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The new global security landscape

10 Recommendations from the 2010 Security Jam



4,000 participants ■ 10,000 logins ■ 124 countries ■ 5 days

Foreword



Giles Merritt
Director
Security & Defence Agenda



Geert Cami
Co-Founder & Director
Security & Defence Agenda

Our thanks to all the SDA's partners in the Security Jam, not least the European Commission and NATO, for making possible this extraordinary exercise in global dialogue. There are a number of individuals without whose encouragements and active support the Security Jam would not have been possible. We would particularly like to thank Jean-François Bureau (Assistant Secretary General for Public Diplomacy) and Jamie Shea (Director for Policy & Planning in the Secretary General's Office) of NATO; Lars-Gunnar Wigemark (Head of Unit for Security Policy) and David Ringrose (Head of Unit for Information and Communication) of DG RELEX in the European Commission; Veronika Wand-Danielsson (Swedish Ambassador to NATO); Mike Ryan (Defence Advisor at the US Mission to the EU); Kate Byrnes (Public Affairs Advisor at the US Mission to NATO) as well as Leendert Van Bochoven (NATO and European Defence Leader) and John Reiniers (Senior Managing Consultant) of IBM.*

This online project took an innovative approach to engaging stakeholders from all walks of life and getting fresh and realistic ideas about our security onto the table.

The potential of new technology to bring together thousands of voices beyond those of the 'usual suspects' reinforced our belief in this sort of worldwide debate. At a critical time for strategic thinking by the EU and NATO, this report's recommendations offer food for thought.

The Security Jam has shown us that the modern security community is far from being populated only by defence experts and the military. The five day online brainstorm embracing 124 countries saw contributions from a wide spectrum of the international community.

The message we took away from the Jam was that modern security is too important to be left in the hands of the specialists. We need a more inclusive security dialogue, and we must also make greater civil-military cooperation a reality.

The recommendations in this report have this end in mind.

We very much hope that these recommendations will inspire political leaders to make closer international security cooperation a reality.

Giles Merritt

Geert Cami

* SECURITY JAM PARTNERS:

- European Commission
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- Global Humanitarian Forum (GHF)
- Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
- Bertelsmann Stiftung
- Europe's World
- Thales
- NATO
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- IBM
- Munich Security Conference
- Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI)
- Fondation pour la recherche stratégique (FRS)
- Friends of Europe
- Ministry of Defence France

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A Security & Defence Agenda Report

Authors: Jonathan Holslag and David Henry Doyle

Publisher: Geert Cami

Project Managers: Jessica Henderson and Pauline Massart

Design & Layout: Tipik Communication Agency

Year of publication: 2010

Disclaimer

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Preface

The Security Jam has proven to be an inclusive dialogue about security in its broadest sense. This kind of dialogue addresses the security concerns of stakeholders around the world.

Since their introduction at IBM in 2001, online Jams have taken wings as a new form of collaborative innovation. The economic crisis has also increased demand for new ways to reach out to stakeholders.

The Jam approach to the security domain was an experiment in itself. It was remarkable to note how quickly military leaders embraced this approach and used the Jam to present their points of view. Other Jam participants made it clear that delivering security goes far beyond traditional military means.

The lively debate in the Jam forums illustrates how interconnected our planet has become. This interconnectedness affects organisational and institutional boundaries and our conception of who we are and how we relate to one another. No greater symbol of this interconnectedness could have been that both EU and NATO supported this Security Jam. But the full measure of the Jam's success will be whether we can look back in a few years to see the realisation and implementation of smart ideas that emerged from it.

The goal of the Jam was not to write policy for any particular organisation; it was to generate as many new ideas as possible and to build on the creative synergies of many minds focused on a single topic. Now the mission is to take these ideas and integrate them into the institutions' policy discussions in the hopes that they will help to make this a better, safer, more secure planet for all.

Leendert van Bochoven

IBM

NATO and European Defence Leader

Office of the Chairman, EMEA

Summary

The online Security Jam's goal has been to bring together actors across the entire spectrum of the international community to brainstorm on the changing nature of the 21st century security landscape. The overarching question was 'how can international actors and institutions respond to new security challenges?'

Held over five days, the Security Jam proved itself a catalyst for creative thinking by experts, NGOs, national government decision makers and international institutions, industry representatives, soldiers, journalists, scholars and opinion leaders. Ten forums took stock of different security challenges and produced dozens of innovative ideas for improving security policies.

The main theme discussed by the 3,815 participants from 124 countries during the online Jam was how can the EU and NATO work together to protect our security interests in today's rapidly changing world order? With the EU getting to grips with the changes wrought by the Lisbon Treaty and NATO on the verge of launching its new Strategic Concept it was unsurprising that EU and NATO collaboration was by far and away the most discussed theme in the Jam. Almost 10 per cent of all posts across forums centred on this key issue.

This report presents a shortlist of the 10 most pertinent recommendations with a brief snapshot of the relevance of the Security Jam as a communication tool. The report then provides a more detailed look at each of these recommendations in the context of their development in the Security Jam.

Building on the Jam discussions, the final section of this report offers an overview of the evolving security landscape. This reflects the uncertainty expressed in many of the Jam discussions that hybrid threats and fragile powers will probably make the world a more unpredictable place. The clear message from the Jam is that better strategic planning and a comprehensive approach to security will be imperative if the EU and NATO are to maintain stability in their neighbourhood and to build bridges with other protagonists like China, Russia, India and Brazil.

The emerging multipolar order is composed of fragile powers and will be even less stable than in the two decades since the fall of the Berlin Wall. But interdependence will not automatically produce cooperation – not even within the EU or NATO. The shifting balance of power will create uncertainty, and in the current climate of economic insecurity could lead to fiercer resource competition. The proposals contained in this report are therefore intended to help the EU and NATO maintain peace and security in our globalised but politically fragmented world.

The main challenge for the EU and NATO will be to improve internal coherence and to create a safer periphery. Second, the objective should be to develop a new security consensus with other major players. However, security in today's increasingly fragmented world requires the EU and NATO to overcome their internal divisions. Practical proactive steps are required to achieve this and to avoid a divergence between capabilities and the threats of the new security landscape.



61.8% OF JAMMERS HAD OVER 5 YEARS EXPERIENCE IN THE SECURITY OR DEVELOPMENT FIELDS

The recommendations at a glance

10 key recommendations synthesised from the online discussions*:

1. NATO should develop a civilian wing to prepare, coordinate and cooperate with civilian actors at various stages of operations 11
2. The UN should secure agreement on UN Millennium Security Goals comparable to the Millennium Development Goals and based on the concept of human security 13
3. Expand both EU and NATO regional security through mutual assistance agreements on non-conventional threats with neighbouring states to build mutual trust 15
4. Create a European Intelligence Agency as an information broker for complex and hybrid threats 17
5. Improve the EU's internal public diplomacy and use new media to consult European experts and citizens on security threats and policies 19
6. Create a European Security Academy where EU civilian and military staff and other international actors can learn to work together in the field 21
7. Establish a combined EU-NATO Wisemen's group made up of independent personalities to evaluate capability planning and build public support for cross-border cooperation 23
8. Establish an EU scarce natural resources inventory with a mandate to protect them for future generations 25
9. Publish a joint EU-NATO quarterly publication where senior officials from both organisations can highlight new collaboration efforts between the two players 27
10. Establish an International Crisis Preparedness Fund to harness media spotlight on today's current crises by collecting 5% of all donations to prepare for future disasters 29

* These recommendations have been selected on the basis of their degree of innovation and pragmatism. They were not voted on.

I. Why the Jam matters



“The Security Jam opened the door to new thinking. It reached out to people who have truly original ideas and a range of analysis that goes to the heart of today's and tomorrow's security issues.”

Robert Hunter,
*RAND Corporation and
former US Ambassador to NATO*

With 3,815 registered participants from 124 countries the Security Jam was an unprecedented global forum to debate the changing international security landscape. Through the power of the web the collective brainpower of these experts was tapped in order to gauge the consequences for the EU and NATO and to develop future policies and initiatives to address the new challenges we face.

However, the Jam was not simply a barometer of experts and practitioners' views on the evolution of global security. More importantly, it was an invaluable source of fresh ideas and an innovative method of opening up communication channels between actors in order to build trust.

By allowing participants across different organisations to think outside of the box and interact directly with actors they might not otherwise engage with, this online Jam was the perfect platform for creative brainstorming and critical reflection on policies, roles, working methods and cultures.

Breaking down barriers

Co-organised by 12 leading international think tanks, the Jam attracted a representative sample of the established security community with the added value of being open to actors who are not always included in the security equation. Experts from universities and think tanks formed the largest section of participants. However, officials from national governments, European and international institutions were also well represented, making up 28% of the overall Jam population. Military figures and NGOs made up just over 5% and 6% respectively with business representing 14%. There was also a striking balance between different age groups. About 40% of participants were between 18 and 35 years, 43% between 36 and 55 years, and another 17% 55 years or more.

The Jam also benefited from the participation of a large number of people with direct experience of recent deployment around the world, including combat operations, stabilisation operations and disaster relief missions as well as input from over 50 VIPs from the political, military, diplomatic and business worlds (see annex for full list). With 57% of participants having over 5 years experience in security, defence or development issues the debates were of a high level.

The online debate generated some 4,000 written contributions, most of which focused on solutions to very specific challenges such as coordination between the EU and NATO (360 posts), a better use of civilian and military capabilities (238 posts), a strategy for the stabilisation of Afghanistan (144 posts) and the options for improving relations with Russia (129 posts). Other issues which attracted a great deal of attention were the concept of human security (135 posts), the rise of China (128 posts) and human rights (120 posts).

The Jam was divided into 10 forums:

- Political Context
- Capabilities and Budgets
- Crisis Preparedness
- Development
- Security & Human Rights
- Environmental Security
- Comprehensive Approach
- Rising powers
- Piracy (case study)
- Afghanistan (case study)

A team of 26 online hosts – all leading experts or decision-makers – coached the debates in real-time supported by 75 facilitators (see annex for full list). Complex issues were discussed in threads, often moving from lively debates about current challenges and lessons learned to practical proposals for solutions.

As both the EU and NATO are going through an important transition, the main aim of this exercise is to provide fresh ideas for developing more effective security strategies and building synergies between these two institutions which although located in the same city often seem to exist on different planets when it comes to policy making. The ten recommendations which headline this report were therefore selected on the basis of their innovativeness, their practicality and because they tackle issues most discussed in the Jam forums.

II. The Security Jam's 10 main recommendations



"In Afghanistan, we have major problems to find policemen, agricultural advisors and judges and when we do, they are expensive."

Jamie Shea,
*Director for Policy & Planning, Private Office of the
Secretary General, NATO*

HOW CAN THE EU AND NATO ADDRESS NEW SECURITY CHALLENGES IN A RAPIDLY CHANGING WORLD ORDER?

Across the Jam forums there was a strong consensus that threats will be increasingly hybrid and that the EU and NATO should therefore invest in hybrid strategies. The overall consensus in the Jam was that this requires an effective combination of civilian and military instruments.

The EU and NATO can only succeed if they gain wider support at home. Given the complicated nature of new threats, awareness and legitimacy will be vital in developing a solid security strategy for this century.

