



# SERGEI KARAGANOV

Honorary Chairman of the Presidium of the non-governmental Council on Foreign and Defense Policy, Russia

**Karl KAISER, Director emeritus of the German Council on Foreign Relations, Harvard University**

Sergei Karaganov is the next speaker. He is the founder of the Council on Foreign and Defence Policy in Moscow. He will give us a Russian perspective on this crisis.

**Sergei KARAGANOV, Honorary Chairman of the Presidium of the non-governmental Council on Foreign and Defense Policy, Russia**

I will not only be speaking for Russians, but for all us Europeans, too. First of all, we have to understand the magnitude of the problem. It is not just Syria, but Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iraq and other countries down the list, and then there is Africa. We have a problem of several million people and maybe even more than several ready to come. Second, a lot of these people are terrorists or potential terrorists. If any of the younger people in this audience were to go to a bazaar in Beirut, as our specialists say, they would buy a Syrian passport for peanuts there, and then they could come here. I assume these passports are being bought en masse and people are coming here already.

The problem is long term and it could not be solved in the foreseeable future by economic, cultural or social means. It is a problem of security of our peoples. And it will increasingly be so. My immediate advice is that whatever the humanitarian issues, and I share them with you, Rabbi, close the borders as soon as possible. Triple enrolment in your police schools and increase by 10 times the funds used to penetrate all kinds of local Islamic and other foreign societies. This means you would have enough information about a possible terrorist attack.

There are four big connected problems, which we will have to deal with. I will start with those of lesser magnitude and then go to the ones of big magnitude. The first problem, which we will have to face in Europe, is that the United States, which have been providing security, is losing interest in Europe and even in stability in Europe. Most people believe, but do not acknowledge, that the Americans are destabilizing in the Middle East in order to create problems for everybody. I do not share that idea, but I am in a minority. I do not share that idea, because I believe it is incompetence and loss of strategic vision, which leads to that, but Americans are getting out of the Middle East, and we could not rely on them as we used to.

There is a second problem you have to deal with. The only country in Europe which has the strategic vision and might to deal with the new security challenges has, by virtue of strange policies, been pushed into becoming an enemy rather than a friend and ally. At this juncture in Europe, only Russia has the potential to deal with these problems, in terms of security, will, brains and competence.

The third, connected problem is that the Middle East will continue to fall apart, and we have heard a lot about that during our brilliant Middle Eastern session.

Now I am coming to the last point, which was tackled very accurately by Mario Monti of all people, at the beginning of our conference. He opened up a Pandora's box, which Europeans very rarely openly speak about. The European project is a multilayered crisis. It has been muddling down, and that is a problem that you have to solve in order to face the challenges of today and tomorrow. There are two ways to do that. Europeans of the EU must move immediately to build a united federal Europe with a common army, as proposed for the 10<sup>th</sup> time. You need common security services, common borderguards, etc. If you are unable to do that, retreat back a little bit and give more power to individual countries, at least in foreign policy, security and defence. Other European security policies do not work and will not work. This is if Europe does not become a federal state.



Last but not least, security problems and many other problems within Europe, like political radicalization, etc. These cannot be solved on a subcontinental basis and the solution should be looked for on continental Eurasian basis. Maybe we could find a common solution, including one to the problem of the disintegrating Middle East and many others which we have to face in the coming years. This is a Eurasian solution in addition to an Atlantic solution. This involves some renationalisation of security and foreign policies, so that Paris or Berlin or whomever has full responsibility and the will and ability to act.