

Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies
Konrad Adenauer Foundation

Global Security Challenges

A Dialogue with NATO



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Conference Report

Report of the symposium held on 24 January 2007

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Introductory Remarks

Maj Gen Dipankar Banerjee

NATO at the time of its formation in 1949 was exclusively an Anglo-American military alliance driven by the objective of keeping the Soviet Union out, America in and Germany down. The end of Cold war gave rise to a debate regarding the future of NATO based upon speculation on its need and role in post-cold war era. However, developments like soaring conflicts in Central Asia called upon NATO to play a positive role in the transitional period, albeit with a redefined objective. Today, as NATO is looking to expand its horizons beyond Europe, it is important to assess its contribution towards a prosperous Europe in the past years. One of the elements of a wider role of NATO is a dialogue with India. The perception of NATO in India has hitherto remained mired in cold war politics with the former being perceived as an instrument of military domination by the United States, and therefore serious doubts exist on NATO's expansion. This perception has shown signs of change with the holding of first round of talks in January 2005 between India and NATO. But it is still important to understand this perception. This conference is an attempt towards that process as it strives to address questions of NATO's engagement with India and its possible role elsewhere in Asia.



**Maj Gen dipankar
banerjee
Director, IPCS**

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Mr Jörg Wolff

South Asia as well as Europe is confronted with a diverse range of security challenges and threats. Present world order is marked by many critical developments including international terrorism, rise of nationalism, global economic competition, changing dependencies, rise of multilateralism and the challenge to build on common values. International Relations and threat perceptions are therefore changing whereas conflicts have assumed new dimensions. This has given rise to question our existing comprehensions, doctrines and strategies in order to sharpen responses. This conference is part of the second round of dialogue between NATO and India. The first round was held in January 2005 which was a success and there was a strong desire on both sides to continue in the same direction.



**Mr Jörg Wolff
Resident
Representative
of KAF to India**

Session I: New Trends in the Global Security

Environment



Dr. Carlo Masala
 Senior Research
 Advisor, NATO
 Defence College

NATO in a New Global Security Environment: Carlo Masala

The security environment today is plagued by a number of threats ranging from International terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, energy security, and failed states (more than 45 countries have been identified as failed according to a report of a foreign policy think tank). The global reach of these threats cutting across borders is what makes them unique in nature, and has thereby propelled a need for extending the traditional understanding of defense beyond that of territorial borders. It is in this light that the idea of a 'global NATO' has taken shape.

The main thrust of the military policy of NATO is to train and educate its armed forces to meet the requirements of new roles in conflict areas today

Objective: "Defend our people"

Misleading as the term can be, a global NATO does not imply a NATO that would always act on a global scale. The main objective remains 'defense of our people' regardless of where they are and it is not looking at bringing good to the world. However, borne by the realization that military options alone cannot effectively deal with today's security threats, NATO is looking to develop and expand social, economic, cultural instruments of conflict resolution. Therefore, its interest is to create partners with whom it can work together collectively towards a solution.

Measures

In order to achieve its objective, NATO is transforming itself at two levels – military and political.

The main thrust of the military policy of NATO is to train and educate its armed forces to meet the requirements of new roles in conflict areas today including conducting humanitarian operations, prevention of proliferation of WMD, smuggling etc. For this purpose, greater emphasis must be placed on setting up Special Forces.

One of the prime objectives of NATO today is developing intergovernmental and non-governmental partnership with other countries.

In Afghanistan, the main problem is lack of coordination among various international bodies. While NATO is trying to create a coordinated 'global network', it does not in any sense nurture any ambitions of dominating the network. It has so far established links with mainly European countries known as partnership for peace, and is now looking to cultivate such partnerships with Asian countries that are financially strong and militarily well equipped.



India's Strategic Interests: Raja Mohan

In addressing the new security threats that have already been listed out, a significant development has been a challenge to the right of global hegemonic power to determine global policies. A glaring evident of this is the domestic stir created in the United States against Bush's Iraq policy. This indicates that in the coming years domestic concerns are likely to play a greater role in determining foreign policies, particularly the use of force in international politics. Another important development that merits consideration is the incorporation of emerging powers like India, China, Japan into the new world order.



Dr. C Raja Mohan
Strategic Affairs
Editor, The Indian
Express

Global NATO

There are many questions that surround a possible expansion of NATO in Asia: Do member countries of NATO possess the necessary will to fight and sustain operations outside their land? What is NATO's position on use of force and its legitimacy in international politics, given the failure of US in Iraq? What is NATO's position of the idea of nation building by international forces? How does it intend to incorporate new emerging powers like India, China, Japan into its order?

India and NATO

While it is clear that the alliance between the two have to be on equal terms, the terms of engagement between the two need further clarity and elaboration. Given the rising status of India, it is not willing to be a junior partner in any alliance. India's strategic interests today include stabilizing its neighborhood and effectively and collectively deal with all possible threats; maintain a balance between existing powers of international system; to restructure international institutions and create new norms of interaction. Given its strategic goals, India needs to be clear on what terms it wishes to engage with NATO: what is its policy on use of force? How far will it go to defend its interests? Is it willing to take sides if need be?

