visited China, and 93,000 hold a working visa, all of them potential agents of change in North Korean society. But such a partial opening is not enough to avoid a deepening crisis, not unlike the crisis East Germany faced in the late 1980s.

South Korea could relax and watch how the situation develops. However, instead of discreetly rallying support for future unification. President Park's trustpolitik either on the Korean Peninsula or in the greater Northeast Asian of partners on the Northern side area is leading nowhere. Granted, (generating real human contacts) neither a more assertive China nor and would benefit both sides, a Japan answering with its own instead of being a one-sided cash brand of resurgent nationalism cow, as the Geumgangsan tourist are easy-to-handle partners. But instead of dealing with them as they are, the South Korean president's "I don't shake your hand" execution of Kim Jong-un's uncle attitude belies the intentions of Jang Song-thaek. More shocking *trustpolitik* and is only likely to than the actual purge was its exacerbate an already difficult situation

Domestically, unnecessary ideological conflict driven by the government and the president's immediate execution as well as opponents, clouds the goal of a detailed condemnation in the achieving a national consensus on unification policy. A heavy The message must have been dose of realpolitik is necessary, particularly shocking for the to make trustpolitik finally work. There are ways, however, in North Korean audience, since 2014 will be the year, in which,

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resort was.

official media.

The year 2013 ended as spectac-

ularly as it began, namely with the

swiftness and decisiveness as well

as the accompanying publicity:

public arrest during a special ses-

sion of the Politburo followed by





Watching: North Korean soldiers at the border village Panmunion

From watchful peace to lasting security

### Tensions are easing on the Korean peninsula but Seoul needs more proactive policies | By Bernhard Seliger

tered threats with symbolic shows be reconciled with long-term is an important foreign currency While Park Geun-hye remained by definition reciprocal, and it is development goals. A piecemeal earner for North Korea, but far cool-headed in the crisis, she a language North Korea increasapproach to investors, tourists, from becoming the new Shenzhen. currently seems at a loss how to ingly understands and accepts. and waited until the time was ripe and South Korea's enemies is not No major South Korean concredible

Close cooperation between the saw an opportunity to get rid of the so-called "byungjin line" - a US and South Korean forces and the project with the advent of Kim strategic term borrowed from a their tit-for-tat tactic of answering Jong-Un. policy of Kim Il-sung, Kim Jong- every new North Korean threat un's grandfather - proclaims that with a new show of force, includ- successful than originally planned, the simultaneous development of ing the deployment of stealth Kaesong had a huge impact on a nuclear umbrella and economic bombers, is not increasing tendevelopment is not only possible, sions, but making confrontation less likely. And the final decision under South Korean condi-There is some economic logic of North Korea to return to the tions (meaning an undisrupted in this. The obvious scaling down negotiation table and to reopen production process, abunof a large, under-equipped and the hard-hit Kaesong Industrial dant energy, for North Korean under-fed army of more than one Complex, shows that the tactic standards generous treatment of

substitution by a more modern, Certainly, the tensions of early ment etc.) are a huge potential for smaller – although still large – 2013 were meant to test the new changing the way ordinary North and more specialized force able South Korean president. How- Koreans think about the South. to hit the enemy with asymmetric ever, they also had a technical That ultimately the military had ment. warfare, and a nuclear umbrella component – missile systems and to agree to reopen the complex, making large-scale war unthink- nuclear systems have to be tested, and even to improve to some able, opens new options for North if they are to be developed – and extent its functioning, only shows at least be attempted. Lifting the rations of Jang, culminating in quent lameness, President Park Korea. Releasing some of the mili- they also had a component of how desperately North Korea ban on small-scale trade is an his condemnation as a counter- has to prove that her vision of tary rice reserves to better feed internal North Korean politics. needs the cash generated by this obvious one. Trade was com- revolutionary, morally defective a new, balanced policy on the

However, this policy cannot dissatisfied with Kaesong, which shine Policy.

The Atlantic Times – the first decade

glomerate, let alone international However, due to Kim Jong-il's possible. Certainly, the military Bernhard Seliger

While being economically less North Korean society. 53,000 North Korean workers working workers including medical treat-

*Reporting on transatlantic ties since 2004* 

proceed with one of the signature Instead of dangling the carrot of policies, the Korean Peninsula a reopened Geumgangsan - the This does not mean that the investors, have chosen to locate trust process. While allowing tourist resort north of the DMZ policy proposals besides a half- maker – resuming low-level trade hearted call for Kaesong inter- relations would be immediately nationalization. This, combined effective, could involve a variety



### . Peninsula with North Korea's

traditional wariness of proactive policy initiatives from the South, has led to the current standoff – a watchful peace, but without prospects for improve-

which such an improvement can the long and detailed list of aber- after a superb start, and a subsethe population was one of these. The military had always been last surviving monument of Sun- pletely banned after the 2010 plotter, means nothing else than Korean Peninsula is more than incidents. However, commerce is that the infallible Kim family for just empty posturing.



J.R.R. Tolkien's epic Lord of the Rings denotes the period of relative calm when the

atchful peace" in

dark lord Sauron is in hiding, but no real, lasting peace could ever be expected. The phrase might well have been coined for the security situation on the Korean Peninsula in 2013, after the tumultuous start of the year.

With the demise of the Lee Myung-bak government in South Korea, which had ended ten years of "sunshine policy," optimists hoped for a change of inner-Korean relations for the better. They were soon disappointed. With a missile test in December 2012, North Korea tried in vain to influence the South Korean presidential election, and even before the inauguration of Park Geun-hye in February 2013, the third nuclear test marked the start of an escalating security situation.

While Western media still fantasized about reformist tendencies in Kim Jong-un's New Year Speech, North Korea gradually ratcheted up tensions by cancelling the basic agreement of 1992 on denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula (January 25), the armistice agreement (March 8), declaring combat readiness (March 26) and then a state of war (March 30). The Pyongyang regime went on to close the border at Kaesong Industrial Complex (April 3) and recommended the evacuation of foreign diplomatic personnel (April 6), ultimately withdrawing workers from Kaesong. This however, was a dead end.

South Korea under its new president has remained remarkably calm. After 20 years of nuclear standoff South Koreans have become so used to them that the stock market barely flickered at each new menace. Seoul counof force like training exercises involving US long-range bombers, again for renegotiations.

This episode showed clearly the limits of North Korea's strategy North Korean threat is over. A in the zone, and the payoff from minor shipments of humanitar- - closed in 2008 after the shootof bullying, which has not been policy of benign neglect would the project went mostly directly ian aid, the South has offered no ing of a South Korean holidayentirely unsuccessful over the last be wrong. It would likely lead to to Pyongyang, not to the military. decades. Warning foreign diplo- new provocations, like the 2010 mats of a coming war while at the sinking of the South Korean cor- decision to stick with the project, same time wooing foreign tour- vette "Cheonan" and the artillery until his death no opposition was ists and investors does not work. attack on Yongpyeong Island. I he new North Korean doctrine. but mutually reinforcing.

million peasant soldiers and its was chosen rightly.

tions and beliefs, the Arctic 2010. Furthermore, has largely remained a region the Arctic Council, the L of stability and peace so far. only circumpolar gov-Since the end of the Cold War, ernance body, recently military activity has decreased became a more institusignificantly. Few territorial dis- tionalized and politiputes remain but there is con- cally important actor sensus among the governments fostering cooperation of all the countries of the region among Arctic states that existing and possible future in a vast number of disagreements should be settled policy areas. More peacefully within international and more non-Arctic legal frameworks.

Most of the Exclusive Economic observer status, thus Zones are clearly defined and making the council a broadly accepted. Cooperation more visible actor in instead of conflict is the prevailing global affairs. theme in a region that is undergoing a dramatic transformation for example, recently in environmental, economic and adopted two legally political terms, posing major chal- binding agreements lenges.

As the region becomes part of (SAR) and on Coopthe globalized economy, more eration on Oil Polluactors and related interests enter tion Preparedness and the Arctic game. Developments Response (OPRC). outside the region will increas- Recent years have also ingly have an impact on Arctic seen an increase in dynamics and will therefore need international military to be watched carefully.

