



25/05/2012

After Chicago: Re-evaluating NATO's priorities

Palais d'Egmont, Brussels

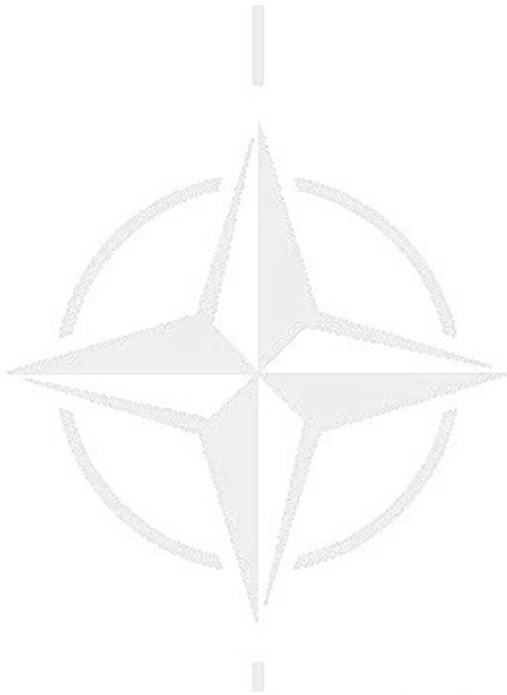
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After Chicago: Re-evaluating NATO's priorities

Report

International conference

Friday 25 May 2012

Palais d'Egmont, Brussels



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

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Publisher: Geert Cami

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Foreword

The SDA's annual NATO conference once again gave us an opportunity to gather stakeholders from the defence and security sectors for an open and valuable discussion.

This SDA conference followed hard on the heels of NATO's Chicago summit, which made it plain that the challenges facing the Alliance remain numerous and complex, with the question marks over NATO's post-Cold War *raison d'être* yet to be satisfactorily answered. Profound shifts in the geopolitical balance, in particular the economic and military rise of Asian powers is being paralleled by global financial turmoil.

This report aims to provide food for thought for NATO and national leaders, for it still remains to be seen whether the alliance's political leaders will find the courage needed to resolve the security and defence issues that confront us all.



A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Giles Merritt'.

Giles Merritt
Director
Security & Defence Agenda





Jaap De Hoop Scheffer
former NATO Secretary General



Javier Solana
former EU High Representative for CFSP

The issues changing global security

The SDA's **cyber-security initiative** is challenging many of the security and defence communities' most deeply held beliefs. The SDA is the only regular forum in Brussels devoted to analysing and debating the future of defence and security policies. It brings clarity and new ideas to the rapidly changing security and defence policy scene through its regular roundtables, debates, reports, international conferences and press dinners.



Gábor Iklódy
NATO Assistant Secretary General for
Emerging Security Challenges
*Public-private cooperation in cyber-security,
January 2012*



Heli Tiirmaa-Klaar
Cyber Security Policy Advisor,
European External Action Service
*International cooperation on
cyber-security, May 2012*



Christopher M. Painter
Coordinator for Cyber Issues,
US Department of State
*International cooperation on cy-
ber-security, May 2012*



Neelie Kroes
EC Vice-president for the Digital Agenda
*Public-private cooperation in cyber-security,
January 2012*



Cecilia Malmström,
EU Home Affairs Commissioner
Defining cyber-security, November 2011



Troels Oerting
EUROPOL Assistant Director of Operations
*International cooperation on
cyber-security, May 2012*

Recent activities:

- International cooperation on cyber-security • Public-private cooperation on cyber-security
- Global governance • Report "Cyber-security: The vexed question of global rules"
- Developing Europe's cyber-defences • Defining cyber-security



After Chicago: Re-evaluating NATO's priorities

Co-chaired by :



Javier Solana
Co-President
Security & Defence
Agenda

Giles Merritt
Director
Security & Defence
Agenda



Introductory remarks



Stefan Gehroid
Director of the Brussels Office
Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung

Session I — Adjusting to the “Asian century”

The transatlantic security pact that was long so central to NATO has become subtly adapted to a role defending “Western” security interests. The shift eastwards in focus has spanned the Balkans, North Africa and Afghanistan, raising fresh questions about NATO's eventual concern with Asian security. Will the alliance's Chicago summit mark a new stage in its development as a global peacekeeper and guarantor of stability? What commitments do NATO member governments need to make if the alliance is to achieve the worldwide credibility a more global role would call for?



