

The Future of NATO



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What is NATO?

“NATO is the subject that drives the dagger of boredom deep, deep, into the heart”.

Jack Beatty

Atlantic

June 1989



What is NATO?

“Most U.S. Naval officers think that NATO is a Japanese Admiral”.

**- Admiral William J. Crowe
Admiral, USN, and CJCS, (Ret.)**

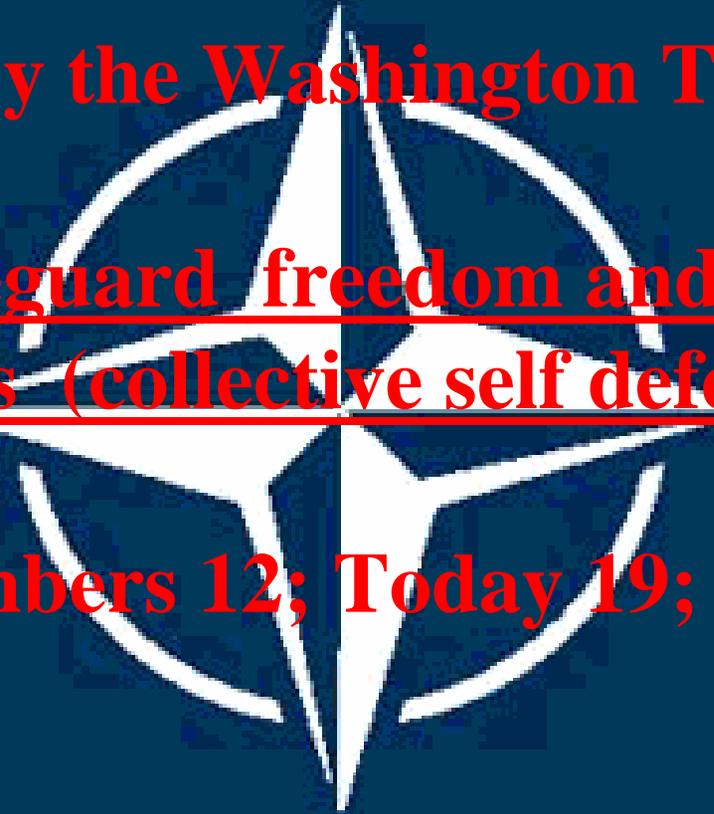
Post-War Europe

- Allied Armies remain in place
- Threat of Soviet expansion in eastern Europe
- Soviets isolate West Berlin
 - 220 Soviet divisions poised on inter-German border



Just the facts ma'am...

- Established by the Washington Treaty (1949)
- Purpose: safeguard freedom and security of its members (collective self defense)
- Original members 12; Today 19; 26 later this year
- Charter Article 5: “An armed attack upon one is an attack upon all”



NATO's First Supreme Allied Commander (Europe)



Real Reality

- Keep the Americans *in*,
- The Germans *down*, and
- the Russians *out*!



Achievements



1950's

- **Integrated Military Structure**
- **+ Greece, Turkey
Germany**

1960's

- France leaves IMS
- Nuclear Flexible Response

- Détente
- Strategic Arms Limitation talks

1970's

1980's

...then, Gorbachev

NATO's Standing Naval Forces



Achievements

1950's

- Integrated Military Structure
- + Greece, Turkey
Germany

1960's

- **France leaves IMS**
- **Nuclear Flexible Response**

- Détente
- Strategic Arms Limitation talks

1970's

- GLCM/SDI
- INF/START
- + Spain

1980's

...then, Gorbachev

1966: Paris to Brussels



Achievements

1950's

- Integrated Military Structure
- + Greece, Turkey
Germany

1960's

- France leaves IMS
- Nuclear Flexible Response

- **Détente**
- **Strategic Arms Limitation Talks**
- **Interoperability**

1970's

1980's

...then, Gorbachev



NATO Interoperability



- **The World's Gold Standard**
- **Desert Storm – fought by NATO's book**

Achievements

1950's

- Integrated Military Structure
- + Greece, Turkey Germany

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- France leaves IMS
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1970's

- **GLCM/SDI**
- **INF/START**
- + **Spain**

1980's

...then, Gorbachev arrived...

Now, alone without an enemy...



.. the whole world started to change



Now what is NATO's Role?

- **1949: Collective Defense**
- **1991: Defense, dialogue and cooperation**
- **2004: ???**



What is NATO's Area of Responsibility?

1949-1991: Article V – Defend NATO's European borders

1991-2001: Article IV – “Risks to Allied security can result from instabilities..faced by countries in central and eastern Europe.

2004: ???