The key question regarding the Russian Federation region's future stability is whether and the US organize a multiplication of actors and a regular naval exerdiversification of interests could cises aimed at enhanclead to a more inclusive regional ing interoperability governance structure. Or will, on of Arctic forces to the contrary, an Arctic consensus handle possible emerbecome harder to achieve, leading gency scenarios (SAR to more national-interest driven or terrorist attacks). policies of Arctic stakeholders Despite Russian conand the emergence of zero-sum cerns, NATO plans to games?

Generally, the prospects for Response in 2014 armed conflict in the Arctic region involving a record are rather low. Military activi- number of 16,000 ties and the deployment of capa- soldiers. bilities remain low in absolute terms. Instead, growing political cooperation is the name of the coastal states is their common game. There seems to be a con- interest in the economic developsensus among stakeholders that ment of the region. In order to be tackled jointly.

erative spirit is the signing of a terms, political stability is a prime border delimitation treaty on a condition. Countries realize disputed area in the Barents Sea that non-cooperation would between Norway and the Rus- be risky and costly.

n contrast to many expecta- sian Federation in countries obtained

> The Arctic Council, on Search and Rescue exercises. Norway, the hold the exercise Cold

The main reason for the cooperative approach of all Arctic the region's challenges can only attract the necessary foreign direct investments that are required to A prime example for this coop- develop the region in economic



A consensus is emerging among stakeholders that Arctic challenges can only be tackled jointly By Tobias Etzold und Stefan Steinicke



Tobias Etzold (I.) and Stefan Steinicke specialize in EU external relations and Arctic policy at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP), Berlin. Flashpoint ARCTIC CIRCI F

nificant developments has been the growing engagement of Asian countries in the region, most prominently China. In a relatively short time China shuf-

> geopolitics. on Chinese security interests." concerns, therefore by international instioffer. This interest territorial integrity. applies both to so far

ping routes. Non-Arctic countries role in the region. call for involvement in future regional devel-

quences for them. clear that, in the future, Arctic eration will even become a priordevelopments will not be driven ity as "this will ultimately help exclusively by regional dynamics reduce the risk of conflict." The but also by economic, political Arctic Security Forces Roundand security developments in other table, a pool of all eight Arctic parts of the world and interests Council member states plus Several Arctic countries, however, lands and the United Kingdom feel a slight unease about develop- seems to be a step into the right ments that could lead to an inter- direction.

Currently, the Arctic nationalization of Arctic issues. region is opening up They stress the need to upgrade increasingly their regional security strategies, attracting the interest military capabilities and support of non-Arctic actors. infrastructure to safeguard their One of the most sig- territorial integrity as well as their strategic interests.

Countries do not only invest in upgrading their capabilities for emergency response management scenarios (SAR duties or oil spills) but also for military operations. Russia in particular is revitalizing fled the existing Arctic its former military installations in balance of power and the region and also establishing emerged as a highly new security centers. The chiefs visible factor in Arctic of the Russian Air Force and Navy declared 2014 the year of a From a Chinese strengthened Russian presence as point of view, Arctic- they regard the Arctic as a region driven climate change of "utmost importance in terms has a strong impact of natural resources and strategic

For the US, the Arctic could Arctic developments become one of the most important should be dealt with future regions in terms of national security. In this context, the US tutions. Furthermore, Navy plans to be Arctic-ready by China is highly inter- 2025. Canada is also investing ested in the emerging in new patrol ships and surveileconomic opportuni- lance systems aimed at securing ties the region has to its sovereignty and protecting its

Against this background, the untapped resources of lack of a regional forum to discuss oil, gas and minerals security related issues becomes but also to new ship- apparent. The Arctic Council has no mandate to tackle hard secu-China is in the pro- rity issues. The NATO-Russia cess of stepping up its dialogue could be one possible cooperation with Ice- discussion forum but Canada has land and Greenland. been explicitly against any NATO

Nonetheless, increasing cooperation and confidence-building opments because of measures in security affairs are the expected significant conse- of utmost importance. According to US Defense Secretary Chuck From this perspective, it becomes Hagel, multilateral security coopcountries outside the region. France, Germany, the Nether-



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# Cyber Security

January 31, 2014

The Security Times



eadlines over the past months have been dominated by stories about surveillance. Revelations have been made at breakneck speed, and nobody really knows when they will stop. Among citizens, the sense of shock is palpable. In my dialogues with people across the

Union, this is the overwhelming message I receive, and the reaction is clear. The revwake-up call: people have been reminded of why data protection is important and why a strong framework for the protectrust to be stable.

US technology sales overseas by as much handled.

### Restoring trust

### Why we need stronger data protection standards in Europe and the US

### By Viviane Reding

help restore trust.

ones worried. The revelations also have of the annual worldwide turnover of lems. The goal is to make sure that busi- anyone entrusting their private data to a an impact on the economy. Collected, a company. This is not the case today nesses and national administrations do analyzed and moved, personal data has where national authorities can only fine not collect and use more personal data acquired an enormous economic value. a pittance. In some EU countries it is not than they need. According to the Boston Consulting even possible to apply any sanctions. Group, the value of EU citizens' data was People need to see that their rights are control of their data. We are bolstering Viviane Reding €315 billion in 2011. It has the potential enforced in a meaningful way. If a com- tried and tested principles like the right Justice Commissioner. to grow to nearly €1 trillion annually by pany has broken the rules and failed to to be forgotten, and introducing new 2020. Data is the currency of the digital mend its ways, this should have serious principles like the right to data portaeconomy. Like any currency, it needs consequences. And third, the new rules bility and the right to be informed of provide legal clarity on data transfers: personal data breaches. They will help Trust has been lost following the when third country authorities want to close the growing rift between citizens numerous spying revelations. They have access the data of EU citizens outside and the companies with which they share company with physical ties to the United been particularly damaging for the digital their territory, they have to use a legal their data. Empowerment will lead to a States." Data protection will be a selling recent speech concerning his "Executive economy because they involve compa- framework that involves judicial control. return of trust and therefore - to use the point: a competitive advantage. nies whose services we all use on a daily Asking the companies directly is illegal. proper business vocabulary – a "return

basis. There are estimates according to These three building blocks will help on investment". which the NSA disclosures may reduce restore trust in the way citizens' data is

mation technology services, by 2016. about mobile apps collecting their data that will empower the very people whose cooperation. In short: Lost trust is lost revenue. The without their consent. 89 percent of data fuels the digital economy. Rules

Second, we want to put citizens in

continue to grow.

elations over the past months have been a Commission in January 2012 provides a data on their smartphone is being shared nity. Public sensitivity to privacy issues response to fears of surveillance. It will with a third party. 70 percent of Europe- is increasing, and it will not disappear ans fear that their personal data is held by as our lives are becoming progressively Here is how. First, it makes sure that companies for other uses than the ones more digital. Companies that keep up protection in transatlantic relations. This tion of personal data is not a luxury, non-European companies operating in advertised. And Europe is responding. with the times and are able to deliver a includes 13 recommendations on how to but a necessity. Data protection in the our Union – whether they are American, The new law proposed by the Commis- higher standard of safety and security for improve the Safe Harbour scheme that European Union is a fundamental right. Indian or from any other third country sion will introduce new concepts such data are becoming attractive. Many heard allows companies to send data to the US Frust in the data-driven digital econ- – will have to respect EU data protection as data protection by design and data the warning given by Ladar Levison when for commercial purposes; we want t omy, already in need of a boost, has law. Second, the EU will introduce tough protection impact assessments. Modern he closed down his Lavabit email service: make Safe Harbour safer. been shaken. Citizens are not the only sanctions that can go up to 2 percent principles that respond to today's prob- "I would strongly recommend against There is now a window of opportunity

### is EU Vice-President and

of data protection is a business opportu- proposals as a way to restore and foster deserve nothing less.

the trust of citizens and businesses in the digital economy. It is time political leaders showed determination and agreed on these new rules.