Alejandro Alvargonzález San Martín
Secretary General for Defence Policy
Ministry of Defence, Spain

Admiral Giampaolo Di Paola
Minister of Defence
Italy





Claus Grube
Permanent Secretary of State
 Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Denmark



Hüseyin Diriöz
Assistant Secretary General for Defence Policy and Planning
 North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO)



James L. Townsend
Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense
for European and NATO Policy
 United States Department of Defense (DOD)

The Security Jam 2012: impressions and comments



Harry van Dorenmalen
Chairman

IBM Corporation Europe



The conference provided a platform for the formal release of the 2012 Security Jam report. This year's Jam was an overwhelming success; it focused the brain power of thousands of experts around the world on key security issues. Over the course of 4 days we saw **17,000 logins from some 3,000 participants spanning 116 countries.**



Global leaders received the Jam's initial results ahead of the NATO and G8 summits in Chicago in May 2012. The final report, including the ten most acclaimed recommendations, was sent to thousands of high-level policymakers around the world.

We very much hope that NATO's and the EU's political leaders will take note of these recommendations and will further increase the use of new technologies to enlarge the involvement of citizens and stakeholders in the security policy debate.

Session II — Shifting “Smart Defence” from slogan to reality

The notion of Smart Defence has caught on quickly, no doubt because it offers a welcome solution to the intractable problems of capability shortcomings and defence cutbacks on both sides of the Atlantic. But what in practical terms does Smart Defence constitute, and how should it be benchmarked? Should NATO planners be creating a matrix that gives an at-a-glance guide to each member states’ capabilities in areas ranging from heavy airlift to tactical troop transport, UAVs to helicopters and battlefield communications to cyber-security? Above all, will smart defence be the making of a new eve in transatlantic defence cooperation with NATO, or the breaking of it?



Murad Bayar

Undersecretary for Defence Industries
Ministry of Defence, Republic of Turkey

Chad L. Fulgham

Vice President
Lockheed Martin



E. J. Herold

*Deputy Assistant Secretary General
for Defence Investment*
NATO

Markus Hellenthal

Senior Advisor
Huawei Technologies



“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.

Admiral Giampaolo Di Paola



After Chicago: Re-evaluating NATO's priorities

This year's annual Security & Defence Agenda NATO conference gathered experts from across national, EU, NATO and private sectors to discuss the top policy priorities for the Alliance following the recent Chicago summit.

Stefan Gehrold,
Director of the
Konrad-Adenauer-

Stiftung's Brussels Office, explained that the recent summit was "more than a mere follow-up to the 2010 Lisbon Summit – it dealt with the crucial questions of NATO's future role."

Reflecting this, topics covered in this conference included the perceived 'pivot' of U.S. foreign policy to the Asia-Pacific region, the reform challenges posed by the "Smart Defence" military equipment agenda and themes of financial austerity facing Europe.

"What we need is a fresh start", Gehrold added. "That's what we'll discuss in the coming panels".

The European response to Washington's 'pivot'

The impact of the U.S. announcement in its 2011 defence review that the world's largest military establishment intends to re-focus its posture on the Asia-Pacific region was one of the defining moments of the last year.

As **Javier Solana**, SDA Co-President and former EU High Representative for CFSP queried in his opening remarks, "what conditions or elements for European NATO policy do these new power shifts to the Pacific mean for an Atlantic-centred alliance?"

