

RUSSIA and a Changing Europe

By DIETRICH GENSCHER



PT-76 light
amphibious tank.

U.S. Navy (Mark Keitenhofen)

the end of the Cold War confirmed the effectiveness of NATO's capabilities

The Russian Federation is reclaiming an independent and decisive role in shaping Europe's future security much sooner after the fall of the Soviet empire than anticipated. Federation relations with the West seem to be more complicated and ambivalent than they were during the short period of cooperation when they followed mainly Western models and prescriptions. Thus it is important to develop a reasoned appreciation of Russian policy and its likely influence on European security. This assessment analyzes the security challenges facing the Federation as well as politico-military responses to such challenges. It takes a critical look at the ambiguous signals attributed to political elites and addresses specific questions about Russian foreign and defense policy. The assessment concludes with ideas of what a security system in Europe might look like in the future.

The Current Situation

Russia is the largest European country in terms of area, population, and resources, and the only one with a Eurasian dimension which, in turn, makes it a global power. Russia shook off a communist dictatorship without bloodshed, bringing the Cold War to a nonviolent end. It suffers from social and economic hardships related to the transition from communist rule to democracy with a market economy. The reform process is not progressing successfully. The December 1993 elections did not produce a reform-minded majority, though a simultaneous referendum gave birth to a democratically legitimized constitution. Most reformers in President Yeltsin's cabinet resigned or were not reappointed. Yeltsin has retained little if any authority to exercise the power that the new constitution vested in him. The best evidence of this fact was his inability to prevent giving amnesty to those involved in the abortive 1991 coup and in the revolt by parliament against him in October 1993. The

various bureaucracies are the main shaping factors of policy, each following its own agenda with little or no coordination. The State Duma displays hectic activism in interfering with government policy without working on much-needed laws to support further reforms. The economic, social, and legal situation is in a deplorable state. Russians have experienced only a caricature of what democracy and market economies truly mean in the West. Organized crime and corruption permeate the entire society. Many Russians, who saw their country as the center of the Soviet Union and Warsaw Treaty Organization (WTO), grieve over the loss of their role in Europe and the world as well as their self-image. There is a widespread feeling of deep humiliation.

The end of the Cold War validated Western democracy and market economies. At the same time it confirmed the effectiveness of NATO's collective deterrent and defense capabilities. NATO has welcomed the end of the Cold War as a momentous event in which there are neither victors nor vanquished but only winners. The Alliance immediately extended the hand of friendship to its former adversaries. All WTO members, including the Soviet Union at that time, grasped that hand and concurrently voiced hope for far-reaching Western assistance in almost every aspect of society, particularly economics. Since expectations were grossly exaggerated and did not take into account economic difficulties in the West, assistance was seen by many as insufficient. Moreover, insofar as aid was forthcoming, some denounced it as patronizing and an insult to the nation's pride. This has resulted in deep, widespread disappointment. It is in this atmosphere that Russia searches for a way out of economic and social chaos, a new identity, and an appropriate role in Europe and the world. Accordingly, Russia has begun to define its security interests independently of Western advice and assistance.

Questions of Security

The most pressing challenges facing Russia are internal, namely, improving economic and social conditions, transitioning to a market economy, developing democratic institutions, building a pluralistic culture, combating crime and corruption, fostering the rule of law, and holding together

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the Russian Federation. But there are external challenges. While its military doctrine postulates no state as an enemy and assumes the danger of widespread war is considerably reduced, Russia sees existing and potential dangers that could become military threats. The obvious dangers are conflict along its borders, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and limited nuclear aggression. Others include “suppression of rights, liberties, and legitimate interests of Russian citizens living outside the Russian Federation” and “enlargement of military blocs and alliances to the detriment of the military security interests of the Russian Federation” which can lead to misunderstanding. The doctrine also entails military dangers internal to the Russian Federation against which armed forces may be employed. According to Foreign Minister Kozyrev, a repetition of the “Yugoslav drama” in the former Soviet Union is the worst of all possible scenarios.

There are legitimate interests on Russia’s part in the stability of the former Soviet republics and efforts to bind them closer in the Community of Independent States (CIS)—endeavors labeled as “reintegration.” Russia also wants to cooperate with Central and Western Europe and especially with the United States, from which it anticipates help in implementing the Alma Ata, Minsk, and Lisbon agreements as well as in transferring all nuclear weapons from former republics to Russia. Cooperation with NATO meets with reluctance and misgivings as seen in the range of reactions to the Partnership for Peace (PFP) program while developments in Bosnia-Herzegovina encouraged Moscow to eventually agree with NATO’s role. Russia sees security challenges in the violent ethnic, national, and religious conflicts in Georgia, Armenia/Azerbaijan, Tajikistan, Moldova, and former Yugoslavia. A great challenge for Russian foreign and defense policy is in forging the kind of common European security system in which Russia, on an equal footing with NATO, might play a major role.

