



# **“Reflections on the status and future of the transatlantic alliance”**

Robert Gates’ final policy speech  
SDA keynote address 10 June 2011



**A *Security & Defence Agenda* Report**

**Rapporteur: Jonathan Dowdall**

**Photos: François de Ribaucourt**

**Publisher: Geert Cami**

**Date of publication: June 2011**

**SECURITY & DEFENCE AGENDA**

Bibliothèque Solvay, Parc Léopold,

137 rue Belliard, B-1040, Brussels, Belgium

T: +32 (0)2 737 91 48 F: +32 (0)2 736 32 16

E: [info@securitydefenceagenda.org](mailto:info@securitydefenceagenda.org) W: [www.securitydefenceagenda.org](http://www.securitydefenceagenda.org)

# “Reflections on the status and future of the transatlantic alliance”

## CONTENTS

Secretary of Defense Robert M. Gates: Biography	2
Introduction	3
A foreword on solidarity	3
Operational concerns	3
A “two-tiered” alliance	4
The financial crisis and US investment in NATO	5
A final concern - the “ageing out” of transatlantic ties	6
Media coverage	7
List of participants	11
About the SDA	20

The views expressed in this report by speakers and members of the audience are personal opinions and not necessarily the views of the organisations they represent, nor of the Security & Defence Agenda, its members or partners.

Reproduction in whole or in part is permitted, providing that full attribution is made to the Security & Defence Agenda and to the source(s) in question, and provided that any such reproduction, whether in full or in part, is not sold unless incorporated in other works.

## SECRETARY OF DEFENSE ROBERT M. GATES



Dr. Robert M. Gates was sworn in on December 18, 2006, as the 22nd Secretary of Defense. Gates joined the Central Intelligence Agency in 1966 and spent nearly 27 years as an intelligence professional. During that period, he spent nearly nine years at the National Security Council, The White House, serving four presidents of both political parties.

He is the only career officer in CIA history to rise from entry-level employee to Director. He served as Deputy Director of Central Intelligence from 1986 until 1989 and as Assistant to the President and Deputy National Security Adviser at the White House from January 20, 1989, until November 6, 1991, for President George H.W. Bush.

Gates has been awarded the National Security Medal, the Presidential Citizens Medal, has twice received the National Intelligence Distinguished Service Medal, and has three times received CIA's highest award, the Distinguished Intelligence Medal.



## “Reflections on the status and future of the transatlantic alliance”



### Introduction

To the mark the final overseas political tour of his office, **Robert M. Gates**, US Secretary of Defense, addressed a distinguished gathering at the Security & Defence Agenda (SDA) in Brussels on June 10. Gates used the opportunity to “speak bluntly” about how he sees the military shortcomings of European members of NATO; and to issue a warning that the economic crisis and a changing political make-up in US domestic politics could foreshadow a diminishing investment in the transatlantic alliance.

### A foreword on solidarity

**Jaap De Hoop Scheffer**, Co-president of the SDA and former NATO Secretary General introduced the Secretary.

“Mr Secretary, you are leaving an alliance which now has a new Strategic Concept; and you are also leaving an alliance one could only call hyperactive”, he began optimistically. However, “I am going to bring one “caveat” into the group... that we should write the word “solidarity” in the alliance with a capital “S”.”

This capital “S”, he continued, symbolises the important cross-roads the alliance finds itself at in various overseas missions, and the commitment of resources these will entail. “It means for NATO’s very important operation in Afghanistan, that at a time when we might start reducing our military presence there, NATO allies do not collectively head for the exit”, he cautioned. He also called for greater solidarity over alli-

ance operations in Libya, “where the number of actively participating allies is regrettably small”.

*“...this imbalance in the burden-sharing, is not sustainable in a world where projecting stability is the order of the day”.*

De Hoop Scheffer then focused on the single biggest caveat of them all: the financial crisis. “The capital “S” for solidarity in my opinion means that in times of understandable financial austerity, that the allies go on realising that projecting security and stability does not come cheap”, he warned. Given this, he rallied against the “completely un-coordinated” cuts currently occurring across Europe. In relation to burden-sharing, the SDA Co-president frankly stated that “Europe had a rather pale face in this regard”. He thus concluded his introduction with a final caveat: “that this situation, this imbalance in the burden-sharing, is not sustainable in a world where projecting stability is the order of the day”.

### Operational concerns

Thanking De Hoop Scheffer, Gates started by saying that he intended to speak frankly about the transatlantic alliance and Europe, the security of which “has been the consuming interest of much of my professional life.” However, he committed himself to “share these views in the spirit of solidarity and friendship; with the understanding that sometimes, friends must speak to each other bluntly.”

## “Reflections on the status and future of the transatlantic alliance”



Firstly on Afghanistan, the Secretary affirmed that his recent visit had made him “come away impressed and inspired by the changes that have taken place on the ground in recent months.” He also confessed that it “is no secret that for too long, the international military effort in Afghanistan suffered from a lack of focus, resources and attention”. These challenges were exacerbated by inter-alliance tensions over troop commitments and political will.