NATO in the Balkans

Bosnia-Herzegovina

- EU passes
- Dayton Peace Accords: U.S. Initiative
- IFOR: 65,000 troops (NATO-led, 22 others)
- SFOR: 12,000 troops today: Provide a safe and secure environment

Kosovo

- Operation Allied Force: 77-day air assault
- KFOR: 50,000 troops(NATO-led, 19 others)
- Provide safety and security; resettle refugees; humanitarian assistance

NATO in the Balkans

1995



1999

KFOR takes control of Pristina



French troops on patrol



(AFP PHOTO)

Secretary General Lord Robertson

Replaced
Javier
Solana (SP)



A Scotsman
at the NATO
helm during this
Transformation

Received U.S. **Medal of Freedom** Nov 2003!

NATO Prague Summit



November 2002

NATO Prague Summit Challenges!

1. New Members: Bulgaria, Estonia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia

2. New Capabilities: Improvements in 400 specific areas (air transport, air refueling, precision guided munitions, etc.)

3. NATO Response Force: Technologically advanced land, sea and air forces ready to move quickly (fully operational 2006)

4. New Military Command Structure: Strategic Command for Operations (plus Joint Task Forces); Strategic Command for Transformation

5. Peace Support Missions beyond Europe: Int'l Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan

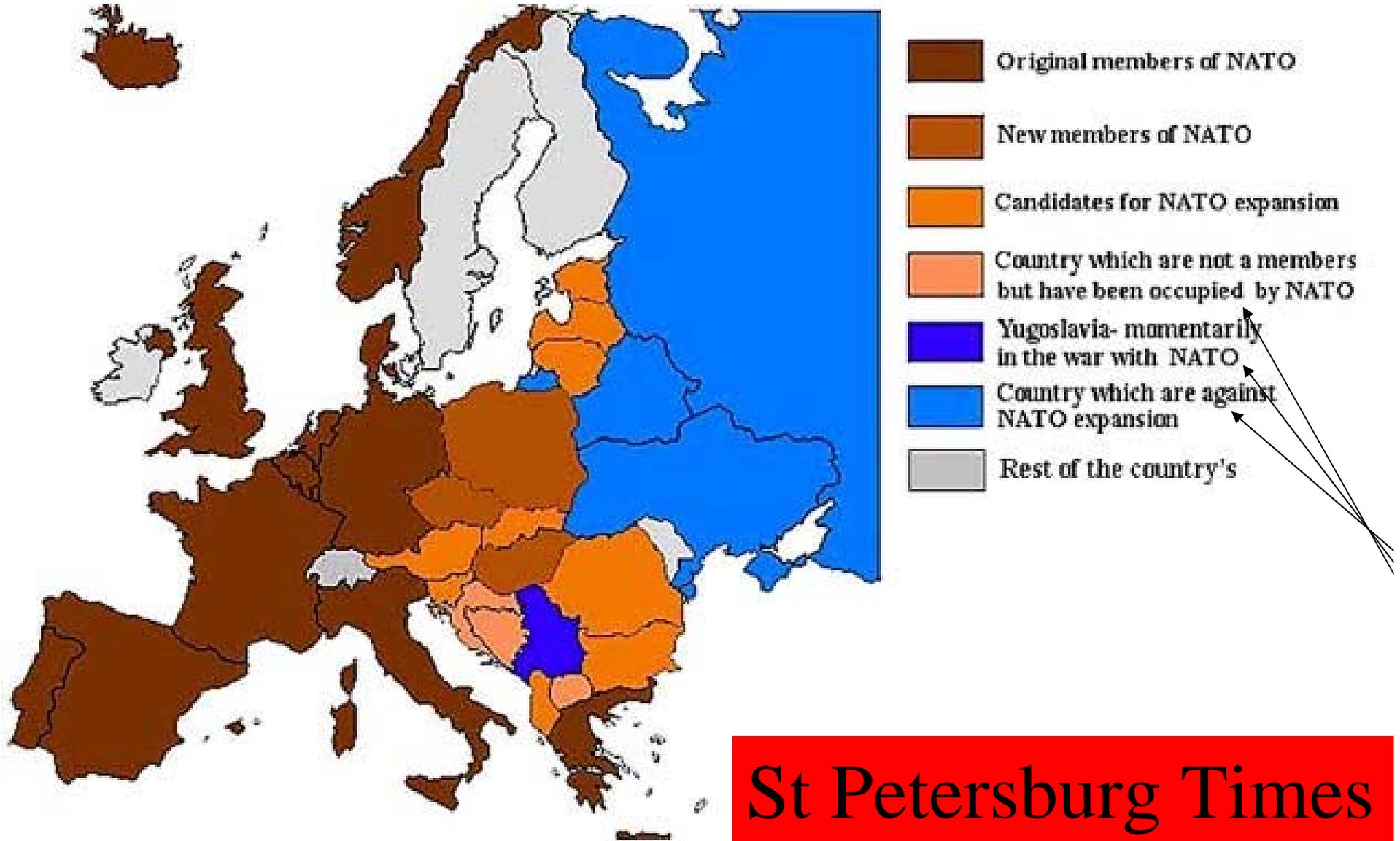
NATO Expansion

Challenge 1: New members



As seen by NATO

NATO Expansion as seen by Russia



St Petersburg Times
August, 1999



NATO Expansion: How much is Enough?