Matters of Policy

As previously noted there are forces attempting to shape Russian policy in uncoordinated ways that give pause for concern. The presidential apparatus and the ministries of foreign affairs, defense, internal security, finance, and economics are important

actors, together with voices from the Duma and Federation Council. Yet certain general tendencies can be observed. Russia seems to be increasingly withdrawing from the pro-Western orientation it followed under Gorbachev and against Western values and institutions, with NATO again often portrayed as the main antagonist. Moscow is more and more following a nationalistic course, pursuing what it sees as its security interests as a global power of Eurasian dimensions. Its policymakers are thus echoing an internal mood that turns increasingly against reform which is criticized for leaning too heavily on Western models and recipes.

Efforts to strengthen CIS—intended to encompass every former Soviet republic except for the Baltics—is predominant. Various factors facilitate such efforts: economic dependence (energy in particular) of the republics on Russia, ethnic and other conflicts that the republics are unable to solve without Russian interference, large Russian or Russian-speaking minorities in the republics, lack of experience as independent states in combination with habitual subordination over centuries under Russian rule, and family bonds and kinship. These factors give Russia ample opportunity to exert political, economic, and military influence to reintegrate former Soviet republics into a larger community. Moscow is not without success. CIS consists of twelve states, nine of which form a collective defense group, that the Russian authorities claim will be an alliance of truly independent states, not a reinvigorated Soviet Union. But there is doubt about the true freedom, for instance, of Georgia or Moldova to join CIS and its defense component. On the other hand, Russia is the center of gravity in Eastern Europe, and without massive and continuous Western assistance, small and economically weak states will not be able to resist Moscow’s carrot-and-stick policy for long. Even if CIS membership does not conform in all cases with Western standards of voluntarism, the community can and should become one of the international organizations which form part of the “network of interlocking institutions” designed to contribute to European stability and security.

Russia is a member of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC) and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and an associate member of the North Atlantic Assembly—institutions in the European network—as well as a member of the United Nations and the Security Council. Thus Russia has a broad range of possibilities for participating in European security discussions and cooperation and for exerting influence. Russia even influences NATO decisions, as shown in the Alliance's readiness to not enlarge its membership at this time

the Russian military has a comprehensive program of reform which extends beyond the year 2000

because of Moscow's concerns. However, Russia shows a real preference for strengthening CSCE and giving it a more operational capability. NACC in the Russian view should then

become a military arm of CSCE, independent of NATO, which would diminish the Alliance as the most effective anchor of European stability.

Russia has decided to join PFP. Although the foreign and defense ministers initially voiced support, a majority of the factions in the Duma seemed to be opposed. There has been a tendency to propose the entire CIS as partners, accompanied by efforts to change the program's direction and content. By joining PFP, in whatever form, Russia has a chance to fashion a relationship with NATO and its member states in accordance with its own policy objectives.

Military Answers

To meet security challenges the Russian military has outlined a comprehensive program of reform for the armed forces which extends beyond the year 2000. The reform aims to reorganize, reduce, and modernize the military in stages. A defense law sets the end strength of in-place forces at 1 percent of the population, that is at 1.5 million men and women in the armed forces.

The foundation of military policy and planning is found in "Basic Provisions of the Military Doctrine of the Russian Federation" which was approved by the Federation Security Council and President Yeltsin in November 1993. Main portions of the document have appeared in the Russian press. Since Moscow perceives no particular state as an

enemy, force structure as well as deployment and employment planning adhere to a concept of strategic defense, with no fixed frontlines or firm echeloning of forces. Both ground and air forces are structured into covering, mobile reaction, and strategic reserve forces. Covering forces are also to be highly mobile in view of limited personnel and the vast length of Russian borders, designed to mount initial defenses and holding operations until mobile reaction forces deploy. The strategic reserves form the backbone for mobilization and reconstitution of additional forces in larger-scale contingencies. This concept is similar to NATO's new force structure in the framework of the Strategic Concept. There are also Russian formations for peace operations and "other troops" (both border forces and the Ministry of the Interior's troops).