To tackle this question, panellist **Admiral Giampaolo Di Paola**, Italian Defence Minister, cautioned participants that "whilst Asia is becoming a centre of strategic interests, the balance of power is still in flux." Noting that despite a booming economy and rising regional defence expenditure, Asia-Pacific nations lack a codified security architecture to rely on in times of crisis, Di Paola felt it was inevitable that the U.S. would focus on the

Alejandro Alvargonzalez San Martin



region.

“If the centre of gravity shifts to the Asia-Pacific, it matters to us, not just the U.S.”, he added.

This need to remain engaged was the heart of Di Paola’s

message to participants, as he argued that the Alliance will retain a responsibility to operations beyond

its borders for the foreseeable future. “Even if we are not the global police, we are open to global challenges - that requires defence commitment.”

“The fundamental mistake we have to avoid is retrenchment”, he continued, “to look at the Alliance when Afghanistan is over [in 2014], and say ‘let’s go back home’.” The Minister outlined that such an outlook for Europe and NATO, no matter how severe the financial constraints, “does not reflect the security challenges that we face, and the international engagement that is necessary at this time.”

Faced with this challenge, the need to share military equipment through NATO’s Smart Defence initiative was clear to the Italian official. “We need to decide in which form we will do this, but more European defence, engagement and possibility, that’s the clear answer.”

Alejandro Alvargonzalez San Martin, Secretary General for Defence Policy for the Spanish Ministry of Defence, reflected on his own diplomatic postings in the Asia-Pacific region, and the tumultuous power changes that will impact U.S. and NATO security ambitions.

“Values are not a trivial matter, the democratic ideal is at risk”

Alejandro Alvargonzalez San Martin

For Alvargonzalez San Martin, the key stakes in the rise of Asian powers such as China relates to

value systems. “The continuity of values like democracy, rule of law, equality, market economies, these have much to do with our prosperity, and much to do with the way out of this crisis”, he said.

Yet with China’s economic clout, European nations’ say on such matters in the region is at risk. “Values are not a trivial matter”, he warned. “The democratic ideal is at risk, yet right now, only one extra-European power [the U.S] is really interested and willing to exert its will and provide a substantial effort to safeguard it in Asia.”

Alvargonzalez San Martin opined that such a position for European allies was not sustainable, and praised the focus of NATO’s Chicago Summit on getting global security cooperation back on track.

“We illustrated solidarity and

determination, the will to prevail as a group, eager to ensure its survival.” He also warned against the rivalries or “high political pettiness” that might conspire to derail programmes like Smart Defence. “An unsatisfactory outcome would be very significant.”

The Spanish Secretary General for Defence Policy closed on one final observation — a perceived incoherence between the EU and NATO as the principal articulations of European security ambitions. “Brussels is like a city where two elephants are running around without ever meeting,” he explained. “When Spain sits in the EU, it is told to ‘save save save’; when it sits in NATO, it hears, ‘spend spend spend’ on defence.”

Such contradictions are not helpful for policymakers, Alvargonzalez San Martin concluded.

“In the end, the people sitting in each group are to a certain extent the same nations — it gives me a schizophrenic feeling.”

Reflections on NATO’s relevance

While the impact of such incoherence and financial pressures are obvious,

participants were unwilling to declare the situation as terminal. **Claus Grube**, Danish Permanent Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, noted that “many are calling this coming of age the “Asian Century” — and there is certainly no reason to deny that with rising economic power comes geo-strategic importance.”

However, he continued, “some people talk NATO into the grave — they will be disappointed. Both NATO and the new Asian powers are here to stay. There is room for both, and developing a partnership on security challenges is our next step.”

Highlighting that which many doomsayers predict as a “sad Western decline” might instead be viewed as an increase in relative parity on the economic and diplomatic world stage, Grube contended that European nations would retain relative influence for years to come. Moreover, the Asia-Pacific region’s patchwork of democracies, authoritarian regimes and border tensions highlights a key ace in NATO’s hand — soft power.