Comments

In a new world order characterized by global threats, NATO is still operating with the old mindset of 'defense of our people' designed to serve the interest of its member states without incorporating 'others'. This is based on the assumption that the interests of its member states will always match that of the rest of the world, which may not always be true. In addition, another problem of NATO is the difference in the interpretation between the Europeans and the Americans. While the Americans want leadership, confrontation, and want to take the initiative, the Europeans want consensus, unity, and stabilization of peace. What efforts are being taken to fill this very vital linking gap between various interpretations?

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Carlo Masala

NATO clearly suffers from perception problems, that of being perceived as imperial, and thereby the need to refrain from acting on behalf of others. Defending our people does not imply imposing our good on others. Therefore, it is important to make the objective and actions of NATO very clear. It is for this purpose that NATO's partnerships are based on two principles of joint ownerships and self differentiation. If India, for instance, enters into a partnership with NATO, it will have an equal say in decision making. As far as the gap in interpretation is concerned, it is narrowing by the way NATO is transforming itself. On the one side, a more global alliance is in the interest of some of the member states but on the other hand, some members have to compromise.

Raja Mohan

As far as perception of NATO, military alliances are bound to serve their own interest and hence NATO defending their own interests is not shocking. Therefore, the question for India is not whether NATO is looking to serve its own interests but whether there is a convergence of interest amongst the two. Such a dialogue is a manifestation of their merging interests. Further, India is in favor of western troops in Afghanistan for that will keep Pakistan from gaining control in the region.

What is the relation of NATO with the United Nations and to what extent would it operate under international norms set by the UN?

Carlo Masala

NATO has always undertaken activities under UN mandate with the exception of Kosovo. Moreover, NATO is trying to institutionalize its relations with UN, especially with the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO). The objective is to create a strategy for cooperation in the social, economic and cultural spheres that can supplement the use of force in the aftermath of fighting and are more effective in post-conflict scenarios. It is therefore also trying to institutionalize its relation with other organs of UN.

Raja Mohan

UN must not be treated as a God authority. When India went into Bangladesh, they did not take into consideration the stance of UN. India's policy towards UN is to support its various peacekeeping operations in the rest of the world yet prevent it from entering its neighbourhood. While it is debating its positions, India must centre its NATO policy on convergence of interest on an issue and avoid being UN centric.

In its operations, has NATO ever faced problems on grounds of ethnicity and language? If so, how has it addressed them?

Carlo Masala

The issues of ethnicity and language have never created any major problem for the functioning of NATO given the fact that they did not play a role when it was set up.

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What does global NATO imply? Further, will NATO succeed in Afghanistan? If NATO continues to exist to serve the interests of its member states, and if it faces the threat of terrorism, it makes sense for NATO to fight the threat of terrorism in Afghanistan before it reaches within its borders. So it has no choice but to fight in Afghanistan.

Carlo Masala

The term 'global NATO' signifies a 'globalized NATO' that intends to keep an eye on global developments but act only on interests of member countries and not on all issues. As for the question of Afghanistan, NATO will continue fighting. There is a mounting support for NATO's operation in Afghanistan as evident from the fact that public opinion in Canada supports the mission despite losing many Canadian soldiers. NATO will leave only when the job is done. However, there is a need for greater coordination on the ground among various groups.

Is NATO looking to expand its membership or merely seeking new partners? If it is the extension, then given the fact that NATO is a military alliance, cooperation among the militaries of 26 plus countries for an overall objective will be very difficult.

Carlo Masala

While NATO is looking to expand its horizons, inducting new members is not on the agenda for the next coming years. Idea of global partners must not be confused with them becoming a part of NATO in the future.

When do you expect Russia to enter into partnership with NATO?

Carlo Masala

The possibility of Russia entering into a strategic partnership with NATO is not likely in the near future.

Since its inception, NATO has worked closely with the US providing a major portion of resources in all its operations. In moving forward today, it needs to consider the decline of US power as much as rise of India and China. Also, has NATO taken into consideration the possibility of a resurgent Germany?

Carlo Masala

On the question of Germany within EU, while Germany is a leading power, it is certainly not big enough to act without EU. For this reason, Germany is likely to remain committed to EU and has no hegemonic intentions. It realizes that it has no other alternative but to move forward along with Britain and France as other leading countries of EU. As far as the decline of US is concerned, history has proven similar projections wrong, clear example being the unexpected collapse of Soviet Union bringing an end to the cold war. Therefore, one must treat such projections with great caution. For this reason, one even needs to be mindful of the rise of China with an equal possibility of China's power imploding from within, given the various social troubles facing China today.

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Raja Mohan

Regarding declining US power, all empirical data points towards US remaining single most powerful nation state. The problem in US today is that of domestic division. It is politically divided that exercises restraint on its capacity to use its power.

Terrorism is greatly facilitated by illegal immigration, a threat which cannot be defeated through military means. In light of the increasing migrations across Europe, how does NATO propose to meet this challenge?

Carlo Masala

Fighting international terrorism requires two things: force to fight the terrorists and strategy to prevent its spread. While NATO can fulfill the first objective, it needs support from other countries and organizations to develop a social, economic and political strategy for the second.