Russia has yet to withdraw all forces from the former Soviet republics. It must be expected that bilateral treaties, which among other things regulate stationing troops in neighboring countries, mean that Russia will maintain forces in former republics. This would allow for the deployment of Russian troops on borders of neighboring states, thereby conducting a kind of "forward defense" outside of its national frontiers. Such a situation is observable in the Transcaucasus and in parts of Central Asia. In geostrategic terms, however, this would represent a remarkable overstretch of the planned end strength of Russian in-place forces. Defense Minister Grachev's intention to increase end strength by 600,000 to more than two million, a plan obviously supported by the President, may be a response to such prospects.

All military reform must contend with the adverse conditions which prevail in the Russian Federation. The armed forces inherited a plethora of problems with the Soviet Union's break-up. Troop withdrawals from Afghanistan, Hungary, former Czechoslovakia, Poland, East Germany, Baltic states, and Mongolia have led to dramatic housing shortages for officers, noncommissioned officers, and military dependents. While numbers vary some 400,000 military personnel and their families may be living in tents, containers, and other inadequate quarters.

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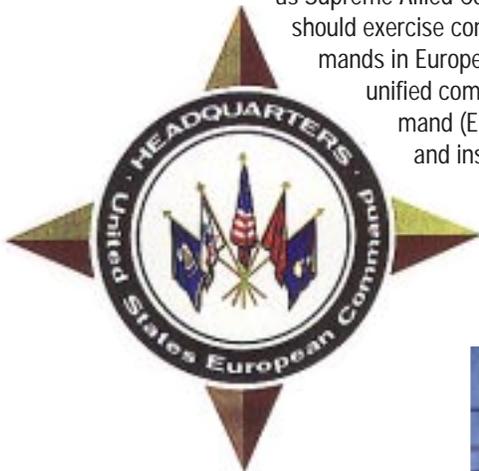
U.S. EUROPEAN COMMAND (EUCOM)

MISSION:

To support U.S. interests throughout the area of responsibility, provide combat-ready forces to NATO, and support other CINCs as directed by the National Command Authorities. The other missions of EUCOM include theater-wide management and control of intelligence activities; evacuation of noncombatants in the event of war; ensuring that U.S. forces maintain the capability, personnel, and equipment to carry out assigned missions; management of the security assistance programs; and carrying out all other missions assigned.

BACKGROUND:

In the early 1950s, the Secretary of Defense and JCS recognized the need for a joint command in Europe to centralize peacetime control of the Armed Forces in the theater. The United States and NATO had previously agreed that the American general who served as Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR) should exercise control over U.S. military commands in Europe. Accordingly JCS created a unified command, U.S. European Command (EUCOM), on August 1, 1952, and instructed Army, Navy, and Air



U.S. Navy (Darin Osman)

Force commanders to report to the U.S. Commander in Chief, Europe (CINCEUR). GEN Matthew Ridgway, USA, the first CINCEUR, established headquarters in Frankfurt as a temporary measure. It was relocated to Camp des Loges in the Forest of St. Germain-en-Laye in 1954. The headquarters remained there until 1967, when it relocated to Patch Barracks, Stuttgart-Vaihingen, as a result of General De Gaulle's request that all foreign headquarters be removed from France. In peacetime, EUCOM forces come under four component commands: U.S. Army, Europe (USAREUR) with headquarters in Heidelberg; U.S. Navy, Europe (USNAVEUR)—including U.S. Fleet Marine Force, Europe—with the commander in Naples and headquarters in London; U.S. Air Forces, Europe (USAFE), at Ramstein AFB; and Special Operations Command, Europe (SOCEUR), in Stuttgart-Vaihingen. In time of war, combat forces fight within the NATO command structure. The Navy and Air Force component commanders also serve as commanders of Allied Forces South (AFSOUTH), and Allied Air Forces Central Europe (AIRCENT), respectively, both of which are NATO major subordinate commands.