Q: Can Estonia (for example) possibly provide more security than it receives?

Q: Are we threatening anyone (like Russia) by expanding?

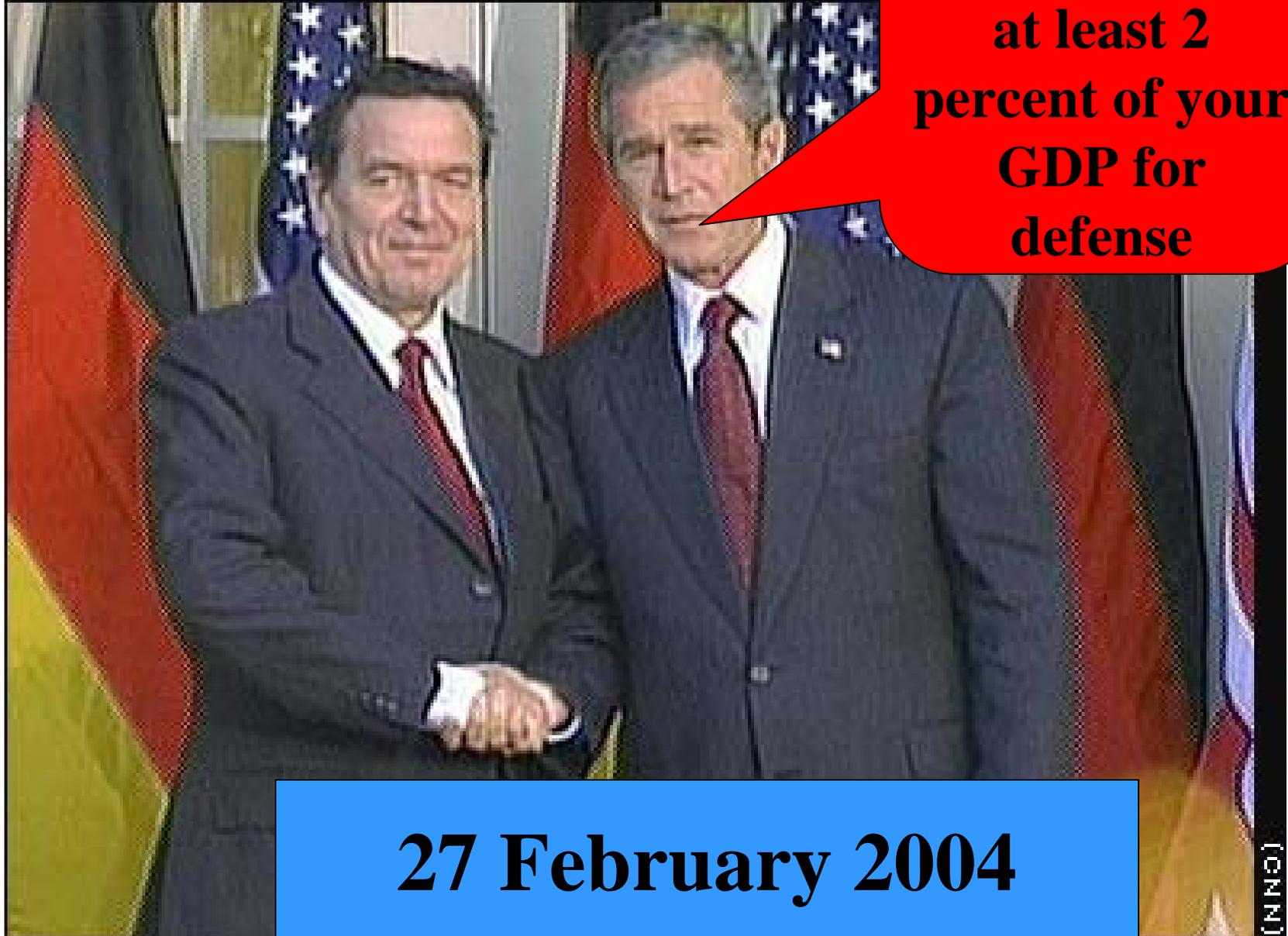
Q: Do we really need to defend Europe any more (collective security)?

Q: Why would anyone want to join a club that everyone can get into?

**Washington to Brussels: “Is anyone here serious about building modern defense forces”
???**



Challenge 2: New capabilities



“I expect that you’ll earmark at least 2 percent of your GDP for defense

27 February 2004

(NNO)

Washington
To Brussels:
“Can you
move,
supply and
support this
Force”?