Raja Mohan

The problem facing NATO today is one of capabilities and the will within Europe to fight outside its borders. For instance, how much euro is it willing to spend to fund its operations?

Concluding Remarks: Raja Mohan

On the question of India and NATO, there has been a change in perception in India's interaction with NATO as evolving national interest compels it to explore options that are not part of its tradition. India must however tread cautiously without provoking its neighbourhood. It must stand up to the challenge of its rising weight and not assume a moral stance, particularly on the question of use of force. India has used force beyond its borders in the past and has also contributed to peacekeeping forces of UN, so it must not adopt a hypocritical stance in the discourse on use of force in international relations.

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Session II - The Asian Security Environment

Chair: Amb. Lalit Mansingh

From global security, we must bring the focus to the Asian Security situation. I hope the panelists will raise two questions. The first is – how safe is our region, from an Asian and South Asian perspective? And following that, how safe is India?

If we look east from India, we see a vast stretch of prosperity. You can't miss the huge monolith called China rising. This is good news but there are concerns, which are being raised a lot. With regard to their defence



Amb Lalit Mansingh
Former Indian Foreign Secretary

spending, why is biggest army in the world being made into a more lethal machine? Why is it going ahead with more and more ICBMs? Lastly, the success in knocking out a satellite in outer space is causing further ripples across the globe. If we look at it from India's perspective, should we as always pretend the threat does not exist? Or should we take note of the potential threat to our security and cooperate with them?

There is also the phenomenon of Japan, described usually as an economic giant. Except that Japan is not willing to accept that. We see stirrings of interest in playing a larger role globally. And then there is the maverick state called North Korea that blasted a bomb and not only that, but also linkages with other countries have been proved.

From India's perspective, if we look west, there is a gloomier and certainly more dangerous situation. The military intervention was condemned by the whole world. The American President is sending more troops in and there is no end to the war in sight.

Another power rising fast is Iran. It is confident and aggressive under President Ahmedinejad. It decided to defy the UN Security Council resolution although it was unanimously passed and instead, decided to go ahead with the uranium enrichment. For India, it has to find an answer on how to deal with Iran, which is geographically close and with India's energy interests are in it.

In India's neighbourhood, there is Bangladesh with its political chaos. In Pakistan, there are internal problems like Balochistan. Pakistan is a frontline ally of the USA in the war on terror but its cooperation has been called to doubt. There is the issue of cross border terrorism and there is a peace process in place. Not much can be done till this duality goes away. Afghanistan is a cause for concern with 40,000 troops being present there. There is no stability to be found and it has the world's largest opium production. Last year, this touched 600 tonnes, which is fifty percent of its GDP. So there is the issue of not only terrorism but also of narcotics.

An Indian Perspective: Lt Gen VG Patankar

Asian security is a vast subject. Asia has one-third of the land mass of the globe and three-fifths of the global population. The Asian continent has what can be called sub-continental features and the problems of its security are continental. There are specific problems in specific areas and there are commonalities. Our security scenario reflects in Asia.

There are some major global issues with an Indian perspective. Terrorism is the single most important of these. It is not a new phenomenon – different parts of Asia have been affected in one sense or another by terrorism. Pakistan has the world factory of the manufacture of terrorism. In some ways now, it is getting taste of its own medicine.

There are various brands of terrorism. For instance, in Japan, there is the threat of the terror on the seas. A very large

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Lt Gen VG Patankar
Former Corps
Commander in
Kashmir

percentage of its oil flows come through the Asian ocean region. For India, terrorism has been a day-to-day problem. The phenomenon of the serial bomb blasts in Mumbai was found similar to the London bomb blasts. Such acts of terror are capable of creating havoc and so terrorism is a major security concern in India.

Then there are insurgencies with different forms. They have been around for the longest period in Asia and some have mutated into different varieties. The threat to security is not confined only to one country. All insurgency is disruptive in nature even though the brand of insurgency might vary. With Maoist insurgency, it is only a matter of time before it spreads from Nepal to India. This is the classic genesis of any insurgency.

There are other threats like proliferation of WMDs, small arms, and proxy wars. The fact is there is no gain saying stricter control over WMDs. The greatest danger is that these weapons will fall into the hands of terrorists. There has been no review of the politico-military dimensions of such problems.

There are four specific issues to look at – the build-up of China's military capabilities, the defiance of UN resolutions by both North Korea and Iran, the debate over Japan's Constitution and the Middle East Imbroglio.

There are four specific issues to look at – the build-up of China's military capabilities, the defiance of UN resolutions by both North Korea and Iran, the debate over Japan's Constitution and the Middle East Imbroglio. China's military build-up is not limited only to modernisation or the way it would fight major wars. Instead, it is a massive build-up of infrastructure developed to operate in fringe areas. In a significant development, the classic two season build-up period in Tibet come down to two weeks raising concern in India. The PLA has started to make forays around India. In Gwadar and in Burma, Chinese naval craft has started renovation. Chinese aerospace already had surveillance, reconnaissance and communication capabilities but are now destroying satellites. Much is known about Iran and North Korea. In Japan, there is a trend towards applying a new doctrine being deployed according to threats. This means the rise of a new security matrix. Again, about the Middle East, too much is known.