JAM CENTRED AROUND EU-NATO COLLABORATION • 18 ASIAN COUNTRIES REPRESENTED IN THE

1

NATO should develop a civilian wing to prepare, coordinate and cooperate with civilian actors at various stages of operations

NATO should have a civilian wing responsible for preparing the civilian dimension of operations, coordinating cooperation with civilian actors, briefing military units and evaluating needs as they arise on the ground. This needs to be a small permanent unit located at NATO's operational headquarters – combining military officers, civilians with operational experience and experts – which can be expanded in case of new operations.

Jam participants stressed that interventions in the Balkans, Afghanistan and Iraq revealed the same problem time after time: military progress is hard to achieve without a civilian strategy. Due to their

sheer size and solid command structures, armies always tend to overshadow civilian actors. As there is simply no civilian equivalent to a military division the capabilities of NGOs and governments are often fragmented. As NATO's Jamie Shea highlighted: "In Afghanistan, we have major problems to find policemen, agricultural advisors and judges and when we do, they are expensive." The NATO civilian wing should help bringing these

Institute for National Strategic Studies stressed the need for NATO and the EU to develop a new framework for consulting and coordinating the non-military aspects of security. An important objective of the wing should be to stimulate creative thinking between civilian and military stakeholders. It should give NGOs, for example, the possibility to express their expectations. At the same time, Bertelsmann Stiftung's Josef Janning maintained that: "Rather than integrating the civil side of order building into military planning, it would help to broaden the view of military planners and commanders to issues beyond their own immediate tasks. Knowing about the civilian agenda early will be of added value for operations."

The civilian wing also needs to play a role in operational planning. It should map the humanitarian assistance space in conflict zones as well as the development and diplomatic realms. Shuja Nawaz of the Atlantic Council suggested "collecting the best civilian minds to help fathom many of the non-military issues that affect military planning and operations." NATO could even consider forward civilian operations. Before the military intervention, civilian experts would start collecting information about humanitarian needs and possible economic consequences of the use of force. The wing could process this information and make sure that these concerns are taken into account in the military planning.

Once an operation begins, the wing would coordinate interaction between the battle zone and the international community, responding to needs by sourcing additional capabilities from its networks. King's College London's Karolina MacLachlan argued that a civilian wing could also help overcome communication problems towards local populations and international audiences.



"We should have a cell at SHAPE, the NATO operational HQ, that is focused specifically on the comprehensive approach, largely manned by civilians with experience in disasters and reconstruction."

Admiral James Stavridis,
SACEUR

actors in step and avoid hindsight learning by developing an institutional memory. The objective should not be to duplicate but to coordinate.

During peacetime, the civilian wing's main task will be to trace possible partners outside the military realm. Jam participants proposed that it should act as an interface with NGOs, the UN and other governments. Stanley Sloan of the



“Without some sense of solidarity between actors and receivers of security action, there is little prospect of cooperation that can succeed in terms of change in the target area.”

Phillip Shetler-Jones,
*Former Royal Marines Officer and PhD candidate at
University of Sheffield*

FEET EN ROUTE TO A NATO MINISTERIAL MEETING • IN A JAM POLL 56% BELIEVED THE EU IS NOT

2

The UN should secure agreement on UN Millennium Security Goals comparable to the Millennium Development Goals and based on the concept of human security

States cannot stop new threats at their borders, but states often do stop security cooperation across borders. Many modern security threats do not discriminate between nations. Yet, diverging political values and distrust among states complicate a global consensus on how to tackle them. As China's Ambassador Song Zhe argued in the Jam, there is an increasing number of non-traditional security challenges, but traditional security threats have not disappeared.

The EU and NATO should therefore take the lead in engaging other countries to develop millennium security goals centred on **human security**. Anne Marie Slaughter of the US State Department outlined this need clearly in her proposal for a new security concept, "We have to be able to think about security threats not only in terms of what imperils governments or populations as a whole, but also what imperils individuals in their day to day lives." Agreement on Millennium Security Goals could help foster cooperation by 'acting as a link to join peoples in countries with capacity (e.g. EU members, NATO allies) with those in areas enjoying less security' says Phillip Shetler-Jones who pitched the idea in the Jam. What we need are not 'definitions for the sake of definitions, but definitions for the purpose of cooperation'.

Good governance should be the first priority. States must serve their nation, not the other way around. Anita Inder Singh, a professor at the Centre for Peace and Conflict Resolution in New Delhi, was just one of many contributors to assert that developing countries deserve the support of the international community to meet the needs of their people by dealing with issues like insecurity, endemic corruption and the lack of basic social services.

This requires the EU having an open discussion with other protagonists like the US, Brazil, China, India and Russia about how good governance can be promoted. These countries understand that promoting good governance is also in their own interest, but a consensus needs to be reached about the instruments to do so.

Jam participants also urged consensus on the **responsibility to protect**. For emerging powers, state consent remains a prerequisite for intervention. However, these states are starting to realise that their growing overseas presence increasingly leads to situations in which the protection of their own interests becomes inseparable from protecting the security of local populations. The European Union should try to reach an agreement on the conditions of humanitarian interventions and at the same time to commit itself to making a credible contribution to such operations.

All major powers have been involved in humanitarian or peacekeeping operations in the last few years. In one of the forums, Lars-Gunnar Wigemark, the Head of the Commission's Security Policy Unit, referred to the recent operation in Chad as a good example of maintaining security around refugee camps while the European Commission provided financing for the training of Chadian police forces inside the internally displaced person camps. However, countries like China and India have also started to combine civilian and military instruments for improving security in African conflict states. The new EEAS should organise workshops to discuss **lessons learned** and to deduce best practices that could serve as guidelines for the Millennium Security Goals.



“

Interdependence between nations is perhaps greater than at any other time in our history

”

KABUL • IN A JAM POLL 65% BELIEVED THAT THE SECURITY OF EU AND US CITIZENS IS AT STAKE IN

3.

Expand both EU and NATO regional security through mutual assistance agreements on non-conventional threats with neighbouring states to build mutual trust

The EU and NATO should conceive their security policies in ways that are not threatening to other powers. They could conclude agreements with non-members on our periphery that **guarantee mutual assistance** against non-conventional threats like large-scale terrorist attacks, forest fires or nuclear disaster. The non-member signatory would be responsible for making the call to activate a clause of mutual assistance, not against war, but against other threats that might overwhelm that country's ability to guarantee stability and contain the crisis.

With powers beyond our immediate neighbourhood the EU and NATO have to develop synergies to address specific challenges in specific regions. For example, protecting sea lanes around Africa, securing pipelines in Central Asia and combating drugs smuggling from the Golden Triangle. These security arrangements can even be developed in the framework of other regional organisations like the African Union.

One jammer provocatively described the difference between Defence and Security as being between strengthening the castle walls and marrying ones children to key neighbours: "The idea of reinforcing the degree of interdependence that underpins that thought strikes me as key to understanding how we build security in the 21st century; a time when interdependence between nations is perhaps greater than at any other time in our history".

The advantage of this approach is that it reflects the growing interdependence among nations, but also reconciles rule-based cooperation with power politics. It moves from exclusive security alliances to inclusive arrangements. The costs for participating states to go unilateral or to "free ride" also increases as other participating states could

sanction by expulsion. This will confront the spoiler with both increased traditional and non-traditional security risks. Other countries will then balance against the spoiler's security ambitions, and it will have to bear the entire cost of protecting its domestic and foreign interests, instead of sharing the burden.

The concept of **mutually assured protection** is thus highly relevant for the EU and NATO to maintain stability on their periphery. At least as important is that inclusive security strategies are a realistic option to coax rising powers into constructive synergies. Brazil, China and India have become more willing to protect their overseas interests. These countries are now starting to develop diplomatic and military instruments to do so. Whether it concerns the reconstruction of Afghanistan, bringing peace to Africa or combating pirates at sea, developing and maintaining pragmatic collaboration between the international protagonists will be indispensable.

"Global success in this turbulent century will depend on our collective ability to be like Wikipedia - all contributing knowledge and experience, access to a connected global set of actors, and creative application of resources," summarised Admiral James Stavridis. But many other Jam participants stressed that before such a collective approach can be effective, Western powers need greater coordination, not to enhance deterrence, but to reaffirm common security interests and responsibilities. Along these lines it was suggested in the Jam that one way to begin to prioritise the security agenda is for states to list their primary security concerns in an open international conference, perhaps at UN level, in order to identify the most pressing issues.



FROM THE EU • IN A JAM POLL 58% SAID THE RISE OF THE G20 STRENGTHENS THE ATLANTIC

4

Create a European Intelligence Agency as an information broker for complex and hybrid threats

The EEAS can only be proactive in its strategies if it has its own Intelligence Agency. Not to conduct covert operations or to eliminate specific threats, but to process reliable assessments and scenarios with information that is provided by European officials abroad, open media and member states. The European Intelligence Agency should act as a clearinghouse or a **trusted information broker** that unravels complex hybrid threats for operational and strategic planning.

aggressors and promote the exchange of information between member states. Given the rapid evolution of IT, the European Intelligence Agency should also aim at effective public private partnerships.

Despite promising new green technologies, the competition for energy becomes fiercer every day. Europe's **energy security** will to a large extent depend on its internal coordination, proactive planning and reliable intelligence on future threats. In this case, too, the main role of the European Intelligence Agency will be to connect the dots. It should gather information about the upstream market: newly discovered reserves abroad, options for diversifying supply lines, competition from other states, possible threats against sensitive infrastructure and the impact of local stability on production.



Jammers stressed the need for monitoring and **early warning on impacts of environmental change**.

Most of the information in this field is freely accessible and can be further supported by the earth observation facilities of the European Commission's ISFEREA programme. The main objective here is to signal problems at an early stage, map the environmental risk landscape and develop effective indicators

that highlight threats to the food supply system, energy security, health and ecosystems.

Cyber security was flagged as another area in which both the EU and NATO need to boost their intelligence. Several Jam participants proposed a cyber command or department within NATO, but the EU, too, has to take threats in the e-realm more seriously. With no physical and logical separation between defence, critical infrastructure and commercial interests in cyber attacks, the EU Intelligence Agency should map vulnerable targets and the possible fall-out after cyber attacks. It needs to trace potential

The Agency would also become the central node for collecting and disseminating information to **support EU operations**. "Take a not unlikely situation where there was an EU engagement or intervention in a region or state involving a military force, a police mission, a special representative and a resident delegation," EU Military Staff Director Lt.-General David Leakey stated. "Would you not want to have one coherent and collaborative messaging arrangement in the fields of media, information operations, psychological operations, political themes?" This Agency should serve as an intelligence coordination centre between civilian and military actors, EU institutions and member states, EU and NATO stakeholders, etc. "Intelligence needs not just to be shared but worked on collaboratively" to ensure that the Comprehensive Approach is actually implemented.

"Intelligence needs not just to be shared but worked on collaboratively."

Lt General David Leakey,
Director EU Military Staff

“The EEAS will need publicly to establish its legitimacy if it is to be credible in terms of adding value to the output of individual member states”

David Ringrose,
*Head of Information and Communications, DG
RELEX European Commission*



WERE REPRESENTED IN THE SECURITY JAM • 87% RATED THE JAM AS GOOD OR EXCELLENT •

5.