Challenge 3: NATO Response Force



“paper armies
are not enough”

“Only 4 per
cent of your
1.4 million
forces can
deploy”

October 2003

Today: 9,000 air, land, naval and SOF
• Limited operations (Peacekeeping)



2006: Fully operational; 22,000 troops
• High intensity combat; deploy in 5 days

General James Jones ,USMC

Was SACEUR

Now Allied
Command
Operations
(ACO)



Former SecDef
aide

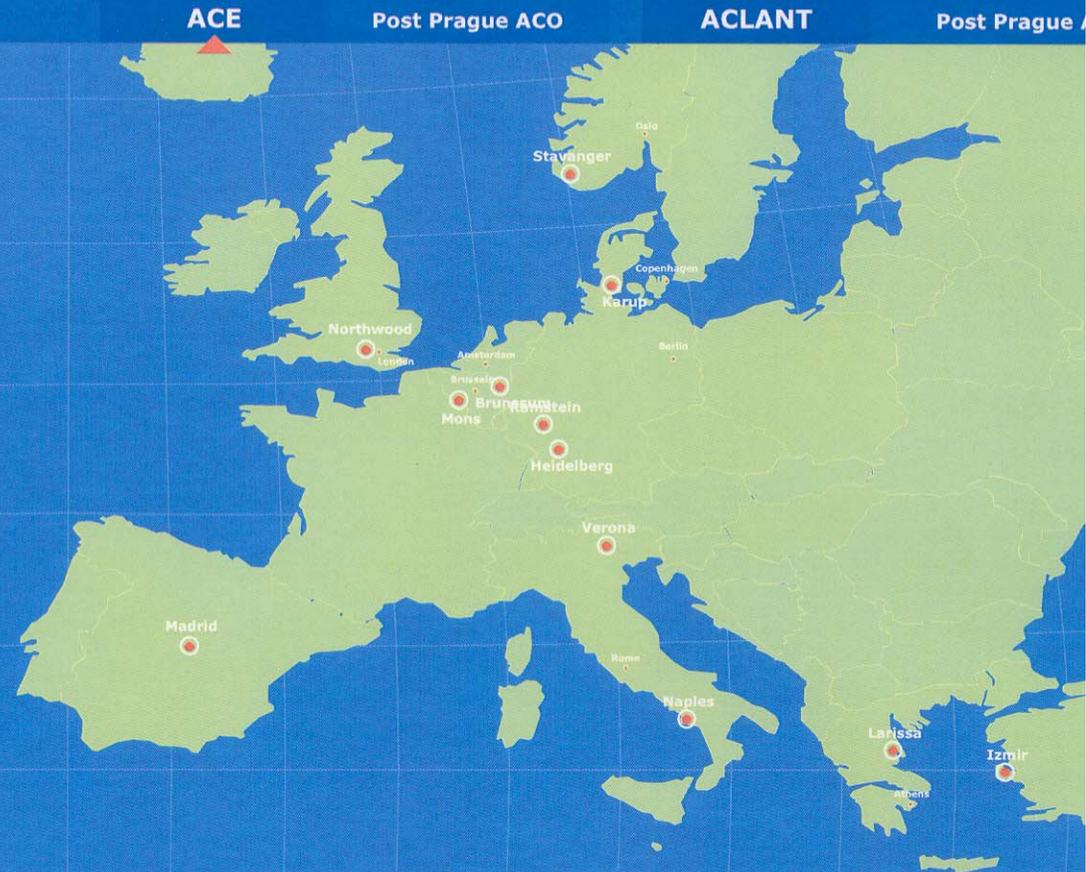
Commands all
current forces

“Lily Pads”

Challenge 4: Military Command structure



The ACE Command Structure



The ACE Command Structure

At the NATO Prague summit of November 2002, the Alliance fundamentally transformed its command structure. The operational functions of the old Allied Command Europe and Allied Command Atlantic will be replaced by strategic command for operations, Allied Command Operations. Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR) General James Jones, will head both commands until Allied Command Europe can be de-commissioned.

A new functional strategic command, Allied Command Transformation, has been established to take responsibility for promoting and overseeing the continuing transformation of Alliance forces and capabilities.

Admiral Edmund Giambastiani, USN

**SACLANT
becomes
SAC-T
Transformation**



- **Former SecDef aide**
- **Determines Future forces and capabilities**

Transformation Headquarters



Norfolk, Virginia

Challenge 5: Peace Support missions beyond Europe



“The Alliance’s first priority ...”