“When we talk about Asia, there is no common platform based on shared values, nor therefore a common outlook or vision of the future”,

“We should recognise that the rise of Asia carries enormous opportunities, as well as challenges”

Claus Grube

Grube explained. NATO's shared vision is thus an attractive option on the global stage — one that will draw international actors to engage with the Alliance.

In this context, partnerships will be key, especially with China.

“We should recognise that the rise of Asia carries enormous opportunities, as well as challenges. One such challenge will be to encourage China to communicate its vision of its place in global security — we should make sure NATO is still a relevant security partner here.”

Taking up these themes, **James L. Townsend**, Deputy Assistant Secretary for European and NATO Policy at the United States

Department of Defense, set to address some common misperceptions about the U.S. ‘pivot’ to Asia.

“This was never a question of the role of Europe and NATO”, Townsend said, arguing that the conclusion that a ‘pivot’ implied a reduced focus on the latter was incorrect.

Instead, the ‘pivot’ was actually about re-balancing internally. “We had to deal with military budget cuts, and the end of wars in Iraq and Afghanistan; issues that so shaped our everyday, that we could not see what to do next without a strategic rethink”, he explained.

So where does NATO sit in this ‘re-balancing’ towards Asia?



James L. Townsend



"Here it's about the architecture theme", Townsend said. "It's not just about the classic approach of making sure we are ready to mutually defend ourselves, but how can we work with these nations on a military-to-military basis."

Such projects could include security sector reform, cyber-security cooperation and maritime exercises, the U.S. official continued. "There are a number of ways NATO can play a role here."

Such engagement will of course require some technical resources, a "scary commitment" in a time of austerity. Yet it will also require a new diplomatic and political focus. "It has to be more about situational awareness and engagement in that part of the world... it must be an avoidance of retrenchment, however tempting both intellectually and physically."

Alongside this, the Alliance will need to be humble about its overall position. "When you think about this, we have to keep in mind it is not only a NATO show - it is a sub-set of a broader re-balancing by Europe as a community, as represented by the EU, and as individual nations", Townsend continued.

"Their relations with Asia all face a large and complex re-balancing act."

Acknowledging that fiscal austerity will of course put a premium on resources for this kind of diplomatic investment, Townsend added that new thinking, and not necessarily new spending, could be the key.

"We are not talking about another beat for the global policeman to walk - it is a case of thinking of new ways to engage"

James L. Townsend

"We have to realise that we are not talking about another beat for the global policeman to

walk - it is a case of thinking of new ways to engage." In this context, the prudent re-commitment of existing resources, mechanisms and capabilities could well prove sufficient.

He concluded that avoiding retrenchment was a key requirement for an Alliance with clear common interests in a stable Asia-Pacific.

Sustaining commitment to out-of-area operations

Of course, as much as Chicago focused on the future of NATO's role in Asia, one major element of NATO security is very much an ongoing concern — Afghanistan. **Hüseyin Diriöz**, NATO Assistant Secretary

General for Defence Policy and Planning outlined the affirmation of commitment to Afghan security made at Chicago, and reflected on the impact of out-of-area operations for the Alliance.

Despite much negative reactions by the public in Alliance member states to the decade-long war in Afghanistan, Diriöz was clear that NATO out-of-area deployments are here to stay.

“The last decade has shown that NATO’s potential geographic scope has lost its sensitivity — put simply, the

imperative has been about achieving security, wherever that objective may occur.” Whether it be counter-piracy off the coast of Somalia to air operations over Libya, “we will retain the capacity to undertake operations at a strategic distance”, he said.

To achieve this, “in Chicago we underlined our determination to retain the capabilities needed to fulfil these ambitions.” Smart Defence’s demand of a “new culture of cooperation” was one such challenge. “Our work will be dominated by these goals”, Diriöz said.