Massive spying on our citizens, companies and leaders is unacceptable. Citizens on both sides of the Atlantic need to be reassured that their data is protected, and companies need to know existing agreements are respected and enforced. At the end of November, the Commission set out a series of actions that would help to restore trust and strengthen data

to rebuild trust which we expect our American partners to use, notably by working with determination towards a swift conclusion of the negotiations on an EU-US data protection 'umbrella' agreement. Such an agreement has to give European citizens concrete and enforceable rights, notably the right to judicial redress in the US whenever their personal data are being processed there.

The spying revelations have also been a wake up to politicians and citizens in the United States. President Obama's Presidential Order" on secret services The data protection reform will estab- and privacy shows that the awareness in lish a modern, balanced and flexible set the US that there is a serious problem to By adopting the EU Data Protection of rules. A set of rules which will create tackle seems to be going from diplomatic reform, the Union will equip itself with a a dynamic market within the European acknowledgement to concrete implemenas \$180 billion, or 25 percent of infor- 92 percent of Europeans are concerned set of rules fit for the 21st century. Rules Union and a solid basis for international tation. We will now analyze carefully - in collaboration with the Secretary of State At the end of last year, the European of Commerce and with the Attorney Gendata protection reform proposed by the people say they want to know when the that will ensure the digital economy can Parliament voted overwhelmingly in eral – the steps that need to follow. Data favour of the proposals and EU leaders protection in Europe and the US should Strengthening Europe's high standards committed to a "timely" adoption of the be bolstered. Our citizens and businesses



**Cybercrime Facts** 

**RISING COSTS FOR IT SECURITY** (in percent) How have costs developed for your corporation in recent years?\* 35 10 14 Prefer No increase Slightly increased Considerably increased not to say FREQUENCY OF HACKER ATTACKS 2-3 times repeatedly How often has your corporation's IT system been attacked by hackers?\* **per month** every week 43 13 10 daily Approx. Never Less often Approx. once per once per week month **RISK ASSESSMENT** How high is the risk for your corporation to be severely harmed by hacker attacks?\* 10 47 10 Rather high Very low **Bather low** Very high

\* Survey conducted among 514 executives of medium and large corporations in June-July 2013

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snooping through telecommunications throughout the world, among foes and friends. America's most online communications in North America secretive secret service was founded in (the figures, by the way, were calculated 1952 during the Truman administra- in a 2013 study by Canadian network tion, out of an organization within the equipment maker Sandvine). That is a Pentagon. The mere existence of the NSA substantial slice of global communicawas kept classified for years, earning it tion, even when the mailers hail from nicknames such as "No Such Agency" Europe, Africa or Asia. and "Never Say Anything."

munications and filter the data for usable Google, Yahoo, Ebay, Amazon – nearly information. Additionally the agency was all major electronic marketplaces, mesresponsible for the nation's encryption saging services, search engines and social program and defense of US telecommuni- networks are based in the US, along with cations links. Nothing has changed in the the two leading credit card companies mission, only the technology has become MasterCard and Visa, and global payfar more sophisticated and comprehen- ment service PayPal. Nearly the complete sive. "Home to America's code makers electronic infrastructure for billing is and code breakers" is how the agency located in the US, which guarantees praises itself on its Web site.

In August 2013, the Wall Street Jour*nal* reported that the NSA's capacities It's a similar situation with cloud comenable it to access about 75 percent puting, which companies, universities

or six decades now, the National Informant software. Subtract all spam Security Agency (NSA) has been (68 percent of total email traffic), and it becomes quite plausible that the NSA is accessing three-quarters of the relevant

That has to do mainly with the struc-Its mission is to monitor global com- ture of the Internet. Facebook, Twitter, authorized access to much of global online payment information.

### Well-charted territory

### Why German outrage over NSA snooping is irrational

#### By Stefan Aust

North American continent. James R. their data for bargain prices in external Clapper Jr., the US Director of National data centers. The most important cloud Intelligence, did not explicitly deny the centers are operated by companies like report. But in defense of the NSA, he Google, Microsoft and Amazon in the cited concrete figures for the first time US, meaning that this data likewise falls regarding the extent of digital surveil- under US jurisdiction. "The architecture lance. In the course of its investigtations of the Internet determines the political into foreign espionage, the agency comes situation," said Andy Müller-Maguhn, "into contact" with only 1.6 percent of longtime spokesman of the Germanyinternational digital traffic, and NSA based hacker group Chaos Computer analysts select a mere 0.00004 percent Club (CCC). of this data traffic for closer inspection, Clapper said.

quantities of data. Today, about 1826 petabytes of information are transmitted daily throughout the world. (1 petabyte = he said. German software maker SAP Germany's foreign intelligence agency 1,000,000,000,000 bytes). Accord- has begun offering its own cloud, as the BND was especially handy, given a nuclear attack. The Rand engineers on security issues." Besides paying a fine, ingly, 1.6 percent of daily Internet traffic would equal 29 petabytes. To better elsewhere have begun to understand the across the Iron Curtain spoke German, those used by the creators of Arpanet, a "monitor." This position was filled by understand that quantity, one would need about six million DVDs to store those 26 munications data into US hands. If the its origins in Hitler's espionage services. numerous network hubs in place of a the company has devised its own system petabytes. Stacked on top of each other, Americans control the cloud as well, the they would produce a DVD tower about gate to industrial espionage is wide open. gets changed but methods remained the packets to seek their own path through six kilometers high – every day.

the NSA analysts occupy themselves more it is not even that expensive. The CCC closely, according to General Clapper, hackers have calculated that digitally equals 73,000 gigabytes, which would storing all phone calls made annually in of Die Welt Group. require about 15,000 DVDs of storage. Germany – about 200 billion minutes on Using run-of-the-mill hard drives with a landlines – in acceptable audio quality he was Editor-in-Chief capacity of 1 terabyte would save space: would cost no more than €6 million. 73 would suffice. Just for comparison's Even adding the costs of equipping a data sake, the entire stored content of the center, computing capacity, networking onboard computer on the Apollo 11 and human resources, and throwing in lunar module Eagle would fit about a mil- all 100 billion minutes called on mobile

element in the debate between the *Wall* hacker club says. Street Journal and Clapper. While the paper refers to "online communications" the new Coldplay song.

No, the cyberspies are interested far more in emails and the like, which lance programs like the NSA's Boundless was in demand was during the Cold War, centers working on Pentagon contracts. shouldn't.

"of all Internet communications" in the and authorities use to store and process

Storing all data and transactions in a central location is a dangerous situ-Make no mistake - those are immense ation, Müller-Maguhn believes. It is "tantamount to an invitation to use the when the US and Soviets snooped on each information for any and every purpose,"

And the 0.00004 percent with which process all those gigantic amounts data, lion times over on those 73 hard drives. phones for good measure, the price tag dividing East and West. Enemies are paid to encryption in the networks. brück, in one of his last interviews before

combat aircraft," pointed out ex-hacker entrepreneurs, politicians, diplomats or tion Standard (DES), which is still used fishing out data relevant to the economy, in the US, the intelligence chief used the Maguhn, who now earns his money with journalists. That's what makes the situ- today by many computer networks, even I call that economic espionage!" He said term "global Internet traffic." In the encryption technology. "A Eurofighter ation so complex and confusing. latter, the overwhelming bulk, nearly costs €90 million, an F-22 about 115 75 percent, consists of transmissions of million." It's a convincing comparison tion system, the Internet. Until recently military and intelligence services want to develop our own IT standards and encrypmusic, photos and video, downloading if digital surveillance is considered a the World Wide Web was seen as global keep a back door to encrypted computer tion technologies" was long overdue. apps, and file sharing. It's not very likely weapon, which it most certainly is by freedom incarnate. Most lost sight of systems open for them to use at any time. The US would most likely regard such that the NSA cares much about the latest the US security authorities: a weapon in the fact that the Internet was developed Encryption technology exports to third a move as a digital declaration of war. episodes of Homeland, Breaking Bad or the fight against terrorism. But it's also as a military-scientific communications countries are strictly supervised. Accord- But anyone content to rely on Google, become much more than that.