Colin L. Powell, U.S. SecState Jan 30, 2004

NATO Confronts Global Terrorism

International Security Assistance Force



“Moves the Alliance beyond the traditional transatlantic sphere”

Nicholas Burns
U.S. Ambassador to NATO

**•Turkey, Germany, UK, Netherlands
and Canada share lead**



**•5,500 troops
•NATO plus 12**



Roles

- Long-term security
- Improve Afghans' lives
- Reconstruction

- Rebuild infrastructure
- Train police
- Prevent epidemics

Global War on Terror: NATO invokes Art. V



NATO AWACS flies the American skies

NATO Prague Summit

New Relationships

- European Union: Avoiding duplication in defense matters
- Russia: Move from talking to acting together

The image features the flag of the European Union, which consists of a dark blue field with twelve five-pointed gold stars arranged in a circle. The text is centered within this field.

Relationship 1:

European Union

NATO's former Secretary General becomes
EU's Czar of Foreign and Security Policy



Javier Solana (SP)

Effective Multilateralism

(priorities)

A SECURE EUROPE IN A BETTER WORLD

- United Nations
- World Trade Organization
- NATO
- OSCE
- ASEAN
- MERCOSUR
- African Union
- Int'l Criminal Court

EUROPEAN SECURITY STRATEGY

Brussels, 12 December 2003



Note NATO's
Spot in the
Batting order

The “Special Relationship” in action?



... or does the U.K. go Euro?
... or is Blair not re-elected?

“Chirac, Schroeder Blair start summit of EU’s Big Three”

18 February 2004



“... to give a new impetus to Europe.”

“It is time Europe took on the defense of the continent for itself.”

Gen. Gustav Hagglund, Chmn, EU MilCom

Jan 2004

“Europe does not need more headquarters”

Nicholas Burns, U.S. Ambassador to

NATO



USA



NATO

The United States in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization

EUROCORPS

- Proposed : 1999
- March 2003 :
EUFOR Macedonia
- June 2003 : Congo



Friendship or Suspicion ?



(+) Issues

- Terror
- Trade (oil)

(-) Issues

- enlargement
 - Kosovo
- U.S. Power

Relationship 2: Russia

Russia's Terror War...



...same as America's?

Russia's customers: Europe



Russia's routes: Caucasus

**NATO
Navies**

NATO



0 15 30
Kilometers

NATO

NATO

“Moscow’s threat to Leave CFE Treaty Shocks West”

London Times Feb 9, 2004



**“NATO
enlargement
undermined the
treaty”
*Russia SecDef***

Russian Troops take Pristina Airfield...



“Safeguarding Slavic
Brothers from NATO
aggression”

Russian Field Cdr

Russia Flexes muscle with Missile Testing

Int'l Herald Tribune Feb 11, 2004

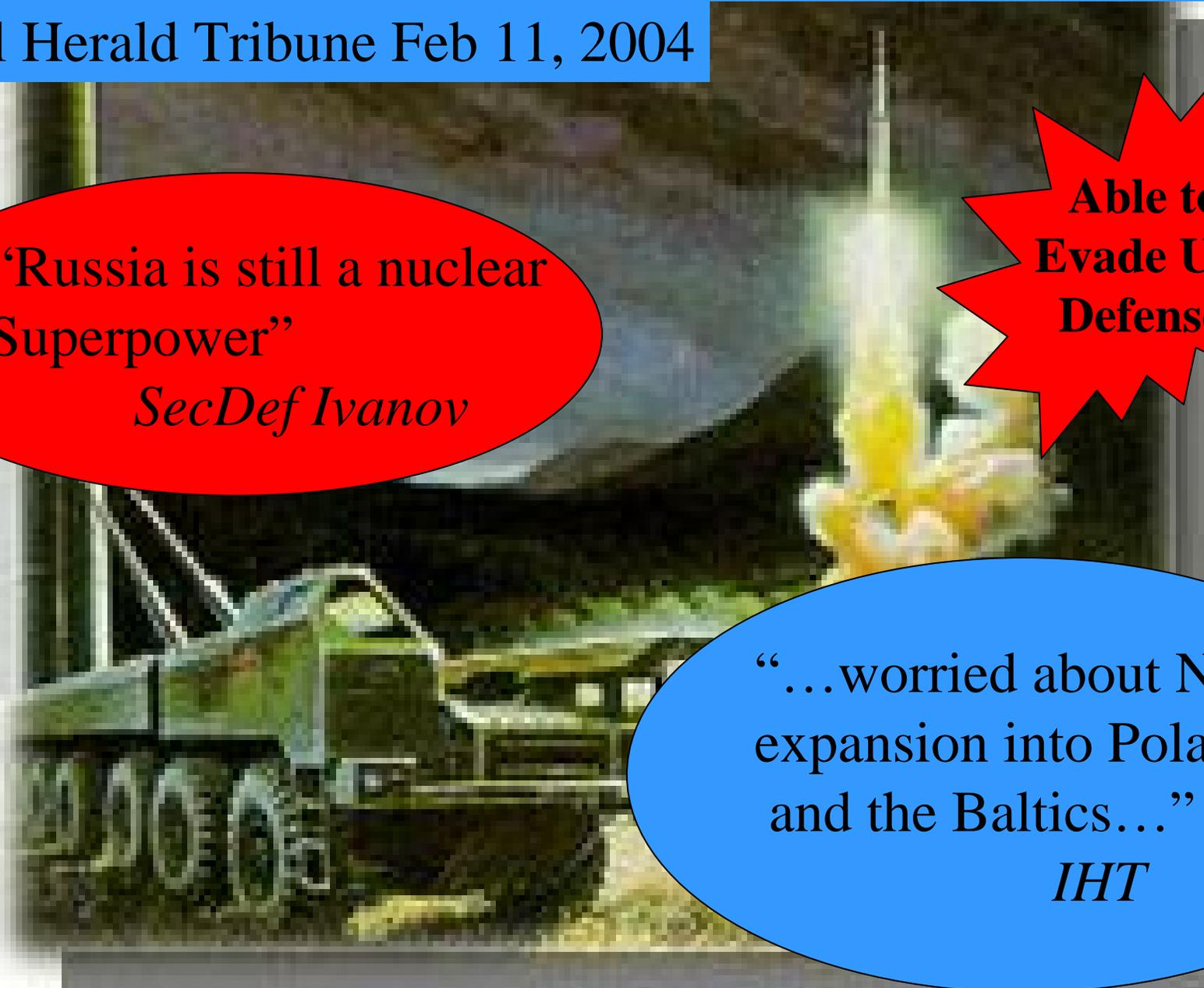
“Russia is still a nuclear
Superpower”