Another key goal will be to retain the operational ties fostered in the last decade between Alliance member and global partners. “The operational

tempo will decrease after Afghanistan in 2014, so we will need to retain and build on the interoperability achieved in theatre, which will be directly relevant for future operations.”

An important programme here will be turning the relevant “lessons learnt” from Afghanistan and Libya into training objectives. “We intend to practice more regularly on demanding field exercises — this is integral for maintaining the same level of cooperation with global partners as we have today”.

“The Alliance’s focus is on security, not geography”

Hüseyin Diriöz

“The Alliance’s focus is on security, not geography”, he concluded. “Only cooperative security through partnerships will provide us with the capabilities we need.”

China’s influence on the wider Asian area - and beyond

Questions from the floor focused on the wider Asian security situation, with participants cautioning that a diplomacy focused on China could come at the expense of other important regional security flashpoints, such as the vital Malacca Straits trade route, or the tense border regions between nations such as Cambodia and Vietnam.

“Asia is about more than Beijing”, said one participant.

Di Paola agreed that a wider vision was required. “We need to move out from our inward viewpoint, and engage more broadly both economically and militarily”, he said. “In the next few weeks I am going to both Japan and the Philippines — why? Not because Italy will make a huge difference in those regions, but because engagement together is important”, the Minister opined.

Karel Kovanda, Governor and EU Representative at the Asia-Europe Foundation, citing recent diplomatic travel in the region, agreed that engagement was important. “Everywhere I went and lectured on NATO and Europe, they asked me, ‘how can we establish a closer relationship?’. There is willingness there, it exists,” he said.

Yet Alvargonzalez San Martin defended a more direct focus on China for European, and by extension NATO, diplomatic action. “We cannot avoid the fact that China is strategically situated at a point where we are witnessing tensions — from the South China Sea to North Korea”, he said.

“When we see the way its economy is developing, we should be thinking about its effects worldwide”, he continued.

Noting that investments in the rare materials sector by China have “no political demands” attached, he warned that in places such as Africa, Chinese industrial development “contributes to creating tendencies or structures that might not be the best ones for a safe political environment.”

“The reality is that China is there, something will have to be done”, he concluded, and supported the idea raised by the 2012 Security Jam of forming a ‘NATO-China Council’ to kick-start such engagement.

Indeed, the theme of engagement, and avoiding retrenchment in all its forms, was the panel’s final message. “Engagement is the real thing we need”, Solana said. “Our inter-dependence with Asia makes it a necessity. We must not just talk about change, but act.”





2012 Security Jam report



The conference was used to formally present the 2012 Security Jam report.

As Harry van Dorenmalen, Chairman of IBM Corporation Europe, explained, this year's experiment in open-source defence and security discussion was the largest yet.

Over the course of four days, the Jam's eight forums and life-chat debates saw 17,000 logins from some 3,000 participants, spanning 116 countries.

The Jam was moderated by experts from leading think-tanks across the world: Atlantic Council of the United States, Chatham House, Centro de Estudios y Documentación Internacionales de Barcelona (CIDOB), Fondation pour la Recherche Stratégique, The Hague Centre for Strategic Studies, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP) and Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI).

As Van Dorenmalen explained, the value of the Security Jam is the collaboration it brings. "We found out that when you talk amongst different groups and experts, there is always a solution: a technical solution, a policy solution, a working solution -It's just about getting the right people together."

Other participants at the conference were strongly supportive of the ideas and future targets presented in the report.

E.J Herold, NATO's Deputy Assistant Secretary General for Defence Investment, said that "this year's report is even better than the first,

and I am very enthusiastic about these recommendations – we hope such ideas will form the basis of what we at NATO will be doing in this post-Chicago summit period."

Danish Permanent Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs **Claus Grube** voiced views very much in line with the Jam recommendation of forming a NATO-China Council. "We should recognise that the rise of Asia carries enormous opportunities, as well as challenges. One such challenge will be to encourage China to communicate its vision of its place in global security – we should make sure NATO is still a relevant security partner here."





