



29/06/11

Shaping NATO's reform agenda

Cercle Royal Gaulois, Brussels





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June 29, 2011

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Shaping NATO's reform agenda

29 June 2011

Cercle Gaulois, Brussels

Chair: **Jaap de Hoop Scheffer**, Co-president of the SDA and former Secretary General of NATO

Moderator: **Giles Merritt**, Director of the Security & Defence Agenda

Introductory remarks: **Stefan Gehrold**, Director of the Brussels Office, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung

09:30-10:00

Keynote Speech: Hans Hillen, Dutch Defence Minister

10:00-11:30

Defence cuts: Reducing the fat while sparing the muscle

Budgetary restraints on both sides of the Atlantic are cutting deeply into defence spending. Yet there is also an awareness that administrative costs in many NATO countries have ballooned, and that Cold War era structures and equipment are overdue for scrapping. With NATO governments increasingly conscious of the need to complement each other's defence capabilities and reduce unnecessary duplications, how much scope is there for both coordinating their defence cutbacks and finding new means to fund modernisation? Have NATO's planners and their national counterparts begun to draw-up a streamlining strategy that will make the new financial stringency a catalyst for modernisation?

Speakers:

Jean-François Bureau, Contrôleur Général des Armées, French Ministry of Defence

General Knud Bartels, Chief of Defence, Danish Ministry of Defence

Huseyin Dirioz, Assistant Secretary General for Defence Policy & Planning, North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO)

Scott A. Harris, President for Continental Europe, Lockheed Martin Inc.

11:30-12:00

Coffee Break 11:30-12:00

12:00-13:30

Missile defence: The factors reshaping NATO-Russia relations

It has not been easy for either the NATO countries or the Russian Federation to abandon their Cold War mindsets, especially in the area of ballistic missiles. War mindsets, especially in the area of

ballistic missiles. But a shared awareness of the changed nature of threat has made missile defence a priority for both parties. Do such policies herald a new era in NATO-Russia relations? Have the initial frictions over the siting and ranges of these defences been resolved, and is the NATO-Russia Council likely to get a new lease of life? What geopolitical effects on the Ukraine and Georgia as well as China, North Korea and Iran could result from a closer NATO-Russia relationship based on shared missile defence capabilities?

Speakers:

Karl-Heinz Kamp, Research Director, NATO Defence College

Barry Pavel, Director of the International Security Program, Atlantic Council, former Special Assistant to the President of the United States and Senior Director for Defense Policy and Strategy on the National Security Council

Dmitry Rogozin, Russian Ambassador to NATO and Special Envoy of the President for Interaction with NATO in Missile Defence

Gen. Emmanuel de Roméont, Deputy Director for Strategic Affairs, French Ministry of Defence

13:30-14:30

Lunch

SIPRI yearbook presentation, Daniel Nord, Deputy Director, SIPRI

14:30-16:00

Strategic capabilities: Equipping NATO for different threats and new tasks

The Libya crisis is showing even more that ISAF's Afghanistan operations how rapidly NATO's challenges are changing. What sort of flexibility is being built into the new generations of equipment, ranging from naval and air support to surveillance and ground operations, and what capabilities must NATO develop in the maritime and cyber domains? Are the long-standing procurement and competitive bidding methods of defence ministries still best suited to developing advanced weapons systems and technologies? How can mounting US concerns over the defence shortcomings of the European allies be reconciled with America's resistance to collaborating on key technologies and working towards a transatlantic defence equipment market?

Speakers:

Admiral Giampaolo Di Paola, Chairman of the Military Committee, North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO)

Jason Healey, Director of the Cyber Statecraft Initiative, Atlantic Council of the United States, former White House Director for Cyber Infrastructure Protection

Gerald Howarth, Minister for International Security Strategy, UK Ministry of Defence

Leendert van Bochoven, NATO and European Defence Leader, Office of the Chairman, EMEA, IBM



ATLANTIC COUNCIL ^{AT} 50

SMARTER ALLIANCE INITIATIVE

In response to NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen's recent call for NATO allies to adopt a "smart defense" approach to maximize scarce defense resources in an age of austerity, the Atlantic Council and IBM launched the Smarter Alliance Initiative to provide thought leadership and innovative policy-relevant solutions for NATO's continued reform and its role in cyber defense and security.

Working with recognized experts and former senior officials from both Europe and the United States, the Atlantic Council will deliver a set of policy-oriented briefs focused on NATO reform and cyber security throughout 2011. The publications and their findings will be showcased at both public and private events for the defense policy and NATO communities on both sides of the Atlantic in the coming months. The events are to coincide with reform and policy development milestones established by the November 2010 NATO summit in Lisbon, Portugal.

For more information or to be added to our mailing list please email isp@acus.org.

Introduction

The SDA's annual NATO conference offers an opportunity for stakeholders from across the spectrum of European defence and security to offer their views of the biggest challenges facing the alliance. As both SDA Director **Giles Merritt** and former NATO Secretary General and SDA co-President **Jaap de Hoop Scheffer** outlined as they welcomed participants, NATO has since its 2010 Lisbon Summit, been pursuing an ambitious reform agenda.