Yet noting both the sacrifices of alliance troops and the eventual deployment of 40,000 European soldiers in Afghanistan, the Secretary refused to be down-beat. “Frankly, four years ago I never would have expected the alliance to sustain this operation at this level for so long, much less add significantly more forces in 2010. It is a credit to the brave ISAF troops on the ground, as well as to the allied governments who have made the case for the Afghanistan mission under difficult political circumstances at home.”

Yet whilst this commitment is laudable, Gates made it clear there were some significant shortcomings in the military contributions of European alliance members. These problems extended beyond boots on the ground, but were characterized by shortages of “crucial support assets such as helicopters, transport aircraft, maintenance, intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance; and much more.”

More worryingly, the Secretary voiced his belief that these shortcomings have “the potential to jeopardize the alliance’s ability to conduct integrated, effective and sustained” operations over Libya. Discussing the

ongoing alliance mission to protect Libyan civilians under UN Resolution 1973, Gates expressed deep concern about European contributions. Indeed, “while every alliance member voted for the Libya mission, less than half have participated at all, and fewer than a third have been willing to participate in strike missions.” To this dire assessment, he added that “frankly, many of those allies sitting on the sidelines do so not because they do not want to participate, but simply because they can’t. The military capabilities simply aren’t there.”

### A “two-tiered” alliance

The Secretary went on to outline his concern about the lack of political will by European members to commit sufficiently to NATO as an alliance. Specifically, Gates noted a growing divide between members “willing and able to pay the price and bear the burdens of alliance commitments, and those who enjoy the benefits of NATO membership [...] but don’t want to share the risks and the costs.” In the Secretary’s opinion, this divide has come to constitute a “two-tiered alliance”: a divide between those who fight and those who do not. “This is no longer a hypothetical worry. We are there today. And it is unacceptable.”

*“Today, just five of 28 allies [the US, UK, France, Greece and Albania] exceed the agreed 2% of GDP spending on defence.”*

## “Reflections on the status and future of the transatlantic alliance”



This lack of will is epitomized by diminishing budgetary commitments to military force in Europe. “Despite the demands of the mission in Afghanistan [...] total European defence spending declined [...] by nearly 15 percent in the decade following 9/11”, Gates declared. Despite being the “latest in a string of U.S defence secretaries who have urged allies privately and publicly, often with exasperation, to meet agreed-upon NATO benchmarks for defence spending [...] Today, just five of 28 allies [the US, UK, France, Greece and Albania] exceed the agreed 2% of GDP spending on defence.”

However, Gates conceded that due to the financial crisis, “realistically, this situation is highly unlikely to change.” The key then to avoid “the very real possibility of collective military irrelevance” will be to “examine new approaches to boosting combat capabilities: in procurement, in training, in logistics, in sustainment.” Yet such efforts, represented in NATO’s current “Smart Defence” initiative, will not solve these problems completely. A real increase in spending is the only solution to many of Europe’s military woes. Ultimately, the Secretary concluded, “nations must be responsible for their share of collective defence.”

### **The financial crisis and US investment in NATO**

This theme of financial investment became the central focus of Gates’ speech. “As you all know, America’s serious fiscal situation is now putting pressure on our defence budget”, and “tough choices lie ahead affecting every part of our government [...] from foreign assistance to military basing, support and guarantees.”

This process, he continued, was raising awkward questions about the ongoing utility of US commitments in Europe. “The US share of NATO defence spending has now risen to more than 75%, at a time when politically painful budget and benefit cuts are being considered at home”, Gates cautioned.

Indeed, “the blunt reality is that there will be dwindling appetite and patience in the US ... to expand increasingly precious funds on behalf of nations that are unwilling to devote the necessary resources or make the necessary changes to be serious and capable partners in their own defence.” The Secretary then issues his starkest warning yet: “if current trends in the decline of European defence capabilities are not halted and reversed”, many US policymakers “may not consider the return on America’s investment in NATO worth the cost.”

The challenge, then, is for NATO to reverse the “possibility for a dim, if not dismal future for the transatlantic alliance.” The key to this would be to make “a serious effort to protect defence budgets from being further gutted in the next round of austerity measures”. Gates also recommended this could be achieved by “better allocating (and coordinating) the resources we do have; and by following through on commitments to the alliance and to each other.”

The Secretary ultimately expressed optimism in this regard. “The good news is that the members of NATO [...] have it well within their means to halt and reverse these trends, and instead produce a very different future”, he said. “It is not too late for Europe to get its defence and security relationships back on track.” After all, “over the life of the transatlantic alliance there has

## “Reflections on the status and future of the transatlantic alliance”



been no shortage of squabbles and setbacks. But through it all [...] we came together to make the tough decisions in the face of dissension at home and threats abroad. I take heart in the knowledge that we can do so again”, he concluded.

### A final concern - the “ageing out” of transatlantic ties

Before departing, Gates used a question from the floor to elaborate on the realistic likelihood that US policy-makers could disengage from the transatlantic alliance. It was noted that this was not the first time the Secretary had issued such “blunt” warnings to Europe, which begged the question: “what more can you do than threaten to stop continuing to support NATO”? The key here is the changing make-up of US policymakers in Washington, the Secretary explained, and the “cost-benefit” calculation that NATO engagement involves. “You have a lot of new members of Congress who are roughly old enough to be my children or grandchildren, and they do not have the formative experiences that I have had”. Most importantly, these are officials “for whom the Cold War was not the formative experience that it was for me.” This could fundamentally affect the US view of NATO’s utility. Indeed, “I am, in the active US government, essentially the last senior leader who is a product of the Cold War”, Gates claimed. “I think the

kind of emotional and historical attitude American leaders have had with this alliance for over 65 years is ‘ageing out’”. This process of “ageing out” will mean future “decisions and choices are going to be made more in relation to what’s in the best interest of the US”.