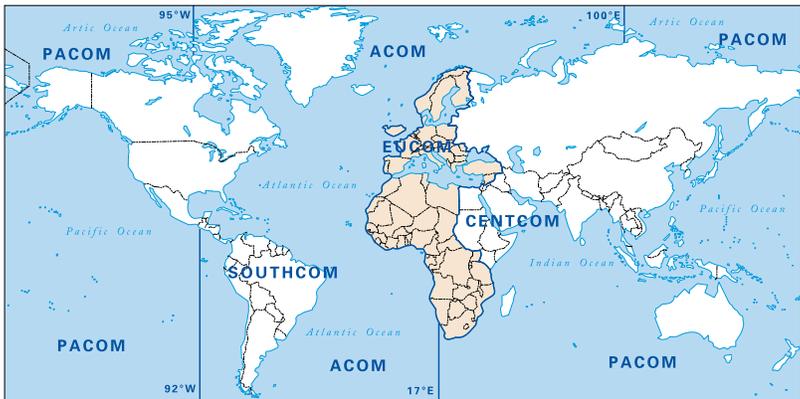
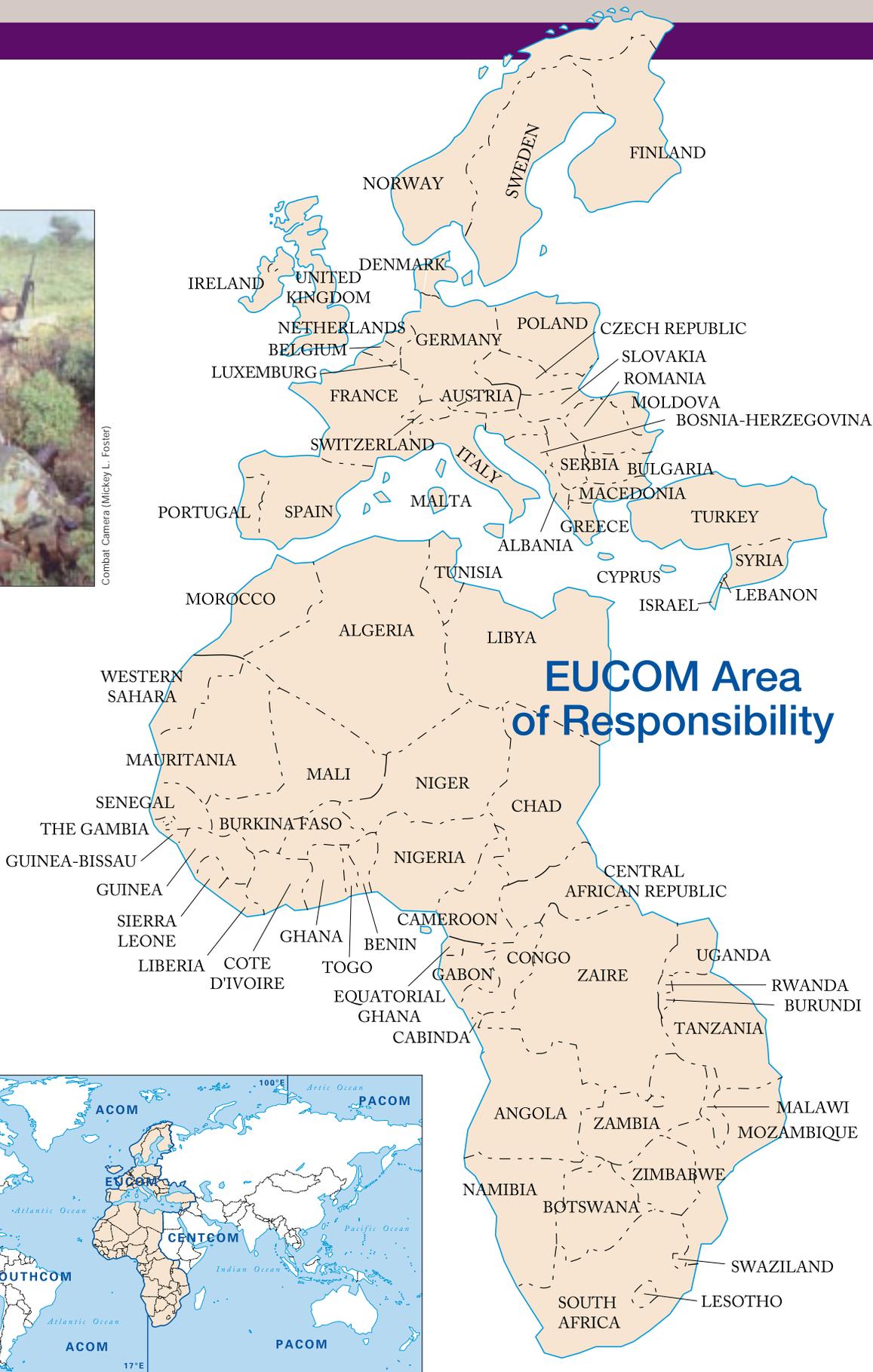
U.S. Air Force (James Bowman)



Combat Camera (Steve Thurlow)



Combat Camera (Mickey L. Foster)





U.S. Navy (Pete Harzakos)

MIG-31 Foxhound.

