



NATO's European Dimension

June 21, 2010 - Brussels



how



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Giles Merritt

Foreword

The Security & Defence Agenda is proud to present this report on “**NATO’s European Dimension**” from the annual conference on 21 June 2010 at the Concert Noble in Brussels. It highlights some of the input of 12 speakers and over 300 participants on the current state of EU-NATO relations in the run up to the Lisbon summit. Special attention was also given to the recommendations stemming from the first edition of the SDA’s online Security Jam.

Despite shrinking defence budgets, NATO Secretary General **Anders Fogh Rasmussen** called for smarter spending to help NATO develop a collective approach and multinational solutions to the security challenges of the 21st century.

The conference also looked at the need for institutional change in NATO and more cohesion across the alliance. What role and capabilities should NATO acquire in a shifting global security landscape? Several recommendations for a more modern alliance were made, such as drawing from the experience of member states in the face of economic austerity. Latvian Minister of Defence **Imants Liegis** reminded participants that “we need to maintain a level of ambition and not sacrifice the level of security of member states”. Other recommendations included forging strategic partnerships with Russia, key stakeholders and defence industries.

Many panellists called for better coordination of civilian, military and political tools in Afghanistan. Too often, it was said, turf wars hamper a truly integrated strategy. These lessons will hopefully be echoed in NATO’s new Strategic Concept.

The global economic crisis provides an opportunity for new thinking on pooling defence procurement and multinational industrial cooperation. The imbalances in defence investment and cooperation in Afghanistan currently overshadow the EU and NATO’s potential as effective global security and defence actors.

Finally, the SDA wishes to thank its partners in the organisation of this event: the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, NATO, Lockheed Martin and IBM..



Giles Merritt

Director

Security & Defence Agenda

Introduction

In the current economic climate, national defence budgets are shrinking while the need for focused security capabilities remains, explained keynote speaker **Anders Fogh Rasmussen**, Secretary General of NATO, who made an appeal for increased cooperation between the EU, NATO and their partners and allies, specifically Russia.

“We are all faced with the same challenges and must address them together,” Rasmussen offered. “This is the basis for everything else. If we can agree on the security challenges, then we can begin to map out our cooperation.”

Cooperation between NATO members and their allies occurs naturally on the operational level, explained **Richard Froh**, Deputy Assistant Secretary General for Armaments, NATO, citing the International Security Assistance Force’s (ISAF) recent efforts in Afghanistan.

This cooperation notwithstanding, individual nations remain reluctant to develop multinational solutions which would create more opportunities for

interoperability, mission support, training, etc.

Faced with the effects of the global economic crisis, a closer examination of the defence trade deficit between the EU and the United States is in order, agreed the panellists.

The growing gap in transatlantic defence procurement, with 12% of the EU’s annual € 80 billion spending coming from the US compared to 1.5% of the US’ € 350 billion

from the EU, has led to concerns about the major disproportion of defence trade between the two, admitted **Peter Balas**, Deputy Director General for Trade at the European Commission.

These figures aside, “Defence trade deficits are yesterday’s news,”

countered **Jeffrey Bialos**, Executive

Director of the Program on Transatlantic Security and Industry with the Center for Transatlantic Relations, Washington DC. “We must now consider the broader context and adjust to reality by working together to effectuate our strategies.”

*“For many nations,
the choices are not
between multinational
capabilities and
national capabilities
but between
multinational
capabilities and no
capabilities at all.”*

Richard Froh



NATO's European Dimension

Monday 21 June 2010

Concert Noble, Brussels

11:00-12:00

Session I - NATO's Outlook: Radical change or steady as she goes?

NATO is intent on reinventing itself, but how realistic is this ambition? Will the new Strategic Concept be radical enough to adapt NATO structures and thinking to the challenges of the new global security environment? How should it reflect the shifts in the transatlantic relationship since 2001 and questions about European and American shared interests? Will the new Concept resolve or exacerbate the turf war with the EU? What will be the reaction from non-member states like Russia and China? This session included a discussion on the 10 recommendations from the SDA's global Security Jam session which emerged from the online debate on security threats and policies in February 2010, which featured the input of 4,000 experts from 124 countries.

Speakers:

Luis Manuel Cuesta Civís, Secretary General of Defence Policy, Ministry of Defence, Spanish Presidency of the EU - **Larry Hirst**, EMEA Chairman, IBM Corporation - **Imants Liegis**, Minister of Defence, Republic of Latvia - **Dmitry Rogozin**, Ambassador and Head of Mission, Mission of Russia to NATO

Moderated by **Giles Merritt**, Director, Security & Defence Agenda, and **Peter R. Weilemann**, Director of the Brussels Office, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung

12:00 -13:00

Keynote Speech - "Security in an Era of Budgetary Scarcity"

NATO Secretary General **Anders Fogh Rasmussen**

Followed by a Q&A session.

13:00-14:00

Lunch

Card Room

SIPRI 2010 Yearbook Launch. SIPRI Director Bates Gill presented the new edition of the SIPRI Yearbook, with its analysis of security and conflicts, military spending and armaments, arms control and disarmament. All participants were welcome to join the discussion, preview the contents and pick up an executive summary of the book.



14:00-15:30

Session II - Is transatlantic defence procurement a “two-way street”?

Both NATO and the European Union have invested much political capital in the liberalisation of defence industry contracts across the Atlantic. The competitive advantages enjoyed by many US defence companies – not least their substantial lead in advanced technologies – have created a widening defence trade gap in America’s favour. But does the controversy surrounding the US Air Force’s hotly-contested \$50bn-plus tanker deal risk seriously souring transatlantic defence industry relations? Does the EU need to become more assertive if it is to even out the playing field in transatlantic defence procurement? Do we need a more radical change in pooling defence procurement?

Speakers:

Peter Balas, Deputy Director General for Trade, European Commission - **Robert Bell**, Secretary of Defense Representative to Europe and Defense Advisor, United States Mission to NATO - **Jeffrey Bialos**, Executive Director of the Program on Transatlantic Security and Industry, Center for Transatlantic Relations - **Richard D.F. Froh**, Deputy Assistant Secretary General for Armaments, NATO - **Scott A. Harris**, President Continental Europe, Lockheed Martin Global

Moderated by **Giles Merritt**, Director, Security & Defence Agenda, and **Peter R. Weilemann**, Director of the Brussels Office, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung.



15:30-16:00

Coffee Break

16:00-17:30

Session III - Would better coordination mean success in Afghanistan?

Debate still rages in the US and Europe over how troop withdrawal targets in Afghanistan can be reconciled with sustained and successful military operations against the Taliban. How can the EU live up to its development and reconstruction responsibilities in Afghanistan? Do we need a new approach to NATO, EU, UN and NGO coordination? Although the ISAF mission is a NATO responsibility, how relevant is the situation in Afghanistan to European public support for CSDP? What greater effort is needed to convince public opinion that Afghanistan is crucial to Western security?