Praising the SDA's "valuable forum of discussion on current NATO topics", **Stefan Gehrold**, Director of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung's Brussels office highlighted how Lisbon provides "a more solid foundation to guide NATO through the next decade", during which it must deal with contentious topics such as missile defence, cyber-security and force transformation.

Yet underpinning these discussions were two larger, possibly existential threats to the vitality of NATO and the transatlantic relationship. The first, pervading into

every aspect of the day's discussion, was the urgent drive for fiscal austerity. Talk of budget cuts, to both military establishments and security services, was never far from centre-stage throughout the debate. Clearly, the limitation of available resources for meeting current reform goals will be the inevitable backdrop of the coming decade.

The second and equally important theme was the increasingly obvious disparity of military power between European members and the United States within NATO. Whilst the outspoken commentary of outgoing U.S Defense Secretary Robert Gates at the SDA was the most easily accessible touchstone, discussion of this topic was not limited to criticism of operational conduct in Afghanistan and Libya. Issues of industrial base and political will were also key elements, highlighting the far-reaching implications of a continued lack of equitable burden-sharing within NATO.

Hans Hillen



Keynote address

a Dutch view of the defence crisis facing Europe

These two themes were outlined in detail during the conference's keynote address, provided by **Hans Hillen**, Defence Minister of The Netherlands. Likening NATO's defence guarantees in Europe to his homeland's system of flood defences, he began by asserting that the transatlantic alliance "requires not only respect, but also careful maintenance by all of us." The challenge, he declared, was to re-assert the basic principle that "burdens should be shared equally, and that Europe must be careful with economising on security."

"Burdens should be shared equally, and Europe must be careful with economising on security."

Yet the spending realities facing Europe are stark, not only in relation to the financial crisis but also to rising healthcare costs. "Europe's population is ageing; living standards are rising, as are

the technological possibilities. The OECD has predicted that public health expenditure will almost double by 2050", he warned.

Given this context, Europe's growing defence spending

deficit is less "a deliberate European policy to give up on its defences or to let the Atlantic ally down, but far more [...]"

Hans Hillen



a need to set new priorities to public expenditure.”

Such a priority setting raises a central question: “Do we merely focus on high standards of healthcare or on our future security needs as well?” The Defence Minister expressed his fear that, for the moment, public opinion is more in favour of the former than the latter.

This, he continued, is not inevitable: what is needed is a call to action. “As Minister of Defence, I have declared it to be my mission to call attention to the importance of adequate defence spending. Especially in Europe, we have to make our defence agendas more of a grassroots priority in the midst of all the other issues that already

are grassroots priorities.” In short, “we have to build a stronger case” for NATO in our cash-strapped era.

Operations are the first area where this could occur. As both the Alliance’s “most visible output” and greatest contribution to security outside of the European area, public perceptions of operations are all-important. However, despite great sacrifices “financially, militarily and – ultimately – in the lives of our soldiers”, operations in Afghanistan have soured the public mood. “Despite its evident added value in the fight against terrorism, we are finding it difficult to maintain support for military interventions like ISAF”, the Minister lamented.



To counter this in future, a “selective approach” would probably serve the alliance better, he continued. To intervene, “we need to have a clear sense of urgency. Our security interests must be at stake. We must be the only ones up for the job. And we must bring in others to fulfil the comprehensive approach.” Only then can the corrosive loss of public support be reversed.

“In international relations you cannot rely on soft power alone. You also need muscle to defend and protect your interests and the interests of your allies”

need muscle to defend and protect your interests and the interests of your allies”.

Expressing optimism that the leading role of European members in Libya points to “a willingness to pull our weight” in this regard, the Minister concluded by outlining his priorities for restructuring European defence. These include “getting our economies and

The other way to reclaim public support of defence in times of austerity is to make it more cost-effective. “We have to be smart about defence, an initiative that Secretary General Rasmussen has taken on very adequately”, he said. “It means pooling and sharing. It means cooperating and integrating”, and above all, “we have to realise that this also implies accepting mutual dependencies, and giving up a certain degree of national sovereignty.”

public finances back into shape” and “reforming our armed forces and boldly strengthening defence cooperation in Europe”.

If combined with justifying future operations with much stricter criteria for public scrutiny, he believed that Europe stood a good chance of balancing both its budgets and its burden-sharing within NATO.

This may prove politically contentious, he admitted, but it is also necessary. Only if Europe can pool its resources for deployment can it continue to have a say in global security affairs. “Unfortunately enough – in international relations you cannot rely on soft power alone. You also

General Knud Bartels



Defence cuts: Reducing the fat while sparing the muscle

During the first panel discussion of the day, the debate focused on the practical challenges of declining national budgets for military, policy and industry actors.

A small nation's experience

General Knud Bartels, Danish Chief of Defence, began by outlining the perspective of a small nation nonetheless

“at the forefront” of operations currently taking place in Libya and Afghanistan. For nations with limited financial means such as Denmark “good sentences and words” such as “pooling & sharing” or “smart defence” are not enough – real, cost-effective reform at every level of the military system is urgently required.