*“These are officials for whom the Cold War was not the formative experience that it was for me.”  
This could fundamentally affect the US view of NATO’s utility.*

Gates conceded that he did not know “what this will mean in practical terms”, but he maintained that “if you told the American taxpayer what I just did, about America bearing 75% of the financial burden in NATO, it would raise eyebrows”. It is this combination of financial hardship, a changing US policy elite and questionable European value to US military missions that makes the Secretary’s warnings more serious than before.

Gates thus concluded his final speech by calling for a European acceptance of these new realities, saying, “my hope is that this [...] will get the attention of European leaders, who must realise that the drift of the last 20 years cannot be allowed to continue; not if they want to have a strong transatlantic partnership with the United States.”





## “Reflections on the status and future of the transatlantic alliance”



### Global media coverage

Gates' farewell speech grabbed the world's headlines, with over 70 journalists and a dozen camera crews present at the SDA. 'US Secretary of Defence 'Blasts NATO', 'Warns of dim future', 'Questions capabilities of the alliance', were the terms in which The New York Times, Washington Post, BBC, The Economist, Al-jazeera and many others described Robert Gates' final speech. Tweeted, blogged, and discussed in policy journals, the speech provides great insights for the future of the transatlantic alliance.



Robert Gates used his final policy address as US defence secretary to warn European allies that they faced “the very real possibility of collective military irrelevance” and that Washington was becoming financially unable and politically unwilling to bear the brunt of their defence. In his hour-long address, Mr Gates noted that Washington had made frequent requests “with exasperation” that European NATO members meet the alliance's benchmarks for defence spending. What made Mr Gates' remarks more ominous was his assessment of Washington's view of Europe. He argued that new American leaders, who unlike him had not worked closely with European counterparts through the cold war, may soon decide the return for the US on its transatlantic investment was not worth the cost.

**The New York Times** Defence Secretary Robert Gates bluntly criticized NATO nations for what he said were

shortages in military spending and political will, warning of “a dim if not dismal future” unless more member nations scaled up their participation in the alliance's activities. With little indication of any change in policy among the more reluctant member nations — notably Germany, the Netherlands, Poland, Spain and Turkey — Mr. Gates's harsh words seemed likely to increase pressure on an alliance already deeply strained by differences over sharing the burden in Libya and Afghanistan. “The blunt reality is that there will be dwindling appetite and patience in the U.S. Congress — and in the American body politic writ large — to expend increasingly precious funds on behalf of nations that are apparently unwilling to devote the necessary resources or make the necessary changes to be serious and capable partners in their own defense,” Gates said.



It was a thunderous parting shot from Robert Gates, the outgoing American defence secretary, that most cruelly exposed Europe's shortcomings. Libya reveals an uncomfortable fact about NATO. Its military strength is determined mainly by what America is ready to put in. Without America, the military punch of even the most powerful European members, Britain and France, is limited. Now, more than ever, Europeans need to get more bangs for their bucks.

**Le Monde** Gates warned against a two-speed alliance, where some nations settle for humanitarian missions while others take on combat operations. He also added that NATO would face a “dark future” if allies renounced sufficient

## “Reflections on the status and future of the transatlantic alliance”



military investments despite the alliance’s engagements in Libya and Afghanistan.

**The Washington Post** In a stern rebuke, U.S. Defence Secretary Robert Gates warned that the future of the historic NATO military alliance is at risk because of European penny-pinching and distaste for front-line combat. The United States won’t carry the alliance as a charity case, the outgoing Pentagon chief said. Gates’ assessment that NATO could face “a dim if not dismal” future echoes long-standing concern of US policymakers about European defense spending. But rarely, if ever, has it been stated so directly by such a powerful American figure, widely respected in the United States and internationally. The remarks, at the close of Gates’ final overseas trip, reflect a new reality of constrained American finances and a smaller global reach.

**THE WALL STREET JOURNAL** Robert Gates issued a blunt critique of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, arguing the Libya operations demonstrated America’s allies suffered from serious gaps in military capabilities because of their failure to spend enough on their own defence. One of the NATO’s most ardent defenders and pointed critics, the outgoing U.S. defense chief scathingly accused Europe of behaving increasingly like a free rider, as budget cuts eat deeper into military spending. America’s European allies, Mr. Gates said, are “apparently willing and eager for American taxpayers to assume the growing security burden left by reductions in European defense budgets.”



Speaking in Brussels in his final policy speech as Pentagon chief, Gates said: “The mightiest military alliance in history is only 11 weeks into an operation against a poorly armed regime in a sparsely populated country. Despite more than two million troops in uniform, not including the US military, NATO has struggled, at times desperately, to sustain a deployment of 25,000 to 40,000 troops, not just in boots on the ground, but in crucial support assets such as helicopters, transport aircraft, maintenance, intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance, and much more, Gates said, addressing NATO’s Security and Defence Agenda assembly in the Belgian capital.