Speakers:

Robert Cooper, Director-General for External and Politico-Military Affairs, Council of the European Union - **Ivo H. Daalder**, Ambassador and Permanent Representative, United States Mission to NATO - **Kai Eide**, former UN Special Representative of the Secretary General to Afghanistan - **Gen. Sir John McColl**, Deputy Supreme Allied Commander Europe, NATO

Moderated by **Giles Merritt**, Director, Security & Defence Agenda, and **Peter R. Weilemann**, Director of the Brussels Office, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung





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Anders Fogh Rasmussen

Keynote Speech

Security in an Era of Budgetary Scarcity

In November, at the NATO Summit in Lisbon, the heads of state and government of the NATO members will meet to approve the new NATO Strategic Concept, outlining the Alliance's vision for the next decade, began Rasmussen. This new Strategic Concept will acknowledge the political and economic realities facing NATO members.

At a time of budgetary constraints across NATO member states, defence budgets are increasingly coming under pressure. "The budget crunch is an unpleasant reality," he elaborated, "but it is also an opportunity to make NATO more efficient and even better suited to tackling the unpredictable security environment that confronts us, as well as an opportunity to bring NATO and the EU closer together." Rasmussen outlined three ways in which the current budgetary crisis could be turned to the advantage of the security and defence community.

Firstly, he explained how enhancing security depends on maintaining the principles of a stable, free and open market economy. For most NATO members, the last 50 years have been a period of unprecedented growth, helped along by increased economic interdependence typified by globalisation and the

ensuing free flow of people, information, goods, ideas, technology and services. "Globalisation has greatly contributed to our stability and general wellbeing," he asserted.

Now, faced with the economic crisis, many states have been tempted to put in place protectionist measures to shield their economies from the crisis' effects. "If we move away from free market principles in response to the current economic crisis," Rasmussen admonished, "we are likely to find ourselves confronted by more fragile economies, vulnerable states and regional instability. If, on the other hand, we stand by these principles, we will strengthen our economies and increase security."

Secondly, he continued, the question of balancing economic pressures and the need for security must be carefully addressed. Economic prosperity requires not only wise economic policies but wise security policies as well. It is therefore even more important to share the security burden during this time of economic difficulty, he opined.

"By sharing the burden within NATO, individual allies can achieve a much higher level of security than through a national approach and at a far lower

cost,” he said. This higher level of security through collective effort nonetheless requires that NATO members – all of who are feeling the effects of the crisis on defence budgets – continue to meet their obligations and responsibilities to the Alliance.

“We all need to be aware of the long-term negative effects of disproportionate and too large cuts to defence spending,” he warned. Not only are current levels of defence spending amongst NATO members lower in absolute terms than in 2008 but also in terms of percentage of gross domestic product, he explained, adding that the EU members of NATO in particular need to stop using the crisis as an excuse to let the transatlantic gap in defence spending grow.

Currently, the US spends three times as much as the EU on defence per soldier and five times as much on research and development (R&D) per soldier. The EU must work to reduce this gap; left unchecked, it will lead to less political cohesion across the Alliance.

“We must focus on cutting fat and building up muscle by resisting unilateral actions, increasing cohesion in our defence

policies and resisting the urge to cut back on long term technological investments,” he added.

These decisions will require political courage, he continued, but this is part of burden sharing and will allow NATO members to deliver a more modern, more efficient and more effective Alliance.

Thirdly, NATO and the EU need to learn to ‘spend smarter.’ Faced with budgetary constraints, the members of the Alliance need to develop a combination of collective approaches and multinational

solutions, he elaborated.

More common funding can help smaller nations share expensive capabilities and deliver a greater focus on training, communication

and interoperability; as has been witnessed in the combined NATO-EU project to prepare more battle-ready helicopters and crews – with NATO providing the helicopters and the EU providing training.

While burden sharing will increase the overall capabilities of NATO and its allies at a lesser cost, institutional reorganisation

“We must be careful not to allow the capability gap to become a credibility gap”

Anders Fogh Rasmussen

and rationalisation can help bring down the expensive overhead costs of infrastructure and staffing.

These cost-cutting initiatives can be effective but there is yet another way of delivering more with less, he offered. By building a true strategic partnership between NATO and the EU the natural complementarity of their roles can be further developed.

Though some progress has been made in this direction, particularly in the area of information exchange and on the operational level, it is crucial that the institutions of NATO and the EU move towards a new paradigm where cooperation is the norm.

Close cooperation on the ground in Afghanistan has been developed, he explained, though mainly through ad hoc arrangements. There is a pressing need, however, for more coordination

on the institutional level. The fledgling cooperation in operations needs to be matched by cooperation in Brussels in order to develop and align long-term policies.

Looking towards the NATO Lisbon Summit in November, Rasmussen concluded by urging that the various stakeholders in the security and defence world “be aware of the dangers represented by defence budget cuts but also recognise that, in them, we have a rare opportunity to revamp NATO’s role and capabilities.”

By following the three suggestions presented: adhering to the principles of the free market economy; increasing cooperation and burden sharing in security issues; and spending smarter to obtain a greater return on defence spending, it will be possible to improve NATO’s contribution to global security at a much lower cost to its members and allies.





Peter R. Weilemann

Session I

NATO's Outlook: Radical change or steady as she goes?

NATO's new Strategic Concept, set to be approved at the end of the year, offers an opportunity for the Alliance and the EU to reflect upon and react to the recent dramatic changes in the international environment. Co-moderator **Peter R. Weilemann**, Director of the Brussels Office of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung added that it still remains to be seen how it will affect Europe and NATO.

"The time is right to try to improve the strategic partnership between the EU and NATO," opined **Luis Manuel Cuesta Civís**, Secretary General of Defence Policy at the Spanish Ministry of Defence. The two organisations are currently undergoing interesting processes; NATO is drafting its new Strategic Concept while the EU is putting into effect the Lisbon Treaty.

These two documents are poised to effect change in the structures and roles of these two organisations.

"As far as I can see," added **Imants Liegis**, Latvian Minister of Defence, "The Alliance

"While the relationship between the EU and NATO has improved in recent years, there are still more questions than answers with respect to cooperation between the two institutions."

Peter Weilemann

is firm and solid for the time being and signs are positive that NATO structures are going to be tailored to meet the ongoing economic challenges now facing it."

Referring to the title of the session, Liegis suggested that – following the NATO Lisbon Summit in November – the Alliance will quickly undergo radical changes; changes

that will lead to a steady pace of reform and accomplishment for the future.

Recommendations for an improved NATO

In his introduction, Liegis offered his expectations for the Lisbon Summit. It is important for NATO's role in the world that the new Strategic Concept outline a more visible, solid and candid Alliance



Luis Manuel Cuesta Civis

while also streamlining its budget and increasing its efficiency, he said.