For the General, this has to start with non-combat functions. “We need to look at our bureaucratic dimension - there is always something to be found”, he declared. Yet more fundamentally, “we also need

to talk about the political will for multi-nationality - for handing over sovereignty to others, and vice versa”.

By focusing on this contentious issue, member states will treat the matter seriously, and guarantee that chosen initiatives are “pragmatic, and imply substantial cost savings”. Above all else, multinational cooperation must deliver

“faster, cheaper and more effective solutions to real military priorities - not industrial interests”, he said.

This combination of operational urgency, financial austerity and a pragmatic realism about sovereignty concerns led the General to a single principle: something

he called “military off-the-shelf”. Citing multinational projects such as the F16, Leopard battle tanks or Sea Sparrow Missiles as “good examples of what can be bought, maintained and used by small nations”, he advocated small cooperative groups of like-minded states foregoing

“Multinational cooperation must deliver “faster, cheaper and more effective solutions to real military priorities - not industrial interests”

General Knud Bartels



Jean-François Bureau

individual national programmes to buy pre-developed “off-the-shelf” solutions. “There are lessons to be learnt” for overstretched militaries, he concluded, “even if a little painful”.

A large nation’s experience

Coming from a significantly larger nation, **Jean-François Bureau**, French Contrôleur Général des Armées, nonetheless felt that recent French experiences of military reform could help other European militaries. Whilst admitting his office had been “lucky” in passing its last defence review in 2008 - before the

worst of the financial crisis has become clear - he still felt the French reform programme was based on sound cost-saving principles.

The central element of this programme was that “all the money saved from the Ministry of Defence would come back to the Ministry”, meaning in effect that “all money saved would finance more equipment”. Whilst not without pain - in this case, a 54,000 strong personnel reduction will account for most of the savings - the French official maintained that this had significantly increased available funds for his defence investment accounts.

“What is the end state we want to have regarding the military capabilities of our continent?”

Jean-François Bureau

Looking forward, Bureau warned that a short-term focus on cuts must not escalate into the “trap of a long-term disarmament process”. To

avoid this fate, “we might have to talk about a converged strategy for defence investment” at European level. In this regard, the recent Lancaster House Treaty between Britain and France sent the correct message: “that we need to mutualise our military capabilities and our future defence investments”. However, this programme “will not be meaningful if it remains a bilateral agreement alone”,

and the expansion of such arrangements to include numerous partners was a prerequisite to wider success.

As a closing remark, the French official asked participants to consider a key

question: “what is the end state we want to have regarding the military capabilities of our continent?”

It is important, he reminded the panel, to have a clear

vision of what kind of military force you wish to create through military reform - and to carefully prioritise your assets to achieve this objective.

Defence planning and NATO reform

Speaking about NATO’s internal reform efforts, Hüseyin Diriöz, NATO Assistant Secretary General for Defence Policy and Planning, felt that while “few parts of society are immune to austerity measures”, our “armed forces are particularly exposed”. Realistically, he said, “We should acknowledge that in the foreseeable future, there will not be sufficient means available to develop and maintain all the defence capabilities the Alliance needs unless we develop new, innovative ways of doing business. We

must also make sure that any reduction of capabilities does not result in a reduction of security”.

In Diriöz’s opinion, NATO’s defence policy and planning functions offers allies “a

unique mechanism for promoting the coherence of national defence plans with the overall objectives of the Alliance [...] but experience has taught us that

we need to further develop the ability of this mechanism to better harmonise unavoidable cuts in national defence

“We must make sure that any reduction of capabilities does not result in a reduction of security”

Hüseyin Diriöz



Hüseyin Diriöz

capabilities". He also noted that NATO was reforming its structures to "combine efficiency with increased affordability". To achieve this, NATO has outlined an extensive internal reform package, including a reduction of the number of HQs, staff and agencies. In addition to manpower savings on national budgets the new structure will eventually realise savings of 20 million Euro per annum to NATO's military budget, with a potential for additional savings in the future.

This new and leaner NATO will continue to push its primary model for defence reform: Smart Defence. This "identifies and gives priority to genuinely critical requirements... especially for operations".

Moreover, it seeks to "more fully exploit the opportunities for multinational cooperation" across the board, whether in acquisition, operation and maintenance of

capabilities, or the preparation and training of forces, and especially in identifying assets that "could be aggregated to increase availability and cost-effectiveness". "NATO has an essential part to play", he concluded. And, alluding to the "intolerably wide" imbalance between the defence spending of the United States and other allies, "it is obvious that security does not come for

free – all allies need to contribute within their means".

Manufacturing "muscle" in defence

Finally, speaking from the perspective of "the sector that provides the muscle", **Scott Harris**, President for Continental Europe of Lockheed Martin, focused on what some have called Europe's "pool it or lose it" moment. He asserted that European militaries would need "more capable and efficient partners to cooperate in defence reform", with today's levels of underinvestment putting this military-industrial partnership at risk. "This is not a new issue - but we are in a new phase of urgency", he warned.

