

A Strategy for Stable Peace

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Toward a Euroatlantic Security Community

James E. Goodby

Petrus Buwalda

Dmitri Trenin



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UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE
1200 17th Street NW, Suite 200
Washington, DC 20036-3011

ASSOCIATION FOR DIPLOMATIC STUDIES
AND TRAINING
4000 Arlington Boulevard
Arlington, VA 22204-1586

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For Alexander George—J. E. G.

For my grandsons, Daniel and Julius—P. B.

For Yury Davidov—D. V. T.

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Preface

THE DEVASTATING TERRORIST ATTACKS on the World Trade Center in New York City and on the Pentagon near Washington, D.C., in September 2001 elicited a tremendous feeling of solidarity between Europe and North America. The unanimous acceptance of the application of Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty (an attack on one is an attack on all) both by the old allies and by those countries that had recently joined NATO, was much more than a public relations exercise. Every ally realized what was involved and none took the decision lightly. The European Union stated its full support shortly afterward.

For its part, Russia has declared itself an ally of the West. In doing so, Putin and his associates have made a strategic choice rather than a tactical move. Beyond the prospects for practical cooperation in the fight against international terrorism, broader vistas open. The Russian leadership has concluded that the situation is propitious for making strides toward Russia's integration into Western political, economic, and military structures on mutually acceptable terms. This gives America and Western Europe a rare chance to solve the "Russia problem" in a constructive and conclusive way. This also gives Russia a chance to establish a new international identity. Russia's

integration would be similar in kind, although not in manner, to the successful integration of Germany and Japan after World War II, and would open the way to expanding the community of countries enjoying stable peace in their mutual relations throughout the Euroatlantic area.

Long-term vision and concrete action are both needed if this integration is to take place; common values must be reaffirmed while action is taken to deal with a plethora of practical issues rooted in national interests. Building support for Russia's integration with the West will require concerted action at different levels in America, in Europe, and in Russia itself. Although the integration process will inevitably proceed step by step and stage by stage, the final objective should be clear from the outset: Russia as a European country in every respect, including its membership of Western institutions. The stakes are high, but so are the expected benefits. If this opportunity is missed, the challenge to civilization that appeared so tragically on September 11, 2001, will not have been matched with the response that it deserves, and other goals shared by Russia and the West will be more difficult to achieve.

The manuscript for this book was completed before September 11. However, even before the attacks on New York and Washington, we had concluded that joint and parallel actions to achieve a stable peace within the Euroatlantic community would strengthen our nations' ability to make war on terrorism as well as to deal with other global challenges. Assessments of the meaning of the events of September 11 have only underscored that judgment.

The latest crisis has shown once more that constant consultation and communication among us is indispensable. No nation can go it alone nor can any democratic government afford to be drawn into struggles about which it is insufficiently informed or in which it has no say over the means to be employed.

The construction of a stable peace within the Euroatlantic community of nations will not require the destruction of those special characteristics that have made our nations so distinct. What will be different is that war among them will become a part of history, not a part of their panoply of policy options. To accomplish this, all of

the nations involved must recognize that they are alike more than they are different. They must see themselves as the builders of a common community, and they must be determined to translate this vision into reality.

This book results from the experiences and reflections of its three authors. It is a jointly written book in the sense that we exchanged drafts, consulted together in person and via e-mail, and freely gave and accepted suggestions and critiques. However, Trenin took the lead in drafting chapter 2, Buwalda in drafting chapter 3, and Goodby in drafting the introduction, chapter 1, and chapter 4. We wrote chapters 5 and 6 together.

A book that sets out to show how a stable peace could be achieved between Russia and the West, we believed, should be a shared effort of an American, a Western European, and a Russian. This book has benefited from the differing perspectives and career experiences we brought to bear on the analysis. We do not want to suggest that our thinking is in the exact center of political thought in the European Union, Russia, or the United States. But we are hardheaded observers of the scene we wanted to describe and have few illusions about the world we live in. We think that our analysis and our recommendations are realistic, that is, well within the political limits all national leaders must live within. We have further benefited from the insights and judgments of Yves Pagniez, former ambassador of France in Moscow and Belgrade and senior policymaker in the Quai d'Orsay. A commentary by Ambassador Pagniez on the European Union appears after chapter 3.

We owe a debt of thanks to the United States Institute of Peace for sponsoring the study from which this book was derived, and to the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training, which was the financial manager of a grant generously provided by the Institute to defray the expenses of research and writing. In 1998 the Institute published a book by James Goodby entitled *Europe Undivided*, which dealt with the concept of an inclusive Euroatlantic security community that would achieve stable peace. Acting on the advice of Ambassador Max Kampelman, Richard Solomon, president of the Institute, then directed that a Future of Europe Working Group be established to map out

more specifically how, step-by-step, a peaceful, undivided, and democratic Europe could be achieved. Anthony Lake, former U.S. national security adviser to President Clinton, and Stephen Hadley, now U.S. deputy national security adviser to President George W. Bush, agreed to cochair the working group.

From the beginning of the project in 1998 through 2000, the Future of Europe Working Group met regularly under cochairs Hadley and Lake. As project director, Goodby generally participated, as did Institute director of Research and Studies Patrick Cronin, program officer Lauren Van Metre, and, later, program officer Emily Metzgar. Goodby thanks the members of the Future of Europe Working Group and its cochairmen for their ideas and insights, many of which have found their way into this book.

The Institute cosponsored three international conferences to bring together Americans and Europeans for the purpose of considering the feasibility and desirability of a peaceful, undivided, and democratic Europe and how such a Europe might some day come to pass. The first was held at the U.S. Foreign Service Institute in Arlington, Virginia, in October 1998. The second was at the Aspen Institute, Berlin, in January 2000 and the third was at the Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House), London, in October 2000. These three institutes generously joined with the United States Institute of Peace in sponsoring the conferences at their respective headquarters. Each of the three authors participated in one or more of the international conferences.

We benefited significantly from the advice given to us in reviews arranged by the United States Institute of Peace. Our editor, Dr. Nigel Quinney, was our constant companion during the last stages of writing this book. We are deeply indebted to the Institute for making a person of his rare talents available to us. President Richard Solomon and Dr. Patrick Cronin were steady supporters of this study throughout, as was Mr. Dan Snodderly, director of Publications. Their firm belief in the utility of taking a long view made them rare, if not unique, persons in the policy community.

Readers can perhaps imagine the challenges of communicating regularly between Washington, The Hague, Moscow, and Paris in the

process of exchanging drafts and redrafts of the manuscript for this book. The person who took on much of the responsibility for this was Priscilla Goodby. The authors are deeply grateful to her for her dedication and skill in keeping us all moving harmoniously toward that goal.

Finally, we venture the opinion that the present decade is one of the turning points of history. Other turning points have ended in tragedies for humankind. This one may be different. We can only hope that the tragedy of September 11, 2001, will help to make it so. Relations between the nations of the Euroatlantic community have changed in fundamental ways and this is probably irreversible. Globalization and technology are remaking the international environment. The idea that war can be a rational way to resolve problems between major nations, if not discredited altogether, has very few adherents—none that we know of in positions of high responsibility in governments within the Euroatlantic community. Our sense is that if leaders are guided by the instincts of their people they will look to the future, to the stable peace that is theirs to win, and to the immense good that their community can do in the world. The next few years will be decisive.

JAMES E. GOODBY
WASHINGTON, D.C.

PETRUS BUWALDA
THE HAGUE

DMITRI TRENIN
MOSCOW