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Increases in salaries and pensions do not match exploding prices in markets, and soldiers often have to wait several months to be paid at all.

Severe shortages of infrastructure exist. Areas where the Soviet "First Strategic Echelon" was deployed had the best infrastructure, but those areas are in non-Soviet former WTO countries, especially Belarus and Ukraine, that are now independent. Units which have not been disbanded must be crowded into substandard facilities, particularly in the western parts of Russia where they are not needed strategically which, in turn, raises security concerns among Russia's neighbors. Furthermore, while there are too many officers and NCOs, there is a dramatic lack of conscripts. Draft exemptions have recently been tightened, but several hundred thousand young men per year do not show up to perform their military service.

Modernization programs are stretched or canceled for lack of funding. No new combatant ship has been laid on keel for two years. On the other hand armament industries are still producing weapon systems with state subsidies to pay the workforce, while the state cannot procure systems for its own forces and tries to increase arms exports to markets which are already saturated. These conditions inhibit reform and impact negatively on morale, unit cohesion, readiness, and self-esteem.

Despite these difficulties the military has generally been obedient to its political masters. The provisions of nuclear and conventional arms control treaties are being reliably implemented. New military doctrine acknowledges a changing political situation. Withdrawal of forces stationed outside Russia has been in accord with treaties and stated plans; the pull-out from Germany will be completed this summer and Russia now has a similar undertaking for Latvia. The forces remaining in Estonia will also go home, although they are bargaining chips in a delicate political situation.

So far the Russian military leadership has not taken sides in internal political struggles and has thus contributed to the avoidance of large scale civil unrest. The storming of the parliament last October on orders of President Yeltsin, however, brought the military to the brink of engagement in domestic strife. Yeltsin states in his recently published memoirs that the army initially refused to obey his orders and stormed the White House only after an officer had been shot dead by a sniper. It is questionable whether such revelations strengthen the military's loyalty to their President. If as reported many members of the military voted for Vladimir Zhirinovsky in parliamentary elections last December, it suggests that the loyalty of the armed forces to the political leadership could be strained when it may be most needed.

Ambiguous Signals

The West is attempting to recognize Russia's legitimate security interests, fears of isolation and encirclement by unfriendly forces, and wish to be respected as a large nation. It is meanwhile a truism that European security cannot be safeguarded against or without Russia. This certainly is the position that NATO has followed stringently since the London summit in 1990. In demanding an acknowledgement of its interests, Russia also persistently asks that the West understand certain trends in Russian public opinion, particularly in the wake of success by Zhirinovsky's nationalists in the Duma elections. But such recognition requires an understanding, in turn, on the part of Russia for the security interests of its neighbors, especially the small, new states. Russia needs to accept another truism, that

European security cannot be safeguarded exclusively on its terms either. Such an understanding is currently lacking.

The West tends to forget that Russia itself fell victim to suppression by the Soviet regime. Countries that have suffered under communist dictatorships need time to develop trust in the new Russia and to forget that the language of the Soviet empire was Russian. This applies to the Baltic states as much as it does to the non-Soviet former WTO members. The more Russia claims to be a great power entitled to special treatment, the more it disregards the impact that its behavior has on its immediate neighbors which is detrimental to regional stability. A growing number of Russian political figures not only shows little comprehension of this problem but, on the contrary, conveys ambiguous signals to neighbors, both near and far.

There is not only a lack of clearcut opposition to nationalistic, imperialistic, and old-style communist rhetoric used by new extremist factions in the State Duma, but an increasing similarity between statements by Russian officials, President Yeltsin and Foreign Minister Kozyrev included, and those of Zhirinovskiy. Assertions like those of Kozyrev that the Baltic states were engaged in "ethnic cleansing" of Russian minorities—or "apartheid" as Defense Minister Grachev put it—are particularly brazen. Related to this assertion is a claim that the so-called "Near Abroad" constitutes a sphere of geostrategic importance and, accordingly, is of vital interest to Moscow, a condition that would even legitimize stationing Russian forces in those countries.