"This is not a new issue - but we are in a new phase of urgency"

Scott Harris

He went on to outline the primary causes of overrun or cost inflation in European procurement programmes. The most obvious issue

is that at "the higher-end of our search for military capabilities, we are pushing technology to the edge of what's been tried before". This entails a certain risk of failure during development, with inevitable added costs.

More frustratingly for industry, "once a programme is started, it is not uncommon

for governments to change their minds about what they want”, a trend which increases delays and costs. The industry representative also pointed out that, due to a scarcity of business, “the pressures of competition sometimes lead to a misestimate of costs” during bidding, which only becomes apparent once work has begun on a contract.

However, not all of the problems that face the defence industry are the result of poor member state practices or under-investment. “We all have to do a better job of creating effective management strategies” when running projects, he confessed. Yet ultimately, the message was

simple - member states need to be clearer about what capabilities they want, and what they will pay for it. “Let’s decide on the requirements now, pool and share our resources, and produce the desired outcomes”, Harris concluded.

Points from the floor queried how exactly greater savings could be found when buying military equipment - could a focus on pre-commercial procurement be the answer, asked several participants?

Diriöz said he thought there was value in “setting up the right requirements early, so that industry meet member states needs”. Scott Harris also agreed. “I think if we can





develop ways to shorten competition, so that industry doesn't stay engaged forever, that would help".

Bartels however cautioned that pre-commercial procurement was only worthwhile if it implied a lower overall price for buyers. "It's exceedingly difficult for a small nation to invest in advanced military equipment", he said, reminding participants of his "military off-the-shelf" focus. "Multinationally-funded and developed systems have not been very cost-effective in Europe", and it is more important to address this issue than competitiveness in industrial bids, he asserted.

Brooks Tigner from Jane's Defence Weekly queried whether defence cuts should not be targeted against the "wasteful duplication of test facilities and bases" within Europe. Dirioz certainly agreed that savings were to be made in terms of test facilities. "Many NATO multinational schemes fall under various agencies", which is inefficient. "We are reforming the agency structure, and making the procurement agency better" to rectify this, he added. Bureau agreed that it was important to "keep it simple" when it came to cooperating on reform. "There is a need to work on processes to get better results", to overcome the inefficiencies of past efforts.

Finally, the UK's Deputy Permanent Representative to NATO, **Paul Flaherty**, suggested the need to "define our muscles". "Isn't it more important to try to define what we need in terms of military force, rather than merely aiming to "save muscle and cut fat?"", he asked. General Bartels responded by arguing that "the Libya crisis is emphasizing once again that we need basic fighting capacities". He advocated going "back to basics" by focusing on core military functions, rather than force specialization or the "tone" of Europe's military muscles.

De Hoop Scheffer finally stepped in to reconcile these views, by returning to the issue of coordination. Whether cutting or reforming, "maintaining our military muscle means much more coordination than we actually see today", he summarized. "We need to see muscle across the board", and this will only occur if European militaries pay careful attention. For example, he explained, "when the Dutch Minister decides to do away with his battle tanks, I do hope that not many other allies will do the same". Otherwise, uncoordinated reform will merely exacerbate an already un-resourced European situation.



Gen. Emmanuel de Romémont

Missile defence: The factors reshaping NATO-Russia relations

The second panel tackled the controversial topic of missile cooperation between Russia and NATO, with both technical and political disagreements.

A fresh start for NATO and Russia?

Gen. Emmanuel de Romémont, Deputy Director for Strategic Affairs in the French MoD was clear from the outset that he did not think current NATO-Russia discussions on missile defence would herald a “new era” of cooperation. “They have the potential to do so; but it is not the case today – it lies with Russia to make it work”, he said. Whilst arguing that Russia and NATO “tend to agree” on many aspects of missile defence, “we should have the courage to admit that regarding the level of cooperation, we are currently facing difficulties.”

“We should have the courage to admit that [...] we are currently facing difficulties.”

General Emmanuel de Romémont

What is causing these problems? The French representative laid the blame at Russia’s door, saying Moscow’s demand of a completely shared missile defence architecture, at a level of operational cooperation deeper than NATO officials will accept, has left “no other choice but to promote a two-part system”. As long as Russia will not compromise on these operational questions, political missile defence agreements are unlikely, he said.

There are however still areas where NATO and Russia can find common ground.

“The French perspective is that we need to adopt a pragmatic and step-by-step approach”, he continued, based on “reasonable and realistic ambitions”. Such realistic options include early warning data-sharing, where Russia’s land-based radars “can bring a valuable contribution”, and joint missile defence exercises. If these less controversial ties can be strengthened,

the General concluded, “we can progress realistically”.

A context of misunderstanding

Research Director at the NATO Defence College, **Karl-Heinz Kamp**, agreed that missile defence cooperation faced a “bumpy” path. However, “despite all the quarrels, the NATO-Russia relationship is better than in all of its history”, he countered. “This does not preclude sharp disagreements on certain issues, but it at least takes place on a fairly stable relationship.” In Kamp’s view, the tensions that do exist are the product of differing

viewpoints and expectations between NATO and Russia, rather than fundamental policy divergence.