[guardian.co.uk](http://guardian.co.uk) The US defence secretary, Robert Gates warned that a new post-cold war generation of leaders in America could abandon NATO and 60 years of security guarantees to Europe, exasperated by Europe’s failures of political will and the gaps in defence funding needed to keep the alliance alive. In a blistering attack on Europe - which he accused of complacency over international security - Gates predicted a NATO consigned to “military irrelevance” in a “dim if not dismal” future unless allies stepped up to the plate.



Gates issued the warning as both continents struggle with the remains of the global recession and President Barack Obama seeks \$400 billion in defence spending cuts over 12 years

## “Reflections on the status and future of the transatlantic alliance”



to reduce the deficit. While Gates and NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen have cautioned European members not to reduce defence spending further, the implicit threat that the U.S. may withdraw support for the alliance marks a hardening of the U.S. position. Rasmussen last year said European defence risked becoming a “paper tiger.”



Robert Gates said that since the fall of the Berlin Wall two decades ago America's share of NATO's spending had risen to 75%. He clearly does not think that is sustainable. Only four European countries are spending 2% of GDP on defence and they are France, the UK, Greece and Albania. The Americans have lobbied strongly against UK defence cuts. Even after 9/11, European defence spending declined by nearly 15% over the following decade.



US Defence Secretary Robert Gates warned that military shortcomings among NATO members could jeopardise the alliance's air war in Libya. With half of the countries in the 28-member alliance not participating in the Libya campaign, Gates said it reflected a worrisome lack of military assets. He said the NATO-led ground war in Afghanistan had scored important accomplishments but said the mission, along with the Libya war, had reflected chronic under-investment and at times a lack of political backbone.



Gates cited NATO's Strategic Airlift Initiative and its Allied Ground Surveillance System as good examples of cooperation. He said the US has no problem with Europe's efforts to build up its own equipment defence market and that a robust industrial capability between the US and its allies is very important. Gates also said the US government was looking at dramatic cuts in a wide range of programs. "Defence will have to bear some of that burden," he said.



US Defence Secretary Robert Gates said the legitimacy of the rule of Syrian President Bashar Assad was open to question after the killing of protesters by security forces. "I would say the slaughter of innocent lives in Syria should be a problem and a concern for everybody," Gates told a seminar in Brussels. "Whether Assad still has the legitimacy to govern his own country I think is a question everyone needs to consider," he said.



US Defence Secretary Robert Gates warned that NATO's European allies "must be responsible for their share of collective defence" to avoid becoming strategically irrelevant. During his final policy speech before retiring at the end of this month, Gates said some NATO partners "apparently willing and eager for American taxpayers to assume the growing security burden left by reductions in European defence budgets."

## “Reflections on the status and future of the transatlantic alliance”



EMIRATES  
**24|7**

In Afghanistan, Gates said it was worrying that an alliance with two million in uniform has "struggled, at times desperately, to sustain a deployment of 25,000 to 45,000 troops" and faced shortages of helicopters, transport aircraft, maintenance and surveillance planes. "Turning to the NATO operation over Libya, it has become painfully clear that similar shortcomings -- in capability and will -- have the potential to jeopardize the alliance's ability to conduct an integrated, effective and sustained air-sea campaign," he said.

**Forbes**  
.com

In a blunt valedictory address in Brussels, Gates questioned NATO's viability, saying its members' penny-pinching and lack of political will could hasten the end of US support. NATO was formed in 1949 as a US led bulwark against Soviet aggression, but in the post-Cold War era it has struggled to find a purpose. Gates says future U.S. political leaders whose worldview wasn't molded by the Cold War may not consider the return on America's investment in NATO worth the cost. Gates spoke to a European think tank at the end of an 11-day overseas journey.



## List of participants

**Nawal Abdullah**

*Political Analyst*  
Embassy of Qatar to Belgium

**Celine Aemisegger**

*Journalist*  
Agencia EFE

**Valery Afanasiev**

*Counsellor, Military Affairs*  
Mission of the Russian Federation to the EU

**Gerhard Ahlbrecht**

*Secretary General*  
European Organisation of Military Associations  
(EUROMIL)

**Tommy Åkesson**

*Defence Advisor*  
Mission of Sweden to NATO

**Juha Ala-huikko**

*Counsellor*  
Delegation of Finland to NATO

**David Alexander**

Reuters

**Mike Allen**

Politico

**Nabeela Al-Mulla**

*Ambassador*  
Embassy of Kuwait to Belgium

**Col. Johan Andries**

*Military Representative*  
Permanent Representation of Belgium to the EU

**Jacopo Avogadro**

*Corporate External Affairs*  
Finmeccanica S.p.A.

