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CONTENTS / ÍNDICE

EDITOR'S NOTE / NOTA EDITORIAL

Antonio Marquina [1]
UNISCI Director

This special issue on NATO has a particular relevance. NATO finds itself in a process of deep reflection on the challenges and threats, the tools and means to confront and manage them and the implications that the reconfiguration of the international system is creating.

Given the importance of NATO engagement in Afghanistan for its own future, the special issue focuses primarily on that. The first part of the issue, coordinated by Professor Sten Rynning, deals with this engagement. This part tries to illustrate the complexity of the tasks to the reader, as well as the shortcomings in the recent approaches to the conflict and the stabilization of the region. The authors touch many different subjects: the evolution of NATO strategies, the responsibilities of the different agents involved, the partnerships developed or to be developed, the difficulties, the shortcomings, the differences among the allies, the flaws in NATO transformation, the importance and weaknesses in NATO "comprehensive approach", and finally the President Obama strategy.

A second part is oriented to the discussion of other central issues: the essence of the Alliance. One crucial question is if NATO can be maintained primarily as a regional political-military alliance or has to become a more global alliance, in line with the global interests of the United States. Another crucial question is the policies and tools for dealing with global challenges and threats. The article by Professors Javier García and David García, as well as the article by Professor Antonio Marquina, are complementary. They explain that transatlantic relations have to face a different international system, an increasingly multipolar world, and that means a sea change in NATO. In the US case, the new US administration has to adapt to a post-American world where European security is no longer US priority. In the EU case there is an apparent contradiction, the European Security Strategy mainly focuses on global challenges and threats whereas the EU security and stability priorities are in its own neighbourhood. This implies that for the EU, NATO has as its main task to solve its neighbourhood challenges, including deterrence to Russia, which will become or induce pressing security challenges for the European continent. That obviously is not very attractive to the US and will lead to important tensions in the Alliance. Both articles also emphasize the different perceptions and some difficulties for collaboration, given the fragmentation of responsibilities that still exists at the EU level. To this, Antonio Marquina emphasizes the contradictions in the theoretical approaches that are behind the EU approaches for dealing with its own security challenges and threats, "very near to the approaches of traditionally neutral European Member States", and the lack of sufficient civilian and military tools, civilian and normative power and political will for being a decisive agent in their

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management. Also it shows the complications for the development of the "comprehensive approach" in NATO.

All these asymmetries have clear implications for NATO transformation and in the discussions for the renovation of the NATO Strategic Concept. Two articles, one by Cor. Enrique Fojón and Gillem Colom on NATO military transformation and the second one by Vice Admiral Enrique Ramírez on the NATO Strategic Concept show the complexity of the NATO adaptation task. The article on NATO transformation explains how the allied transformation was carried out in the last decade, the complex and different environments, the crucial question of capabilities, the EBAO concept and its limitations, the "comprehensive approach" concept and the difficulties in coordination with other non-military agents, and the need for a solid concept for the employment of forces, comprising from deterrence to humanitarian assistance.

The article on the NATO Strategic Concept tries to explain the importance of the Strategic Concept in NATO, the lack of precision and the inadequacies existing in the 1999 Strategic Concept and the need to address properly the risks and threats of the 21st century.

Finally the journal includes three interesting articles on the NATO impact on the Spanish Armed Forces. In these articles one critical aspect for maintaining the Alliance, the impact of NATO on the transformation and adaptation of the military forces of Member States, is presented. In the case of Spain this aspect is explained in detail for the three Services by three very distinguished high ranking Officers: Brig. General Federico Yaniz, Div.General Jesús Argumosa and Vice Admiral José Ruesta. NATO's impact on Spanish military organization, training, command structure, procurement, standardization, transformation and planning, doctrine, operations and intelligence, leadership and logistic support has been decisive and vital in the modernization of the Spanish Armed Forces. And now they can make a significant contribution to share security and defence and collective defence. NATO, as the only military and effective defence organization, is considered central for dealing with the challenges and threats of the 21st century.

INTRODUCTION

Sten Rynning [1]
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1. Introduction

The war in Afghanistan that began in October 2001 was never straightforward for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), although the rationale for an early and strong engagement was overpowering. NATO responded to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 with an Article 5 declaration that laid the ground for the activation of collective self-defense. Alas, as NATO stood on the brink of going to war, the W. Bush administration sent its Deputy Secretary of Defense, Paul Wolfowitz, to Brussels to argue before NATO that this war would be fought differently, not by collective alliance but an ad hoc coalition. NATO's engagement in Afghanistan came about nonetheless, although only in 2003-2004, as the United Nations International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) needed capable operational agents, and as individual NATO allies realized that they simply could not rotate in and out of Afghanistan and merely coordinate moves in NATO's Belgian headquarters – in Brussels and Mons. NATO was needed on the Afghan ground as a permanent command and control and support infrastructure. Such was the relief in NATO that the Alliance had proved able to take on this mission at a time when the Iraq war had nearly fractured it, that it agreed to expand ISAF in a counter-clockwise move to cover all of Afghanistan.

Afghanistan was now also NATO's war, although the hope was that NATO could do mere "security assistance" as the ISAF initials indicated. Those initials had been penned in Bonn in December 2001, however, and reality on the ground had evolved considerably by the time NATO moved into Pashtun regions by 2006. The insurgency blew up in NATO's face, and NATO had to fight a war that was maybe not conventional but certainly as ruthless and difficult as any war. It was a real war, in other words, and arguably NATO's first real war. Compounding this challenge was the geographical spread of NATO forces that resulted in the skewed sharing of burdens and, inevitably, disputes over the nature of the mission. Was NATO there to fight or rebuild? NATO slowly realized that the Taliban insurgency could be met only with a "comprehensive approach" bringing together a whole network of security, development, and governance organizations but the realization offered little relief. A network of vastly different actors could hardly be expected to provide the "unity of mission" that had proved beyond NATO's capacity, and comprehensiveness raised new and fundamental questions about the nature of the Alliance that infested operational debates.