In order to reinforce positive NATO initiatives, Liegis continued, the Alliance must ensure that these initiatives are highly visible. To achieve this visibility, he recommended an increase in regional initiatives and infrastructure projects. These projects would require a heightened NATO presence in the regions and member states involved. As an example, he offered the Latvian air base being upgraded in conjunction with NATO.

While this air base is a good start, an increase in NATO infrastructure projects in tandem with member state and regional governments would increase the Alliance's visibility.

Secondly, he continued, as NATO moves towards reform it must be careful not to encroach on its core functions: collective defence for its members, as outlined by article five of the North Atlantic Treaty, and pursuing a more stable long-term political environment.

"We need to maintain a level of ambition and not sacrifice the level of security of member states," he clarified. "It is clear that the budget deficit will drive the process and we all need to accept as

member states the responsibility to our taxpayers."

"The message from Lisbon should be clear, that NATO is still very much in business"

Imants Liegis

In order to accomplish this, Liegis suggested that EU and NATO leaders could

make a better use of their organisations' capabilities to avoid duplications and overlapping, which is necessary in the face of the economic crisis and budget cuts.

"Prioritisation is the name of the game," agreed Liegis. "On the question of reforms, NATO can take the experiences of its

member states' decisions as models for doing more with less. Latvia has, over the last year, bit the bullet concerning reforms because reform starts when the money runs out."

Reforms undertaken by Latvia include reducing administrative staff and increasing the number of soldiers available for operational units; reducing the number of agencies; and reducing their armed forces' command elements.

"NATO's Secretary General would do well to maintain clarity and urgency in the lead up to the Lisbon Summit," he concluded. It would serve NATO well to learn from its member states and undertake similar reforms. This will lead to strong and relevant Alliance in the future. Introducing his third point, Liegis

recommended that NATO continue with the candid and transparent approach already taken by Madeleine Albright's Group of Experts in the formulation of the new Strategic Concept. The process of analysis undertaken by this group was careful to involve the public and civil organisations such as NGOs in its recommendations.

"From my perspective," agreed **Larry Hirst**, EMEA Chairman of IBM, "NATO has a challenge to connect with many stakeholders and partners, mostly in dangerous environments. I cannot imagine a role where the support of citizens at home is not crucial."

Fortunately, he continued, increasingly intricate advances in technology have made connecting with a broad range



of stakeholders possible. "Our world is becoming ever more interconnected thanks to the increased use of global standards and the global reach of the internet," he said. "Interdependence and interoperability have become the norms."

As a case in point, Hirst referred to the Global Security Jam, an online brainstorming session co-organised by the SDA and a group of leading think tanks which took place in February 2010 and included input from over 4,000 security and defence experts from 124 countries. The resulting discussion was distilled into ten recommendations for the benefit of EU, NATO and global decision makers. The Security Jam report was later handed over by Larry Hirst to Secretary General Rasmussen.

"Today's biggest challenges are not only about defence and security," reminded Hirst. "Global issues concerning the environment and healthcare, amongst others, require that we reach out to a spectrum of shareholders and see expertise across the whole of civil society. In a world of interdependencies, interoperability and interconnected systems of systems, we have learned that working together is absolutely vital."

Continuing this trend of engaging in transparent discussion with stakeholders from all areas of military, political and civil

society is essential to creating a slimmer and more effective Alliance, Hirst added.

Most importantly, Liegis stressed, if NATO is to continue to be transparent and inclusive in its approach, it is clear that it will need to move ahead in relations with important partners such as Russia and the EU.

Building strategic partnerships I – a roadmap to a more effective Alliance

"In the current strategic scenario," Cuesta Civís opined, "we face very complex security problems which cannot be addressed by any one entity. We must find new areas of cooperation for all the actors involved."

In the case of NATO, the main goals should be to develop a stronger strategic partnership with the EU and to reach a new transatlantic consensus on several issues, notably on the issue of defence procurement, he continued.

NATO's partnership with the EU should be strengthened and improved, Cuesta Civís explained, with 21 states being members of both organisations. It is necessary to find a balance consistent with this fact. The coming into force of the EU's Lisbon Treaty last year has created new tools and new avenues for cooperation with NATO. With the political instruments

effectuated by the Lisbon Treaty – notably the solidarity clause, mutual assistance clause and the permanent cooperation provisions – the EU is in a stronger position to adjust its defence priorities and activities in consultation with an Alliance guided by a new Strategic Concept.

“The problem is no longer an issue of the EU’s access to NATO capabilities but a problem of coordination between the two when deployed in the same theatre,” Cuesta Civís explained, illustrating his point by comparing the EU’s civil missions in Kosovo (EULEX) and Afghanistan (EUPOL) with NATO’s military operations in the same regions (KFOR, ISAF) and

the EU and NATO military missions (ATALANTA and “Ocean Shield”) to fight against piracy off the coast of Somalia.

The solution to this problem of coordination is to create a new political framework. This framework must address the bigger problem in EU-NATO relations, namely the different natures of the EU as a political supranational entity and NATO as a military alliance. “The strategic partnership between NATO and the EU needs to take into account the differences in structure of the two entities,” he concluded.





Larry Hirst

The Lisbon Summit in November will likely introduce the way forward for the development of this new framework, Cuesta Civís emphasized.

It is important in the early stages of planning EU and NATO missions to have more training and coordination, as well as improving the exchange of information and technical arrangements between the two parties when they are involved in the same theatre, he offered.

The often heavily bureaucratic command structures of the two entities create a lot of wasted effort and money, he admonished. "It is imperative that the EU and NATO learn to work better with other actors, especially international agencies and non-governmental actors," he insisted, "and to make better use of their capabilities in order to avoid duplication. This will mean a faster, cheaper and more effective Alliance." Agreeing with his co-panellist, Hirst told the participants about the potential for innovative collaboration.

Building strategic partnerships II – the NATO-Russia relationship

The relationship between Russia and the West has in the past been characterised by political, military and economic conflict. In the context of the upcoming changes expected in NATO, however, it was noted

that the time is ripe for a re-examination and renewal of the relationship between NATO and its former Cold War antagonist.

Dmitry Rogozin, Russian Ambassador and Head of Mission to NATO, in his opening remarks, offered compliments to the new NATO Secretary General for his balanced approach to the question of Russia, expressing the hope that Rasmussen, with

his political background, would continue to bring a strong political element to the process of developing and approving NATO's new Strategic Concept.

This process has gotten off to a positive start, he added, with the report of NATO's

"I believe that innovative collaboration can do more for NATO than virtually any other organisation. We must explore how, with new levels of interoperability, we can link together not only defence services but emergency services, civil agencies and NGOs. I think the potential is there for all to see."