bined with the new surveillance technolo- Research Projects Agency (ARPA), gies" that can be deployed for civil- the online world forward gets the NSA account for 2.8 percent of global online gies, as if a new golden age of espionage "Arpanet" was developed during the ian or military purposes. Authorities included in the deal, free of charge. traffic – and can easily be filtered out of has dawned, in the political, military and 1960s, originally to link mainframe com- want to keep a say in who should have the rivers of data using modern surveil- economic spheres. The last time spying puters at US universities and research access to encryption technology and who



A small rhetorical dissonance is a key would still not exceed €30 million, the everywhere. They're friends, business Codes were to be just good enough to the election, said: "When the intelligence partners, allies, terrorists and their sup- be decipherable by the state hackers at the services of friendly states develop surveil-"That's much cheaper than a single porters, and competitors. They could be NSA. These included the Data Encryp- lance activities on a scale all the way to

> All players use the same communica- been available for some time. But the US that a debate on whether "we should system in the US. Under the aegis of ing to the 1995 Wassenaar Arrangement Amazon, Microsoft, Apple and other It seems, with global connectivity com- the Defense Department's Advanced they are considered "dual-use technolo- US pioneers of the Internet age to bring

> Earlier, the Rand Corporation had other. Founded by US spy groups, West written up ideas for a national com- their side of the story, the companies munications system that could survive affected likewise "make no statements industrial companies in Germany and Germany's divided status. The enemy came up with solutions comparable to Daimler had to submit to the control of issues involved in putting all IT and com- too, and at least in the beginning had namely a decentralized structure with former FBI head Louis Freeh. Since then When the Cold War ended, the tar- single control unit. That allows the data of adherence to compliance rules meant to Not only is it technologically feasible to same. Today there is no longer a frontier the network, in what remains a key ele- on bribery both domestically and abroad. ment of the Internet.

nications Agency (DCA) took control of national interest, both against Islamists Arpanet, which in 1983 was split into a and all other enemies of the US - who public and a military network, known as might also be America's friends, but as "Milnet," The latter evolved into the Pen- competitors on the global market are tagon's Defense Data Network, which regarded as rivals. That insight has made is used today for electronic warfare and its way into the political world as well. for steering drones. The "other" Arpanet While Chancellor Angela Merkel still calls eventually became the Internet of today. the Internet "uncharted territory," former

though many, better technologies have light had to be shed on the matter, adding

Clearly, then, assuming that the US military and intelligence services did not from the start intend to exploit the data superhighway for their purposes would be naïve. Even if two decades ago it could hardly be predicted how much private, business and state "traffic" would be coursing through these networks, and what ingenious search systems would be monitoring the data flows - and, it should be noted, not just by the Americans. The chess experts in Russia's spy apparatus and Chinese Internet specialists probably don't have that much catching up to do. Democratic scruples and respect for privacy are not widespread in Moscow and Beijing. And by granting the former NSA contractor Edward Snowden asylum, Russia demonstrated tactical proficiency in the online Cold War, not a commitment to data protection.

Given all the above, the outrage in Berlin over the activities of the NSA seems irrational. Anyone who wants to find out where Internet cables are being tapped today has only to refer to a map of the world with the main data streams on it. Some of the biggest hubs are in Hawaii and the Pacific island of Guam – both under full US control. For the digital spymasters, these are home games.

The commotion over headlines like "BND-cooperation-with-NSA-greaterthan-previously-known" is somewhat beside the point, even if Big Brother USA is less intrigued by the private emails and Facebook posts of German users. What makes more sense is more closely scrutinizing how the NSA keeps tabs on German companies. Practically all court cases filed anywhere in the world against major corporations alleging violation of US compliance rules were fought with computer data that the NSA scooped off the Net, intelligence sources say. That has cost German industrial corporations such as Daimler and Siemens, which are listed on the New York Stock Exchange, hundreds of millions of dollars.

Officially, the SEC and the Justice Department, the supervisors for US markets, say nothing about their sources for this information, so essential in global economic competition. When asked for ensure that Daimler never violates the ban So, true to its name, the National Then, in 1975, the Defense Commu- Security Agency certainly acts in the US From the start, special attention was SPD Chancellor candidate Peer Stein-

Additional reporting by Thomas Ammann





### A disappointing balancing act

President Obama's half-hearted intelligence reforms | By David E. Sanger

way the National Security Agency oper- develop cyber weapons, should be used advisory panel – made up of both legal loophole in that determination, saying and ask. ates at home and abroad, the balancing sparingly, if at all. They, too, undercut scholars and former intelligence officials that if there was a "true emergency" - for It was a refreshing statement but, as act he struck - modest limits on domestic confidence in American products. On who are close to the president and know example, fear that a bomb was about to one of his advisers on intelligence matters intelligence collection, and virtually none these questions, the president declared his thinking - he clearly emerged with a go off in a major American city - the NSA conceded, a little disingenuous. "Fellow abroad – he left just about everyone more study was needed. unsatisfied.

as a senator.

the NSA, operatives and analysts were decide that? equally unhappy, for opposite reasons. In short, Obama appeared more interthey fear the 1.7 million pages that is pre- than the one he saw from the Senate are becoming far greater cyber powers. he said. sumably still in his control. Most of the chamber. agency's employees are convinced that "We cannot unilaterally disarm our unilateral disarmament. the steps they have taken explain why intelligence agencies," he said at one Obama is fond of balancing tests, of Obama made clear that he - and he off from the Internet - a technique used become public.

intelligence professionals.

Microsoft, Google, Twitter and Yahoo and compromise our systems."

And foreign leaders were equally per-America's civil libertarians offer half- plexed. Yes, the president had already hearted praise for the president's decla- declared that Chancellor Angela Merkel's ration that the government should move cell phone would no longer be monithe huge database of all telephone calls tored. But what about the conversations in America to private hands, and require and emails of dozens of other leaders of a judge's approval to search the "meta-" friends and allies?" Leaders in Mexico data" for any number – the information and Brazil were monitored, and it is now is the national security about who talked to whom, and for how assumed most other major American long. But they clearly expected more far- partners, from India to Afghanistan, reaching changes from a constitutional Pakistan to France, received the same lawyer who had been an outspoken critic treatment. Obama said the tapping of of domestic surveillance when he served their phones and reading of their emails would stop - unless America's national Obama is willing to establish some At Fort Meade, Maryland, home of security was at risk. Yet who would

were equally unhappy – not because of By using that phrase – "unilateral disarwhat Obama said, but because of what mament" – Obama invoked a term well Most of the tough questions concerned "There was no comprehensive review; post-9/11 age. Once in office, however, he left unsaid. He ducked a problem that known to cold warriors, and one that was the reach of the NSA inside America's in most cases the issue never came up at he has been reluctant to change as many they believe will cost them billions of dol-revealing about how he views the new era borders. The politically potent question senior levels." lars in the global information markets. of digital surveillance and cyber conflict. around the US was whether the NSA had That has now changed, and Obama assumed. He has quite openly struggled Obama never mentioned some of the During his presidency, the United States been given too much latitude to decide for made it clear that the monitoring of the with the competing demands of being a key recommendations of his advisory has invested heavily in developing an itself whether there was a "reasonable, leaders of allies and friends would be the civil libertarian who finds himself as the panel, which urged him to end the NSA's arsenal of cyber weaponry. The NSA is articulable suspicion" about the contacts exception, not the rule. practice of weakening data encryption, deploying several dozen new cyber units made with American citizens, a standard "Heads of state and government with arguing that it breeds suspicions around - based on America's special forces - to that would allow about 22 officials inside whom we work closely, and on whose latter, newer role have usually won out.

presidency.