Improve the EU's internal public diplomacy and use new media to consult European experts on security threats and policies

The creation of a European External Action Service is raising expectations that the EU will soon translate its diplomatic ambitions into practice. Yet the precondition for a robust foreign and security policy is a dynamic security community. This not only requires a well-functioning bureaucracy; what the EU needs even more is a **strategic culture**. The EEAS should reach out to stakeholders in member states to analyse new international challenges, build a consensus on primary objectives and critically evaluate its policy instruments.

This implies an effective internal public diplomacy. "The EEAS will need publicly to establish its legitimacy if it is to be credible in terms of adding value to the output of individual member states," the Commission's David Ringrose confirmed in the Jam. It should therefore set up a group of **outreach advisors** whose main task is to interact with experts, journalists and business people in member states. The aim of these discussions would be to explore important international issues and to brainstorm on new policy initiatives.

For important new issues, the EEAS needs to organise intensive **brainstorming sessions**, convening opinion leaders to analyse how these trends or incidents affect our security and to discuss possible strategies in an inclusive and open environment. These meetings should not become mere PR stunts. Participants have to be properly prepared and deserve to get feedback afterwards.

To hold the EEAS to account there needs a reliable **security barometer**: a regular survey of Europeans' views on security threats and European policies. As suggested by Miroslav Hazer in the Jam, such polls could be complemented by foreign policy blogs. "Traditional media and professional journalists in connection with the new social media and bloggers should play an important role in such open public discussion, helping all the stakeholders to talk to each other, understand each other and in this way set the security-related public agenda."

Another suggestion from the Jam was that this basic interactive model could be used in the form of regional EEAS offices located outside foreign capitals to act as 'communication conduits'. By offering dialogue channels on issues like human rights, economic and educational opportunities through local meetings and discussions, as well virtually, the EEAS could distinguish itself as a sui generis organisation which is more likely to be accepted by local populations. A number of participants felt that the EEAS should "try to be different from a twentieth century national diplomatic service" by concentrating on being "more people-centric than state-centric".

E-groups and even internet jams are another important tool for stimulating interaction among members of the European security community. These groups can be either open or restricted to a select number of professionals, but they will prove to be a vital tool in exchanging views, information and experiences. Moreover, secure e-forums could convene EU and NATO practitioners to informally discuss common policy issues or operational lessons learned. Such public diplomacy would boost the authority of the EEAS, and the support of a broad security community could increase its leverage *vis-à-vis* member state governments.

The EEAS should be "more people-centric than state-centric".

Professor Mary Kaldor,
London School of Economics



“One real contribution such an academy could make would be to provide training for Europe's civilian actors in crisis management. They will require skill sets such as strategic planning and strategic communications and a thorough understanding of how others work in crises.”

Dr Stephanie Blair,
SIPRI

FORUMS POSTED IN MOST BY REPRESENTATIVES OF THE EUROPEAN INSTITUTIONS WERE POLITICAL

6.

Create a European Security Academy where EU civilian and military staff and other international actors can learn to work together in the field

All Jam forums highlighted the **expertise deficit** in the EU and NATO's foreign and security policies. Reliable information is key to anticipating and understanding new security risks. A complete picture of the needs, aspirations

and behaviour of protagonists on the international scene is also indispensable in bilateral and multilateral negotiations. At the same time, operational skills will be key if the EU and NATO are to excel in comprehensive CIVMIL operations.

The problem is not so much that there is no expertise available in Europe, but that a lot of it remains confined to the academic realm or national think

tanks, governments or NGOs. The EU often does not have the capacity to mobilise this vast pool of knowledge and experience. The EEAS therefore needs to establish a **European Security Academy**.

This Academy would be a unique location for **operational training**. It should be responsible for training officials, and, as recommended by Jam participants like SIPRI's Stephanie Blair, it should also provide training in joint crisis management, bringing together civilian and military staff. Again, the Academy should avoid duplicating existing initiatives, but it could provide financial means to offer good existing programmes to wider audiences and even to combine training modules from different organisations into one advanced programme. This way, the academy will be a one-stop-shop for European practitioners to gain and exchange experience with other actors from international organisations specialised in their given field. As another Jammer commented "it's important to have

an institution which can retain this kind of knowledge for future generations".

There is also a need to **eliminate mistrust** between GOs and NGOs without jeopardising specialised training. "I would like to see more military units earmarked as rescue teams, and mentally prepared to work in the CIMIC world, not pretending anymore that they are trained for war and can't do anything 'less'" says Commander Jérôme Michelet of the French Navy.

However, this institution should not be a new think tank that duplicates the work of existing institutes or another form of academic window dressing. Instead, the Academy should take the lead in developing a division of labour among these institutions, sketching out a research agenda that is relevant for the EU's foreign policies, financing advanced joint research projects and disseminating research output. Whenever there is need for instant or specific reports, this academy could source from a large network of experts. Knowledge is not only a vital asset in supporting policy making; joint research by experts from different member states could also help develop a common view on international issues and legitimise EEAS strategies.

A requirement for this security community to be productive is that EEAS officers get the time and scope to participate in expert discussions. The experience of the Jam suggests that officials are still somewhat reluctant to contribute to such debates. Each research or training project organised by the Academy should therefore be coached by a group of officials, allocated time in their planning to do so. The EEAS should also **promote interaction**. Experts could be allowed to temporarily join its units and should encourage officials to spend longer time in academic institutes or NGOs.

"I would like to see more military units... mentally prepared to work in the CIMIC world, not pretending anymore that they are trained for war and can't do anything 'less' "

Commander Jérôme Michelet,
French Navy



THE JAM INCLUDING 2 DEFENCE MINISTERS, 2 FOREIGN MINISTERS AND 1 VICE-PRIME MINISTER

7

Establish a combined EU-NATO Wisemen's group made up of independent personalities to evaluate capability planning and build public support for cross-border cooperation

"There is a risk of divergence between less investment in security and the objective level of actual and potential threats, which is in no way declining," General Stéphane Abrial remarked in the Jam.

This growing gap applies to all layers of the EU and NATO's capabilities – military and civilian. One of the most urgent battles for the EU and NATO will be the battle against fragmentation and wasteful duplication.

There needs to be a combined EU-NATO group made up of retired independent military and political authorities to evaluate current approaches to capability planning and promote cross border collaboration. This group should also have a major role in building public support and awareness in the public sphere for increased cross border cooperation.

The group needs to explore options **for smart procurement** of military capabilities. The EU member states are currently developing 89 new systems in 25 main categories of armaments, whereas the United States finances only 27 major projects. As Robert Cox pointed out in the Jam "The general public seems largely unaware of the sheer

waste by duplication of Europe's defence effort. A political shock communication campaign seems to be needed to shake public opinion and thereby, hopefully, stir Europe's political class from its slumber."

The challenge for the EU is to find a balance between reducing budgets, operational needs and economic interests. Jam participants identified the fact that multinational programmes are often more expensive than national ones. The Wisemen should encourage interoperability of equipment by working to harmonise requirements and underlying standards.

However, similar challenges exist in regard to civilian capabilities. The wisemen should therefore develop an EU-NATO **pool for civilian crisis management**. "This is not a matter of showing one's own flag," the European Commission's Nico Keppens insisted, "it is about helping people in the most efficient way." Antje Herrberg of the Crisis Management Initiative proposed to start with integrating all the EU's foreign affairs policies into one coherent political and operational framework: DG Relex., DG Development, ECHO, EuropAID, DG Trade, the crisis management structures of the Council Secretariat and member states' agencies. The latter could commit policemen, judges, lawyers, corrections officials, health officials, administrators, economists and agronomists to a civilian crisis response corps. The EEAS would coordinate the deployment of these instruments and streamline synergies with NATO.

While Jam discussions confirmed that development cooperation has a much broader scope than preventing or addressing security threats, **more effective spending of aid** is vital to support CIVMIL operations.

"The general public seems largely unaware of the sheer waste by duplication of Europe's defence effort.

A political shock communication campaign seems to be needed to shake public opinion and ... stir Europe's political class from its slumber."

Robert Cox,
former Senior Advisor to the European Community's Humanitarian Office (ECHO)



"There is a risk of divergence between less investment in security and the objective level of actual and potential threats"

General Stéphane Abrial,
Supreme Allied Commander Transformation
NATO



POLL 55% SAID THAT EVEN MASSIVE DEVELOPMENT AID COULD NOT DEFUSE INSURGENCIES

8.

Establish an EU scarce natural resources inventory with a mandate to protect them for future generations

The European Commission should develop an inventory of limited natural resources in Europe and establish an agency responsible for managing and protecting them. Building on the experience of the European Water Initiative, this agency would also be responsible for coordinating and supporting projects to change consumer behaviour and to ensure that precious natural resources are better valued.



“Unfortunately, the world all too often responds only when there is a security problem.”

Josette Sheeran,
Executive Director of the World Food Programme

50 percent of the world’s population without food safety nets are significant. Unfortunately, the world all too often responds only when there is a security problem.” Jamming from Antarctica, Explorer Alain Hubert was one of the many participants to insist on “Informing the individual of what lies ahead and the need to radically modify their lifestyles and providing the means to act.”



“Inform the individual of what lies ahead and the need to radically modify their lifestyles and provide the means to act.”

Alain Hubert,
Explorer and UNICEF Goodwill Ambassador

In one of the most urbanised regions of the world, the first priority of the agency should be to protect Europe’s own scarce resources. It should compile relevant information from NGOs and member state governments into an EU-wide database of important natural heritages: water reserves, fragile agriculture areas, etc. The next step is to work with local governments and NGOs to protect these assets. Companies, too, can play a role. As Jacqueline McGlade suggested, “A number of major water companies have been able to develop adaptation plans that include citizens accepting their role in reducing their demand on water supplies and sharing the burden of the risks of water shortages in the future.”

This agency should also foster **partnerships with environmental protection organisations** in developing countries. This is crucial to prevent foreign or multinational companies from externalising pollution. One successful case referred to in the Jam was the partnership between Rainforest Alliance and Chiquita, which was concluded after mainly European consumers started to criticise the banana producer’s disastrous environmental impact in Latin America. It could consider environmental monitoring for all important agriculture products that are imported. But these partnerships should also strengthen enforcement capacity and enhance the awareness of local civil society.



SECURITY JAM • 710 PARTICIPANTS FROM THE USA • 2,479 PARTICIPANTS FROM THE EUROPEAN

9.

Publish a joint EU-NATO quarterly publication where senior officials from both organisations can collaborate in public

“Are we doing enough to harmonise Europe's or the Atlantic's view on what's bothering us in terms of security, and how to cope?” a senior EU official asked in the Jam. A **joint EU and NATO security review** can help shape the intellectual debate with hard-hitting contributions from experts of both organisations on better cooperation and harmonisation. This could be a place where new collaboration is forged in public through co-authorship of articles and where the EU and NATO can be seen to be getting “in step” with one another.

As Former NATO Secretary General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer pointed out the problem is that “EU and NATO Ambassadors can hardly talk to each other... The time for competition should long be over!”

This review could be published every three months so that it combines articles on long-term security. Blending sharp and opinionated writing with innovative research contributions, the review should aim at a wide readership and be disseminated freely in both member states and beyond.



“EU and NATO Ambassadors can hardly talk to each other... The time for competition should long be over!”

Jaap de Hoop Scheffer,
Former NATO Secretary General

However, there can only be scope for such analysis if the EEAS and NATO provide support for it. The journal should have a professional editorial team and an active group of advisors to help develop it into an influential international publication.