Where do we go from here? What ought to be done? In our relationships, we are following the six-pointed star both within and outside Asia. Whether with Japan, Germany, the USA or Australia, it is the thought process that is important. For maintaining security, the war on terror, internal insurgencies, defiance of the international community, the right way ahead must be watched carefully. The way we deal with security issues had to be widened to a common war on terror, so we are not left fighting alone and conducting training and operations. Lastly, the security perspective in India or Asia has a global dimension because of the number of people affected.

An Assessment on Implications for Europe: Dr Constanze Stelzenmüller

While the United States have had an Asia strategy for years, there is no such thing as a unified European perspective on Asia. Most states in Europe have indeed been confining their Asian outreach to bilateral relationships; these may embrace a broad spectrum of political, trade and cultural issues, but very rarely include military or strategic topics. A common European policy on Asia remains a long way off, and there is



Dr. Constanze Stelzenmüller
Director, German Marshall Fund

undoubtedly a strong inclination in European publics to pull up the bridges and turn the EU into a gated community. At this point, it is impossible to make any reliable specific predictions about what this change in outlook will mean for individual countries or conflicts in Asia. In Europe, individual countries will not stop nurturing bilateral relations, but in important cases, they will try very hard to create a genuinely European and full-spectrum approach, which will cover all the bases from governance to trade to environmental and security issues.

The NATO remains a long way off from formulating anything like a regional approach to Asia. NATO as an intergovernmental security alliance may conceivably enhance its relationships with individual Asian countries – if and to the extent that they are able to find common ground. But what will all this change in Europe's outlook on the world mean for India? That depends on India and the choices it makes. India has undergone extraordinary political, economic and social changes. It has stopped depending on Russia, and has made unprecedented moves towards the United States and limited overtures to China; it is even talking to Pakistan and voting against Iran in the IAEA.

Nevertheless, as seen from a Western vantage point, India seems to be hovering at a crossroads. One road leads backwards, to the Old India highly conscious of the sophistication of its ancient civilization; fiercely protective of the principle of state sovereignty; suspicious of the UN, yet highly literal in the application of the UN Charter and single-mindedly in pursuit of a Security Council seat. This India might be an occasional collaborator with the West, but probably not in any predictable way.

The other road leads into as yet largely uncharted territory. But the notion of a New India would no doubt centre less around nukes and other largely useless symbols of hard power, but around the fact that it is the world's largest secular democracy (unlike Russia or China), harbouring a multitude of cultures, languages and faiths including, of even more relevance to current Western concerns, 150 million Muslims. This India, rather like the EU, would turn out to be a regional export model, providing for its own prosperity and security by building bridges and promoting good governance and peaceful settlement of disputes in the neighbourhood. It would join with other responsible great powers in re-shaping international law and institutions to meet the demands of the 21st century. As such, it would not necessarily choose a lasting alliance with the West. But it would be the natural pre-eminent partner in Asia for both America and Europe, and a "bridging power" to the Middle East, as well as Russia and China. I think it likely that we will see India swinging between both courses in the future or incorporating elements of both in its policies.

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DISCUSSION

The ex-CIS states have brought drug and arms money into the Indian real estate market with the opening of Indian market. How are we going to deal with this Trojan horse?

VG Patankar

Internal security has always been one of the dimensions of the overall security matrix of any country, certainly India. Today, internal security, has actually

taken centre stage. This is something that is engaging the minds of the powers that be within India, certainly the military. And also the, starting all the way from the National Security Council downwards, all the organs that are involved in this are looking at all the issues because they have a linkage with the overall security dynamics. Certainly, the Trojan horse is not being overlooked.

Constanze Stelzenmüller

There was one very useful point raised – because our societies are becoming more interdependent, globalised and open, the external security and internal security aspects are increasingly flowing into each other. I don't think that has been fully digested at NATO because there's a completely new debate on homeland security, in other words, the new version of territorial protection.

Could the panel enlighten on the prospects for a EU defence force and about the immigration policy of Europe and how the demographics of Europe are going to allow for the integration of immigrants into the system?

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Constanze Stelzenmüller

My outlook on the ESDP, in other words the European Security and Defence Policy is actually quite optimistic. I think ESDP has been de-conflicted as it were by the Americans and the Europeans finding a new basis for the transatlantic relationship – one that is much more pragmatic, less ideological and more willing to accept that our ways may diverge occasionally. We could have much more joint exercises, joint doctrine writing and a general staff college. These are things that would make enormous sense without being against NATO.

On the question of immigration, European demographics and economics dictate that we integrate migrants and that we make a success of it. And I think if we integrate migrants of a different faith that is also in our interest not just in conforming with our values but it is in our interest because it will give our society as a political actor, and European societies are political actors globally, much more credibility when dealing with problems that have their source in conflicts based on religion. That I think is very obviously the way to go and I see the consensus there growing rather than shrinking.

Although you have pointed out to the four issues of terrorism, insurgency and the proliferation of weapons, what about the abject poverty in the subcontinent? Although the economy is fast growing, we still remain the largest number of poor in the world. Now that NATO is not really a military pact, and is going beyond in to the realms of civilization and rehabilitation, is there not a need for the NATO to address this one?