**Eda Aygen**

*Project Assistant*  
Security & Defence Agenda (SDA)

**Muhammad Ayub**

*Deputy Head of Mission*  
Mission of Pakistan to the EU

**Vaclav Balek**

*Ambassador, Permanent Representative to the PSC*  
Permanent Representation of the Czech Republic to the EU

**Andris Banka**

*Project Assistant*  
Security & Defence Agenda (SDA)

**Martin Banks**

*Journalist*  
The Parliament Magazine, DODS EU

**Julian Barnes**

The Wall Street Journal

**John Barry**

Newsweek

**Robert G. Bell**

*Defence Advisor*  
United States Mission to NATO

**Haydar Berk**

*Ambassador*  
Delegation of Turkey to NATO

**Stefanie Bolzen**

*Correspondent*  
Die Welt

**David Brunnstrom**

*EU & NATO Correspondent*  
Thomson Reuters

## List of participants

---

**Edgar Buckley**

*Senior Vice President, NATO, UN & EU*  
Thales Group

**Bob Burns**

Associated Press

**Nikolas Busse**

*Correspondent*  
Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ)

**Agata Byczewska**

*Correspondent*  
Polish Press Agency

**Geert Cami**

*Co-Founder & Director*  
Security & Defence Agenda (SDA)

**Mark Carlson**

Associated Press Television

**Marc Cathelineau**

*Vice President, European Union & NATO Affairs*  
Thales

**Božo Cerar**

*Ambassador*  
Delegation of Slovenia to NATO

**Denis Chaibi**

*Member of Cabinet*  
Cabinet of EU Commissioner for International Cooperation & Humanitarian Aid

**Tudor Churov**

*Ambassador*  
Delegation of Bulgaria to NATO

**Jacques Cipriano**

*Vice President, European Affairs*  
Safran Group

**Mark Clark**

*Vice President, Business and Development Europe*  
Raytheon International

**David Cloud**

Los Angeles Times, Washington Bureau  
VRT

**Roland Coppens**

*Cameraman*  
VRT

**Andrew Cox**

*Vice President, Business Development, EU and NATO*  
Lockheed Martin Global, Inc.

**Marie Cullen**

*Photographer*  
United States Department of Defense (DOD)

**Ivo H. Daalder**

*Ambassador*  
United States Mission to NATO

**Sabrina Dallafior**

*Counsellor, Foreign Policy and Security*  
Mission of Switzerland to the EU

**Pieter De Crem**

*Minister of Defence*  
Belgium

**Jaap de Hoop Scheffer**

*Former Secretary General of NATO and Co-president*  
Security & Defence Agenda

**Petra de Koning**

*EU, NATO Correspondent*  
NRC Handelsblad

**Dan De Luce**

Agence France Presse (AFP)

**Adm. Giampaolo Di Paola**

*Chairman of the Military Committee*  
North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO)

**Maria Manuela dos Santos Lucas**

*Ambassador*  
Mission of Mozambique to the EU

**Col. Jeremy Drage**

*Defence Adviser*  
Permanent Representation of the United Kingdom to the EU

**Andrew Drake**

*Journalist*  
Associated Press Television

**Robert Draper**

*President*  
AeroStrategies

**Tomás Duplá del Moral**

*Director, North America and Caribbean*  
European External Action Service (EEAS)

**Boris Ecker**

*Consultant*  
North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO)

**Ioan Enciu**

*Member*  
European Parliament  
Committee on Industry, Research and Energy

**Maj. Gen. Karl Engelbrektson**

*Military Adviser*  
Permanent Representation of Sweden to the EU

**Philippe Errera**

*Ambassador*  
Delegation of France to NATO

**Capt. Sandro Fabiani Latini**

*Chief, NATO Permanent Liaison Team to the EU Military Staff*  
North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO)

**Robert Faucher**

*Deputy Chief of Mission*  
Embassy of the United States of America to Belgium

**Joachim Finkelmann**

*Head of NATO/EU Department*  
Ministry of Defence, Denmark

**Paul Flaherty**

*Deputy Permanent Representative*  
Joint Delegation of the United Kingdom to NATO

**Jens Fransen**

*Radio journalist*  
VRT

**Fred Frederikson**

*Director NATO Policy*  
United States Department of Defence (DOD)

**Jacob Freedman**

*Speechwriter for Secretary of Defence*  
United States Department of Defence (DOD)

**Noureddine Fridhi**

*Senior Correspondent*  
Al Arabiya News Channel

**Richard Froh**

*Deputy Assistant Secretary General for Armaments*  
North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO)

**Cristina Gallach**

*Head of Unit, Communications*  
Council of the European Union  
DG for Press, Communication & Transparency

**Jennifer Galt**

*Public Affairs Director*  
United States Mission to NATO

**Jim Garamone**

*Journalist*  
United States Department of Defence (DOD)

**Robert M. Gates**

*Secretary of Defense*  
United States Department of Defense (DOD)

**Gérard Gaudin**

*Defence Correspondent*  
Belgian News Agency (BELGA)

**Jo Geysen**

*Sound engineer*  
VRT

**Andrea Ghianda**

*Project Manager*  
Security & Defence Agenda (SDA)

**Viola Gienger**

Bloomberg News

**Bill Giles**

*Director General Europe*  
BAE Systems

## List of participants

---

**Lt. Gen. Jo Godderij**

*Former Director of the IMS, NATO*

**Lt. Col. Patrick Goovaerts**

*Deputy Director High Studies for Defence  
Royal Higher Institute for Defence, Belgium*