SecDef Ivanov

Able to
Evade U.S.
Defenses

“...worried about NATO
expansion into Poland
and the Baltics...”

IHT



NATO's New Partner?



- Fight against terror
- Intelligence sharing
- Nuclear non-proliferation
- Civil defense
- Mil-Mil cooperation

The NATO -
Russia Council

Not the Three Irish Tenors



Ivanov

Robertson

Powell

**Can NATO answer the
challenges of the Prague
Summit ?**



Jaap de Hoop Scheffer (NL)

**New NATO
Secretary
General**



**Pro-NATO
Pro-U.S.**

Challenge: maintaining NATO's relevance

Washington's NATO Challenge





U.S. National Security Strategy

--Compatible with NATO?

- **“ Our most important priority is to protect the homeland for the American people”**
- **“... we will be prepared to act apart [from our friends] when our interests and unique responsibilities require”.**
- **“...we will not hesitate to act alone...by acting preemptively...”**

*National Security Strategy of the United States of
America*

September 2002



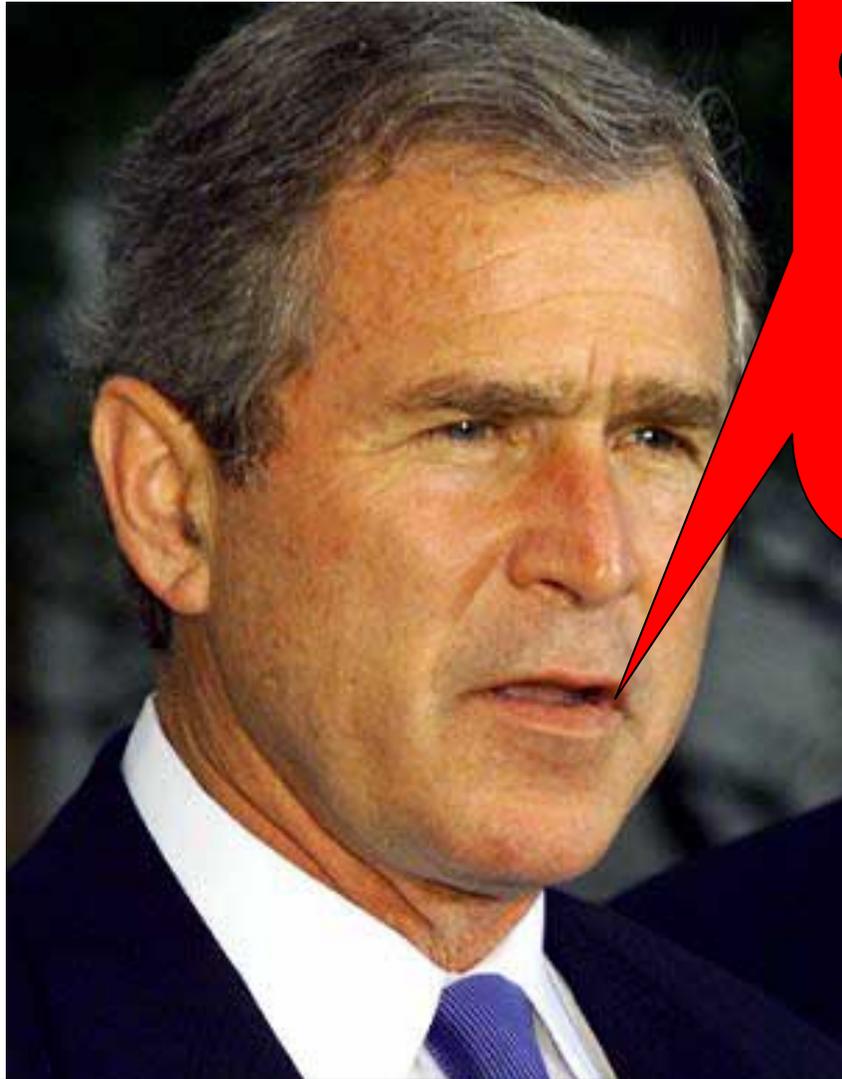
NATO / European Union Defense Rivals?