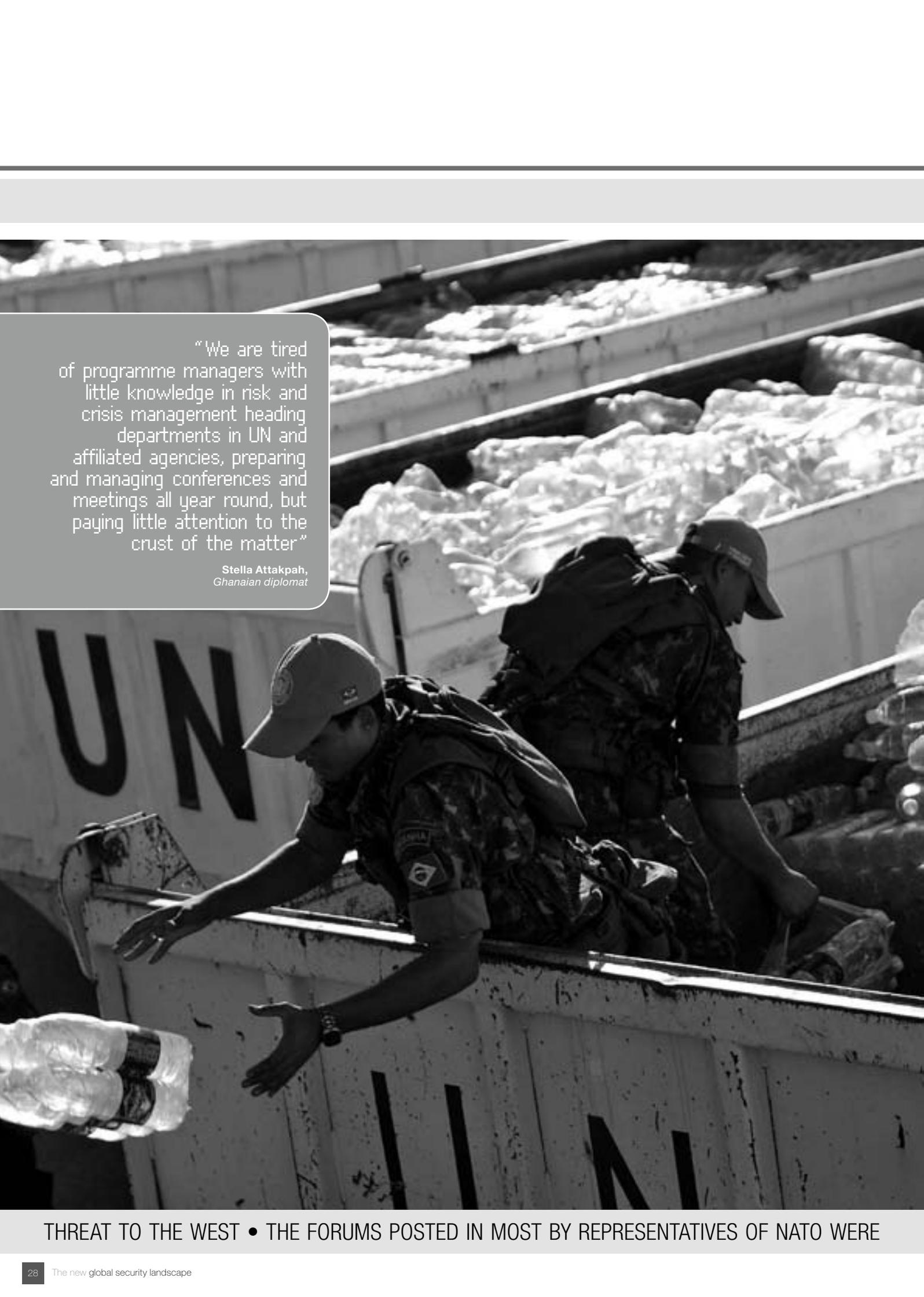
This publication is just one concrete example of the kind of steps that many Security Jam participants felt could be useful in getting the EU and NATO communicating effectively with each other on a more regular basis. Such a platform could not only serve as a space to share opinions but also as an ongoing platform for innovation among top level experts and decision makers in the transatlantic security community.

Moreover, because such a publication would be freely available to the general public it would serve as an information tool to promote awareness of their respective policies and maintain the kind of **informed debate in the public realm** which the Security Jam sought to promote.

“Today, soft-power is about the ability to lead efficient public debate across borders engaging brains and winning hearts. Empower traditional media and connect them with the multiplying affect of new social media.”

This will help all stakeholders to understand each other and set up the security-related agenda with sufficient public international support.”

Miroslav Hazer,
Project Manager
European Journalism Centre



“We are tired of programme managers with little knowledge in risk and crisis management heading departments in UN and affiliated agencies, preparing and managing conferences and meetings all year round, but paying little attention to the crust of the matter”

*Stella Attakpah,
Ghanaian diplomat*

THREAT TO THE WEST • THE FORUMS POSTED IN MOST BY REPRESENTATIVES OF NATO WERE

10.

Establish an International Crisis Preparedness Fund to harness the media spotlight on today's current crises by collecting 5% of all donations to prepare for future disasters

Five per cent of all donations made to any crisis should be invested into an international disaster relief fund managed by the United Nations. The aim of the fund is to capitalise on the short-term media spotlight of humanitarian disasters in order to shift attention to long-term preparedness.

Large-scale crises like those recently in Haiti or in Asian countries vulnerable to Tsunamis are often followed by ambitious emergency relief operations and generous financial aid. But spontaneity often comes at the expense of effectiveness. Donor countries and NGOs can be more eager to show their flag than to invest in efficient multilateral coordination. When the camera teams have left, local governments have seldom enough support to beef up their own crisis response capacity like alert networks for earthquakes or tsunamis, effective evacuation plans or well-trained public services. In the case of smaller or chronic crises, it is not even certain that any serious help arrives at all.



“The problem I see is that the country gets the money after something has happened, not before”

General Alois Hirschmugl,
*Austrian Humanitarian Affairs
Advisor to the Chief of Defence Staff*

“The problem I see is that the country gets the money after something has happened, not before,” Humanitarian Affairs Advisor to the Austrian Chief of Defence Staff General Alois Hirschmugl remarked in the Jam. Nottingham University’s Matthew Fribbance therefore proposed that five percent of the

money donated to major crises should go to a disaster prevention fund. “This donated fund could be used by the United Nations to implement disaster **prevention** measures in the poorest and most vulnerable regions of the world.” The money could be used to fund Tsunami warning systems or to educate people on the correct responses to disasters. The UN International Strategy for Disaster Reduction (ISDR) was named in the Jam as a possible beneficiary of the fund.

Other Jammers emphasised the need to **invest in preparedness**, minimising the impact of a disaster by strengthening the capacity to provide a timely and appropriate humanitarian response to the needs of affected populations. The five-percent-levy could be used to strengthen the stand-by capacities of the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA).

However, a condition for such a fund to be helpful is once more to limit **wasteful fragmentation** among donors and increase **expertise** of risk managers in both international organisations and recipient countries. “Most times the work of disaster prevention is rarely managed by Risk Managers who are skilled in this type of work,” the Ghanaian diplomat Stella Attakpah remarked, “We are tired of programme managers with little knowledge heading departments in UN and affiliated agencies, preparing and managing conferences and meetings all year round, but paying little attention to the crust of the matter: crisis management, prevention and impact reduction.”

III. Dealing with a fragmented world

Globalisation has flattened borders between states. Just like modern business transactions carried out across the globe with one mouse click non-traditional security threats also journey over long distances. Organised gangs have the entire world as their hunting ground. Booming trade and financial flows make it almost impossible to detect deadly shipments of arms, illegally excavated natural resources or terrorist transactions. Failing states automatically imperil operations of foreign investors and disturb international markets.

But if the world has indeed become flat, it also remains fragmented. Effective cooperation for tackling non-traditional security threats is often thwarted by traditional power plays between states.

The relative erosion of the United States' influence and the emergence of new ambitious regional powers have culminated in a new climate of uncertainty. Many in the Jam described the emergence of "a confusing world - not unipolar but not really multipolar, either". Harkening back to the Ancient Greeks one Jammer depicted a kind of "oligopoly" to describe current international affairs in which there is "a group of players of very different nature and size but all distinctively more powerful, stronger economically and/or demographically, potentially more destructive and more relevant to the other major players than the rest".

Despite most countries' awareness of the fact that the security of one state can no longer be separated from the security of another state, distrust of each other's strategic intentions and pressing economic needs complicate collaboration.

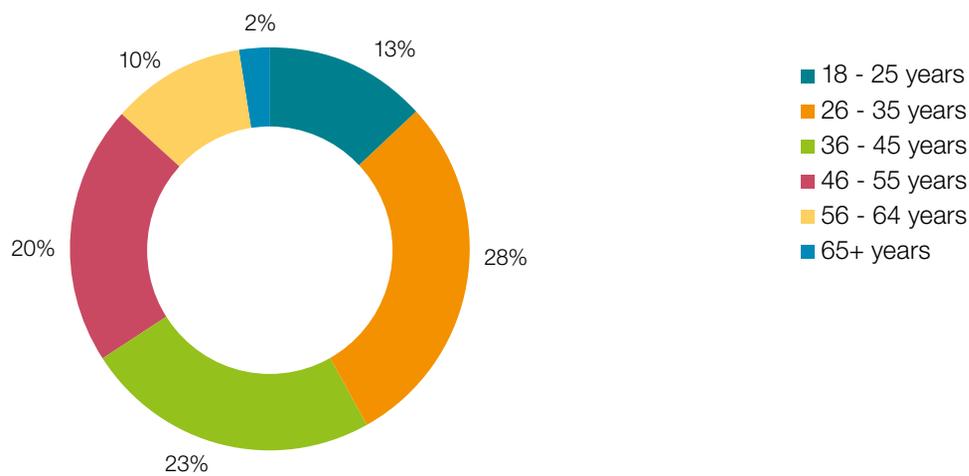
Yet, the overwhelming message from the Security Jam seems to be that the very challenges posed by failing states, hybrid and cross-border threats "require the engagement of all powers- rising or not". The message is clear: in the new security landscape "cooperation and rivalry among these powers will have a significant impact on the trajectory of our globalised world."

A number of distinct **cross cutting themes** also emerged from the Security Jam to reflect the fragmented nature of today's global security architecture. Within these themes Jam participants identified a number of areas where future progress and collaboration can occur. Let us take a closer look then at how the Jam assessed this quandary and what kind of solutions it proposed.