The doctrine comes down to this: modest new legal protections for Ameri-

there has been no major terror attack on point in the speech. "There is a reason carefully calibrated, nuanced decisions. alone - would be the final judge of what in the case of Iran - was just one more American soil in a dozen years. Obama, why BlackBerrys and iPhones are not And his approach to the NSA revela- is in America's interest. For obvious example of how heavily the United States several suggested, never would have given allowed in the White House Situation tions has been a case study in how he reasons, the administration has been far is investing in this technology. There is his speech had the Snowden trove not Room. We know that the intelligence ser- weighs the threats and the benefits of new less specific about the scope of its surveil- an arms race underway, and Obama has vices of other countries – including some technologies. "America's capabilities are lance of foreign leaders. But one former made clear the US has no intention of "We're slipping back to pre-9/11 who feign surprise over the Snowden unique," Obama he said at one point in administration official said that Obama coming in second. behavior and practices," said Michael disclosures – are constantly probing our the speech. "And the power of new tech- was "very surprised" to discover how the That leaves the US in a politically Hayden, the former NSA and CIA direc- government and private sector networks, nologies means that there are fewer and list of prominent surveillance targets had delicate position. Obama was elected as tor, reflecting a view often heard among and accelerating programs to listen to our fewer technical constraints on what we expanded over the past decade. "Lead- the president who would end the more conversations, and intercept our emails can do. That places a special obligation ers got added to the list, and no one extreme practices of the Bush adminison us to ask tough questions about what could remember exactly why, and they tration, from the wars fought on foreign we should do."

hen President Barack American products allowing them to be units, and to monitor the daily barrage of of all those call records. From this point fident that we are treating them as real approval later.)

> Perhaps most importantly, he said he the intelligence agencies help." wants to move the database itself to was an interesting conclusion: If Obama their intelligence officials - they are all, was disturbed by the idea that the gov- presumably, still considered legitimate ernment was the repository of this data, targets of surveillance. he did not say so until after the Snowden But perhaps the most striking elekeys to the giant warehouse of all this pipelines. That, he recognizes, is the key personal information.

cans who worry that the NSA – a foreign director of the American Civil Liberties advantage his administration, and the intelligence gathering service – has too Union, was cautious after he heard the intelligence agencies, are unwilling to For eight months they had become ested in offering reassurance at home much discretion at home. But he is funda- president's determination. "The bulk increasingly demoralized as parts of than forcing major change. And he made mentally unwilling to limit its technologi- collection and retention of data in gov-Edward J. Snowden's huge trove of clas- it clear that the world he views from the cal reach abroad at a moment that China, ernment warehouses, government facilisified material was slowly revealed - and Oval Office looks far more threatening Russia, and so many non-state actors ties, seems to still be an open question,"

> the leaders of allied countries, however, pierce computers that are completely cut just stayed on the list," the official said. soil to the stepped-up surveillance of the

the world that "back doors" are built into take this technology to America's military the NSA to search the agency's database cooperation we depend, should feel con-

Obama announced his easily pierced by the agency. He never cyber attacks that the president referred forward, Obama said he would require partners," he said, adding that if he decisions in mid-January discussed the panel's view that hidden to briefly in his speech. And as he sorted that a judge approve any decision to wanted to know what one of his fellow about how to change the flaws in software, called "zero days," to through the 46 recommendations of his query the database. (He left a major leaders thought, he would call them

> digital doctrine for the remainder of his could act on its own, and get a judge's leaders tell untruths to presidents all the time," the adviser said. "And that's when

> > Moreover, the new rules announced private hands, though he acknowledged by Obama apply only to national leadthat, too, was fraught with problems. It ers. Their staffs, their military officers,

> > revelations. And it is unclear the private ment of the president's speech was that telecommunications companies, or any he did nothing, at least yet, to loosen other private entity, wants to hold the the NSA's grip on the world's digital to America's preeminence in the world Anthony D. Romero, the executive of cyber conflict. And it is a strategic surrender.

The revelations in recent weeks, both in Der Spiegel and the New York Times, of the extent to which the agency has figured out how to use radio waves and Thus his warning about the dangers of When it comes to eavesdropping on small "implants" of covert circuitry to

of those practices as his supporters had commander-in-chief.

In the end, his responsibilities in that

### In the Web of European Cyber Security Policy

By Ulrike Guérot and Victoria Kupsch

legal framework to them – like Facebook better coordination with regard to exterwhen it decided to open its European nal markets and actors. headquarter in Dublin. All European with Facebook in the Irish capital; what

While a few cases are still pending to help overcome power imbalances and before national courts, concerns about a one-sided gains from the Internet – both European cybersecurity policy tries loss of privacy and ownership of personal to establish minimum standards for data are reasonable. The central problem based in Europe that meet European all member states. Such a need is clear for cybersecurity in Europe is the absence standards of data protection and in as national laws often contradict each of a systematic framework to detect and terms of securing personal data and other. While, for instance, deleting disseminate cybersecurity threats and to privacy someone's personal facebook data is protect European data.

may not be in the next. Companies similar National Security Agency surveilon such contradictions to their benefit the center of attention and created politiand accordingly base their businesses in cal pressure for action. Two political dimensions are crucial: first, EU internal

countries that provide the most helpful harmonization of regulations and second, and uniform European data protection

Previous attempts, including by Gerit collects from all European users is endeavors can be expected to be much higher. A European approach is needed in terms of supporting ICT businesses

> ing towards a data protection act: In later, in October 2013 the European Par- text.

offensive university

going poing

Crimes

law that will cut costs for business and

Ulrike Guérot (I.) and Victoria Kupsch run the "European Democracy Lab' at the Open Society Initiative for Europe (OSIFE).

Recent revelations about PRISM and European institutions have been work- for the Council of Ministers to reach an and emails will remain uncompromised agreement on the proposed regulation, by NSA activities. What has been made protection regulation. More than a year will be established to agree on the final intelligence.

With the slow pace of progress and the intelligence use driven by self-interest.

have already found ways of seizing lance programs have brought the issue to January 2012, the European Commission after which a "trilogue" between parlia- clear, however, is that Europe is facing published a first proposal for a new data ment, the Council and the Commission the reality of a self-interest driven use of

What has been made clear, however, Yet again, the devil is in the details: is that Europe must face the reality of upcoming European elections, a vote is While the EU certainly has no interest in undermining the competitiveness of its market and businesses, it also has to protect the fundamental and civil rights of its citizens, just as any other state or union might argue it has to.

even if the committee and parliament remain in favor of the new regulation, a positive vote from the Council of Ministers is seen as rather less likely - France and the UK have already made it clear they are not overly keen on a general framework. As much as a joint framework would be a major achievement, at this point in time, it seems rather unlikely. As for the second political dimension, the need for an EU legal framework

urgently needed before May 2014 when many relevant posts will be occupied by

newly elected members of parliament.

Some insiders have already raised con-

cerns that such a strategy of delay might

be what lobbyists are aiming for. And

with a strong signaling effect to external actors has become ever more apparent in connection with the ongoing revelastrengthen the protection of our citizens. tions by Edward Snowden. In his speech "One continent, one law," said EU Jus- on Jan. 17, US President Barack Obama Facebook users now have a contract many, have shown that bilateral agree- tice Commissioner Viviane Reding after could not convince European governments fall short of their expectations the decision was taken. The next stage is ments and heads of state that their phones

# A secure internet is the key to protecting democracy

Cyber security combines classic questions regarding security with entirely new challenges: Can individual liberties and privacy be limited for the good of the state? What legal framework can be found to account for invisible opponents Facebook can and cannot do with data and that the likelihood of joint European and which national law applies to them? In a globalized world with multi-national organizations and political unions such as bound by Irish national law. the EU, how can multi-layered structures

devices

warfare

uniawful pr

included

For a little more than two years now. liament gave its full backing to a strong

pornography

da

security systems warder comunications during purposes stalking between to entering using unauthorized

s the Snowden revelations continue to trickle into the public domain, an ever darker and more pessimistic perspective on computers and their security comes into focus. It is clear now that our IT environment is not just a little insecure here and there. It is riddled with holes and backdoors. And a lot of attackers are able and willing to exploit these vulnerabilities. It is happening.

At this very instant, dozens of foreign groups enjoy far-reaching access Their access is complete, persistent, unde- as competitors. tectable, cheap and free of risk. A bad interested in joining the game.

integrity of their customers' data and exporter around the world. to their intellectual property. This risk knowledge incorporated in their products. defined set of conditions.