2012 Security Jam: top ten recommendations

Spanish representative **Alvargonzalez San Martin** agreed. “Let’s go for a NATO-China council, taking into account our fiscal realities on the one hand, and on the other, the real challenge it will pose.

China is a very different power, emerging amongst difficult political realities.”

Find the report on
www.securitydefenceagenda.org

1. NATO should formalize a maritime domain policy, to support the development of new common naval systems and platforms.
2. NATO should create a NATO-China Council.
3. The EU’s Defence Industrial Policy should be updated, with a focus on pooling R&D, restricting sensitive exports and developing a new generation of military equipment.
4. NATO should launch a programme dedicated to fostering a ‘Smart Defence Mindset’ amongst military personnel, national politicians and other stakeholders.
5. Deployed nations in Afghanistan should establish a country-wide public education programme, to foster regional development post-2014.
6. A cross-sectoral international ‘coalition of the willing’ of cyber-security professionals should coordinate confidence building measures for cyber global governance.
7. ‘White hat’ hacker recruitment should be incorporated into public cyber-security policy.
8. The EU should launch a career scheme for training crisis management professionals and create a pool of commonly funded crisis management equipment.
9. Crisis management stakeholders should create an online community and knowledge hub for informing operational staff.
10. Western allies should establish a more comprehensive authorization process and doctrine for planning and launching ‘responsibility to protect’-based military interventions.



Implementing Smart Defence

The second panel turned its attention to the technical and industrial issues that underpin the Chicago summit's commitment to Smart Defence.

Murad Bayar, Undersecretary for Defence Industries at the Turkish Ministry of Defence explained that as a key player in both the Joint Strike Fighter (F-35) and A400M strategic lift aircraft programmes, Ankara has an informed perspective on the demands of multilateral equipment procurement.

"The value created was huge," Bayar said, but cautioned, "I cannot suggest these collaborative programmes have been examples of efficiency — they are not."

For Bayar, the lessons of such programmes — from cost overrun to poorly articulated capability requirements — are that you need to "join up the expertise of government and industry". However, he acknowledged that doing so could cause some controversy at a time of economic downturn, when nations are looking to protect their domestic workforce and tax base through job creation.

"When you have multiple governments trying to handle a

programme, it can become inherently competitive between industries — that brings some management complexities."

Bayar went on to identify an "inconsistency" in European governments' statements on Smart Defence when compared to the European Union's articulations on its Defence Industrial policy.

The Turkish official expressed concern about the suggestion, as aired in the 2012 Security Jam Report, that EU policy should restrict the export of sensitive military technology, in an effort to boost domestic investment.

"You need to join up the expertise of government and industry"

Murad Bayar

"We are trying to make these collaborative projects through Smart Defence, to address common equipment needs, and right in the

middle of this, we have these restrictive, protectionist statements."

"For collaborative programmes, that is not smart", he added.

Such questions are uniquely challenging for Turkey, which as a member of NATO but not the EU, can only sit on one side of the debate about Smart Defence and its EU equivalent of 'pooling and sharing'.

However, Bayar concluded that Turkey's direct role in key

collaborative programmes would guarantee it would have a voice. “We are contributing to missile defence and to operations in Afghanistan — Turkey can help articulate direct operational equipment needs from these experiences”, he said.

Weighing in from the NATO side, **Ernest J. Herold**, Deputy Assistant Secretary General for Defence

Investment, affirmed that “implementing smart defence will be challenging, and require strong political will by all of us.”

“Implementing Smart Defence will be challenging, and require strong political will by all of us”

Ernest J. Herold

Herold described the mandate agreed at Chicago for NATO to act as a “clearing house” for Allies to move forwards in cooperative capability development.

“We have to explore further the challenging issues of Smart Defence — such as the availability of capabilities, making better use of NATO collaborative funding, maintaining high levels of interoperability in Afghanistan, and further improving defence planning processes,” he said.