One important reason for this is that each side often accuses the other of displaying “cold war attitudes”. Yet in reality, “both sides are not always honest with each other, and both sides have their own

“Despite all the quarrels, the NATO-Russia relationship is better than in all of its history”

Karl-Heinz Kamp

hidden agendas – this means for instance that NATO does not define Russia as a “threat” – but some NATO members do”. This mismatch, “leads to frustration on both sides”, as each party views the other as having broken their word.



Karl-Heinz Kamp

In this context, missile defence “seems to encapsulate all of these contradictions and disagreements in the relationship”. Yet Kamp did eventually agree that Russian fears of NATO missile defence may be inflated. For instance, he called Russian fears that NATO intended to neutralize its nuclear deterrent “ridiculous given the strategic capacities of the Russian side”. Indeed, the Russian demand that has completely derailed negotiations is the idea of “commonly pushing the button”. This, Kamp reminded participants, is a “red-line” can not be side-stepped.

Kamp finished by moving away from a NATO-Russia focus, and examining the US-European agreements that underlie missile defence. “What shall the allies contribute? Where is the incentive for European allies to contribute when they get a system for free?” he asked. “Before we think too much about implementing NATO-Russia cooperation, I would appreciate it if the European allies could specify what they will contribute with the Americans... It seems a little bit like the Emperor is naked” when it comes to European spending, he warned.

The missile threat to Europe

To better explain the capabilities and strategic necessity of European missile defence, **Barry Pavel**, Director of the

Atlantic Council of the United States’ Centre on International Security, began by highlighting “the growing and rather immediate regional ballistic missile threat from Iran”. Noting that “I can say the country, even if some can’t”, he dismissed entirely the accusation that European missile defence was targeted at Russian missiles. Citing intelligence reports reviewed by the Obama administration in 2008, he called the renewed push for missile defence “appropriate for the projected and current regional threat” from Iran.

Indeed, referencing the recent test of 14 Iranian ballistic missiles as “a timely demonstration of Iran’s rapidly growing capabilities”, he explained how the proposed missile defence system “physically cannot threaten Russia’s nuclear deterrent”. In Pavel’s view, this is true “neither in the quality and capabilities of individual interceptor missiles... nor in the quantity of missiles, which cannot affect something as massive as the Russian deterrent stockpile”.

With this in mind, he also agreed that missile defence cooperation offers “vast potential for benefits to all parties concerned”. Not only could joint threat assessment cooperation “help all parties involved get warned of current and future ballistic missiles threats in this area”, but



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The screenshot displays the NATO Channel website. At the top left is the NATO logo and the text "natochannel.tv". To the right, there are links for "Join us:", "For Broadcasters", and "About us". A search bar is located in the top right. The main content area features a video player with the title "Sigonella - Operations" and a subtitle "David Heathfield Reporting". Below the video player is a description: "Sigonella - Air Operations. Sigonella airbase in Sicily is perfectly situated for the air campaign in Libya. Fighter jets from many different nations are flying regular sorties in support of Operation Unified Protector." To the right of the description are five stars, the date "21 Apr 2011", and a "SHARE" button with social media icons. Below the video player are two smaller video thumbnails: "NATO and Libya" and "NATO Partnerships". A navigation bar contains categories: "CURRENT AFFAIRS", "FEATURES", "NEWSROOM", "SPECIALS", "HISTORY", "ANDER'S VIDEO BLOG", "NATO REVIEW", "NATO NATIONS", and "EN FRANÇAIS". Below the navigation bar is a grid of video thumbnails with titles, dates, durations, and star ratings. The thumbnails include: "Sigonella - Air Operations" (21 April 2011, 4:40, 5 stars), "Arms Embargo 24/7 - Replenishment at sea in Berlin" (20 April 2011, 3:31, 5 stars), "Trapani - Une base militaire stratégique" (18 April 2011, 2:44, 5 stars), "Out in the Front" (16 April 2011, 1:54, 5 stars), "NATO-Russia Council Meeting in Berlin" (15 April 2011, 2:57, 5 stars), "NATO Secretary General's Press Conference - Q&A" (15 April 2011, 10:17, 5 stars), "NATO Secretary General's Press Conference" (15 April 2011, 3:32, 5 stars), "Des avions de chasse canadiens mobilisés" (15 April 2011, 3:28, 5 stars), and "Fighting Terrorism Together" (15 April 2011, 6:14, 5 stars).



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Dmitry Rogozin



“connecting radar systems to enhance the common picture for all involved is also a very useful activity”. Beyond the “red line” of operational control already outlined, Pavel added the additional caveat that “it might be difficult to share certain sensitive technologies”. Otherwise, “a vast playing field for cooperation” remains.

Some Russian questions

In response to the conciliatory tone of his fellow panellists, **Dmitry Rogozin**, Russian Ambassador to NATO and Special Envoy of the President on missile issues, posed a series of challenging questions about NATO’s plans. He began by noting that two previous Cold War-era projects had proposed a European missile defence architecture that was explicitly anti-Russian. “The big question is, how do you convince us this 3rd system is not targeted against Russia, like its predecessors?” he asked.