This perception is mistaken. Economic

economies, to our secrets, to our cars, criminals around the world. It is useful rent IT-environment be secured? It seems less manipulations. They infiltrate pro- activities become public, whole sectors our airplanes, our fighter jets - to more or to support their own economies - but not. Only the less interesting problems duction facilities, the development pro- can be affected. Any denial will appear less everything connected to a computer. they also aim to enter the global market are sifted out of the systems, the more cesses and so-called "mastercopies" of unbelievable. Exports will suffer heavily,

There is plenty of proof of this. Some untackled. situation, which continues to grow worse eastern network equipment companies as more and more offensive actors are started up with stolen knowledge about such equipment from US companies. The strategic community still has to Their first products – only a few years NATO SPS Program come to terms with this new problem. It ago – were bulky and amateurish clones. is still barely understood among militaries But they invested. They put three times or within security politics. Yet even more as many developers behind the products for the German pressing is the protection of our econo- and by now they have replaced the US foreign ministry. mies. Companies face growing threats companies in the global market. A fate, to the continuity of their business, the that threatens to befall every technology

Moreover, espionage might be not be is often downplayed. Company CEOs the only concern in the mid-term future. centrate on particular weaknesses. They we have to engage in a more system- Investors are starting to ask for these new tend to consider economic espionage as The next stage might be economic sabo- attack the very foundational layers of negligible. The thieves are considered tage. Products of competitors could be

difficult technical vulnerabilities remain software.

Sandro Gavcken is a Director in the on National Cyberstrategies and the former Cybersecurity Strategis

The more sophisticated attackers conour IT-systems, the hardware, the oper-

These manipulations are so deep inside cases it is simply impossible. In addition, are located at the "other ends" of these tions. A solid 90 percent of what is sold ers, who are not in sight yet. as "anti-NSA" cybersecurity these days is just expensive scrap metal.

atic endeavor. Systematic cyberstrategy technologies. That offers an opportunity doesn't just go shopping. It uses scientific for countries with a strong background too unsophisticated to get at the implicit manipulated to malfunction under a pre- ating systems and the startup processes. and methodical approaches to develop in good engineering such as Germany They target unintelligible, invisible pro- threat models, to assess cyber-risks and to – and probably a path to self-healing These risks may be invisible, but they cesses and elements such as the machine evaluate the efficiencies of corresponding for an otherwise astonishingly rotten IT cyber-espionage is quite possible, and are intense. Therefore our economies language in 1s and 0s, oftentimes with security concepts with sufficient granular- environment.

ity. It sounds almost ridiculous, but this is just not being done. In fact, some actors, generals or CEOs

of telecommunication companies, don't even want to know anything about this. They know exactly what the outcome will be, and they don't want to be liable. Apart from the corporate sector as a victim, another concern emerges for the corporate sector as an accomplice. The Snowden revelations have shown how willingly some IT-companies aid intelligence services by providing access and to our political establishments, to our it is tempting nations, companies and need strong protection. But can our cur- minimal, seemingly random and harm- facilitating backdoors. But once these as they are already doing in the US. Companies must urgently demand strong laws the systems that their control and removal to prevent such collusion, forbidding any would be extremely costly, and in many intelligence interference with their products in their country, and calling for strong almost all of our security technologies standards rendering access much harder. All of this is still a long way off. Sys-

vectors. They are bolted onto the upper tematic cybersecurity and strong controls layers, the outer periphery, addressing on cyber-intelligence require interested, only the most obvious threats and devia- knowledgeable and brave decision-mak-

One hope remains, though: Disruptive technological approaches such as highly If we really want to protect ourselves, secure computing might change the game.





borders.

he harmonized?

investigators

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ecurity has always been at the very

heart of nation state's interests -

for numerous reasons. The most obvious may be that, in order to

persist, states seek to be least vulner-

able and able to fend off threats. In the

21st century, a well-functioning, effective

defense system is no longer just about

physical strength and power: Tanks and

bombs are helpless against computer

viruses that do not shrink from national

A secure Internet is key to the protec-

tion of states and individuals, liberties

and freedoms, and democracy as a whole.

The need for effective cybersecurity poli-

cies is clear – and poses a real challenge

for current and future governments.

possible in one EU member state, it

organized

### The cold came in with the spies

Why Germany needs a no-spy agreement with the US | By Henning Riecke

ow Angela Merkel knows for certain: As long as Barack Obama is president, no one will listen in on her cell phone communications. Obama made the promise in an interview with Claus Kleber, the anchorman for the network evening news broadcast heute journal. Does that end the NSA scandal for good? The German government would have preferred a binding commitment for deeper intelligence cooperation and

against mutual espionage. The US President chose unilateral selfrestraint over bilateral commitment. In a speech on Jan. 17, he announced that America would change the rules guiding the NSA's data collection, without questioning the global surveillance and American dominance in this area. The speech was the cornerstone of the administration's public relations campaign

to restore at least a modicum of trust among closer partners of the US. The overhaul of American signal intelligence practices is merely the beginning of a process. It will not change the conflicts between those who spy and those who are spied upon.

The NSA scandal brought Berlin and Washington to a point where some new agreement, some grand gesture to restore trust was indispensable for Merkel and Obama to show that both are in control of the situation. The German chancellor had publically aired her anger, and had to respond to criticism about her weak reaction in the early stages of the scandal.

Obama had to prove that he is still in control of the US intelligence leviathan. and French President Francois Hollande, He had to soothe angry allies without really cutting back the abilities of the had openly demanded such agreements treaty, became the modest objective. But ing on an independent expert review NSA and other agencies. The prospect for Germany and France by the end of the friction about the handling of the affair issued in December, Obama presented agreement could have been a face-saving Eyes" agreement formed after World War The US refused to provide any informa- outlining the new rules. solution for both. Secret service reform in II between the US and its English-speaking tion on whom they had spied on in the Washington and the negotiations about no-spy agreements have gone on in par- New Zealand. Alongside deeper cooperaallel.

last summer that the NSA and the German America sometimes does).



Foreign Intelligence Service (BND) had agreed that the two countries should forge an accord to forego spying on each other in the future. In October, Merkel speaking on the sidelines of an EU summit, cooperation rather than a legally binding control back to the White House. Build- on American terms. allies - Canada, the UK, Australia and tion and harmonization, the five under-

For months, tenacious negotiations between German and American officials achieved little progress. A small document, a memorandum of understandcountries to demand similar treatment. unwilling to create such a precedent. In January, the German daily Süddeutsche better to have no agreement than one without substance.

Some German politicians from the CDU-SPD grand coalition are still trying to hold on to the project. They include Interior Minister Thomas de Maizière at the German Council (CDU) and Thomas Oppermann, now on Foreign relations in Berlin. leader of the SPD parliamentary faction and one of his party's experts on intelligence issues, who has demanded more pressure on Washington. Some HELPDESK lawmakers have proposed barring US companies from German public

> contracts if the agreement falters. The BND has also held three rounds of negotiations so far with its European sifting through bulk data. counterparts about a no-spy-agreement Government Communications Headquarters (GCHQ) had massively collected bulk data from other EU members – is opposed to such an agreement and it remains unclear whether a deal can be reached.

Barack Obama tried to respond to German concerns in the context of the

In future, security will be the only German government and for how long. reason to collect data. Obama made The Americans asked Germany to be clear that signals intelligence is necesmore co-operative regarding the collec- sary in the interest of US security, but in line on many questions regarding gov-The German government announced took not to spy on each other (although tion of bulk data, to better identify the that it should not be used for political erning cyberspace and could achieve a lot whereabouts of suspects. The Germans, or business interests. Data collection is together.

however, fearing that this could mean to be taken out of the hands of the NSA. co-operating in intelligence gathering for The US government would no longer targeted killings, would not cross that line. collect phone data from Americans – that The US also shied away from a binding could be done by the telecommunications commitment which might motivate other providers. The details of this shift of responsibility are yet to be worked out. US National Security Adviser Susan Rice To access these data bases, the NSA needs reportedly told Berlin that the US is approval from the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court (FISA).