**Washington has always encouraged a
strong European Defense**

--but--

**Has always warned the EU: “do not
compete with or duplicate NATO”.**

Can Washington have it both ways?



**“The more
of a NATO
role the
better (in
Iraq)”**

President meets with new NATO SecGen

Washington to Brussels: “Will anyone be joining us in Baghdad?”



“Alliance may take on wider roles in Iraq”

De Hoop Scheffer Feb 2, 2004

“No NATO troops to Iraq”

France + Germany 2/2/04

Questions?



Back-ups



Role of NATO in U.S. Strategy

- **“NATO’s core mission – collective defense– remains but NATO must develop new new structures and capabilities to carry out that mission under new circumstances.”**
- **“NATO must build a capability to field, at short notice, highly mobile, specially trained forces whenever they are needed.”**

*The National Security Strategy of the United States
September 2002*



Purpose of NATO

“To keep Russia *out*, the United States *in*, and Germany *down*.”

- The conventional wisdom at NATO Headquarters, 1949-1989**

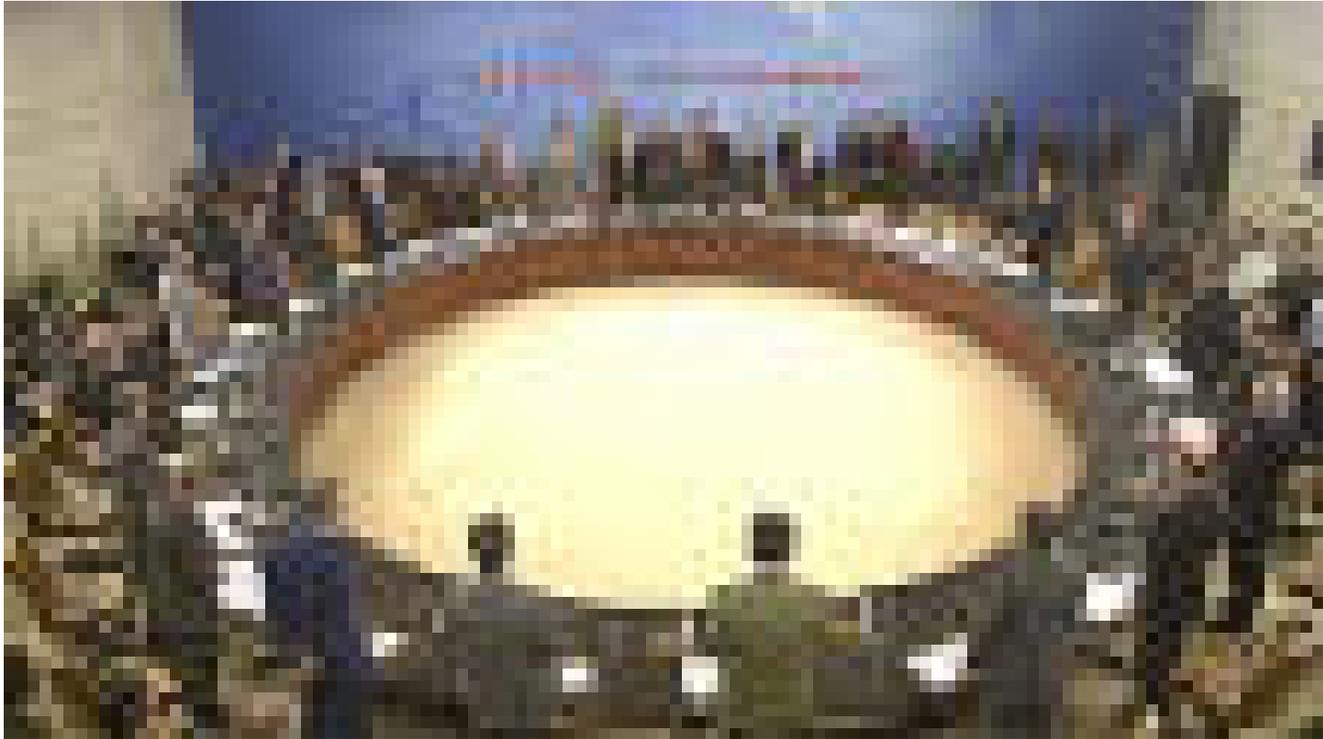


NATO Transformation Challenges

- **Role: From Collective Security to ???**
- **Membership: How much is enough?**
- **European Union: competitor or adversary?**
- **Military power: Will the Europeans pay their fair share?**
- **Russia: How to deal with this bear?**





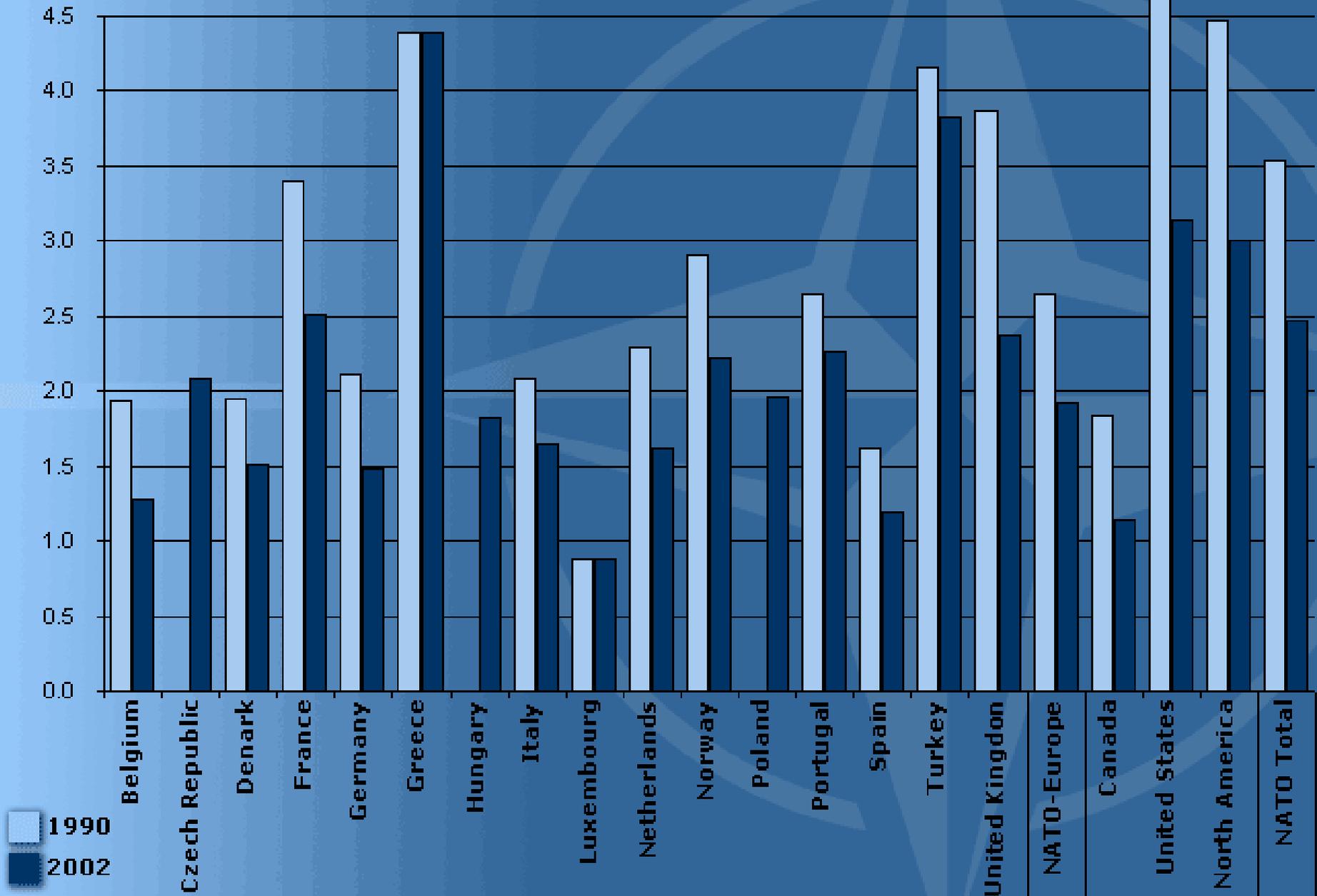






Defence spending as % of gross domestic product

Based on constant prices



Defence spending as % of gross domestic product

Based on current prices