VG Patankar

Firstly, there is no denying that poverty is a matter of concern, because of a sense of deprivation, and a sense of denial leading to people grouping together and taking recourse to insurgency. Although poverty is a very difficult thing to define, it is part of human security. It is definitely something that should be taken care of in the overall security matrix.

Constanze Stelzenmüller

The problem is that the NATO is already overburdened and overstretched. However, it is the characteristic of a full spectrum international organisation like the EU that it can factor that kind of thing into its operations.

On the point of hedging, I don't think India will be a difficult swing state; India is trying to cooperate too. In West Asia, our interests are not limited to energy interests but also the Indian population working and sending remittances back home. The security calculus must take this into account as well.

VG Patankar

Certainly, the Indian Diaspora has also come into our overall security matrix. The Indian Diaspora today, whether it is on account of the economic interests, or the remittances that come from them or on human security aspects, is certainly one of our security concerns but it is not something that I highlighted in an overall context of Asian security.

The various triangular and rectangular relations don't really solve the core problems like terrorism and insurgency. Why is it that India, despite having borders with all South Asian countries does not have good relations with any of these nations? Should not then India change its policy and look closely homeward rather than focus on strategic partnerships alone?

Constanze Stelzenmüller

It would be a very good idea if India developed good relations with its neighbours. India is, for all sorts of reasons, a lot more self confident today than it used to be and it is well positioned to do that. Absence of confidence building measures in the region has been a major hindrance in addressing more difficult issues in Asia. India could really be a forerunner and if it did, then it would again find itself very much respected by not just its neighbours but by other powers as well.

VG Patankar

In bilateral relationships we have a vehicle like the SAARC but whether bilaterally or as a group, there are limitations to problem solving. There are two ends of the spectrum – on one hand we have the bigger partner expected to do more and travel the extra mile but on the other, the question of how much can the larger partner take the bullying of the smaller partner. This is a complex question.

Is the American led war on terror a miscalculation? And if it has been a miscalculation, is it worth persevering with it, like reinforcing a failure? Or do we need to look at another model that is working in concert with the regional powers and finding regional solutions and not forcing the European solutions in Asia.

Constanze Stelzenmüller

On the failure of the US-led 'war on terror', no doubt what is happening behind closed doors in NATO is a much sustained debate from the beginning whether it was useful to make the 'war on terror' into an overarching

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paradigm of military action in our times. And what you are seeing now is discrete corrections of the discourse.

The talk about China's capability and fears over it shooting down a satellite are overstated. It's not a capability that China has developed overnight. I don't think it's a matter of concern.

VG Patankar

Aerospace capabilities are not being overstated. They are only being flagged. It is not something that suddenly we will stop losing sleep over the Chinese capability to shoot down satellites because we all understand how difficult it is. We understand that when new technology is flagged, it doesn't mean that now is the end of the space programme for India or all our geostationary satellites are now in danger of being shot down. But it's a capability that we can only ignore at our own peril.

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India is considering strategic alliances with various nations. I am not certain the purpose of these alliances in improving the human and economic quality of life of our people. As far as the strategic content of these alliances, it is an overstretched idea today.

Constanze Stelzenmüller

In fact the general point I was trying to make is that politics in general in NATO or Europe or Asia is set to become more volatile with relations. States will be more volatile; they will switch back and forth between the very old fashioned and the somewhat post-modern, post-historic, one that I tried to describe in my second set of strategic choices for India. And not just India will be swinging back and forth or putting different elements of these different approaches into its relationships with its neighbours, but other larger and greater powers as well.

Session III: An Assessment of the Situation in Afghanistan

NATO and Afghanistan: Michael Rühle

There is a very strong sense of pessimism in the international community engaged in Afghanistan for two major reasons: continued insurgency and the implications of opium production. In this backdrop, whether Afghanistan is going to be a "mission impossible" for NATO and whether NATO and its 26 allies have the stamina, political will or resources to be there are the questions that need consideration.



Michael Rühle,
Head, Policy
Planning, NATO
Headquarters

Looking at the balance sheet of NATO's engagement in Afghanistan, it was the most challenging mission for NATO in its 58-year-old

history. NATO is playing increasingly broader role in Afghanistan and is even getting engaged in major combat operations in South Afghanistan. On increasing parallels being drawn between the situation in Afghanistan and in Iraq, such parallels are quite far fetched. However, US was much more focused on Iraq to focus on Afghanistan. Some of the NATO troop requirement requests have not been answered adequately by its allies. This constitutes one of the major stumble blocks in NATO's way in Afghanistan.

There are some issues that are going well but are under-appreciated in the context of NATO's engagement in Afghanistan:

- There has never been any military set back suffered by NATO in Afghanistan.
- NATO's lead of ISF has created a kind of security that is crucial for the stabilization and reconstruction of Afghanistan. For instance, the amount of children going to school is 3-4 per cent, which is much higher than what it was under the Taliban regime.
- Legitimate economy in Afghanistan has grown.

Yet there are major problems associated with NATO's engagement in Afghanistan. The process of reconstruction in Afghanistan, not military but civilian, has been very slow. There is considerable lack of international cooperation in implementing international aid in Afghanistan.