Larry Hirst



Group of Experts, chaired by Madeleine Albright. NATO's decision to bring together experts from the west and from partner countries has demonstrated its willingness to maintain an open mind. "The flexibility and openness on the part of NATO will open many doors and allow new opportunities in the relationship between NATO and Russia," he opined.

Though in many ways a step forward, Rogozin criticised the attitude underlying the report, claiming that it is ambiguous concerning the relationship with Russia. Citing the report – which states that NATO, under the new Strategic Concept, will "continue the policy of engaging Russia while simultaneously ensuring that all

allies' security be protected" – he said that "what we see in Russia is one hand offered in friendship while the other is prepared to defend against threats to NATO member security. We hope that this ambiguity will be cleared up in the actual Strategic Concept."

In fact, he continued, the interim report states that there are a variety of attitudes represented, as opposed to a singular, clear vision of the future of relations between NATO and Russia. Crafting this vision would be a very welcome boost to the NATO-Russia partnership, he concluded.

"I am quite optimistic about progress in the relationship between NATO and

Russia,” stated Rasmussen. “Having said that, I do realise that there are also areas in which we disagree. We’ll have to handle further alignment with an open mind.”

Strengthening the relationship would mean a greater role for the NATO-Russia Council (NRC), the conference heard. In fact, said Rogozin, in order to create an atmosphere for greater cooperation, the new Strategic Concept must be guided by the decisions taken at the 2002 NATO-Russia Summit in Rome, when the NRC was created as a principle body for NATO-Russia cooperation.

The key element of this decision, that this council meet as 29 individual countries, operating in their national capacities, is not respected in the interim report which emphasises the differences between the 28 NATO members and Russia. “On the contrary,” he said, “what is mentioned is that both sides need to work together. I can only interpret this to mean 28 countries on one side and one on the other.”

These concerns aside, the NRC has agreed to produce a joint assessment of common threats to the whole Euro-Atlantic area, later countered Rasmussen. “I do believe

that the development of a true strategic partnership between NATO and Russia would contribute to the overall security of the world,” he elaborated. “We are faced with the same security challenges and should work together to map out the solutions to meet these challenges.”

Rogozin agreed with the benefits of this project but underlined the importance of a practical follow-up to it. If NATO and Russia can collaborate to determine the challenges facing them, it should follow that the responses be collaborated on as well, he explained.

“If we acknowledge that common threats exist, why can we not decide on a common response?”

Dmitry Rogozin

Concluding, Rogozin proposed that Russia be included as an active participant in the elaboration of the new Strategic Concept. “Let me express the hope that the Strategic Concept that NATO is creating for itself will be a document that will be future-oriented, providing for very close political, economical and defence cooperation between Russia and its European and American allies.”



Scott A. Harris

Session II

Is transatlantic defence procurement a “two-way street”?

In his introductory remarks, **Scott A. Harris**, President for Continental Europe at Lockheed Martin, told the participants that the current crisis in defence funding could have spillover effects that would be negative, not only for the political objectives of NATO and its partners but for the defence industry as well.

“The current budget crisis is worse than in the past,” he stated. “After many years of decline in defence spending, we are now faced with cuts in almost every country. It is one thing to cut defence budgets after a period of growth, as is the case in the US, but another to cut after years of reduced spending in the defence sector.”

For decades, agreed **Peter Balas**, Deputy Director General for Trade at the European Commission, the EU defence market has been fragmented by national champions and non-efficient producers, a fact which is mirrored in the EU’s sometimes blasé attitude towards defence spending when compared with the US. This is poised to change, he added, as the feeling amongst

decision makers in NATO and the EU is that the present economic crisis is an effective enforcer against wasted resources and efforts in the name of national pride. Simply put, it has become unfeasible to ‘buy national’ if that national option is expensive and not up to global standards. Budgetary pressures have also contributed to increased readiness in European countries to search possibilities for production cooperation.

Considering the pressure, Harris added, the crisis could be an opportunity for national governments to restructure their spending habits and streamline their organisations.

“We need a radical change in pooling defence procurement and delivering multinational solutions in support of our troops,” agreed Richard Froh, NATO Deputy Assistant Secretary General for Armaments, offering a point of view from the Alliance. The time is right, he continued, to overhaul NATO’s agency structure, reduce overheads and maintenance costs, and streamline spending.

Furthermore, it should be recognised that multinational solutions can deliver increased interoperability, facilitate

logistical support and provide more effective and efficient training. "I am concerned that the processes we currently use to deliver capabilities are far too complex and often too slow. Updating processes is not sexy and will not likely become front page news, yet acquisition reforms can help NATO respond to evolving capability requirements in a timely and cost effective manner," he clarified. "This is a huge challenge but is also a good opportunity to make NATO fit for purpose for the 21st Century."

Many opportunities for multinational solutions can be developed in the transatlantic relationship, the participants heard. "I believe in a stronger transatlantic relationship," admitted Harris, "since the national approach is a thing of the past. The future lies in cooperative programs, the best of the EU and the best of the US working together to build for the future."

Though the rhetoric surrounding it is increasingly being given weight in international fora, the realisation of this stronger transatlantic relationship is still fraught with many road blocks, it was noted.

The elephant in the room today is the US Air Force's multi-billion dollar tanker deal,

co-moderator **Giles Merritt**, Director of the Security & Defence Agenda, offered as a case in point of the challenges facing the defence sector on both sides of the Atlantic, "and not only because the EU companies involved feel hard done by. Whatever the end result, this deal is likely to set the political atmosphere on defence equipment trade across the Atlantic for years to come."

With so much hanging in the balance for the future of a relevant and effective Alliance, it is important to get the political climate right at the outset, he concluded.

Improving the EU defence industry

"There is an old industrialists' motto which states: 'protect in my home market and compete in the global market,'" Harris said. However, he added, this motto does not hold true

"The elephant in the room today is the US Air Force's multi-billion dollar tanker deal"

Giles Merritt

today as increasingly competitive global markets make it more and more difficult for products developed under a protective umbrella to be competitive on a global scale.

The EU has its own specific problems when it comes to creating a European defence industry and single market. For

one thing, offered Froh, decision making in the EU is a much more complex process of consensus building than in the US. When it comes to the defence industry, he said, the US sets the priorities and makes a single decision as a single nation. He compared this relatively simple structure to the EU's, in which each member state has to make the same decision. For each small element of the decision-making process it takes longer to reach the critical mass needed to move forward.

When it comes to interactions with the rest of the world, the EU's strength lies in the consolidation of its members' resources and efforts, Jeffrey Bialos, Executive Director of the Program on Transatlantic Security and Industry at the

Center for Transatlantic Relations, offered. He cited a recent study by researchers at John Hopkins University which shows that Europe is developing better buying habits. The data from the study presents an EU that has moved from sole-source, national buying towards cooperative and more competitive buying.