Non-US citizens will still be treated Zeitung reported that the negotiations differently from Americans. The colwould face collapse. Gerhard Schindler, lection of bulk data abroad under the the head of the BND, said it would be PRISM program will not be limited by

> Henning Riecke is head of the program on "USA/Transatlantic relations



Finally, Obama promised "that unless inside the EU. However, Britain – whose there is a compelling national security purpose, we will not monitor the communications of heads of state and government of our close friends and allies." The question of which country is a friend is still open - and no minister or party

leader will enjoy that protection. Thus it looks as though Germany might intelligence reform started in August not get the binding no-spy agreement 2012. The NSA overhaul would win it had hoped for, and might, in turn, ing outlining the principles and limits of time and would, at least ostensibly, hand oppose closer intelligence cooperation

The process that Obama has started will take a while and will be carefully of a new binding US-German intelligence year. It should be modeled after the "Five and the content of the paper prevailed. a Presidential Directive in mid-January watched in Berlin. US-German relations are likely to get back to a more sober atmosphere, but further disclosures about US spying could prevent that. That is a pity: the US and Germany are very much



# Finally: freedom and Security combined.

(The BMW M6 Convertible at Sixt)



### Don't fear our democratic governments

It's not Big Brother who threatens our privacy and the security of our data. The enemies are criminal hackers and foreign countries | By Toomas Hendrik Ilves

time," I then predicted, "but it will not earlier than many others, and our allies country is an island. be the last." And indeed, today we can took notice. In 2008, NATO opened its Cyber security therefore means defend- governments had the ability to monitor highly encrypted, chipped identification ing terrorism.

for example), yet awareness came with the so-called Tallinn Manual, ground- rity of the digitized process. the dramatic escalation of the size and breaking research into the murky world impact of the attacks.

I keep no tally of cyberattacks, hacking, and espionage, but from a subjective Estonia is extensively computerized in reading of the temperature in cyberspace the fundamental operations of society worthy data. If our power generation is it is quite clear: the issue has come to and as well as our citizens' day-to-day run automatically on SCADA systems, abroad – that is what they have to do. As a binary key code system, because that concern the highest levels of political lives. We have continued to push the we had better insure that those automa- long as this takes place legally and mor- is the only one that has been proven to leadership in the West to an unprece- envelope in developing e-governance to tized decisions are made based on true, ally, ensuring oversight and transpar- work so far. Many countries in Europe dented degree. General Keith Alexander, levels that few countries have been willdirector of the National Security Agency ing to follow up to now. 25 percent of the and the United States Cyber Command, Estonian electorate votes online, over 95 stated last July that there had been a percent of prescriptions are filled online. Toomas Hendrik lives is seventeen-fold increase in cyber attacks A recent report by the European Com- President of the Republic of on American infrastructure from 2009 to mission and the Organization for Eco-2011, initiated by criminal gangs, hack- nomic Co-operation and Development to the United States. ers, and nations. In December 2012, the rated Estonia as the most advanced Euro-US Department of Homeland Security pean country in offering e-health services. revealed an "alarming rate" of increase Up to 98 percent of tax returns are filed in attacks against power, water, and online and have been since the beginning nuclear systems in the fiscal year 2012. of the millennium, and almost all banking uncorrupted data. Feeding an automatic free apps we download and the personal will move across borders as freely as The destruction of files in some twenty is done online. In December 2012, Esto- process bad or corrupted data is one data we upload are really free, then we email and Facebook and follow the interthousand Aramco computers, the Mandiant Annual Threat Report on Advanced for digital signatures. Adding to this near automatic decision is based only on the are monetized. Our personal informa- This all has an effect on our economy, Targeted Attacks, the "distributed denial 100 percent broadband coverage and information it receives. This is precisely tion and preferences in social media are both in Europe and beyond. The job of of service" attacks on the New York countrywide Wi-Fi, Estonia is one of the the underlying idea behind the Stuxnet monetized. There is no such thing as a cyber security is to enable a globalized Stock Exchange last year, hacking during most wired countries in overall terms, virus that made Iranian uranium enrich- free app. Still, we make our personal data economy based on the free movement the missile attacks against Israel, as well both with respect to services as well as ment centrifuges run out of control. as countless other episodes – all indicate to physical infrastructure. a rise in frustration and tensions that we Also, as a country so dependent on and the security challenges that follow, failed to foresee. have not seen before.

freedom for the third year in a row, Esto- tion infrastructure – private Internet and transparency. standards they were primitive, essentially ety's technological dependence and the move became a standard metaphor. It is is who he or she claims to be. overloading servers with signals from automatization of processes increases, also known as the Orwellian nightmare. The key to all online security is a digital way of life.

vis-à-vis cyber warfare.

the digital world, we cannot help being compel us to rethink some of our core Here again we touch upon automa- Undoubtedly, the most effective means

ference included for the first resulted from the 2007 cyber attack erase its banking records. Even the most the government we should fear most, is secure when we have government time a special session on cyber- in Estonia was also a blessing – as a sophisticated military technology can be at least in the democratic parts of the e-services, but rather what is being done security. "This may be the first result, we took cybersecurity seriously rendered irrelevant. In cyberspace, no world. This fear may have been more with our data, period, in any format.

see that cyber is actually at the core of Cooperative Cyber Defence Centre of ing our societies as a whole. The entire citizens. Today, as we know, a single card that allows users to cryptographidiscussions on security policy, overtak- Excellence in Tallinn to enhance the Alli- information and communication tech- hacker can access the most intimate cally sign digital documents and access ance's cyberdefense capability. It serves nologies (ICT) infrastructure must be details of your digital and non-digital hundreds of public and private e-services. If terrorism emerged in the first decade as a valuable source of expertise for regarded as an "ecosystem" in which life, your finances, and your correspon- At the same time, citizens are the legal of the 21st century as a new threat both its sponsoring nations and NATO. everything is interconnected and func- dence. Therefore, the issue is: "follow owners of their own data. People can see to Western security, then cyberattacks The center's interdisciplinary approach tions in toto. We believe that today, the money." Big Data has replaced Big what their data are being used for and rose to the fore in the second decade. to cyberdefense is unique: experts from both the input (that is, the data) as well Brother as the one who knows most by whom. This is where transparency Neither, of course, was new; major ter- different fields work together and share as the process must be authenticated. about you. (Perhaps we should talk meets privacy; we all have the right to rorist as well as cyberattacks had taken their knowledge, giving the center and its In cyberdefense, we no longer need to about the "Little Sister" who knows see what data the state possesses on us place earlier (the latter in my country, work a broader perspective. It published defend merely stored data but the integ- all your secrets and tells everyone who and, far more importantly, how these

> sions, the more we need to ensure that be worried about. automatized processes operate on trust-

Estonia. He has also served as his country's ambassador

justified in the past, when only national The more we automatize processes, the of ongoing heated debates on online pri- they are accessed. of the applicability of international law more we allow machines to make deci-vacy, it is first of all Big Data we should

tion on various people at home and that is currently secure. It will have to use ency, it is a necessary activity to prevent have adopted similar systems; however, crime and terrorism. The problem today they do not have the range of services appears to be that intelligence agencies behind them that we already have in act like a child in a candy store, because Estonia. We just try to put as much most individuals' cyber behavior is so online as possible. naïve.

nia passed the one hundred million mark sure way to create a disaster, since an are very misguided indeed. These data national flows of commerce and trade.