Indeed, the Russian official displayed no confidence in official US claims, questioning every aspect of the intelligence backing the Obama administration’s plan. Is the threat from Iran real, or merely “a political idea

created to unify the alliance, that does not correlate the real assessments of threats emanating from the South?” Furthermore, “if we are talking about intercepting short or medium-range missiles, why should this system have the capacity to intercept strategic, inter-continental missiles?”, he continued.

The Ambassador repeatedly asserted that “no country in the Middle East has the necessary geographical circumstances to test inter-continental missiles”, calling US claims about the Iranian threat unsubstantiated. Instead, he claimed NATO-US efforts were an attempt to “infringe on Russia’s strategic nuclear capability”, by threatening to neutralize its deployable nuclear arsenal.

The Ambassador then questioned the supposed value of cooperating with NATO on missile defence. “What is the added value for Russia to exchange information on missile risks?” he asked. “Russia has an efficient and operational early warning system

overlooking its territories to the south”, he continued. So why should Russia share with NATO? “We are ready to provide

“Just as with conventional forces, missile defence must not go beyond the borders of NATO members”

Dmitry Rogozin



information, but this must be reciprocated by some exchanges as well”, he added.

The Ambassador concluded by outlining two potential scenarios for the future. In the first, the creation of a “NATO-Russia Council missile defence system” would see complete information fusion and a division of labour in interception. “The system would decide whether it is for NATO or Russia to shoot down adversarial missiles [...] we would be fine with that”, he said. In the second scenario, Russia would settle for two separate systems, with the understanding that “NATO only defends its own territory: that of its allies”, and that “just as you do with conventional forces, missile defence must not go beyond the borders of NATO members”.

As a final word, he hinted at the possibility of one final option. “If Iran is just a joke, and you actually target our strategic forces, then there is in fact a third option, but that is too sad for me to even mention.”

These divergent opinions sparked a lively debate, with participants keen to respond to Ambassador Rogozin’s concerns. Both **David Hobbs**, Secretary General of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly, and Kamp were quick to question Russia’s claim that middle-eastern countries could “never” develop long range missiles. “We’ve had so many “nevers” and “always” that have been proven wrong in the last decade – I would not use the word never again”, Kamp warned. Pavel also pointed out that recent space launches by Iran and other

regimes belied a growing ballistic missile capacity which should not be easily disregarded.

De Romémont went on to counter the opinion that Europe has nothing to contribute to missile defence. “France has proposed an early warning system”, he explained, “Europe does have something - many countries have offered contributions”.

He went on to explain that NATO’s missile defence plans will have no effect on Russia’s nuclear deterrent.

“We are speaking about a limited strike scenario”, in which one or two “stray” missiles are inbound for Europe, the General continued. “Missile defence

is about this grey zone below the nuclear threshold” he claimed.

Pavel was nonetheless sympathetic to the Russian viewpoint, saying “I can understand why this might cause perception problems”. Yet he also reminded participants that the Obama administration had specifically set out to “reset” fraught relations with Moscow in

2008. “That was the first policy priority coming out of the Obama administration”, he said. “This [missile defence] is an important capability”, and Washington will not simply abandon it, he cautioned.

*“Missile defence
is about this grey zone
below the nuclear
threshold”*

General de Romémont

Despite such arguments, by the end of the discussion, Ambassador Rogozin remained sceptical.

Admiral Giampaolo Di Paola



Strategic capabilities: Equipping NATO for different threats and new tasks

In the final session, the future threat environment and subsequent strategic needs of NATO · particular focus on the threat to cyber security.

A political problem?

Admiral Giampaolo Di Paola, Chairman of NATO's Military Committee, began by discussing the speech delivered to the SDA by outgoing US Defense Secretary Robert Gates. This was "a wake up call not only for the alliance but, let's be honest here, for Europeans", he claimed. "There is a real risk of this alliance becoming a two-tier alliance", in which NATO is divided into those who can deploy and fight, and those who have "neither the capability, nor the will to do the job". "That could have implications for the solidity of the transatlantic relationship", he warned.

*"There is a real risk
of this alliance
becoming a two-tier
alliance"*

Admiral Giampaolo Di Paola

Fixing this will be demanding. In the Admiral's opinion, "investment in deployable and usable forces" should take precedence within the alliance. Future needs must also be considered, he continued. "We need to be effective, to invest in the right capabilities now" and this must include capabilities for addressing "pressing and prominent" new threats such as cyber-security.

Yet in doing so, "we need to accept that other areas will need to be less of a priority as a result. We have to prioritise, we cannot say we want everything – this is not a situation we can afford".

The Admiral made it clear he thought this is predominantly "a political problem, not a military issue". The US has issued a warning about Europe's security that will affect

every political and military institution. As such, "we have to take the time, and show the will, to reflect on the profound ramifications of what Gates has said –

and we as military people need to think of what are the implications for us". Above all, "we have to have the courage to advise our politicians on this - if we can do that, there is a future for us, and our alliance", he concluded.