Another ambiguous signal is the strong resistance to any eastward expansion of NATO. According to a study by the Foreign Intelligence Service in December 1993, enlargement would bring "the largest military grouping" within immediate proximity of Russia's borders, impinging negatively on its security interests. Such assessments reveal a deplorable lack of knowledge about NATO's true nature and constitute remnants of outdated thinking about confrontation and conflict. The height of adversarial rhetoric came when NATO's resolve to launch air strikes against artillery positions around Sarajevo at the request of the Security Council was labeled by Zhirinovskiy as a step toward World War III. This language, of course, was never

used by government officials. It is only fair to state that declaratory foreign policy is often aimed at appeasing extremist political groupings within Russia, while actual conduct of foreign and defense policy vis-à-vis NATO and Russia's neighbors is generally more cooperative and less confrontational. Nevertheless, against the historical backdrop of communist domination and threats, any imperialistic or confrontational rhetoric resonates badly in the minds of former victims. Addressing such issues disingenuously does not contribute to mutual security and trust, but rather shows a lack of reliability and rationality on the part of a self-perceived global power, especially one with a huge nuclear weapons stockpile.

NATO's Expansion

It is worthwhile examining Russian fears of formal extension of NATO membership into Central Europe in more detail. As was to be expected, the NATO summit in January 1994 did not embark on immediate enlargement. But the heads of government stated that NATO is not a closed shop and that eventual extension was in the cards. The remaining issues involve the time-frame and candidates for membership. These questions remained not only because of Russian fears of isolation and the rise of new divisions in Europe, but because the United States was concerned over endangering the fragile relationship between the powers, notably in nuclear arms reduction. Also, there are NATO members—particularly in southern Europe—who fear enlargement because the assistance they have received from the richer allies may be redirected to new allies in the east.

Also bearing on the eventual expansion of NATO and related Russian apprehensions is the status of the Visegrad countries—Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Hungary—which are the most likely to be considered first as candidates for full NATO membership. Political, economic, and military reforms in the Visegrad group are well advanced, and those states form a geopolitical entity. They have no direct borders with Russia, have associate status within the European Union, and are members of the Council of Europe. Compared to their neighbors to the West, however, their democratic institutions and political culture remain fragile.

NATO membership would serve to enhance internal stability and speed the adoption of a democratic culture. The Visegrad states see themselves in a security vacuum and instinctively distrust a reinvigorated Russia, feelings that are destabilizing and are fertile ground for extremist political agitation. NATO membership, which implies alliance with the United States, could militate against this insecurity, dampen anti-Russian phobia, and provide a sense of belonging. The latter is a psychological factor and more important than extended nuclear deterrence or stationing NATO forces in Central Europe. At the same time, membership in the Alliance would incline the Visegrad states to resolve outstanding disputes over such issues as minorities or borders. NATO's record provides ample evidence of its potential to democratize, pacify, and lead—over and above deterrence and collective security. To extend these qualities to the Visegrad group would stabilize Central Europe, something in which Russia should have a clear interest. With enlargement Russia would have in its immediate vicinity a cooperative, defensive alliance

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of democratic states whose history corroborates a peace-generating and peace-maintaining character that Russia already enjoys. Moscow should welcome such a development. Democracies are safe neighbors—they rarely attack others—so Russia could have stability on its western borders and turn its energies towards regions and risks that President Yeltsin, in his letters of September 1993 to Western heads of government, described as almost exclusively stemming from the area to the south.

Russia will participate in PFP, but whether this alleviates its concerns remains to be seen. Russia wants to be treated as the equal of NATO in political and strategic terms. Thus an increased relationship between the Alliance and the countries of Central Europe should be accompanied by a differentiated approach to dealing with Russia in recognition of its global status. Moscow needs to be fully involved in the process but without a veto on decisions which in the final analysis must be based on NATO's interests. An eventual extension of NATO

membership will doubtless require a revision of the Reduction of Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) Treaty.

Peace Operations

Related to the Russian attitude toward the "Near Abroad" are peace operations in former Soviet republics. Crises and conflicts in Central Asia (Tajikistan), Moldova, and Transcaucasus have resulted in extensive peacekeeping and peace-enforcing operations conducted either unilaterally by Russian national troops or by the Russian military in cooperation with indigenous forces. Moscow apparently decided that peace operations in former Soviet republics are its responsibility, critical to its security interests. Russia does not see a role for NATO or other Western participants in these operations. On the other hand, Moscow has asked for a formal blessing and even funding from the United Nations or CSCE. And the West has not shown an inclination to participate in these operations, particularly not with troops. Here Russian and Western attitudes are complementary. The result could be regarded as a certain sub-regional division of labor in peace operations between Russia and the West. As long as such operations are carried out on the basis of CSCE consensus with participants applying common rules, this kind of differentiation is unproblematic and possibly unavoidable. However, to provide for a commonality of principles and their application, observers should be deployed at a minimum. A broad multinational mix of forces under a unified command would, of course, be preferable.