A key requirement here is not only new projects, but making sure the decommissioning of old capabilities is done in a collaborative way. “We

must encourage individual allies to consult with NATO before making serious alterations to their defence structure — uncoordinated defence realignments risk gaps in our overall capabilities”, he warned.

The alternative to this vision, Herold further cautioned, is “reduced budgets, reduced capabilities and lost technical competences.” Such

conditions, the NATO official cautioned, could lead to a situation where NATO’s European Allies amount to 26 unconnected, uncoordinated and

individually weak national forces.

“We must embrace and endorse Smart Defence to ensure NATO is properly equipped to address this.”

The industrial perspective

From the side of the technology provider, **Chad L. Fulgham**, Vice President of Lockheed Martin, agreed with the message of the 2012 Security Jam’s call for a Smart Defence “mindset”.

“When I think about Smart Defence, I think of a holistic approach, which is about more than just war fighters - I see it going all the way to diplomatic staff, politicians, logistics and other

supporting infrastructures of defence”, the US industry representative explained.

“It will be difficult to move forward without some hard decisions in these areas,” he cautioned. One approach could be to focus on the “best of breed” practices from both industry and government partners on collaborative projects.

“When I think about Smart Defence, I think of a holistic approach”

management, research, development, delivery”, he explained. For common projects, such cost savings can be leveraged immediately.

Europe should focus on “introducing central and shared ICT capabilities based on cost sharing mechanisms — at least for those who are willing to do so”, he opined.

Chad L. Fulgham

Information security of the supply chain

Fulgham also advocated for procurement management efficiencies that can be gained by using new ICT solutions. “This is about capitalising on efficiencies — by standardising and centralising how we do business.”

“The move to the new NATO HQ in 2016 is a unique opportunity to capitalize on this strategy”, he added.

Markus Hellenthal, a Senior Advisor at Chinese telecommunications firm Huawei Technologies, agreed that new mechanisms, based on optimising and adapting the use of procurement resources, offers a powerful tool to European Allies to implement Smart Defence.

“ICT is the most relevant technical means here — it can enable an organisation to create new efficiencies in how it operates for

is also a potential area in need of modernisation — especially for cross-border projects where the critical national security capabilities of many nations are being handled under one programme. “A secure supply-chain, comprising companies both inside and outside supplier nations, must be established”, Hellenthal said.

Ultimately, the industrial challenge to NATO was to adopt the “short term discomfort” of changing their procurement mechanisms, to reap the long term benefits efficiency can bring.

Only then can such services “balance the economic equation between input and output, and secure more ‘bang for your buck’”.

Questions from the floor followed, with **Paul Flaherty**, former UK Permanent Deputy Representative to

NATO, asking how Allies could ensure they pursued new and innovative mechanisms in defence procurement.

Haydar Berk, Turkish Ambassador to NATO, agreed that as an “inherently bureaucratic”

process, Smart Defence would likely face some resistance in its implementation. “National protectionism of industry is not going anywhere”, he explained. “I

think we need some sort of realism here about what we can achieve — we have to work on both sides of the aisle, funding both national and collective capabilities.”

Herold agreed that some procurement programmes were simply too expensive or technically complex to feasibly share across borders between a large group — but

noted that smaller formations of like-minded and capable states could have more chance of success.

“A recognition that a group of nations

can provide important capabilities, which can then translate into a continuity of concepts on a large scale”, is needed, he said. “Collaborative defence procurement is lengthy, complex,

often detailed; and it may not always be agile enough to provide the capabilities we need in a timely enough fashion”, he also cautioned.

SDA Director **Giles Merritt** later asked about the lessons of Libya. “Is it a template for the sort of security problems we are going to face in the foreseeable future, and if so, in actual, specific terms, what is it that

“Supply chain security will balance the economic equation between input and output, and secure more ‘bang for your buck’”

Markus Hellenthal



European NATO members don't have?" he asked.