There is an "emerging reality" in Afghanistan that entails in an age where most of NATO operations will have a nation building element. The success of NATO would depend on how much it is able to bring together and put pressure on other international actors as NATO is just one piece of a puzzle with other actors making up the other pieces. There is a need to overhaul the NATO system to reduce the gap between the rhetoric and the reality. In this context, it is pertinent that NATO resolves the way it finances its operations in order to ensure that the member nations do not hold back from committing to NATO operations. There is a need to have better bilateral relations with Pakistan, but whatever forms this relationship takes, transparency would be maintained. The idea of a Contact Group taking the lead in international affairs that has emerged from the experience in the Balkans is good. Undoubtedly, Afghanistan is the most challenging mission of NATO, and the success of this mission would be possible only with close collaboration with other international actors. Socio-economic stability is the key to solving the Afghan problem, at the same time ensuring socio-economic stability would be possible only if security is provided in the region.

An Indian Perspective: Amb Bhadrakumar

The US is very central to the crisis in Afghanistan. Although NATO lost no time in coming forth with an offer to aid Afghanistan at its time of crisis giving effect to its collective security agenda, the US did not like this role. Both NATO and India are assigned a peripheral role in the Afghanistan crisis with no say in conflict resolution, which is the prerogative of the "condominium" consisting of "the US, Britain and Musharraf". There was no evidence to show that Afghanistan was involved in 9/11 attacks. There was a blatant evacuation of

Undoubtedly,
Afghanistan is
the most
challenging
mission of NATO,
and the success
of this mission
would be
possible only
with close
collaboration
with other
international
actors.

Taliban cadres under the watchful eyes of the Americans from Kunduz that runs contrary to the argument that the objective of the US regime was overthrowing of Taliban.

The Bonn Conference was not a genuine peace meet and was governed by two prime objectives – to arm twist the Northern Alliance and to have Hamid Karzai installed in power. The “international community” in Afghanistan had, by force, installed a power structure that had no *locus standi* and yet failed to consolidate a power bloc for the Karzai government. A kind of anarchy is prevailing in Afghanistan today. The Taliban is re-emerging. There is a huge reservoir of anti-Americanism in Afghanistan and for every Taliban cadre killed there are many more others ready to come forward.



Amb Bhadrakumar
Former Joint
Secretary in the
Iran, Pakistan and
Afghanistan
Division of the
Ministry of
External Affairs

There is a need for NATO and India to ensure that there is greater transparency in the Afghanistan affairs. He further underlined that the Contact Group idea born in the Riga summit needs to be pursued. If the US launches an attack on Iran, the already fragile situation in Afghanistan would take a turn for the worse. It should be seen whether NATO could do something to stop the US from its tendency to go for unilateral attacks.

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DISCUSSION

- The success of NATO is under question because NATO is a conventional force designed to fight insurgency and national interests of its member countries come in the way of its effective functioning.
- Pakistan has a historical role to ensure that Taliban is pro-Pakistan. Hence it would continue to play a dominant role.
- Nations are governed by national interests. Hence if the national interests of the big EU powers run contrary to the NATO mission in Afghanistan why would they get involved?
- NATO mission would not be a success without the cooperation of the big EU powers. How would NATO go about ensuring such cooperation?
- For long term solution of the Afghanistan problem, action needs to be taken in Pakistan. How would NATO ensure that?
- What has been done to involve the neighbouring countries in the peace restoration process in Afghanistan?
- Northern Alliance was the only military group capable of offering some kind of resistance in Afghanistan. Why then was it sidelined?
- How much effect does Indo-Pak rivalry have on the NATO policy making regarding Afghanistan?
- If India is ready to have a dialogue with Musharraf, why cannot the US and

Pakistan engage in a dialogue?

- What is the role played by the Tripartite Border Commission consisting of US, Pakistan and Afghanistan in the Afghanistan crisis?

Responses

Michael Rühle

- It is a fact that NATO consists of 26 nations with distinct experiences about the use of force. However, NATO has so far been able to blend these varied national interests very well. There is definitely an argument for engaging the public opinion in member countries more effectively.
- Although it is true that NATO is a conventional force, stronger emphasis on Special Forces, expedition exercises and the like was under way even before Afghanistan.
- Pakistan is definitely crucial in resolving the crisis in Afghanistan. Some key nations, most particularly the US is already engaging Pakistan.
- NATO's idea is to have a legitimately elected Afghan government. Therefore, it continues to rely on bilateral diplomacy. NATO wants a self-sustaining non-terrorist Afghan government.
- Afghanistan is crucially important for NATO. 9/11 was a wake-up call that showed that things that are seemingly peripheral may take a turn for the worse. NATO presence in Afghanistan is a direct result of that wake up call that still rings loud.

Amb Bhadrakumar:

- The whole attempt in Afghanistan would remain a disjointed effort if the reality that there is no military solution to the crisis remains unaddressed.
- Afghanistan has a set of problems of its own. The civil war is going on for centuries. The coming in of the western powers and debunking of the Northern Alliance only worsened the situation. There is a crying need for the Northern Alliance in Afghanistan today as they could have been an effective counter-force to Taliban.
- India has no problem with US engaging Pakistan. However what Pakistan is doing in Afghanistan is very dangerous to regional stability, much more than Iran in Iraq or Syria in Lebanon. This double standard needs to be brought out.
- There is a big body of opinion in Afghanistan that does not want Taliban, but they have been discredited as being warlords.
- The Tripartite Border Commission is simply going to enable Musharraf to buy more time.