NATO and WEU—with conceptual support of the NACC—are about to create appropriate force and command structure elements called combined joint task forces (CJTFs) to do just that. This should make collective action by NATO possible, or by the entire WEU using NATO assets, but in either case with possible participation by CIS or individual CEE countries or other members of CSCE. The NACC Ad Hoc Group on Peacekeeping has already developed guidelines for the common planning, exercising, and conduct of peace operations. In the future CIS could provide for similar cooperative peace support guidelines.

A like-minded readiness by NATO, WEU, and CIS to mount peace operations under either U.N. or CSCE mandate with variable forms of mutual participation would enhance confidence on the part of nations prone to internal conflict and the possible subjects of future peace operations. This would reinforce U.N. and CSCE credibility since they could employ effective organizations without forsaking political direction and control. This, in turn, would militate

NATO or WEU, and expansion follows the sovereign will of a state and consensus of alliance members? What are the military reactions to “suppression of rights and liberties of citizens of the Russian Federation living in foreign states?”

This doctrine foresees using force in cases of internal danger to the Federation’s security. What are the thresholds above which military formations will be used inside the Federation? Will deployment be conducted under the leadership of the armed forces or police? Which state organ has authority over such deployments? Does the force structure of covering, mobile, and reserve forces also apply to the navy? What is Russia’s future maritime role?

In the PFP program what will constitute the special relationship with NATO that Moscow envisages in recognition of its status as a global power? How would it differ from the non-special role that the United States, as a global power, played as a member of the Alliance?

How, in terms of manpower and capital resources, can far-reaching and expensive military reforms be completed given the severe economic difficulties and drastic claims of other segments of the Russian government for a bigger slice of the

pie? (The present struggle between the defense minister and, for instance, the agriculture minister about a higher share of the 1994 budget sounds terribly familiar to the Western ear.)

Russia hopes to increase its exports of military hardware. Military doctrine justifies this as necessary to support reform and the labor force in defense industries. President Yeltsin announced a planned increase of arms exports from \$2 billion in 1993 to \$49 billion in 1994. Are such plans in concert with the planned conversion of defense industries? And if Iran, as it now appears, is a recipient of a large amount of this Russian hardware, does this not strengthen those forces which Russia fears on its southern borders? Should not the experience of arming Iraq provide a reason for caution?



Naval infantry with BTR-60PBs and Pomornik class air cushion landing craft.

U.S. Navy (Mark Kettenhofer)

against suspicions that international organizations or individual nations could use peace support operations to expand or secure their own spheres of influence at the expense of others.

A Lack of Clarity

To better understand Russian security policy and its military dimension, some questions need to be answered. These questions are based partly on Russian military doctrine and partly on developments within the Federation. Military doctrine sees dangers in cases of “undermining of strategic stability” and “destruction of the existing power balance.” This raises the question of the Russian criteria for strategic stability and the balance of power. If there are military “dangers” and “threats” there must be, by implication, military response options. What are the military reactions to an “expansion of military alliances” if this refers to

Defense Minister Grachev, supported by President Yeltsin, requested a revision of parts of the CFE treaty because certain provisions allegedly were negotiated under strategic conditions that differ completely from the present situation. In particular the “flank rule,” limiting forces in both the Leningrad and North Caucasus military districts, supposedly inhibits peace operations on Russia’s southern borders. The Western parties to the treaty have developed a comprehensive set of questions for Moscow on the reasons for and background to this request. (For instance, why are heavy weapons limited by the treaty needed for peace operations?) Answers to these questions are important in light of the central role which this arms control treaty and its implementation have for security and stability in Europe.

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Collective Security

In an effort to allay Russian apprehensions vis-à-vis NATO, a specific treaty of cooperation and peaceful relations and, if necessary, even nonaggression between NATO and Russia or CIS could be made part of the treaty network. It could act as an institutional linchpin to recognize the particular role of Russia and NATO as the two main centers of gravity in Europe. Such a treaty could very well be the main result of the Russian-NATO PFP.

Looking at the former Yugoslavia indicates that the system of interlocking institutions has not worked successfully. However, when the crisis broke out the system had barely existed at all. But meanwhile a pattern is emerging which indicates how the interplay of actors and regulations could work, if there is the political will to make it work and to do so early enough. The pattern is exemplified by the Croat-Bosnian Muslim agreement signed in March 1994 in Washington and by subsequent events in and around Sarajevo.