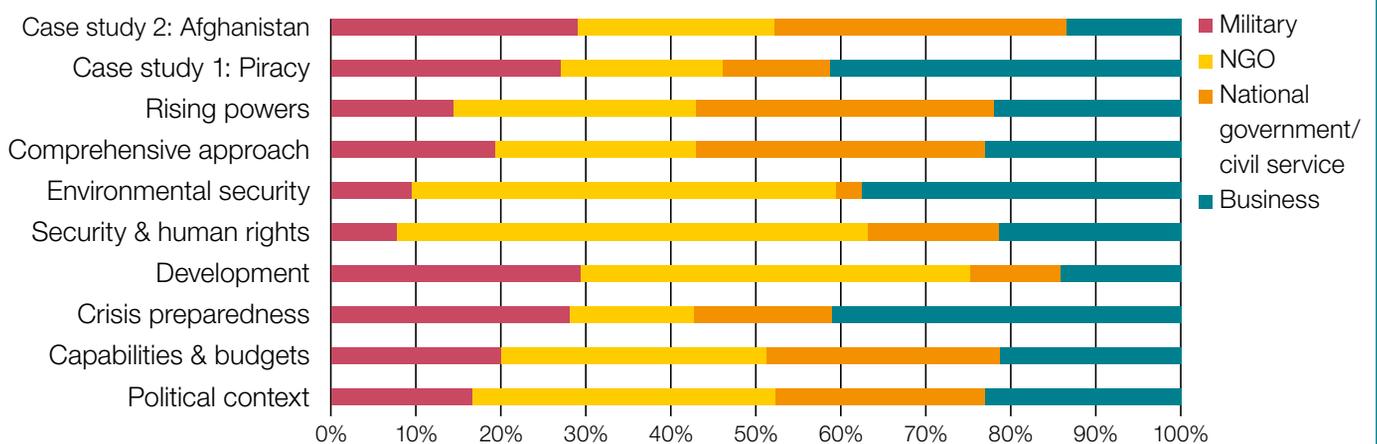
“Cooperation and rivalry among these powers will have a significant impact on the trajectory of our globalised world.”

A QUARTER OF POSTS RELATING DIRECTLY TO THE EU AND NATO IN THE JAM WERE TAGGED

Registered participants of the Security Jam by age

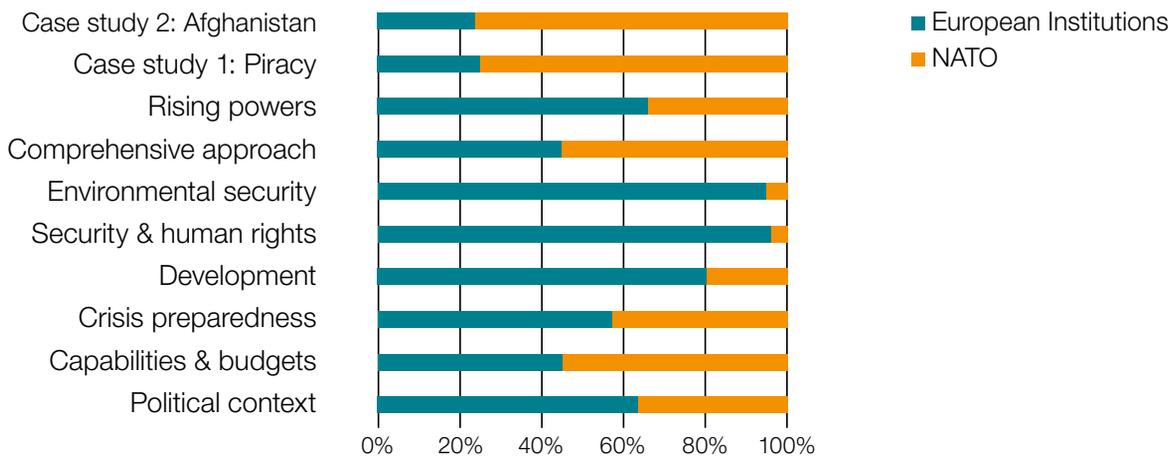


Percentage of posts per Security Jam forum by affiliation

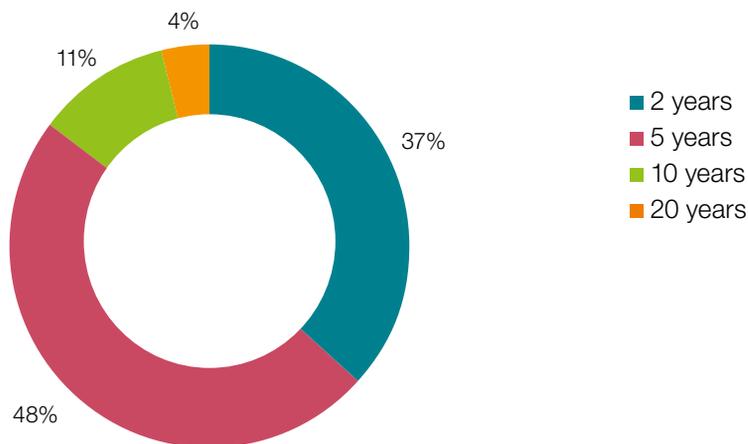


Security Jam statistics

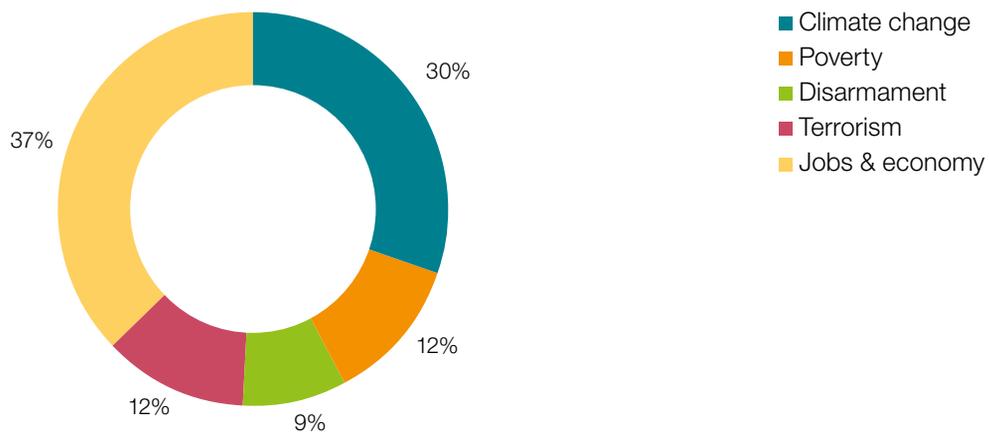
Percentage of European Institution posts and NATO posts per Security Jam forum



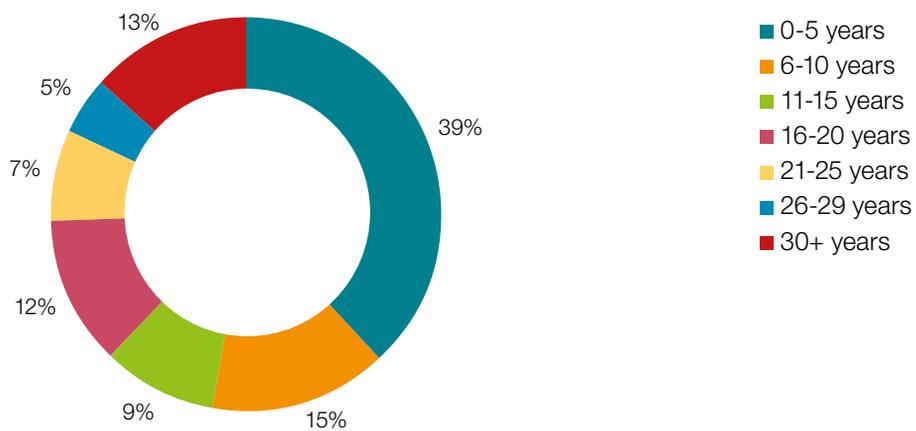
Security Jam quick poll: How long will public opinion in the EU and NATO countries tolerate deployments in Afghanistan?



Security Jam quick poll: What is THE priority issue for international leaders to focus on in 2010?

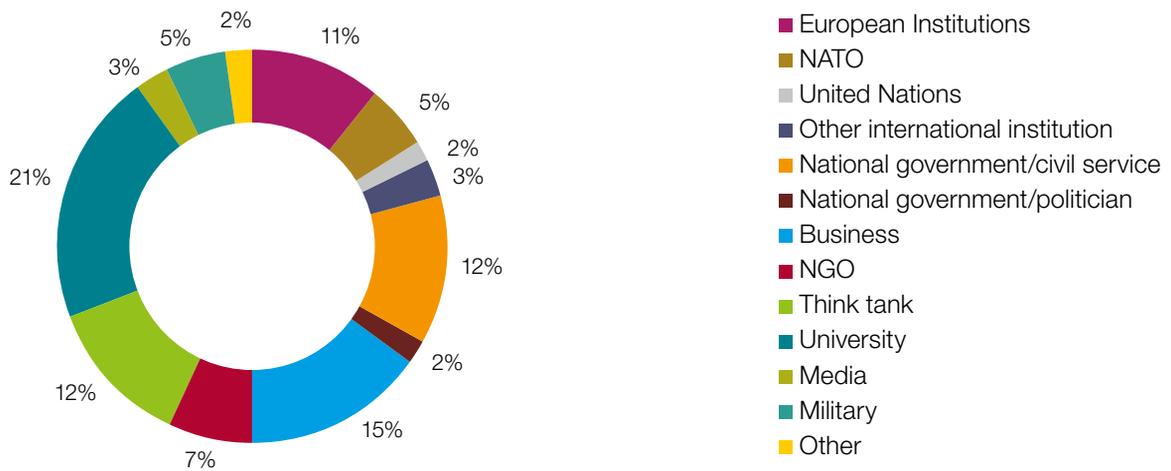


Percentage of total posts by years of experience in security, defence or development issues

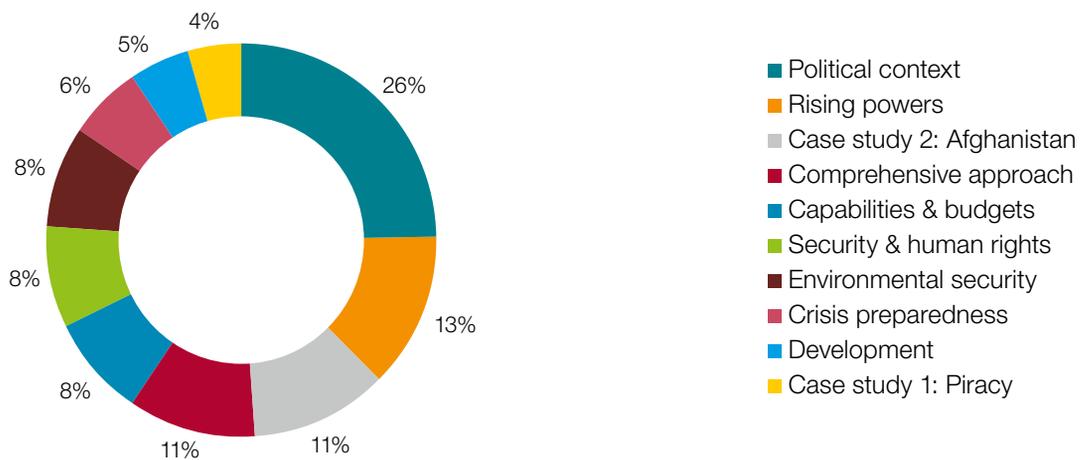


Security Jam statistics

Percentage of registered participants by professional affiliation



Percentage of posts per Security Jam forum





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The world will be dominated by fragile powers

America's unipolar moment appears to be fading. Even if the U.S. market recovers from the economic crisis and the Obama Administration succeeds to "re-energise the nation", it will be burdened by huge financial deficits that could weigh on its capacity to innovate. Domestic problems will weaken Washington's political leverage in negotiations with other countries and erode its soft power. US military might is likely to hold, but the rapid military modernisation of the emerging powers as well as the enormous costs of wars in Iraq and Afghanistan will further reduce its manoeuvrability. In many ways the United States remains the dominant player on the international scene, but it will have to wield its power more carefully and selectively.