The whole attempt in Afghanistan would remain a disjointed effort if the reality that there is no military solution to the crisis remains unaddressed

Session IV: The Future of NATO

Chair: Air Marshal Vinod Patney



Air Marshal Vinod
Patney
Former Vice chief
of Indian Air Force

In the recent past the Afghanistan challenge has been added to the list of brewing global and Asian challenges. However, these developments are seen and interpreted differently, and specific interests of parties involved also differ. In the last twenty years, wars outside the immediate vicinity have taken place with or without the mandate of UN and NATO. In the coming years the impact of such changes will never be certain but change will continue to occur. According to the comprehensive political statement made at the Riga Summit, terrorism and the spread of weapons of mass destruction are likely to be the principle threats to the alliance in the next 10-15 years.

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In his article, 'In its road to Riga,' in the *NATO Review*, (winter 2006), the Secretary General of the NATO, reiterated that the impact of the previous summits was transforming NATO from a static alliance into a dynamic agent of change. He said that in order to ensure semblance of order and security in the world the trans-Atlantic community must accept the responsibility to act where action was required. The issues requiring action could vary from prevention of terrorism to providing humanitarian relief. This perspective indicates a shift from NATO's purely military responsibility. The Secretary General also argued that in an increasingly small and interdependent world equating security with one's own security was a narrow definition of national interests.

In this context power plays a major role. Humans tend to respond when they are uncomfortable with the balance of power or are the recipients of actions of power. Therefore, asymmetric warfare is a natural characteristic of militancy and terrorism. Power leads to asymmetric warfare. Hence, is terrorism being bolstered by power? Is this a downward spiral?

The Westphalia Treaty of 1648 remained the bedrock of how international relations were conducted but it seems to have lost its relevance and salience today. The established order has been altered and more dynamic issues have come to the fore. With increasing change, the new phrases used in the industrial society were 'management of increasing uncertainty' and 'management of accelerated change.' For optimists, it is an intellectually challenging situation.

The Riga Summit - Transformation of NATO in a New Global Era: Karl Heinz Kamp



Karl-Heinz Kamp
Security
Coordinator,
KAF Berlin

There are perceptions that NATO is transforming from a military alliance into a global stability provider. However, NATO does not want to become a global alliance but to evolve a global perspective given the global challenges

faced by it. For example, Afghanistan came to NATO because there was an international request for military action there. However, if NATO has to remain relevant it has to perform successfully.

NATO will strengthen its trans-Atlantic alliance if transformed into a global stability provider. Moreover, the US always wanted NATO to be militarily usable and a globally deployable alliance. However, every process of evolution has competing proposals and disagreements over the steps forward. Riga summit was just one of the highest political level meetings.

The four important factors determining NATO's future are as follows:

1) Global partnership

One of the most successful steps taken by NATO after the cold war was to establish partnership with the former Warsaw pact region and shape the political order in Europe. Therefore, military capability was not given much importance. However, for a future NATO the tasks and logic will be different. Its success and survival will not be dependent on the political transformation of Europe but on how it tackles its future operations and how it manages or gathers capabilities.

Argentina, Japan, Brazil and India are potential global partners of NATO and it is in their own security interest to become NATO's partners. However, these countries should have the ability to express their views in NATO's decision making and be involved in its discussion process. This was the initial idea of US and Britain known as the 'Stability Providers Forum.' Despite this logic there was a lot of criticism of this idea of partnership. Pakistan was also suggested as a potential partner and was unacceptable to many members. The questions raised were what factors determined potential partnership? Was it like-mindedness or strategic relevance or military capability? Therefore, global partnership remains a key issue in determining NATO's future.

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2) NATO enlargement

Albania, Croatia, Macedonia are still waiting to become members of the alliance. However, its enlargement will depend on success of its military operations. NATO's new members would have to provide added value and enrichment without causing additional burden. The entire question is complicated with the EU enlargement process going through the stage of fatigue after inclusion of Bulgaria and Romania. However, EU membership and global partnership are different from each other despite being intertwined. Enlargement of NATO is of less importance in terms of its strategic future and giving membership to Japan, Australia or Israel is not on the cards. Article 10 of the NATO treaty clearly mentions the restraint to any enlargement of the alliance.

3) NATO has to be reestablished as a key forum for trans-Atlantic security debate

There is a need to focus not just on terrorists' activity and non state actors, but also on North Korea's nuclear arsenal, possibility of Iran going nuclear, increasing energy demands in Asia, environmental problems of global warming, and state conflict. Therefore, as a security organization, NATO has to deal with political and military problems with a reconstruction of its earlier role.

4) NATO needs to establish new strategic concept

NATO is still based on its 1999 strategy (before Kosovo crises and 9/11) and is currently plagued by the lack of commitment of old member states to support common NATO decisions on operations like in Afghanistan. They do not consider its operations as core of their security concerns. However, the new NATO strategy will force every member to define its own interests and position. Therefore, pre-riding in NATO will become more difficult. It will also regain its position as a key forum in the trans-Atlantic security dialogue.