Townsend was optimistic here, pointing out that the key details of Libya were not technical, but political – specifically, that the Alliance worked. "It was started off as a small coalition, and NATO went through a political process that was hard, but important, and very quickly came to an operational decision."

"It showed what the allies were able of doing that", he said.

"We could never have been deployed in Bosnia in 1995 if we had waited for a theory or concept to be prepared"

Against this backdrop, some clear equipment needs were nonetheless identified, alongside the broader realisation that U.S. leadership on all NATO missions is no longer guaranteed. "These include a shortage of munitions, air-to-air refuelling and dynamic targeting", Townsend said.

"These have now come to fore, and directly informed the Chicago package", he added.

Yet **Mario Karnstedt**, a Project Officer at the European Defence Agency responsible for pooling & sharing policy, argued that the lessons of Libya were not about capability gaps, but fragmentation. "Our inventories

are fragmented", he said, noting that European nations have just 42 air-to-air refuelling tankers, but that they consist of ten different designs.

"It's not just inventories, it's concepts too – when you are building a multinational expeditionary force, if you don't share concepts, you will fail", the EDA official said. As one example, the official referenced ammunition, which most European nations certify and store according to their own operational concepts.

Javier Solana

"They are not able to procure together, or transfer munitions. Sometimes, it gets to the point of not even being able to transport and stock together in theatre", the officer said. Faced with such challenges, the political decision to decide on an operational "what and where" is useless – "you'll still have to work on the how", he lamented.

Throwing Europe into the deep end?

Bringing the conference to a close, Solana took up this distinction between the 'what' of political objective, 'where' of geographic location and the 'how' of military equipment.

Javier Solana



“It sometimes seems to me that in a crisis, we always take a ‘cosmological’ approach — we find a grand concept or theory, which embraces tremendous amounts of issues that are hard to solve”, he explained.

Yet as historical examples such as Bosnia, Kosovo and now Libya demonstrate, the ‘what and where’ of policy is often thrust upon the international community both unexpectedly and inevitably. When it does, grand or ideal theories are rarely fully developed in advance. “We could never have been deployed in Bosnia in 1995 if we had waited for a theory or concept to be prepared”, Solana pointed out.

The message for NATO and Europe is thus perhaps to view Smart Defence and equipment sharing through a more pragmatic lens, and to expect to be surprised by events beyond Europe’s direct control.

“If you throw yourself into the swimming pool, very likely, you’ll float. And sometimes it takes such a test to make things work faster, and better.”





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SDA 10th Anniversary — Presidents' dinner



On the eve of the conference, SDA co-presidents **Jaap de Hoop Scheffer** and **Javier Solana** welcomed **General James L. Jones**, former US National Security Advisor to President Obama at a gala dinner to mark the SDA's 10th anniversary as Brussels' leading security and defence think-tank. Senior participants from EU institutions, NATO, national

governments and international agencies, included Belgian Defence Minister **Pieter de Crem**, **Huseyin Diröz**, NATO Assistant Secretary General for Defence Policy and Planning, **Gabor Iklody**, Assistant Secretary General for Emerging Security Challenges, **Pierre Vimont**, EEAS Executive Secretary General, **Claude-France Arnould**, EDA Chief



Thursday, May 24th — Palais d'Egmont

Executive, **Daniel Calleja-Crespo**, Director General for Enterprise and Industry, **Philip Lowe**, Director General for Industry, **Rudolf Strohmeier**, Deputy Director for Research & Innovation, **Tomaz Lovrencic**, Director of the EU Satellite Centre, **Ilkka Salmi**, Director of the Joint Situation Centre, **Olof Skoog**, PSC Chair, **Ioana Mircea Pascu**, Vice-Chair of the EP's Foreign Affairs Committee, **Linas Linkevicius**, Advisor to

the Lithuanian Prime Minister, and **Michael Hange**, President of the German Federal Information Office and some 120 top security and defence VIPs from across Europe.



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