**Richard W. Graber**

*Vice President Government Relations EMEA  
Honeywell Europe*

**Julian Hale**

*Correspondent  
Defense News*

**Tom Hanney**

*Ambassador  
Embassy of Ireland to Belgium*

**Niels Henrik Hedegaard**

*Defence Advisor  
Delegation of Denmark to NATO*

**Jessica Henderson**

*Senior Account Manager  
Fleishman-Hillard*

**Edit Herczog**

*Member  
European Parliament  
Committee on Budgets*

**Gavin Hewitt**

*Europe Editor  
BBC*

**Martin Hill**

*Vice President, Defence  
Thales*

**David Hobbs**

*Secretary General  
NATO Parliamentary Assembly (NATO PA)*

**Sandra Hodzic**

*Journalist  
Associated Press Television*

**Brig. Gen. Gabor Horvath**

*Director, Concepts and Capabilities  
European External Action Service (EEAS)  
European Union Military Staff (EUMS)*

**Katalin Horvath**

*PMG Representative  
Permanent Representation of Hungary to the EU*

**Rudolf Huygelen**

*Ambassador  
Delegation of Belgium to NATO*

**Liviu Mihail Iancu**

*Counsellor  
Permanent Representation of Romania to the EU*

**Gianfranco Incarnato**

*Deputy Permanent Representative  
Delegation of Italy to NATO*

**Thorstein Ingolfsson**

*Ambassador  
Delegation of Iceland to NATO*

**Santosh Jha**

*Counsellor  
Mission of India to the EU*

**Col. Dave Julazadeh**

*Military Advisor to SECDEFREPEUR  
United States Mission to NATO*

**Karin Kalis**

*Journalist  
Deutsche Welle*

**Lt. Gen. John Kelly**

*Senior Military Advisor to the Secretary of Defence  
United States Department of Defence (DOD)*

**William E. Kennard**

*Ambassador  
Mission of the United States of America to the EU*

**Nawab Khan**

*Correspondent  
Kuwait News Agency (KUNA)*

**Ibrahim Khazar**

*Ambassador  
Mission of Azerbaijan to NATO*



**Mehmet Kinaci**  
*Strategic Analyst, Energy Security Operations*  
 NATO - Allied Command Transformation (ACT)

**Mesut Koç**  
*Counsellor*  
 Mission of Turkey to the EU

**Nikolay Korchunov**  
*Deputy Permanent Representative*  
 Permanent Mission of the Russian Federation to NATO

**Nata Koridze**  
*Counsellor*  
 Embassy of Georgia to Belgium

**Timo Koster**  
*Defence Counsellor*  
 Delegation of the Netherlands to NATO

**Grigorios Koutsogiannis**  
*Business Development Manager*  
 Lockheed Martin Corporation

**Oleg Kovalenko**  
*Counsellor*  
 Mission of the Russian Federation to the EU

**Karel Kovanda**  
*Governor, EU Representative*  
 Asia-Europe Foundation

**Col. Dmitry Kozharsky**  
*Military Representative*  
 Mission of Belarus to NATO

**Leonoor Kuijk**  
*EU Correspondent*  
 Trouw

**Anton La Guardia**  
*EU Correspondent*  
 The Economist

**Rear Adm. Giorgio Lazio**  
*Military Assistant to Adm. Di Paola*  
 North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO)

**IGA Jean-René Le Goff**  
*Armament Counsellor*  
 Permanent Representation of France to the EU

**François Lenoir**  
*Photographer*  
 Reuters TV

**Christian Levaux**  
*Cameraman*  
 Reuters TV

**Linas Linkevicius**  
*Ambassador*  
 Delegation of Lithuania to NATO

**Grzegorz Liszcz**  
*Armaments Director Representative*  
 Delegation of Poland to NATO

**Joe Litobarski**  
*Project Manager, Debating Europe*  
 Europe's World

**Janusz Luks**  
*CEO*  
 Central Europe Energy Partners

**Isabelle Maelcamp d'Opstaele**  
*Commercial Specialist*  
 Mission of the United States of America to the EU

**Tarek Mahmoud**  
*Journalist*  
 Middle East News Agency (MENA)

**Alexander Maisuradze**  
*Deputy Head of Mission*  
 Mission of Georgia to NATO

**Abhijeet Malik**  
*EU Business Development Adviser*  
 PwC

**Pascal Mallet**  
*NATO and EU Defence Correspondent*  
 Agence France Presse (AFP)

**Sean Maroney**  
 Radio  
 United States of America

**Ricardo Martinez De Rituerto**  
*Defence, Foreign Affairs Correspondent*  
 El Pais

## List of participants

---

**Pauline Massart**

*Senior Manager*

Security & Defence Agenda (SDA)

**Virginia Mayo**

Associated Press

**Ryan McCarthy**

*Special Assistant to the Secretary of Defence*

United States Department of Defence (DOD)

**Igor Meglajec**

Associated Press Television

**Giles Merritt**

*Director*

Security & Defence Agenda (SDA)