"Engaging China and India and Russia and others is a policy which might or might not have been successful in the past. In present, and even more so in future circumstances, one would need to learn to engage WITH them."

Dmitri Trenin,
*Director of the Moscow Office of the Carnegie
Endowment for International Peace*

International politics in the coming decades will most likely be determined by a loose group of fragile powers. Still banking on its success during the two great wars and the long Cold War of the past century, the United States will be forced more and more onto the defensive to protect its interests. Russia will continue to slide backwards, failing to reform its economy and even more to gain the international esteem it longs for. China, India and Brazil will continue their attempts to bring their international status up to par with their vast geopolitical, demographic and cultural potential. They are still regional powers but have growing global interests which will produce new dilemmas about how to reconcile their strained capabilities with growing responsibilities abroad.

Their foreign policies will mainly depend on the extent to which they are able to tap the international market for creating opportunities for their expanding labour forces. China, India and Brazil will follow different paths in pursuit of unity and affluence. If they continue to experience success and maintain confidence in the prospects of an open global economy, there will be more scope for domestic reform and taking a constructive role in international affairs.

Yet, for all three emerging powers, needs are now growing faster than the capacity to fulfil them. This has the potential to engender domestic instability and could prompt political leaders to focus on national security instead of personal liberties. In their foreign policies, the emphasis will be on short-term economic gains and avoiding costs rather than on long-term international stability. This greatly obstructs the development of a consensus with Western countries about the norms that guide international politics.

As pointed out by George Perkovich, vice president for studies and director of the Nuclear Policy Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace "China, India, Brazil, and Russia should be analysed and engaged as distinct individual states with distinct interests and capabilities to affect others and the international system as a whole". We must recognise "when and where each could play an effective positive role in redressing a global problem". Dmitri Trenin, Director of the Moscow Office of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace echoed this by stating that the problem could be boiled down to a mere preposition: it is not so much a question of engaging rising powers, what we need to do is "learn to engage WITH them". This requires "a more co-equal approach from the U.S. and the EU".

RISING POWERS:

Hosted by Carnegie Europe, this was one of the most-visited forums with discussions focussing on the evolving world order and its impact on the West. A first important debate concentrated on the question of how fast the world will become multipolar. The BRIC countries have clearly gained power, but it remains to be seen whether the United States can overcome its problems and maintain its leading position. Jam participants were also cautious of taking the rise of the BRIC countries for granted and pointed to many domestic challenges that these juggernauts still have to tackle. One expert even asked rhetorically: “What if rising powers do not rise?” The forum generally concluded that the transition from a unipolar to a multipolar world order would create more uncertainty. Many Jammers asked whether the U.S. could balance between the traditional transatlantic partnerships and its growing attention to transpacific relations. Another issue of concern was whether the West should counterbalance countries like China or try to approach them as potential like-minded partners. Other debates related to the meaning of influence in a globalised world and the emergence of new spheres of influence in places like Central Asia, Africa and the Middle East.

THE POLITICAL CONTEXT:

“Does security mean different things in different countries?” That was the most important issue in this popular Jam forum hosted by the Barcelona based think tank CIDOB. In this regard the interrelated questions of who defines security and who should be the target of new security policies (private citizens, societies, states, regions) were discussed. Participants even debated whether we should be aiming at universal security goals. Another related matter was the meaning of security in a changing world. Participants asked for example whether non-traditional threats like cyber attacks, drugs trade, market disruption, proliferation and extremism have now become more important than traditional threats such as great power rivalry or nuclear arms races. But they also discussed the importance of Western values, like democracy, in building a safer world. The participants mostly agreed that there would likely be many national or regional security concepts and that one of the main challenges will be to reconcile them. This led to another important debate on the importance of the UN, NATO, the new European External Action Service and other regional institutions in addressing security challenges. How capable are they and to what extent can they be truly global actors? Participants exchanged views on specific cases like Columbia, Cyprus and the problem of Islamic extremism and concluded that the complexity of such challenges could only be addressed by more comprehensive security policies. This represented an important step in moving from discussing the international security landscape to formulating dilemmas and possible approaches for new security strategies.

COMMENTS, THE SECURITY JAM SAW AN AVERAGE OF ALMOST 31 COMMENTS EVERY HOUR •

A COMPREHENSIVE APPROACH:

So, how coordinated can our responses to global threats be? This was the main question in the Comprehensive Approach forum hosted by the Bertelsmann Stiftung. A first concrete issue discussed by the participants was the combination of civilian and military tools. It was agreed that the military can no longer be the sole provider of solutions and that hybrid security threats required a wide array of policy instruments. “We will not deliver security from the barrel of a gun in today’s world”, said Admiral Stavridis. If we see the need to transform conflicts by changing

bad governance into good governance, the EU and NATO are in need of a fundamental new foreign, development and security policy that concentrates on conflict prevention. In such a concept the military force would become the tool of last resort. Departing from lessons learned in the Balkans, Afghanistan, Colombia, Haiti and other trouble spots Jammers presented several suggestions to support such operations, including better planning processes, networking approaches, overcoming different cultures by common training, etc. Another question was whether and how the EU and NATO could reach out to other actors like Russia and China, by going beyond a Western-centric comprehensive approach.

What, then, are the geopolitical realities of this new security landscape and will there be room for constructive engagement amongst these fragile powers?

Despite its good performance during the international economic crisis, **China’s** transition has arrived at a critical juncture. Selling cheap labour and good infrastructure to foreign investors proved to be the winning formula for China’s first period of reform. Its leadership understands that it will now have to make a qualitative leap forward. But reducing the dependence on affluent Western markets seems more difficult than expected and several economic bubbles plague the domestic market. As New York Times columnist Steven Erlanger stated in the Jam: “China seems to be a cautious power, worried about its own fragility, believing in nothing except wealth and a kind of hyperbolic nationalism that harkens back to the colonial wars and the collapse of the great empire.” Beijing reckons that autarchy is not an option, but it perceives the world as an increasingly hostile environment with looming protectionism and other powers trying to contain it. The attempt of the West to engage it is seen as a schizophrenic strategy to make China pay for some of its own problems and even to limit China’s influence. We see that now China is engaged in the international arena, but not really socialised. Several territorial conflicts continue to be possible flashpoints.

Although **India** was described in the Jam as a potential “future motor of world economy” it remains a low-income

country, a place of acute inequalities and widespread discrimination on caste and gender grounds. Its political democracy is in sharp contrast with extensive cultural-economic segregation. In an ocean of poverty “there are islands of spectacular economic growth which might keep India moving in the right direction”, but large parts of the political elite toy with protectionism. On the international scene it could therefore potentially remain “a blocker” rather than “a shaper”. Yet, Jammers recognised that “India has come a long way” and more importantly “has historic links to Russia, growing ties to China, is a major regional player, and has increasing reach in Africa and Latin America”. True, India is less visible than China, but the Doha Round and the Climate Summit in Copenhagen showed that Delhi is able to derail international decision-making processes. India has also conceived an ambitious plan to develop its own sphere of influence in Southern Asia through its policies towards neighbouring countries like Nepal, Myanmar, Sri Lanka and Afghanistan. Equally, its poverty has not restrained it from investing fortunes in its military prowess to counterbalance Pakistan and China.

Brazil has been the least visible emerging power, but under President Lula da Silva it made remarkable progress and proved that economic development can prevail over political fragmentation. As SACEUR Admiral James Stavridis summarised in the Jam: “Approaching 200 million population, entirely energy self-sufficient, the largest exporter of food in the world, and with recent oil

discoveries, it will be one of the top oil exporters in a few years. Brazil has a thriving and vibrant democracy, capable military, and a growing interest in global engagement.” Other participants like Peterson Ferreira da Silva highlighted Brazil's strategic pursuit of regional action founded on the idea of constructing a zone of peace and political stability, based on the primacy of development objectives and a strong preference for multilateralism. “Brazil's regional security agenda is therefore more focused on new issues than on traditional ones.” Brazil has assumed a leading role in the stabilisation of Haiti. It could further enhance its regional security role if the economic momentum is maintained and tensions with countries like Venezuela are kept under control.

The prevailing view in the Jam was that **Russia** is not (re-) emerging, but that it is jockeying on the rise of Asia by attempting to get more value out of its natural resources. Its economic modernisation has not been as successful as hoped and the political elite have tried to compensate by appealing to patriotism. Russia risks becoming an isolated country and losing appeal to foreign investors as even its new friends in Asia are wary of its military muscle-flexing in its neighbourhood. For all the attempts to “reset” the relations with America the Russian strategic elite continues to perceive the United States and NATO as its main challenger.

Japan, finally, has made important strides in its ‘normalisation’. As a regional power it traditionally wielded a lot of economic influence. As Sheffield University's Philip Shetler-Jones remarked in the Jam: “Japan contributes an enormous amount of cash to finance security action,

including paying the Afghan police for six months, aid to countries bordering or coming out of conflict and a big portion of the UN main and peacekeeping budgets. Just as someone has to provide the manpower on the ground, someone also has to pay.” Now it is also enhancing its military capabilities. The problem, however, is that this normalisation comes at a moment that Japan's economic power is declining – even in absolute terms. This has caused neighbouring countries to worry about Japan's future intentions. Will political elites use military prestige to compensate for Japan's dwindling economic clout? Will it detach itself from the United States? While interdependence is still prompting the East Asian protagonists to invest in new political dialogue, Japan's long-term ambitions remain an important source of uncertainty.

Yet, even in this uncertain climate Jammers still identified opportunities for collaboration on case specific security issues like Afghanistan. As one jammer pointed out China is Pakistan's largest investor, and is poised to become the largest investor in Afghanistan as well. Engagement in a regional forum with all stakeholders could play a significant role in helping to stabilise the Afghanistan-Pakistan region. In this context, a number of Jammers across forums debated whether a NATO-SCO security framework could provide the kind of platform for dialogue which is needed to reinforce the regional dimension to Afghanistan. “If we are now at the moment of ‘making the unconventional conventional’, discussing the vision for NATO in the next decades, why not to start thinking of this new perspective of NATO/SCO, shaking hands over the Pacific?” asked Liviu Muresan the Executive President of the EURISC Foundation.

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ENVIRONMENT:

The debate in this forum hosted by Chatham House, the UK's Royal Institute for International Affairs centred around three broad themes. First, it was discussed how environment-related developments like water availability and ecosystem crises result in new security threats. Second, Jammers looked at the need for new tools, modelling, scenario planning, climate mitigation measures etc. Finally, it was debated how the military could play a role in coping with environmental threats by pioneering clean technology through investment in Research

and Development which would not be feasible for civilian actors. Key recommendations were formulated to enhance capacity for monitoring environmental impacts and to set up an early warning system perhaps by applying more military strategic risk analysis of 'worst case scenarios' as in the recent Quadrennial Defense Review. The EU and NATO could also develop risk frameworks to streamline preventive and emergency action. Participants also emphasised the critical need for investment in developing and deploying clean energy technology and to strengthen international resource management.