"There is a European, as distinct from national, preference emerging as regards industrial policies in Europe," he elaborated, "and I see it in EU procurement initiatives as well." This tendency towards better buying habits is slow and, particularly during recessionary times, quite difficult, he added.

Compounding the problem, the EU trails far behind the US in terms of defence





expenditures, it was noted. The American defence industry spends at huge rates to create competitive defence products while the EU's fragmented defence market does not allow for the EU to catch up domestically. The only way for the European defence industry to survive, opined Harris, is to grow into a globally competitive industry.

The first step towards this globally competitive industry, he continued, is for the EU to develop a more unified single market. The European Commission has recognised this and continues to work towards a single European defence market. Speaking from an American industrial point of view, Harris went further, saying that it would be ideal to eventually create a single global market.

"It is not a matter of ideology," he elaborated, "it is a matter of practicality. It is the case that no single market – not even the European market – can sustain the global defence industry by itself."

In a globalised world, threatened with global security challenges, NATO must continue to encourage more integration between its members, the panel agreed. Fortunately, this integration occurs more fluidly with the 21 countries who are members of both NATO and the EU.

Another aspect of the debate concerns the EU's role in the greater context of NATO operational capacity, offered Bialos. As mentioned, the EU lags far behind the US in terms of both expenditures as well as in defence capabilities in the traditional sense.

“There is a lot more to do than to develop advanced coalition fighting capabilities that can be effective across a spectrum of potential conflicts,” he opined. “Europe, consistent with its soul, its culture and its values, ought to focus on setting up a European constabulary force with a range of low-intensity missions. Then the few countries in Europe with an appetite for high-intensity capabilities can work in NATO with the US in that capacity.”

Looking at market access through the lens of actual procurement decisions, he continued, there is already a slow trend in the EU of taking on the elements of its members national sovereignty and defence, with a focus on low-intensity warfare.

Europe should focus more on its strengths, agreed Froh. In the past there was a lot of technology transfer from the defence industry to the civil sphere but today it is the opposite. The EU is the world leader in wireless communication, whose technology is being increasingly brought into the defence sector.

EU member state governments should collectively focus on their industries’ strengths and build up their non-traditional defence product procurement structures in order to create a realistic set of outcomes where their ambitions are matched by their resources and capabilities, added Bialos.

Opening markets and removing barriers to transatlantic trade

In order to improve the defence procurement relationship between the US and EU, Bialos explained, the governments of the US and the EU block must recognise that the trade deficit between them will not be solved by aggressive or protectionist trade policies.

In fact, he continued, the deficit is largely a function of the

“I truly believe that the solution for the problems in transatlantic trade, European capability development and European industry is more transatlantic cooperation. This is a way to leverage the contributions from smaller states to a global level”

Scott A. Harris

norms which underlie EU defence spending. “Without changes in the pattern of defence spending in Europe,” he said, “all the aggressive trade policies in the world are not going to meaningfully resolve the trade deficit.”



There has been a difference in approach towards trade in general between the EU and US in the recent period, Balas said. While the EU's solution has been to improve conditions for two-way trade and also to promote a more open procurement market, the US has tended to put the emphasis only on increasing exports.

"The EU is more ready to open further its market than the US and there are number of trade deals that are stalling in the US congress," he explained. "Frankly, these days trade is a popular theme in the US. This is not just an EU view but a much repeated political truth in the US."

Though perhaps true in the past, this attitude may be changing, countered **Robert Bell**, US Secretary of Defence Representative to Europe and Defence Advisor. "It is difficult to develop a top-down solution directed by governments trying to guide efforts to improve the transatlantic relationship," he said.

To do this, Bell recommended that the US government focus on lowering barriers to trade in terms of export controls in particular, emulating similar EU reforms accomplished by the EU directive on internal acquisition.

By removing these artificial barriers, which stand in the way of opportunities for

companies on both sides of the Atlantic, the road will be paved towards giving industry the chance to identify their market and develop good partnerships.

The US and EU must improve the structures of the transatlantic trade relationship to attract more industry, whose biggest concern is profitability. “If you only return 10% profit, when Wall Street wants 12%, you suffer. This is the reality in the business world,” Bell admitted.

The US government should engage in depth with the EU and national governments on market-opening initiatives, agreed Bialos. Though economic realities are driving market openness and governments need to do more to continue this trend, it is simply not a quick and easy process, he added.

“The paradox is that this is not so good for American buyers,” he continued. “The US market, which has long been competitive, has opened up more to European buyers and most EU suppliers now have a ticket to the dance.”

The reality is that, because of the US’ concentration on investment in areas of high-intensity prowess, over time US forces will continue to be much more advanced. Transatlantic defence procurement needs to focus on interoperability, which is not

currently the case, so that the Alliance can get the most out of what Europe has to offer in terms of low-intensity outputs.

“The EU is becoming the centre of gravity in Europe for low-intensity war fighting. In that context, the market development is going to follow demand, it is just that simple,” he concluded.

Multinational solutions for creating complementary capabilities

Strategically, the EU is unwarlike, Bialos said. After centuries of conflict, Europe has emerged as a global ‘soft’ power, preferring to resolve problems with politics and trade. Fundamentally, the EU has no appetite for, and cannot afford, a full range of capabilities in the high-intensity war fighting area, he reiterated.

He suggested that the EU’s solution should be to develop a cluster of cooperative efforts focussed on interoperability and low-intensity warfare, to complement the US’ strengths and develop better capabilities for civil-military missions.

This cooperation would preferably stay within a NATO context, though “if NATO cannot get its act together soon,” he exclaimed, “I do not see any reason why the US should not independently pursue better bilateral relations with the EU.”



Jeffrey Bialos

The discussion in defence policy circles has for too long been focussed on institutional relations, Froh offered in support of his co-panellist. This must change, with efforts being focussed towards concrete projects on which the EU and US can work through NATO in a cooperative spirit.

“Of course,” he added, “multinational solutions are not a panacea. They face all the same challenges that plague national programmes and, due to the political processes involved and the complex industrial structures, these types of programmes take longer to launch.”

That being said, Froh continued, the EU is working with NATO on identifying opportunities for cooperative projects in two low-intensity areas: countering improvised explosive devices (IEDs) and improving military medical support.

Simply put, the key is multinational cooperation on the industrial level, he concluded. Partnerships, rather than competition, between the US and European defence industries will ultimately create a more even playing

field and advances in a wider range of defence products, with multinational teams competing between themselves to develop the best technology.

From an industrial point of view, these issues all boil down to money and programmes, interjected Harris. “If government policy will allow us, companies will build models in multinational industry cooperation and you will see competition between

these models.

Governments need to tell us what they need and to let the industry take care of shaping itself.”