**Vincent Mertens de Wilmars**

*Head of Cabinet of the Minister*

Ministry of Defence, Belgium

**Grigol Mgaloblishvili**

*Ambassador*

Mission of Georgia to NATO

**Branislav Milinkovic**

*Ambassador*

Mission of Serbia to NATO

**João Mira Gomes**

*Ambassador*

Delegation of Portugal to NATO

**Michel Miraillet**

*Director for Strategic Affairs*

Ministry of Defence, France

**Hirotsugu Mochizuki**

*Defence Correspondent*

Asahi Shimbun, American General Bureau

**Gabriel Moldoveanu**

*Counsellor*

Delegation of Romania to NATO

**Annalisa Monaco**

*Director EU and NATO Relations*

The Boeing Company

**Tom Monballiu**

*Public Affairs Officer*

North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO)

**Alexandre Moneger**

*Counsellor, Civilian Crisis Management*

Permanent Representation of France to the EU

**Geoff S. Morrell**

*Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defence for Public Affairs, Pentagon Press Secretary*

United States Department of Defence (DOD)

**James Moseman**

*Director, Europe and NATO*

Northrop Grumman International

**Maged Mosleh**

*Counsellor*

Embassy of Egypt to Belgium

**Graham Muir**

*Director of Policy & Planning*

European Defence Agency (EDA)

**Col. Otto Naderer**

*Counsellor, Military Affairs*

Mission of Austria to NATO

**Evita Neef**

*Chief Foreign Desk*

De Standaard

**Brendan Nelson**

*Ambassador*

Mission of Australia to the EU

**Mathias Niepenberg**

Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen (ZDF)

**Kai Niklasch**

*NATO Correspondent*

Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen (ZDF)

**Jun Nojima**

*Chief Correspondent*

Asahi Shimbun

**Adam Nyman**

*Publication Director*  
Europe's World

**Ivan Ollevier**

*Television journalist*  
VRT

**Ali Kaan Orbay**

*Counsellor*  
Delegation of Turkey to NATO

**Magnus Ovilus**

*Senior Vice President, Government Relations*  
Smiths Group

**Col. Antonio Padula**

*Representative of the Italian National*  
*Armaments Director*  
Permanent Representation of Italy to the EU

**Leah Pease**

*Public Diplomacy Officer*  
United States Mission to NATO

**Dave Peterson**

*Deputy Military Representative*  
United States Mission to NATO

**Igor Pokaz**

*Ambassador*  
Delegation of Croatia to NATO

**Martin Povejšil**

*Ambassador*  
Delegation of the Czech Republic to NATO

**Mohammad Naeem Poyesh**

*Counsellor*  
Mission of Afghanistan to the EU

**Zoltan Precsenyi**

*Government Relations Manager*  
Symantec Corporation

**Francisco Proença Garcia**

*Military Counsellor*  
Delegation of Portugal to NATO

**Christoph Prössl**

*Correspondent*  
German Radio WDR/NDR Studio Brüssel

**Gerrard Quille**

*Specialist Foreign, Security and Defence Policy*  
European Parliament  
DG External Policies

**Maarten Rabaey**

*Journalist foreign desk*  
De Morgen

**Fritz Rademacher**

*Deputy Political Advisor*  
NATO - Allied Command Transformation (ACT)

**Jason Reed**

*Photographer*

**Pierre Reuland**

*Special Representative of Interpol to the EU*  
International Criminal Police Organization (INTERPOL)

**Thomas Reynaert**

*President, International Operations, Europe*  
United Technologies Corporation (UTC)

**David Ringrose**

*Head of Unit, Information and Communication*  
European Commission  
DG Information Society & Media

**Vanessa Romeo**

*Producer*  
Reuters

**Rear Adm. Jacques Rosiers**

*President*  
Euro-Atlantic Association of Belgium

**Michael Rühle**

*Head, Energy Security Section, Emerging Security Challenges Division*  
North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO)

**Sabiha Safi**

Al Arabiya News Channel

## List of participants

---

**Otto Saxon**

*Defence Counsellor*  
Delegation of Finland to NATO

**Teri Schultz**

*Freelance Journalist*  
National Public Radio (NPR)

**Henne Schuwer**

*Ambassador*  
Embassy of the Netherlands to Belgium

**Thom Shankar**

The New York Times

**William Shapcott**

*Director of EU Joint Situation Centre*  
Council of the European Union

**Steven Shelton**

Fox News

**Dmytro Shkurko**

*Brussels Correspondent*  
National News Agency of Ukraine (UKRINFORM)

**Paul Smith**

*Chief Strategy Manager*  
NATO - Consultation, Command and Control Agency (NC3A)

**Mariusz Solis**

*First Counsellor and Head of Political Section*  
Delegation of Poland to NATO

**Güldener Sonumut**

*Bureau Chief*  
NTV

**Peter Spiegel**

*Bureau Chief*  
Financial Times

**Joseph P. Stein**

*Deputy Defence Advisor*  
United States Mission to NATO

**Ronald Sullivan**

*VP, NATO Programs and Business Development*  
Science Applications International Corporation (SAIC)

**Pat Summers**

Fox News

**Dusan Svarc**

*Defence Adviser, EDA*  
Permanent Representation of the Czech Republic to the EU

**Nagayo Taniguchi**

*Journalist*  
Sentaku/SEKAI

**Laurent Thomet**

*Defence Correspondent*  
Agence France Presse (AFP)