In December 1993 the German and French foreign ministers, Jupé and Kinkel, advanced an initiative to retain Bosnia-Herzegovina as home for three separate entities. The bilateral initiative was received positively by the EU which pledged multinational support. At that time Washington was still reluctant to become involved in set-

ting the imbroglio in Bosnia. But NATO had already declared that in event of agreement on the Bosnian peace plan, it would provide military support for its implementation. In this the United States indicated a willingness to participate. Indeed, the continuing siege of Sarajevo by Bosnian Serbs brought about a stronger U.S. engagement in the NATO framework, as seen at the NATO summit in January 1994 when intra-Alliance cohesion and resolve were beefed up.

The turning point came on February 5, 1994, with the shelling of the Sarajevo marketplace which took a terrible toll in lives. NATO issued an ultimatum to carry out air strikes, based on Security Council resolution 836 of June 1993, which represented a credible threat of internationally legitimized use of force. What followed was the close cooperation between NATO and the U.N. Secretary General and the delegation of release authority to the Secretary General’s representative in theater to ensure U.N. legitimacy in the actual use of force. The Bosnian Serbs abided by the demands of the ultimatum and withdrew their heavy weapons. The shoot-down of four Bosnian-Serb aircraft demonstrated the resolve and capability of NATO to apply force, thus creating a degree of deterrence and increasing the credibility of future threats to use force.

Russia had not insisted on a further Security Council resolution before implementing the NATO ultimatum but launched an anti-ultimatum propaganda campaign aimed primarily at strong domestic misgivings vis-à-vis the use of force in general and by NATO in particular. At the same time, however, Moscow exerted a strong influence on the Serb side to react rationally, making use of its special relationship with Serbia. For the first time a kind of political balance was developing in former Yugoslavia, with America and Russia engaged on the Croat-Bosnian and Serbian sides, respectively, in support of a peace plan which included all warring parties. This engagement has been underpinned by the threat that force ultimately might be used if the agreement is breached.

Developments in and around the town of Gorazde following the events in Sarajevo initially seemed to offer little hope that the pat-



Russian Krivak I class frigate *Bditelny* with German frigate *FGS Karlsruhe*.

U.S. Navy (Nathan Jones)

tern will be effective elsewhere. But, although very late and only after heavy civilian losses, a similar combination of threatened force and diplomatic activity, with strong Russian involvement, induced the retreat of Bosnian Serbs from the town. It certainly was helpful that Russia's special envoy for Bosnia-Herzegovina, Vitaliy Churkin, finally succumbed to the same frustrations that Western negotiators had experienced in the face of Serb cynicism. Russia is now involved in multilateral peacekeeping and peace-enforcing in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and has abandoned its unfounded accusations that NATO is a warmongering organization. Russia has openly conceded that under certain conditions enforcement operations are needed to manage crises and contain conflicts. Foreign Minister Kozyrev has explicitly agreed that for the moment NATO is the only agent that can exercise such force effectively.

Nobody can yet be sure how long the recent chain of successes will hold. But with every success the interplay will become more subtle and the actors more experienced. There is increasing probability that action will be taken in time rather than too late, as has been the case so far. Mutual trust and confidence among participants in operations will grow as the deterrent impact on warring factions increases. So the disaster in Bosnia-Herzegovina may have a positive result in

the closer involvement of Russia in multinational peacekeeping. Policymakers in Moscow may understand that cooperating in peace operations does not diminish its status, not even in the "Near Abroad," but rather improves the prospect for success. In the newly established "contact group," Russian diplomats now sit at the negotiating table with American, U.N., and EU representatives. Russia's request for recognition of its role as an equal partner has been fulfilled, at least in the important arena of European security. Closer involvement of Russia on an equal footing in containing the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina and in finding a political solution eventually may also improve the prospects for

successful implementation of the peace plan that finally emerges. Its implementation will need underpinning by strong and effective peacekeeping forces. To accomplish this mission, fighter aircraft will no longer suffice. Ground troops in numbers much greater than present levels will be required. Without Russian formations, sufficient numbers will hardly be possible.

It remains to be seen whether the present political leadership in Moscow is willing and able to explain its role in Bosnia-Herzegovina in a balanced way domestically, portraying it as a success which serves Russia's security interests as well as its desire for recognition as a great power. As noted, the prevailing mood in Russia is introspective, self-pitying, and anti-Western. However, the emerging pattern of cooperation between the United Nations, the West, and Russia in Bosnia-Herzegovina may be a harbinger of Russia's future international role. If collective security in Europe is to remain an illusion, cooperative security should be an attainable goal. Russia will continue to be different from the West in many respects; but it should never again be antagonistic to the West. To encourage and sustain a constructive role for Russia in European security is a crucial task for Russian and Western leaders alike.

JFQ