NATO's future in cyber-defence

Moving on to cybersecurity,

Jason Healey, Director of the Cyber Statecraft Initiative at the Atlantic Council of the United States, praised the "very strong start and good foundations" laid by NATO's recent cyber-defence strategy. "I've been very impressed by what I've seen NATO doing so far on cyber", he asserted. "It tackled only the missions that NATO must perform", which is important because "there

are other areas NATO could be good at, but that would have been an extension, a step too far." He affirmed that "there's no need for NATO to rush forward into new mission areas" involving cyber just yet. It should remain focused on its own operational and headquarters networks.

This is because, when it comes to cyber-defence, "we have continued to be much more cautious in the cyber community about what capabilities can actually be achieved than media headlines shouting about cyber-war". Healey strongly disagreed with this approach. "When people talk about cyber, oftentimes they talk about cyber-warfare and massive strikes – that's possible, but that is also ignoring the cyber fight we have right now".



That fight, which already requires a “sustained and constant effort” by cyber-security personnel, must ward off myriad small-scale intrusions. This is the real threat that we should be concerned about, he claimed. Basic espionage, and sensitive data «walking out the door» of unsecured networks is more likely than cyber-war.

He continued to outline his priorities for the future of NATO cyber-defence. The key is to “focus on the basics”, and he thus urged national security officials “not to focus on cyber as a technical issue” alone. “I’ve seen too many policymakers and generals believe their vast security experience is not applicable to the realm of cyber”, he explained. Yet whilst “the principles are different, they are not overwhelmingly so”. For instance, whilst the technical skills required to pin-point the source of a cyber-attack directly are indeed very demanding, the political context may be more traditional than first imagined. “We don’t necessarily care who is pressing the enter key – we need to know which head of state the President can call to put a stop to an attack”, he explained. Finally, Healey outlined the public-private



challenge which NATO will face in this

“I’ve seen too many policymakers and generals believe their vast security experience is not applicable to the realm of cyber; whilst the principles are different, they are not overwhelmingly so”

Jason Healey

predicted by many today, he concluded optimistically.

realm. The fact that most of the cyber architecture is in the private sphere “leads to some problems for NATO, but also some fantastic opportunities”. If the alliance can build effective partnerships with private actors, cyber-defence could be significantly less expensive than

Pooling and sharing in cyber-defence

The industry perspective was elaborated by **Leendert van Bochoven**, NATO and European Defence Leader at IBM. He began by discussing how NATO's call for Smart Defence resonates with the private sectors approach to cyber-technology. "It is about nations building greater security not with more resources, but with greater

"A call for smart defence is also a call for a smarter defence industry"

Leendert van Bochoven

coordination of efforts", he enthused. In this regard, "a call for smart defence is also a call for a smarter defence industry", and IBM is committed to providing value-added solutions to fulfil this goal.

A key element of this is information-management and so-called "intelligent" systems. "Intelligence must be infused into systems and processes" in defence as in other sectors, he said. "Data is being captured today

as never before" thanks to technology advances, "but data itself is not useful – the most important aspect of smarter systems is the actionable insights data can reveal". With these insights can come savings, and greater operational efficiency.

However, networking systems in this way does open up vulnerabilities to cyber threats. For instance, "malware (basic self-replicating computer viruses) have now evolved from somewhat humble beginnings to become a principle weapon of cyber-crime, espionage and warfare", which "can be developed with very specific goals in mind". To tackle this, "NATO's approach to cyber-defence will require a pooling and sharing of capabilities". This is not only



Leendert van Bochoven



about technology, but must also involve “a pooling and sharing of insights and experience of cyber actors” within the alliance.

Looking to the future, cyber issues “require stronger embedded coordination within NATO, especially across headquarters, between strategic commands and within divisions”. However, NATO may also need to reform its acquisition processes for cyber-security technology. “Currently, technological progress far outpaces the capability development processes”, he warned. “This will require a fundamental look at the reform of the acquisition and

competitive bidding process”. This is “a key process to be fixed” if NATO is to adapt to rapid changes in the cyber-domain.

Concluding address - The UK’s priorities for NATO reform

The final address was delivered by **Gerald Howarth**, Minister for International Security Strategy in the UK Ministry of Defence. He began by outlining how the events of the Arab Spring, and the subsequent NATO enforcement of a UN resolution over Libya, “have once again shown the volatility of the world we live and the pace of change we need to



Gerald Howarth

respond to". When combined with ongoing operations in Afghanistan, the last decade has provided "proof, if ever it was needed, that our collective security cannot be confined to the Euro-Atlantic area".

Yet despite the challenges of new out-of-area missions and cyber-defence, the Minister does not think NATO should move away from its core vision as a collective security

guarantee." I do not believe anyone can be certain that state on state conflict has been abolished, and nuclear proliferation remains a threat", he cautioned. "As it has for over 60 years, NATO continues to be the bedrock of our security".

Yet as highlighted throughout the day's discussion, "questions are being raised again about funding, capabilities and political will" within Europe. "When the US, like many of us, faces formidable pressure to balance its budgets, it can no longer justify producing security for those that merely consume it". Even more worryingly, "not all members can contribute meaningful capability, and not all who have such assets choose to do so". Clearly, increased base-level funding

is needed, with the Minister declaring it "unbelievably depressing that 23 out of 28 allies currently fail to meet the spending target they agreed".