A country like Estonia, which is small a proverbial canary in the coalmine. philosophical notions of modern society, tized processes, because those data col- by which our societies could be safeand on many scales different from the Today, almost everything we do depends such as privacy and identity as well as the lected on us by browsers, cookies, search guarded from cyberattacks would be to United States, has been facing these prob- on a digitized system of one kind or relations between the public and private engines, or heart rate and exercise apps roll back the clock – to go back to the lems for a long time. Praised by the another. Our critical infrastructure - our spheres. We in liberal democracies insist are collected automatically, without pen, typewriter, paper, and mechanical United Nations e-Annual Report system electricity, water, or energy produc- on two fundamental values that often our knowing how they are used, by switch. We should give up on mobile as the "best of the best" e-government tion systems and traffic management come into conflict, and will increasingly companies just making money or by phones, iPads, online banking, social application of the past decade, ranked - essentially interacts with, and cannot do so the more we live in a digitized cybercriminals. Virtually all breaches of media, Google searches - everything by Freedom House as first in Internet be separated from, our critical informa- world. These two core values are privacy computer security involve a fake identity, we have become accustomed to in the be it stealing a credit card number or modern world. Yet that is not likely nia is primarily remembered in the cyber providers, lines of telecommunications, Unfortunately, despite the digital revo- accessing internal documents. Therefore, to happen, nor is it what we want. It literature as the first publicly known and the supervisory control and data lution of the last decade, the standard secure identity lies at the core of security is therefore crucial to understand that target of politically motivated cyber acquisition (SCADA) systems that run view of privacy and ethics in a majority online. A three-digit security code on the cybersecurity is not just a matter of attacks in April 2007. These disruptive everything from nuclear power plants of countries has not changed. It is the back of a credit card does not provide blocking the bad things a cyberattack can attacks inundated the websites of the to traffic lights and the delivery of milk "Big Brother is watching" paradigm that you with a secure identity, nor does an do; it is one of protecting all the good government, parliament, banks, minis- to our supermarkets. As systems become rules the thinking, and it goes back to the ordinary computer password. The fun- things that cyber insecurity can prevent tries, newspapers, television stations, and more complex, threats become more age of totalitarianism when the idea of an damental question is whether you can be us from doing. Genuine cybersecurity other organizations. However, by today's sophisticated. Yet, as people's and soci- all-powerful state following your every sure the person you interact with online should not be seen as an additional cost

hijacked, hacker-controlled personal our security consciousness decreases. However, it is dangerous to remain secure online identification system, but computers. Six years later, as comput- However, in reality, in a modern digi- fixed on the idea of Big Brother at a time the nebulous fear of an imagined Big ing power and informational technology talized world it is possible to paralyze when the greatest threats to our privacy Brother prevents citizens in many places dependency have increased enormously, a country without attacking its defense and the security of our data come from from adopting a smart-chip-based access Years of Munich Security Conference," cyber attacks are far more sophisticated, forces: the country can be ruined by criminal hackers and foreign countries key that would afford them secure online (editor Wolfgang Ischinger, Vandenand our vulnerabilities are far greater. simply bringing its SCADA systems to a (often working together). In an age of transactions. Yet as we have seen, the hoeck & Ruprecht, 2014).

he 2011 Munich Security Con- At the same time, the visibility that halt. To impoverish a country one can digital technology, it is not necessarily real question is not whether our data

In Estonia, all citizens are issued a knows how to ask.) So even in the light data are used and by whom, and when

Eventually, countries will adopt a twofactor authentication system in one form Intelligence agencies collect informa- or another, because it is the only thing

In the future, Estonia hopes to con-So the real issue with Big Brother is nect its digital services and make them not so much the state collecting our interoperable with its neighbors in northdata as our own behavior: we all have ern Europe. In the longer run, we are all kinds of applications on our iPads looking toward uniting systems in all and smartphones. If we think all those of Europe. Ultimately, government data

available voluntarily – and then wonder of people, goods, services, capital, and The rapid change of digitized society, when it is being used in ways that we ideas. This can only be accomplished if online identities are secure.

but as an enabler, guarding our entire

This article is taken from the book: "Towards Mutual Security – Fifty

### **Cyber security**

A challenge that can only be met through cooperation, honesty and integrity

### By John Suffolk and Ulf Feger

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international media coverage of cyber then we need to collectively work a considerably higher standard in all security has led to an intensive public on solutions in order to reduce the things related to security. Let us not be debate about the issue. In this regard risks for consumers, governments and downhearted as there is a lot we can do. it became even more apparent that companies. consumers, governments and companies alike face enormous challenges mity at international standardization protection of citizen data. Governments that they need to counter.

great number of factors:

variable security capability.

is accelerating on a daily basis.

3) Bad actors only need to be sucsecurity have to be constantly successful.

Huawei for instance buys 70 percent of realism in the balance between privacy security. the components for its products out- and security. purchased from US companies.

the opportunities for insider threat. If approach.

connected to the internet that have to start deciding what we collectively tune of their customers – better prod-2) The rate of change in technology data loss? More denial of service? better price equals a more sustainable More online crime?

> cyber security. Only if we cooperate ations and performance. across sectors and countries we will

The reality is, as demonstrated by integrity. We need honesty in the business to cater for the neverend- traceability.

he NSA affair with all its con- we are passionate about the role that But collaboration, international laws sequences has once again technology has in improving people's and protocols are not of much use magnified the problems lives, improved prosperity and how if technology we deploy is inherently of cyber security. The wide it has made the world a better place, insecure or if we do not drive to achieve Building cyber security into a vendor's But attempts to create true unifor- product goes hand-in-hand with the have failed up till now. The global and enterprises should not be afraid to The complexity of the challenges for ICT industry has agreed on technical use their inherent buying power and those using technology stem from a standards in most things except on demand more from their technology security – this is not acceptable. What vendors. We have seen in every walk 1) There are too many devices being will it take to bring parties together of life that vendors will dance to the need to do? More revelations? More ucts, better innovation, better service; business. Governments and enterprises In this regard, it is time to press must now make their vendors dance cessful once while defenders of cyber the reset button on our approach to to the tune of better security consider-

Huawei seeks to contribute to the 4) Most importantly, cyber secubenefit from the increasing intercon- international debate. By providing our rity threats do not stop at territorial nectedness and technical progress, knowledge and experience we want boundaries in relation to the prod- as part of a "safe" digital society. We to foster international cooperation. uct, the end-user or the "attacker." have to ask ourselves how we want to Moreover, we seek to give an insight Product value chains cross national work together in order to define and into the transformations vendors are borders and ICT companies purchase agree on new norms of behavior, new undergoing, and need to undergo, in that involves cyber security consider- verification, external auditing and certheir components all over the world. standards, new laws and create a new order to meet the challenges of cyber ations, including overarching strategy tification.

build and deployment of technology with a particular focus on independent parties.

John Suffolk Senior Vice President and **Global Cyber Security Officer** of Huawei Technologies

#### About Huawei

Huawei is a leading global information and communications technology (ICT) solutions provider. Through our dedication to customer-centric innovation and strong partnerships, we have established end-to-end advantages in telecom networks, devices and cloud computing. We are committed to creating maximum value for telecom operators, enterprises and consumers by providing competitive solutions and services. Our products and solutions have been deployed in over 140 countries, serving more than one third of the world's population.

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and governance structure, its day-to- Huawei is prepared to closely work

**Ulf Feger** Cyber Security Officer of Huawei Technologies

Deutschland GmbH

Huawei is investing heavily to build- day processes and standards, staff together with all governments, cusside the Chinese market. More than Whilst the debate is raging on the in cyber security into its end-to-end management, R&D, security verifica- tomers and partners to jointly tackle 30 percent of the components are balance between security and privacy, processes and to transform its global tion, third-party supplier manage- cyber security threats and challenges. no one is talking about honesty and supply chain and the way it does ment, manufacturing, delivery and However, despite the threats we are facing, digital technologies and the the recent revelations, global informa- reality of national security, we need ing cyber security challenge. In our As technology moves fast we also growth that ICT gives us on a daily tion, communications and technol- honesty in the role of the private second White Paper on Cyber Security, have to continuously work on our pro- basis, provide significantly more social ogy (ICT) infrastructure can hardly be sector in supporting national govern- which was released in October 2013, cesses and improve our approach. All and economic benefits than the cybersafeguarded as its interconnectivity ments in national security matters, Huawei provided detailed informa- our activities are driven by openness criminals take away. Therefore, we will and global nature generates a wealth and above all we need governments tion about its end-to-end approach, and transparency. This is why we con- also in future take our responsibility of opportunity for breaching supply and the technology industry to have including a practical overview of the stantly reinforce the implementation seriously and encourage an open and chains, products, services and even integrity in their operations and their approach Huawei takes to the design, of our cyber security assurance system effective dialogue with all relevant

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