PIRACY:

Piracy is probably one of the best examples of a hybrid threat. As a consequence of globalisation shipping and fishing fleets have boosted maritime traffic along the African coast, but it seldom benefits people onshore. The jammers in this forum hosted by FRS discussed these root causes and gave very concrete suggestions for developing a comprehensive strategy, including options for working with the Somali transitional government

and the African Union, tackling over-fishing and toxic dumping in East African waters, building an adequate international legal framework to put pirates on trial and even for implementing superior technologies at sea to stymie piracy. But participants in this forum also stressed that the EU and NATO alone cannot clear the job of securing an area that is about the size of Europe. Countries like India and China should become fully involved in our attempts to prevent and combat piracy.

IN THE SECURITY OR DEVELOPMENT FIELDS AND 47.1% HAD OVER 10 YEARS EXPERIENCE • IN A

The main security risks are non-traditional, but non-traditional threats could lead to new traditional power plays

“Real ‘Hybrid threats’ have a cell-phone in one hand and an RPG in the other.”

James Crick,
Instructor U.S. Army Command and General Staff
College

Modern security threats have an increasingly hybrid character. They emanate from different kinds of actors: states, terrorists, terrorists cooperating with states, etc. They can be intentional, symptomatic or collateral. James Cricks of the US Military pointed out in the Jam that today’s “Real Hybrid Threats have a cell-phone in hand and an RPG in the other”. Thanks to technological progress and globalisation, threats can transform almost endlessly, moving from armed violence over economic warfare to cyber attacks and ‘normative destabilisation’. They can target states or specific groups: ethnic, economic and political.

In the Security Jam, four main categories of threats attracted the most attention.

Economic instability

Starting with **economic instability**, the financial crisis of 2008 and 2009 has clearly revealed the fundamental weaknesses of the international market. In a matter of weeks financial turbulence destabilised the world’s top superpower, not only causing major economic damage, but also affecting its international soft power and military capability. As a

consequence of the mayhem in the US, collapsing trade led to new social tensions in China. European markets are now wrestling with recession raising possibilities of national defence budgets being cut by 15-30% as one senior participant from NATO reminded us in the Jam. If the global economic outlook continues to deteriorate, many developing countries face grave domestic instability because they will be unable to create jobs for their growing populations. Industrialised countries will be more inclined to protect their economies and prevent companies from relocating to cheaper labour markets. Most importantly, a persistent economic crisis could reverse the process of globalisation, produce new nationalism and intensify the competition for scarce opportunities. It is therefore revealing that in an online poll Jammers rated jobs and the economy as the priority issue (37%) for international leaders to focus on in 2010 over climate change (30%), terrorism (12%), poverty (12%) and disarmament (9%).

Yet Jammers in almost every forum also emphasised that current economic realities should also push international actors to re-examine roles and activities in order to find ways to **enhance efficiencies**. As General Syrén put it in the Jam “We have to turn the challenge into an opportunity!” Where there is duplication and competition between institutions the focus should be on better **synergy** and **collaboration**. The financial crisis should therefore be a spur for greater sharing of capabilities across Europe, more effective procurement and streamlined supply chains.

Failed States

“Unless people have some sense that their living conditions can improve, they are unlikely to invest in institutions or trust in structures of governance.”

Heather Grabbe,
Director Open Society Institute Brussels

Prolonged economic instability could also aggravate the problem of failed states. In all Jam forums, failed states were considered as the main challenge for the EU and NATO's future security strategies. Thanks to the economic growth in the past decades, many poor countries have been able to earn more from their natural resources.

However, in many cases, these revenues were mismanaged and drained away into shady networks of patronage.

“Few states can be sustained if their economies cannot provide for the basic needs of citizens,” OSI's Heather Grabbe remarked in the Jam, “unless people have some sense that their living conditions can improve, they are unlikely to invest in institutions or trust in structures of governance.” If economic opportunities for the weakest countries shrink and if governments are not held accountable for their practices, many of the poorest countries in the world will continue to be breeding grounds for violence, crime, terrorism, piracy and ultimately humanitarian catastrophes. The idea of Millennium Security Goals advocated in the Jam could be one way of pressuring governments to prioritise the human security of their citizens by making specialised and targeted support available to countries in need.



“History is replete with examples of leading edge technologies being developed by military organisations, from Global Positioning Systems (GPS), to the Internet.”

Sherri Goodman,
senior Vice president of Centre for Naval Analyses

Environmental Hazards

In a world that will see its population increase by another three billion in the next two decades, **environmental hazards** will almost certainly become one of the most important sources of insecurity. Even the most ambitious carbon curbs will not suffice to prevent climate change from affecting our daily lives. It is threatening the supply of water in most parts of the world and this in turn exacerbates territorial conflicts as well as tensions between cities and rural areas. Rising sea levels not only threaten the survival of island states like the Maldives; they will inevitably disturb fragile coastal habitats onshore and lead to mass migration. This will imperil food security and trigger a global land grab that could produce new conflicts for fertile soil. An EU Agency to catalogue and safeguard natural resources is just one small step to combat unsustainable overexploitation and a similar organisation should also be considered at UN level.

Recognising “that defence has contributed to climate change” Jammers were keen to see the military take a stronger leadership role in developing and deploying new green technologies. As Senior Vice president of Centre for Naval Analyses and former Deputy Undersecretary of Defense for Environmental Security in the United States Department of Defense Sherri Goodman pointed out in the Environmental Security Forum “History is replete with examples of leading edge technologies being developed by military organisations, from Global Positioning Systems (GPS), to the Internet.”

Technology

Participants also highlighted that the world's growing dependence on the **internet** for personal, economic and military communication creates new important risks. "The biggest threat to physical security in the 21st century is the continuing vulnerability of IT systems", IBM's John Mihalec stated, "future wars will be executed by geeks against geeks". But even unintentional digital meltdowns could paralyse key industries, countries and even important parts of the international society. The internet has become an indispensable global common good, but it is not accompanied by effective global governance and security measures. However, when Jammers shared their experiences of the realities of making collaboration work on the ground they were quick to emphasise that obstacles to collaboration could be overcome through use of **technology** (e.g. social networking platforms) where mutual trust can be built up and then transferred to operations on the ground. A good example of this is off the Horn of Africa where, US, Chinese and European military vessels (among others) use a live messaging service to communicate threats.

"Future wars
will be executed by geeks
against geeks"

John Mihalec,
IBM

AFGHANISTAN:

Whereas the U.S. invaded Afghanistan with the single goal of rooting out terrorism the West is now stuck in one of the most complicated conflict zones. This Jam forum hosted by the Atlantic Council of the United States clearly demonstrated that despite several failed military interventions in the past, the West still has a long way to go in planning operations more comprehensively. Jammers covered a large number of obstacles in the stabilisation and reconstruction of Afghanistan, ranging from very concrete military bottlenecks to corruption and underdevelopment. When it came to defining success in this quagmire many agreed that Afghans taking the lead in defining their own needs and becoming responsible for their own security was essential. While there was a general consensus that providing security remained the allied forces' main task; the Jam forum also highlighted the need for a very sophisticated civilian strategy. Similar to the forum on piracy in the Indian Ocean, participants stressed the need for a regional approach and to "draw the circle a bit wider".

Building Trust

“We need a new approach to creating our officer corps. We need officers who are far more flexible in their approach to learning about other languages, cultures, and technologies - especially cyber and strategic communications skills.”

Admiral James Stavridis,
SACEUR

“The technology exists NOW to effectively collaborate and share information, but what often stands in the way are cultural and organisational trust issues between players”.

Navy Commander Chad Hixson,
United States Joint Forces Command

The challenges of the new security landscape do not discriminate between nations. Therefore instead of a traditional Westphalian approach, there is an urgent need for a global consensus on human security and for ambitious international synergies to tackle these threats. Yet, it appears that many countries still continue to reflect in terms of “state security first”. This is mainly a matter of mistrust. Regarding cyber threats, for instance, one of the

key proposals in the Jam was to create a cyber command at NATO, but the Russian Ambassador Dmitry Rogozin expressed his doubts about the purpose of such a body. “Does it mean that Article 5 of the Washington Treaty will be used to fight cyber crimes? And that NATO is now ready to bomb hackers' offices?”

In regard to climate change, countries like China and India have replied to the EU's proposal for binding emission curbs by arguing that such measures would pave the way to “green protectionism”. In the same way they considered the promotion of good governance in poor countries as an attempt

to constrain their influence. Hence even if stakeholders recognise their interdependence, there is simply not enough confidence and trust to make progress.

Mistrust between civilian and military actors was also highlighted as a barrier to a functional Comprehensive Approach. “Key to building partnerships is establishing trust relationships amongst partners, particularly when it comes to sharing critical information” wrote Navy Commander Chad Hixson of United States Joint Forces Command.

The need to **harness new technologies and media** would therefore be crucial in future. USJFCOM J9 efforts to bridge informational sharing gaps “that inherently exist between US Military, Multinational, Interagency, NGO, Coalition, and Private Partner organisations” were given as just one example of how to do this. Participants agreed that “the technology exists NOW to effectively collaborate and share information, but what often stands in the way are cultural and organisational trust-issues between players”. It was emphasised that web-based collaborative environments can be quickly implemented for a multitude of varied participants to interact in a “Community of Interest”. “Establishing such collaborative sites can help establish trust relationships between participants on more of a day-to-day basis so that relationships can be more automatic and information can flow more readily in times of crisis.”

In many discussions **Training and education** were seen as central pillars in redressing this trust deficit. There were calls for all international actors to re-assess the way they train their staff. **Greater flexibility** from both civilian and military actors was also seen as being crucial to the success of future operations. In the military context Admiral Stavridis again pointed out “We need a new approach to creating our officer corps. We need officers who are far more flexible in their approach to learning about other languages, cultures, and technologies - especially cyber and strategic communications skills.”

Another hurdle for international cooperation on non-traditional challenges is the **primacy of sovereignty** in most developing countries. In the end, states still define what security is. States at different levels of development perceive security through different lenses. Most emerging powers find that they are still in the process of building united countries and that this requires the government to maintain its pivotal position in guarding sovereignty and maintaining stability. Their political structures, the reasoning goes, are not developed enough to shift attention from national security to individual security. The Westphalian system thus remains very much alive and many of the global challenges are even strengthening the mandate of the state to maintain security.

CRISIS PREPAREDNESS:

This forum hosted by GCSP mainly focused on the unpredictability of new security threats, the consequences for crisis management and prevention and concrete options for improving the EU and NATO's capabilities. Jammers discussed several forms of crises: from environmental disasters, to massacres, to hiccups in energy supplies. Often different kinds of crises tend to blend into highly complicated disasters. All Jam participants supported a comprehensive combination of military and civilian tools in responding to these challenges. While the military can no longer be effective without a clear civilian strategy, civilian actors need to become more efficiently organised. Many concrete suggestions developed from this discussion: a European intelligence agency, an EU-NATO emergency response training body, a civilian cell at NATO and the integration of IT technology in scenario building. There is a huge need for developing such infrastructure, but because of the lack of financial means this can only be achieved if there is more integration.