The main aim for NATO is to become a militarily able alliance and act on a global scale. Concerns in India over the role of NATO have diminished indicating a positive development for the alliance.

Discussant: Lt Gen RK Sawhney

The situation in Afghanistan is not as pessimistic and deplorable as in Iraq. NATO is performing a very crucial task in the country. Five years back, because of the Taliban and civil wars, Afghanistan was destroyed in terms of infrastructure and human resources. Only now it has started to rebuild itself. A constitution exists with a President and a Parliament. Monetary reforms and educational institutions have been introduced. International presence is necessary in Afghanistan without which there would be complete chaos.

However, NATO lacks sufficient number of troops and has started to use air force in an aggressive manner causing collateral damage. Another problem that exists is the denial of involvement by Pakistan in Afghanistan as also evident in Kashmir. To address the problem in Afghanistan the roots have to be traced across the border. NATO needs to do more than show sympathy if the operation has to be concluded.

There is lack of despair among Canadians who have lost their soldiers in Afghanistan. Curiously, there is support for Afghanistan among the Canadians. This raises some hope for a solution in Afghanistan. However, the French have taken away their special battalion from the region without completing the job. This is a clear indication that NATO lacks whole hearted commitment. This is also being unfair to the troops on the ground, performing a dual task.

Afghanistan cannot have a president who is not Pashtun. Karzai, a Pashtun, becoming the President of the country was a significant development. However he is unable to exert himself as he lacks political or financial support. Moreover, it is necessary to stabilize the countryside in order to increase his influence. Problem arises in the region south and east of Kabul, marked by Pashtun insurgency. However this insurgency is different from earlier ones when Taliban was able to overrun the country side. Now Taliban can be resisted by NATO. For this the latter requires more will and more troops. It is the test of NATO's capabilities.

It is important for NATO to stay in Afghanistan in order to prevent fights between Shia and Sunni militias. These militias exist in large numbers and are guarding the opium fields producing million tonnes of opium in the country.



LT Gen RK Sawhney
Former Deputy
Chief of Army Staff

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Why does this issue not bother the Europeans or NATO? US and NATO have not discussed this issue and leave it to the corrupt Afghan government to resolve it. They have not done enough to control the narcotics drug trade in the region.

In this scenario NATO is transforming itself. It was not used to tackling counter insurgency operations where one cannot retaliate and resources are limited. NATO has to do well in the country else Afghanistan will become a threat to the region and the world. NATO can perform well if it gets enough time to carry out its responsibilities.

DISCUSSION

- NATO has difficulties in carrying out military operations in Afghanistan. On its role of peace-keeping, can it replace the UN as the peacekeeper of the globe? If deployed in countries of Asia and Africa it will lack legitimacy as it is seen as a western alliance with Judeo-Christian ethos. Moreover, the extent of insurgency will be greater in Islamic countries.
- 60 years back NATO gave aid and assistance during the Berlin wall crises. But now it is unable to help the people in Pakistan. Why has it played a limited role in providing assistance to victims of the earthquake of 2005 in Pakistan?

RESPONSES

Karl Heinz Kamp

NATO does not want to become a global policeman and wants to retain its choice of intervention in any crises. For example, NATO took a long time to decide its role in the Balkans. Secondly, NATO cannot become a global policeman. This is because no decision can be taken without the unanimous consent of its 26 members. Influence of US is strong on NATO but decision making requires consent of all members.

NATO has to discuss all issues of peace and energy security before deciding its action. Security interests of the western alliance have to be taken into consideration. For example, the protection oil producing facilities of its members. Will all 26 members agree to act militarily on a shaky legal base? However, this does not prevent NATO from debating on all security issues. Debates and discussion of issues does not automatically transform NATO into a global policeman.

Vinod Patney

National self interest is a legitimate function of each state. However, in the intertwined world, one legitimate function may contradict the other. It is difficult to determine which legitimate interest will satisfy self interest and not contradict the other self interests. Therefore, dialogue is necessary, military aspects will decrease in importance and that tendency is already visible. The understanding of living in cooperation in a global village is necessary. Mutual self interests can be achieved but mutual do not necessarily mean two.

NATO does not want to and cannot become a global policeman and wants to retain its choice of intervention in any crises.

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The Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies (IPCS) was established in August 1996 as an independent think tank devoted to studying security issues relating to South Asia. Over the years leading strategic thinkers, academicians, former members of the Civil Services, Foreign Services, Armed Forces, Police Forces, Paramilitary Forces and media persons (print and electronic) have been associated with the Institute in its endeavour to chalk out a comprehensive framework for security studies - one which can cater to the changing demands of national, regional and global security. The Executive Committee reflects this essential mix of experience and expertise.

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Funding has been received from a variety of sources including Ministry of External Affairs, Jammu and Kashmir Government, ASSOCHAM, MacArthur Foundation, Ford Foundation, Japan Foundation Asia Centre, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, W Alton Jones Foundation, Ploughshares Fund, Rockefeller Foundation, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Nuclear Threat Initiative, the United States Institute of Peace, UN University and the UN Foundation.

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