**John Thys**

*Photographer*  
Agence France Presse (AFP)

**Brooks Tigner**

*EU/NATO Affairs Correspondent*  
Jane's Defence Weekly

**Bosco Tinoco**

*Counsellor*  
Embassy of Mexico to Belgium, Luxembourg and Mission to the European Union

**James J. Townsend**

*Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defence for European and NATO Policy*  
United States Department of Defence (DOD)

**Ian Traynor**

*Europe Editor*  
The Guardian

**Marianne Truttman**

*EU Correspondent*  
Das Luxemburger Wort

**Leendert Van Bochoven**

*NATO and European Defence Leader*  
IBM

**Luc van de Winckel**

*Senior Manager, Business Development*  
Lockheed Martin Global, Inc.

**Ulrich van Essen**

*Head of Unit, Information Assurance*  
Council of the European Union

**Lt. Gen. Ton van Osch**

*Director General*  
European Union Military Staff (EUMS)  
European External Action Service (EEAS)

**Willem van Sluijs**

*Counsellor Home Affairs*  
Permanent Representation of the Netherlands to the EU

**Filip Vanhevel**

VRT

**John Vassallo**

*Vice President EU Affairs & Associate General Counsel*  
Microsoft

**Paolo Venturoni**

*Vice President European and NATO Affairs*  
Finmeccanica S.p.A.

**Alexander Vershbow**

*Assistant Secretary of Defence for International Security Affairs*  
United States Department of Defence (DOD)

**Peceli Vuniwaqa Vocea**

*Ambassador*  
Mission of Fiji to the EU

**Olof Von Gawinski**

Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen (ZDF)

**Kostyantyn Voytovsky**

*Counsellor*  
Mission of Ukraine to NATO

**Anna Vvedenskaia**

*Correspondent*  
Voice of America News

**John Wallace**

Fox News

**Veronika Wand-Danielsson**

*Ambassador*  
Mission of Sweden to NATO

**Markus Weidinger**

*Counsellor*  
Mission of Austria to NATO

**Stefani Weiss**

*Director, Europe's Future Programme*  
Bertelsmann Stiftung

**Martin Winter**

*Brussels Bureau Chief, Chief Correspondent*  
Süddeutsche Zeitung

**Maj. Maurits Wygman**

*Aide de Camp*  
European External Action Service (EEAS)

**Wei Zhang**

*Correspondent*  
Xinhua News Agency

**Dmitry Zorin**

*Counsellor*  
Mission of Belarus to NATO,



The Security & Defence Agenda is Brussels' only specialised think tank for the analysis and debate of European and transatlantic defence and security topics. Its conferences, roundtables, dinner debates and discussion papers focus on cybersecurity, NATO reform, missile defence, urban security, critical infrastructure protection, security industry, controlling the internet, and maritime surveillance.

The SDA's co-presidents are **Jaap de Hoop Scheffer**, former NATO Secretary General and **Javier Solana**, former EU High Representative for Common Foreign and Security and Security Policy.

The SDA's Advisory Board groups senior figures in the defence and security policymaking community.



## New members include:



**Gen. Stéphane Abrial**  
is NATO's Supreme Allied Commander Transformation.



**Claude-France Arnould**  
is Chief Executive of the European Defence Agency (EDA).



**Patrick Auroy**  
is Assistant Secretary General for Defence Investment at NATO.



**Gilles de Kerchove**  
is the EU Counter-Terrorism Coordinator.



**Admiral Giampaolo Di Paola**  
is Chairman of the NATO Military Committee.



**Ambassador Hüseyin Dirioz**  
is NATO's Assistant Secretary General for Defence Policy and Planning.



**Girts Kristovskis**  
is the Latvian Minister of Foreign Affairs.



**Walter Stevens**  
is Director of the European External Action's Crisis Management and Planning Directorate (CMPD).

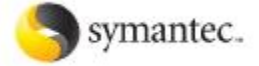


**Lt. Gen. Ton van Osch**  
is Director General of the European Union Military Staff.

Visit our new website at [www.securitydefenceagenda.org](http://www.securitydefenceagenda.org)  
for news, reports and more information on upcoming activities



The Security & Defence Agenda (SDA) would like to thank its members and partners for their support.



The SDA gratefully acknowledges the generous support of the following governments:

Belgium | Czech Republic | Finland | France | Italy | Netherlands  
Qatar | Romania | Russia | Sweden | Turkey | United States | United Kingdom

For further information on SDA membership, contact us at:  
Tel: +32 (0)2 737 91 48 | E-mail: [info@securitydefenceagenda.org](mailto:info@securitydefenceagenda.org)

## **SECURITY & DEFENCE AGENDA (SDA)**

Bibliothèque Solvay, Parc Léopold, 137 rue Belliard, B-1040, Brussels, Belgium  
Tel: +32 (0)2 737 91 48 Fax: +32 (0)2 736 32 16 E-mail: [info@securitydefenceagenda.org](mailto:info@securitydefenceagenda.org)  
[www.securitydefenceagenda.org](http://www.securitydefenceagenda.org)  
Twitter: <http://twitter.com/secdefagenda>