Moving away from the current national (or in the case of the EU, supranational) industrial

competitiveness paradigm could be a very positive development to counteract growing fears of protectionist policies in NATO member states, the panel agreed. With this understanding, the discussion turned to a case study of the US Air Force’s recent tanker deal and the surrounding issues.

“The EU is becoming the centre of gravity in Europe for low-intensity war fighting. In that context, the market development is going to follow demand, it is just that simple.”

Jeffrey Bialos

The case of the tanker deal

There are inequalities in the transatlantic defence procurement relationship, Balas reiterated. The US' major technological advance in defence products and the EU's fragmented defence market are two explanations for such inequalities but, he continued, "the European Commission believes that there is still a way to go to create a level playing field in the terms and conditions of the procurement of defence products."

In February 2008, a consortium of the European Aeronautic Defence and

Space Company (EADS) and American aerospace and defence technology company, Northrop Grumman, won a contract worth an initial \$35 billion from the US Air Force to build refuelling tanker planes.

After Boeing, EADS' competitor for the contract, challenged the decision, the US Government Accountability Office (GAO) overturned it based on Boeing's appeal that the decision was not consistent with US federal acquisition rules, explained Bialos. This situation has become a cause for accusations of protectionism and strained transatlantic relations, it was noted.



Considering that the facts show the European product to be superior to that of Boeing, it is clear that there has been political pressure at work behind the reversal of the decision.

“I would fundamentally reject that the decision by the GAO is a protectionist conspiracy and that, somehow after EADS won, it fell to the GAO to be instructed to go resolve the problem and protect American interests,” argued Bell, suggesting that

“From the EU side, we are not very impressed by the process of this procurement.”

Peter Balas

the US Department of Defence’s (DOD) subsequent reaction to the overturned contract decision demonstrates that transatlantic defence procurement is, in fact, a ‘two-way street.’

The lengths to which the DOD went in an attempt to reintroduce competition into the process by extending the time limit for a new EADS proposal demonstrates behaviour inconsistent with protectionist policies, he affirmed.





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Bell's opinion was supported by Bialos, his fellow American panellist, who told the participants that "to understand the American system is to really understand that none of what has happened to this point is protectionist. The decision on the tanker deal will be made by an independent source selection panel based on merit, not by congress or political decision makers, who do not have the authority to make source-selection decisions."

"The tanker deal is a big distraction," opined Harris, the panel's industry representative. "It is a continuation of the competition between two large airplane

manufacturers, using every political instrument at their disposal to try to win this business opportunity." In the end, this deal has few implications for transatlantic defence trade or the long term health of defence industries, he explained.

"There is a feeling in Europe that, if the tanker deal is to be decided on protectionist grounds, it would have grave repercussions for transatlantic defence relations," Balas disagreed. "If, on the other hand, this ends up being a stepping stone for larger procurement deals, it could go a long way towards balancing the transatlantic procurement relationship," he concluded.



General Sir John McColl

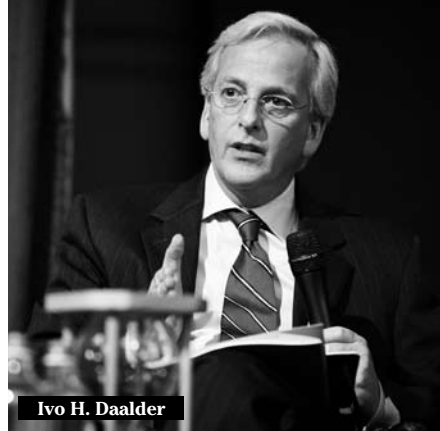
Session III

Would better coordination mean success in Afghanistan?

After almost nine years, the NATO-led International Security Assistance Force's (ISAF) involvement in the war in Afghanistan seems to have entered its final stages, began co-moderator Giles Merritt, with American and Dutch troops set to begin withdrawing in 2011.

“When Western involvement began in Afghanistan in 2001, the goal was very clear – to strike back and punish Al Qaeda for the 9/11 terrorist attacks,” he stated. “As the mission continues to wear on, however, the role of the international force has become less straightforward.”

A military mission at the outset, the coalition forces in Afghanistan have had to re-examine their role, agreed **General Sir John McColl**, NATO's Deputy Supreme Allied Commander Europe. “The number one thing that we would like to see is the reality of the Afghan situation applied to a comprehensive approach,” he told the participants. “The mission must integrate economic and political considerations into its operational framework if stability

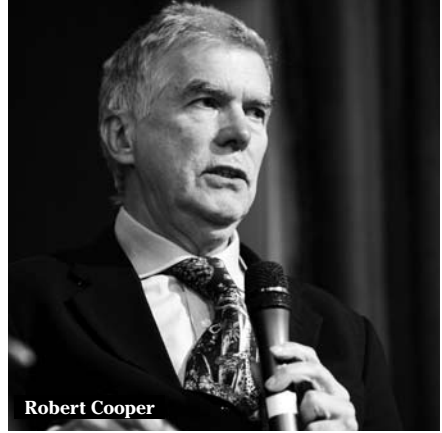


Ivo H. Daalder

is to be achieved in the country,” McColl continued.

Afghanistan is an interesting test case, offered **Ivo H. Daalder**, US Ambassador and Permanent Representative to NATO. NATO has recognised the need for greater coordination and integration between actors from civil, political and military areas and has arguably had more success in doing this than in any other operation in the last 20 years.

“Military and security efforts are essential for success, though not exclusively,” he explained. “The endgame in Afghanistan, when it comes, will be political in nature but cannot be dictated from outside. The degree to which the Afghan government



can grow will, over time, provide the political basis necessary to bring this conflict to an end.”

Improving the international approach to Afghanistan

The international community, in committing its forces to Afghanistan, suffered from a lack of long term planning, began **Kai Eide**, former UN Special Representative of the Secretary General to Afghanistan.

A growing number of nations with troops committed to ISAF are demonstrating a tendency to want to emulate the US troop

withdrawal set to begin next year, Eide added.

This deadline has set an expectation that risks undermining the success of the mission and damaging Afghan confidence in the long term partnership

with the international community, a partnership that must continue to be nurtured long after the troops are gone.

The successful completion of military operations in Afghanistan is a precondition to further development,

“The clock in Afghan society is ticking away in a fundamentally different way than in the international community. The problem is that our time horizon is so short, we believe that the process will go more quickly than it does.”

Kai Eide

explained **Robert Cooper**, Director-General for External and Politico-Military

Affairs in the Council of the European Union. The international community will have to maintain its presence into the future, though its role will evolve away from military needs as the Afghan government grows into its own.

“If what we are talking about is a change of society,” Cooper elaborated, “The timescale needs to be considered in terms of development rather than military operations. Change and growth in education and industry do not happen overnight.”