Of course, the picture is not entirely gloomy. "Some European countries have punched well above

their weight, by focusing on deployability, or on assets which are of greatest utility

"When the US, like many of us, faces formidable pressure to balance its budgets, it can no longer justify producing security for those that merely consume it"

Gerald Howarth

to the alliance”, he continued. Such specialization should be encouraged. “We need to identify and reduce areas of duplication amongst allies, and NATO ACT has an important role to play here”.

The recent Anglo-French pooling and sharing agreement is important in this regard. “We hope that our example will encourage other partners to seek value for money and increased capability through cooperation”. “However, such arrangements must be pragmatic, and have real military utility at their core - otherwise, it is merely political symbolism”, he warned.

Indeed ultimately, even spending more wisely is “not a panacea”. Some reforms must cut to heart of sovereignty concerns if efficiency is to be gained. “It’s no good complaining about multiple shipyards and armoured vehicle manufacturers in Europe if you are not prepared to outline what you will give up, or collaborate on”. Reducing duplication at the European level is key, and the Minister particularly welcomed “the decision to streamline the command structure of NATO”. He also

said it was important to reduce “wasteful, self-serving working practices” that emerge from the duplication of functions within the organisation - including inflated

wage bills and a lack of flexibility in managing staff numbers.

The final challenges which face the alliance are twofold. Firstly, NATO “means far less to younger generations than ours”, and the subsequent “media

and public opposition to our interventions today has increasingly tested the resolve of all European governments”. This is a problem of political message, and “we must be more adept at communicating the relevance of threats to the lives of the people we represent”.

Secondly, “Europe needs to reflect on the fact that it is in large part the US taxpayer that has provided the shield for us to regain our pre-war prosperity”. So whilst “in these austere times it is tempting to defer the cost, pass on the burden and recoil from change”, a real evaluation of how Europe intends to re-balance the trans-Atlantic defence spending imbalance is needed.

“Media and public opposition to our interventions today has increasingly tested the resolve of all European governments”

Gerald Howarth

Ultimately, citing the controversies of NATO's move towards out-of-area collective security in the 1990's, the Minister declared that "NATO has matched up to the challenges foreseen years ago". With the right levels of collaboration and political will, it can do so again.

Conclusion

De Hoop Scheffer

ended the conference with one clear message: "As we sit in this room, we are all "usual suspects"", he claimed. By "usual suspects", he meant the usual defence and security experts who attend high-level conferences in Brussels on a regular basis. Yet outside of such circles, ministers in national capitals "have to confront a public opinion on defence and foreign affairs that is extremely critical". Moreover, this general

public, when faced with the painful choices of budgetary priorities, "to a large extent have difficulty understanding our debates and our discussions on these issues". The public, to be blunt, do not value defence spending.

The day's discussion continuously advocated that this needs to change, and De Hoop Scheffer proclaimed that think-tanks

like the SDA can help.

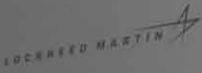
"It is our responsibility to engage with that very critical public opinion... with the younger generation.

If we want to keep up the very important things we, at both NATO and EU level, do in security and defence – we have to convince public

opinion that what we do is necessary". As members of the Brussels defence circle, he reminded participants that "this is the uphill struggle we are facing – so I hope you, as "usual suspects", can help".

"If we want to keep up the very important things we, at both NATO and EU level, do in security and defence – we have to convince public opinion that what we do is necessary"

Jaap De Hoop Scheffer



SESSION III

Strategic capabilities: Equipping NATO for different threats and new tasks





“The international work of the political foundations is valuable for our country, as it contributes significantly to gain insights into foreign countries and cultures and to complete and enrich the image which diplomats and trade delegations transport. In fact, the political foundations abroad have another access and mostly a more direct access to the local people than diplomatic missions ever could have. (...) The political foundations not only contribute to learning processes abroad; but they also make the people learn – learn about the values and principles, which our community in Germany is based upon, and learn about our beliefs for which we Germans stand.”
Former Federal President HORST KÖHLER

The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS)

The KAS is related to the Christian Democratic movement and is guided by the same principles that inspired Adenauer's work.

The KAS offers

civic education, conducts academic research and political consulting, grants scholarships to talented students, covers research on the history of Christian Democracy in Germany and Europe. KAS supports and encourages European unification, transatlantic relations, international understanding, and development-policy cooperation.

The international work

is of outstanding importance for the KAS. With its international commitment the KAS promotes political, economic and social systems based on the model of liberal democracy and social market economy and strengthens Christian Democratic Policy on a global scale.

The work in Europe and the USA focuses on deepening the transatlantic partnership and European Integration.

In the field of development cooperation

the KAS is committed to fostering democracy, the rule of law and social market economy as well as to promoting human rights. Currently, the KAS hosts more than 200 projects in over 120 countries on four continents with 79 representations.

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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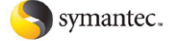
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