HUMAN RIGHTS:

The main issues in this forum hosted by OSI were the relationship between human rights and security, definitions of human rights and how to protect human rights. While security is one of the most important human rights, policies to enhance security often go at the expense of other rights. In this regard, Jam participants discussed the war against terrorism, attempts to curb migration, the proliferation of cameras in public areas, the screening of bank accounts, ethnic profiling, etc. Participants stated that there is a clear indication that following 9/11 and as a result of tougher national security measures, many states have violated international human rights law by engaging in torture, enforced disappearances, arbitrary arrests, renditions, and unjust trials. A range of laws that undermine human rights in the name of national security have emerged and there has been little accountability for such violations. Jammers also asked whether the quest for security also has led to deeper cleavages between social and ethnic groups. Islamophobia is one obvious example. Different states have different interpretations of human rights and the contributors to the forum agreed that these differences caused several challenges in reaching a global consensus on security objectives. One example is the role of civil society. Whereas the West has clearly embraced this as an important part of security operations many developing countries are less interested in this dimension. The forum also debated how EU or NATO missions can not only contribute to security but also monitor respect and protection of human rights during missions

CAPABILITIES AND BUDGETS:

This forum was hosted by SIPRI and saw a number of high level discussions between top EU and NATO military chiefs, high ranking officers from national militaries and policy experts. How do to more with less was a prominent theme with few arguing that it would be possible to win new resources in the coming years. The main proposals can be grouped under two major headings. Firstly participants emphasised the need to stimulate cooperation across national borders and take more of an inter-regional approach to cooperation in order to spread the burden and draw in new contributors. Secondly, within national governments there were calls to find cooperation mechanisms across departmental and agency boundaries. Closer integration of military and civilian capabilities was a prominent theme here. Many contributions emphasised that we must translate the needs of contemporary missions into relevant capabilities. Eliminating overhanging Cold War legacy capabilities still found in many armed forces may, in time, free resources. It was widely agreed that in the face of COIN and peacekeeping

operations 'Big Ticket' items will be harder to justify. Some saw this dichotomy as going to heart of the question of NATO's identity and the key question that needs to be addressed by the new Strategic Concept. Another pressing issue highlighted by Generals Abrial and Leakey was the need to make the case for defence spending to public opinion. Better interoperability would cut costs in the long run and provide more value for money. However, this requires sacrifices in the short run and so the need for strong political resolution remains. In the European context many comments highlighted that although there was a need to include industry more in the debate, industry alone could not hold the solution. Above all to achieve a more streamlined approach the political will must be present. As one jammer commented it seems that "the political dimension...is where capabilities and resources may be most lacking." There was some speculation whether the French and British could re-energise the EDA with another St Malo-type declaration. Given the current political outlook in Britain hopes were not high.

In an increasingly multipolar world order, it will be harder to build multilateral partnerships against global security threats

It has long been assumed that the evolution from a world with one superpower into a multipolar order would lead to more multilateral cooperation. Yet, assertive emerging powers around the meeting table have complicated agenda setting. Multilateral policies are increasingly confined to the lowest common denominators of diverging interests and norms. Western countries that expected to socialise developing countries by enmeshing them into international organisations, now often experience “reverse socialisation”. The fact that there is a majority of developing countries in such institutions forces rich countries to adapt. Moreover, as several Jam participants remarked, the international security architecture is again dominated by regional organisations, with norms and objectives that often deviate from Western standards.

This devolution to the regional level should not be a bad thing. Regional security organisations give ownership to local actors and prompt countries to develop mechanisms for coordination. They could also reduce the burden on the West, which is becoming more and more reluctant to play the world’s fire brigade anyway. However, many of these organisations tend to be used by regional powers as vehicles to advance their interests, which leads to distrust and inertia. Several of these protagonists have resorted to competitive regionalisation to create new spheres of influence.

Multilateralism, as it develops now, will thus likely reflect new political fault lines rather than overcoming them. There are several options for making multilateral institutes more effective in addressing security issues. A first possibility is to invite more members to the UN Security Council, the cockpit of global governance. But this enlargement will be a painstakingly slow process and more members

would probably only complicate the current divisions. This would be even more the case with a G20 kind of setting. In the Jam, several participants suggested more intra-regional cooperation, but this requires overcoming different standards between regions as well as competition within regional organisations. Regional organisations have the potential to become cradles of collective responsibility centred on mutual local interests by acting as “functional institutions”, as one Jammer put it. In turn, these can then serve as building blocks in a future overarching international security architecture.

The most realistic policy for the EU and NATO seems to focus on internal security and stability in the immediate neighbourhood, including the Balkans, Eastern Europe, Africa and the Middle East. If both players reach a clear internal consensus about the security objectives beyond this area, they could start building a consensus – Millennium Security Goals – with other regional powers, based on mutually assured protection. However, this will have to be an interest-based negotiation process rather than the West trying to impose its political norms on the rest of the world. As suggested by many in the Jam the concept of human security could be used to place citizens as the building blocks of international security in the 21st century. However, any consensus on global security needs to be seen as being in the interest of all states. One model for this block by block approach was suggested from a senior jammer from the US State Department: “nations need to learn to do the comprehensive approach at home within their own borders and cultures. They need to learn to do it with others, in relatively safe environments. Then, either working bilaterally or multilaterally, they can go teach partners how to do it. Then, and only then can we really hope to go out into the dangerous world and do it together.”

Delivering security in a fragmented world

In spite of globalisation then, the world remains politically fragmented. A multipolar world composed of fragile powers will be less stable than the world that we have known since the fall of the Berlin Wall. Interdependence will by no means automatically produce cooperation –not even within the EU or NATO. Shifting balances of power cause insecurity and a climate of economic uncertainty will lead to fiercer competition for scarce opportunities.



“The present deep economic crisis is severely constraining public spending in most European states and will continue to do so for years to come.”

General Håkan Syrén,
Chairman EU Military Committee

The main challenge for the EU and NATO will be to maintain their internal coherence and to build a safer periphery. In the second place, the objective should be to conceive a new security consensus with the other protagonists. But here again, security in a fragmented world would in the first place require the EU and NATO to overcome their internal divisions. The Jam forums generally indicated three

possible directions for the EU and NATO to develop their security policies.

The first option is answering *realpolitik* with *realpolitik*. Jam participants who favoured this approach, believed that the West would never be able to promote a global consensus on standards like human security or good governance. Neither did they assume that multilateral cooperation would be a feasible option. Rather than trying to promote norms-based cooperation via multilateral organisations, Europe and NATO should therefore resort to interest-based *quid-pro-quo* bargaining. In this regard, the Jam raised the idea of a zone of interest, implying that shrinking budgets and capabilities compel the EU and NATO to concentrate on hybrid threats in their immediate neighbourhood: Eastern Europe, the Middle East and Africa. If the EU and NATO use their civilian and military capabilities more effectively in this region, this could potentially increase their leverage on other powers. In such realist strategy the transatlantic

partnership would need to transform into a truly strategic axis that counterbalances the BRIC countries.

The second possibility is to continue to promote human rights, global security governance and political accountability. Several Jam participants signalled that the BRIC powers do have ears for most of these standards and that their rapid economic development will prompt them to take more responsibility in world affairs. The EU and NATO certainly do need more coordination, if only to communicate their expectations and proposals in a transparent way to other powers. Enhancing civilian and military capabilities should not only allow them to guard Europe’s periphery, but also to develop synergies with BRIC countries or regional organisations elsewhere in the world.

The third option is a comprehensive approach. Even if the EU and NATO cannot expect the other powers to change their attitudes soon, they should become global leaders in advanced CIVMIL responses to hybrid threats. Operational success is the best way to persuade other protagonists that it is in their own interest to invest in human security, political accountability and the protection of natural resources. It will pave the way for a new global consensus on security and even UN Millennium Security Goals. Operational success will also make the EU and NATO a more credible partner for developing new synergies: bilateral, intra-regional and multilateral. Closer EU-NATO cooperation is in the first place important to use our strained civilian and military capabilities more effectively. “The most important factor influencing real capability development in the next years is the economic realities and constraints facing us,” the Chairman EU Military Committee Sweden’s General Håkan Syrén stated, “The present deep economic crisis is severely constraining public spending in most European states and will continue to do so for years to come.” But cooperation is also needed to reaffirm common norms prior consultation and coordination among Western countries and even more to demonstrate that coordination is the only way to build security in a rapidly changing world order.

In order to achieve this goal, however, participants in the Security Jam singled out one crucial element which was called for across all fora: the need for adaptive leadership. Again Admiral Stavridis pointed out that it is “only by embracing change in the training of our leadership cadres that we will be prepared for the 21st century in which the only constant will be rapid change.”

As the EU and NATO draw up their strategic concept and set out security strategies in the years ahead it is now crucial for them to decide which of these options they wish to pursue. The real challenge will be for our political leadership to structure our international relationships in a manner that encourages rising actors and established actors to support the global commons. As Michael Ryan of the US State Department summed up when assessing the potential for a new multilateral force for good in the world, “We'll need both swords and plowshares, perhaps in equal measure, but if those women and men who sign up for this new force for good don't get the international leadership and support they deserve, then they'll certainly be using their swords too frequently.”

“Only by embracing change in the training of our leadership cadres will we be prepared for the 21st century in which the only constant will be rapid change.”

Admiral James Stavridis,
SACEUR

DEVELOPMENT:

This forum discussed the importance of underdevelopment as a cause of insecurity and the options for delivering more effective development aid. The combination of underdevelopment, food shortage and depleting natural resources forms an important breeding ground for several security problems, like failing states, terrorism, organised crime, migration, etc. Development should be put on top of the security agenda. The Jam participants recognised the importance of an unequal global economic order as an important cause of underdevelopment, but bad governance has become an even larger problem as it prevents poor countries from converting scarce economic opportunities into tangible benefits and new catalysts for growth. Several recommendations focused on how the EU and NATO could promote better governance and help preventing humanitarian catastrophes. In this regard the emphasis was on addressing the fragmentation of the donor community, better coordination between civilian and military policies, and a division of labour between the UN and regional organisations.



People are ABOUT NATO's

“How is climate change relevant to the Strategic Concept debate?”



“Is NATO in danger of becoming a ‘one issue organization’ because of its involvement in Afghanistan?”



“How important are Partnerships in energy security?”

Questions posted on NATO's new Strategic Concept website

talking

NEW STRATEGIC CONCEPT



“If NATO becomes truly global, won’t the Alliance have to change its name?”



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Further ideas from the Security Jam

- Establish a network of small External Action Service regional offices outside capital cities
- The EU High Representative should attend meetings of the NATO council
- A more ambitious European public diplomacy towards the North African and Arab countries
- Organize civil society online jams for more specific challenges
- Educate NATO and EU officials more on economic forecasts
- The military should take a lead in pioneering and deploying more green technology
- There should be an EU planning cell within NATO
- There needs to be a larger contribution to peace keeping operations in Africa
- Establish an international criminal court for piracy
- The EU and US should focus on the transatlantic hemisphere by strengthening economic ties across the north Atlantic but also reaching to and across the south Atlantic
- Establish a NATO/SCO Framework for Security Dialogue
- Institute a dual civil military approach to budgets to ensure more flexible hardware
- Establish a Citizens Right of Initiative to petition the EU High Representative to take action on the principle of Responsibility to Protect. This would require the support of a majority of the 27 member state parliaments, a pre-defined number of million citizens in the EU and the European Parliament.
- Agree an international definition of Comprehensive Approach with basic ground rules for civilian and military actors
- Create an EU-US civilian response corps

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