“We have the military resources but see a dramatic lack of the other components that we knew or should have known were

lacking,” Eide elaborated. “The strategy we have is overly militarised. Shaped by military thinking and conducted by the military with civilian elements added as an afterthought. It is not going to work.”

The strategy of “clear, hold, build” inspired by the US experience in Iraq, has serious flaws in the context of the situation in Afghanistan, he added, breaking down the three steps.

Firstly, he said, it is unclear to coalition forces who to target as insurgents, as they easily merge with the local people. There is considerable fear and intimidation in the population, which makes it difficult to separate the citizenry from the insurgency.



Secondly, he continued, the Afghan police and government have not had enough time to develop independent control in the country, so when contributors to ISAF begin to withdraw military support, the Afghans will have a hard time maintaining order.

Finally, he concluded, in what has been a mostly military offensive, there has been a lack of civilian aspects or – in areas where civil missions do exist – a coordination deficit and lack of direction that ensures difficulty in the rebuilding process.

Recognizing the need for a new approach, General Stanley McChrystal, who commanded ISAF in 2009/2010, performed a comprehensive reassessment of NATO's Afghanistan presence and the situation on the ground, Daalder informed the participants.

Based on this assessment, NATO high command was able to develop a strategy better adapted to Afghanistan and the international community's needs.

Dubbed the "Three Ts," the new approach aims to target the insurgents, train the Afghans and transfer responsibility to Afghan structures. This current strategy, based on the notion that "it is more important to save an Afghan life than to kill an insurgent," has produced a change in Afghanistan, Daalder said.

"We now have goals that put the Afghan people at the heart of the strategy while outlining in clear terms the areas that are central to the conduct of the campaign," McColl elaborated. In order to effect the necessary change, NATO requires a deeply coordinated effort between the civilian and military aspects of the campaign as

well as an increased troop density for the counter-insurgency to succeed.

Last year's troop surge has greatly contributed to this density, he continued, while, on the Afghan side, there has been a dramatic increase in the size and nature of the Afghan National Police

(ANP) and Afghan National Army (ANA). The ANP has increased in size to 109,000 on its way to a projected 134,000 by the

"NATO spent all of 2009 focussed on transforming the way that the international community addressed the conflict, so that 2010 became a year of maximum effort and in 2011 we can have a year of transition from foreign to local control."

Ivo H. Daalder



end of 2011 and the ANA, currently at 134,000, aims to have 175,000 troops by the same time.

“These are dramatic increases, which are allowing security to be delivered,” McColl said. “As the security situation improves, non-military priorities can be allowed to take effect.” Perhaps even more positively, he continued, this has brought about a renewed sense of purpose and a real desire on the part of the Afghans to move forward and to increasingly assume responsibility for their own security, moving the ISAF forces into a support, mentoring and training role.

The paradigm shift in NATO’s strategic approach to Afghanistan is reason for optimism, opined Daalder. The integrative strategy is geared towards earning the trust of the Afghan people towards their government and the international

community, beginning with a sense of security and justice.

“Though at this stage nothing is certain,” McColl concluded, “the speed with which the transition takes place depends upon the conditions for better coordination on the ground.”

Greater coordination for success in Afghanistan

There is currently a broad coordination taking place under the aegis of NATO, involving aid programs not normally considered by the Alliance but which do fit into a comprehensive approach, explained Cooper.

In a certain respect, he continued, increased coordination between governments, militaries, international institutions and civil society actors is

more likely in Afghanistan as it is a central policy objective for all involved.

“A crisis could be defined as a situation in which different organisations are prepared to cooperate with one another,” he commented. “Because everyone takes Afghanistan very seriously, there is a general wish to contribute to the overall pattern that has been set by the work done by General McChrystal.”

Supporting his fellow panellist, Daalder added

that it is remarkable that, despite budget considerations in the face of the

economic crisis, not a single government has decided to reduce their presence in Afghanistan.

As signs of support increase within Afghanistan and without, the actors involved need to be properly coordinated,

offered McColl. This coordination need not necessarily be conducted by NATO but a comprehensive approach would ensure that efforts in all areas have a maximum positive effect. According to Cooper, NATO and the Aghan

government are best suited to coordinate this comprehensive approach.

“The strongest actor on the ground must be the lead coordinator, as nothing else works. There are therefore two possible coordinators on the ground: NATO and the Afghan government.”

Robert Cooper



Fabrice Pothier

NATO should not be the coordinating presence in Afghanistan, Eide interjected. “My experience in Afghanistan [as UN Special Representative],” he said, “was that the closer we got to the military, the further civilian actors distanced themselves. In an intense military situation, it is very difficult for NATO – the largest organisation on the ground – to coordinate.”

When the international community came to Afghanistan in 2002, Eide said, control of coordination for different areas of the mission was given to separate countries, meaning that coordination was fragmented from the outset.

Following this, he continued, responsibility for coordination was given to the UN and NATO. These institutions lacked two important things: qualified personnel and the readiness of the countries involved to be coordinated.

Though the situation has improved in recent years, Eide warned against leaving coordination in the hands of international bodies and institutions. “This is Afghanistan. We must give the coordination tasks to the Afghans.”

Ultimately, agreed Cooper, if there is to be real coordination it must be done by the Afghan government. “For the long term, what we want is an Afghan government that functions as the primary partner in

Afghanistan and until they are the centre of coordination, I doubt that we will succeed in our mission.”

Whoever is responsible for it, the existing coordination does not occur in a previously agreed framework, an obviously unworkable approach, added McColl. A framework must exist if ISAF and the Afghan government are to succeed at defeating the insurgents and developing the country.

NATO has made two fundamental changes in terms of coordination to address the issue, explained Daalder, underlining the notion that, while real coordination must occur on the ground, and will eventually have to come from the Afghan government, for the time being it is NATO that is helping to build the structures and capacity to coordinate.

Firstly, NATO has created a new three-star headquarters to supplement the ISAF command structure. This action enabled General McChrystal and his staff to devote more attention to working strategically with his counterparts in order to improve coordination efforts.

Another important step taken to improve coordination was the appointment of Ambassador Mark Sedwill as civilian NATO coordinator in April 2009. Sedwill, who coordinates the efforts of the military

and economic sides of the campaign, is the civilian counterpart of the new ISAF Commander, General David Petraeus – who succeeded General McChrystal on 23 June 2010.

Ambassador Sedwill and his staff have taken complete charge of the Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs). The involvement of civilian representatives and reconstruction experts in the PRTs is a singular and positive example of civil-military cooperation under the auspices of NATO, Eide stated.

However, he continued, owing to proven incompatibility between civilian and military elements in the past, ISAF's goal of empowering Afghan leadership to coordinate efforts should be effectuated as soon as possible. "The Afghan government has gone further than the international community. Only they that can decide the direction of their national structures and policies. We have to help them improve their coordination capabilities."

On the security, economic, and governance side, agreed Daalder, it is the Afghan people, government, capacities and forces that need to start taking control of the coordination effort in 2011.

ISAF and the international community have actually put in place the

coordination and implementation strategy that will be necessary for success, he continued "This in itself is no guarantee of success but, without these efforts, our failure would already be secured."

"We need to show to the Afghan people that the future offered by their government is brighter than that offered by the insurgency," Daalder concluded. "Success does not mean that Afghanistan will join the EU tomorrow, success must mean that Afghanistan will be able to provide for its people a sense of security and fulfil their basic human needs."

The Afghanisation Process

Afghanistan has taken steps towards self-sustainable governance in recent years, the panel agreed, though the process is still far from complete. "What is encouraging is the great progress that has been made in the Afghan military. If this continues, if one day there is a decent Afghan army capable of keeping a degree of order, then we can consider the mission a success," stated Cooper.

Building up the armed forces is one of the more successful strategies that have been outlined by the Afghan government, agreed Eide, which has allowed hope to surface that it will be successful in other areas.

Recently, he continued, the government made the transition from an inefficient system of seventeen inter-ministerial committees to develop five strategic areas on which to focus efforts: security, agriculture and development, infrastructure, governance, and human resource development.

In the best interests of Afghanistan and the ISAF mission, Eide opined, it behoves the international community to offer support to the Afghan government in achieving these goals. Though much work has been done in some of these fields, there are still two key areas in which Afghan capabilities are lacking, namely in the ability to develop fundable programs and projects and in the readiness from the donor community to be coordinated.

Fortunately, he continued, these two areas go hand in hand; if the government can be helped to develop these programs, the donor community will show a willingness to be coordinated. The difficulty lies in the reluctance of donors and civil society actors to join in development projects in the war-torn southern part of the country, he admitted.

The political endgame in Afghanistan will be an Afghan endgame and not one defined by anybody other than Afghans.

John McColl

Improvements in this area are likely to be only a matter of time, however, as “Afghan government officials have demonstrated an ability to manipulate the international community that appears to be much stronger than the international community’s ability

to manipulate them,” Cooper lightly commented.

Responding to an intervention from Igor Garcia-Tapia, Project Assistant at the Security & Defence Agenda, who asked the panel to comment on the recently discovered rich lithium deposits in Afghanistan, the panellists discussed the question of infrastructure development as more natural mineral deposits including iron ore, emeralds and gold continue to be discovered in the mountainous country.

“The big issue with regards to these minerals is the question of infrastructure development,” offered Eide, “Afghanistan’s need for railroads and electricity grids is critically important.”

Though the country is in no way fully prepared to exploit them at the present time, the discovery of valuable natural

resources in Afghanistan is a huge opportunity, opined Daalder, because it provides the basis for creating the modern infrastructure it needs in order to shift from an illicit to a licit economy and from a 13th century economic base to a modern one.

“With the encouraging find of minerals, there is a hope that Afghanistan, while being poor, should not remain poor,” agreed Eide. “The world now knows that it is not just a corridor for regional trade but a country with its own resources.”

Regarding the political process of Afghanisation, Fabrice Pothier, Director of Carnegie Europe, sought the panellists’ views on the recent dismissal of Afghan Interior Minister Mohammad Hanif Atmar and, considering his western orientation, what the removal means for the future political endgame in Afghanistan.

“I do not see any prospect of a political process at the moment,” responded Eide. “Minister Atmar’s dismissal was a setback to the Afghanisation process and I hope it will not have demoralising effect on other reformists in the government. What we need now is a stronger contribution towards reform, not further fragmentation of the government.”

Furthermore, he continued, what is needed to move the political process

forward is a government united by a sense of responsibility for the entire country, not one with the current divisions.

The political process will begin with a transition, answered McColl, whereby the ANP, ANA and security structures gradually take responsibility for their own security to the point where they become increasingly independent. This process will be gradual and complex but is already starting, he continued, with the Afghans taking the lead in over 60% of the military operations currently taking place.

Concluding the conference, McColl told the participants that, though the rhetoric is easy to understand and the reality more difficult to digest, “the political endgame in Afghanistan will be an Afghan endgame and not one defined by anybody other than Afghans.”



SECURITY & DEFENCE AGENDA (SDA)

The Security & Defence Agenda (SDA) is the only regular forum in Brussels devoted to debating the future of European and transatlantic security and defence policies. It brings together senior representatives of EU institutions, NATO, national governments, industry, specialised and international media, think tanks, academia and NGOs.

Since its creation in early 2002 under the patronage of Javier Solana, Chris Patten and George Robertson, the SDA raises awareness by anticipating the political agenda and focusing attention on European and transatlantic security and defence policies and challenges.

Events

The SDA's trademarks are its monthly Roundtables, dynamic events that bring together some 120 policymakers, think-tankers, industry leaders, academics, NGOs and media. Issues discussed cover the full range of topics related to the future of European and transatlantic security and defence policies. These events last approximately four hours and serve as a medium for participants to exchange information in a concise, neutral and accessible format.

The SDA organises major annual defence and security conferences. These one-day events bring together high-profile policymakers with industry, analysts, NGOs, and international press from Brussels and national capitals, and have focused on topics such as the future of civ-mil cooperation in Europe or the effects of the credit crunch on NATO.

Furthermore, the SDA hosts an array of other events on specialised issues, from press dinners to lunch or evening debates, when the topic lends itself to a more intimate setting.

Jam Session 2010

The Security Jam, an innovative 5-day online event supported by NATO and the European Commission, brought together some 4,000 participants from 124 countries around the world in an ambitious online debate. Its report, published in May 2010 will provide input into the work of the NATO new Strategic Concept group of Experts chaired by Madeleine Albright and the EU2020's wisemen's group led by Felipe Gonzalez.

Publications

SDA publications bring together a wide range of opinions from the EU and international security communities. They include discussion papers, studies, event reports, and opinion pieces. Recent topics have included the security implications of Balkan integration into Euro-Atlantic structures, the return of France to NATO's military command structures, and Maritime Security in the Mediterranean.

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NATO Secretary General



Pieter De Crem
Belgian Minister of Defence



Shirin Ebadi
Iranian Human Rights lawyer and Nobel prize laureate



Adm. James Stavridis
NATO Supreme Allied Commander Europe



Madeleine Albright
Former US Secretary of State

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The Brussels' Office

has become a third “pillar” of the Stiftung. It was opened in 1978 and has since then been extended continuously. The Office's work focuses in a European perspective on institutional developments of the EU, foreign and security policy, transatlantic relations, social and economic issues as well as interreligious dialogue. A special emphasis is also given to a Multinational Development Dialogue. The European Office also takes care of the bilateral relations with the BeNeLux-countries.

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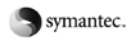
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