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The Alliance managed to pull itself together for the April 2008 Bucharest summit and provide a strategic vision for its Afghan engagement. This vision had been lacking, as the Alliance hitherto had trusted the "vision thing" to the Afghan government and the UN. The 2008 NATO vision, which was adopted by all ISAF contributors and thus became "ISAF's Strategic Vision," was anchored inside the Alliance in a comprehensive action plan for Afghanistan that ties together distinct lines of operations and focuses their energy on particular issues that the allies deem of critical importance in the evolving Afghan context: securing an election or building a training capacity. Revealingly, this strategic effort has taken place while the United States increasingly has taken the lead – both within the Alliance but also in parallel to it. Americanization, is the appropriate label. The United States now provides more troops than ISAF contributors combined, and it occupies virtually all key posts in the beefed up ISAF command structure. The ISAF commander, General McChrystal, is still formally reporting to the North Atlantic Council but not only, of course, because he is also a US commander and therefore reports directly to the US Secretary of Defense. Americanization helps us see the rock bottom of NATO – the transatlantic bargain – and it raises the question of what Afghanistan represents and portends for the Alliance.

In this special issue we take stock of NATO's Afghan engagement and provide an assessment. At one point, perhaps most clearly in 2007-2008 when NATO had gotten a war on its hands and went in search for a strategy, it became commonplace to argue that NATO cannot survive failure in Afghanistan. The articles in this special issue caution restraint in this anticipation of doom. All contributors find fault in NATO's organization and doings, for sure. Martin Smith observes a lack of transformation prior to Afghanistan in the context of Balkan out-of-area operations; Stanley Sloan finds poorly coordinated policies on the Afghan ground; Jens Ringsmose and Peter Dahl Thruelsen caution that an alliance may be inherently incapable of fighting a counterinsurgency campaign; Peter Viggo Jakobsen tells us that NATO has been too slow in putting the comprehensive approach into practice as far as Afghanistan goes; Rebecca Moore takes note of a partnership concept that is in need of fundamental rethinking; and James Goldgeier observes, finally, an Alliance that is unable or unwilling to make a difference in the context of US strategy.

But these are not doomsayers. The articles touch on many issues that will need clarification before a "NATO failure" can be identified. For instance, can and should NATO be held responsible for the strength and legitimacy of Afghanistan's government? Moreover, while NATO provides security, other agents such as the UN must provide development and governance, but have they? Finally, NATO is more than Afghanistan – it has transatlantic, European, and increasingly global foundations – and Americanization may paradoxically provide relief. Americanization implies that NATO could not solve the Afghan problem on its own, which is bad, but it also implies that NATO now can retreat to offer less demanding support in Afghanistan and increase its activities in parallel domains – in relation to Russia and Middle Eastern diplomacy, for instance – where transatlantic security cooperation can reinvent itself, which of course is good for the Alliance.

The jury is still out. Collections of articles rarely make for a punchy argument, and this collection is no different. The articles share the conviction that NATO's Afghan engagement is critically important to understand if we are to comprehend NATO and the transatlantic relationship it embodies. They are all conceptually informed assessments of world affairs, not tests of alliance theory. Finally, the articles share the hope that scholarly assessments such as these will help provoke new insightful thinking on what NATO means in light of all that is happening in Afghanistan.

2. The Logic of the Special Issue

Afghanistan is a difficult country to deploy into and in which to sustain forces. You need expeditionary forces organized in packages that include the full spectrum of combat support services; you need to be able to move and adapt once you are out there, and you need to be able to supply yourself. Had NATO prepared thoroughly for this kind of warfare through the 1990s, politically as well as militarily, Afghanistan would not have been so difficult. In other words, the Balkans provided an opportunity to begin this process of transformation, and this is also where the special issue begins with Martin Smith's article, "Afghanistan in Context: NATO Out-of-Area Debates in the 1990s." This overview of NATO's recent past is followed by another overview provided by Stanley Sloan in "NATO in Afghanistan."

Martin Smith finds a number of faults in NATO's approach as the Alliance responded to the out-of-area or out-of-business challenge of the 1990s. NATO, Smith concludes, was critical to organizing and implementing the Balkan operations – essentially in Bosnia and Kosovo – because it provided planning capacity, force generation mechanisms, and collective command and control systems. However, at the end of the day NATO did not change its outlook: it remained focused on high-end military operations that it could run autonomously, if needed, instead of the multifunctional peace support operations that the Balkans portended. NATO thus failed to change its doctrine and organization and remained wedded to the standard formula of going out-of-area on "a case-by-case basis" – hardly an urgent call for political reform.

The difficulties encountered by NATO on the Afghan ground therefore ought not to surprise us. Stanley Sloan highlights several of these. The dispersed organization and poor coordination of Provisional Reconstruction Teams (PRTs), the divided command and control structure, and the limited involvement in regional diplomacy, notably in the Afghan-Pakistan relationship. However, this does not necessarily detract from NATO's viability, Sloan concludes. NATO continuity is rooted in several issues in Sloan's analysis: the history and practice of transatlantic cooperation; the nature of new threats; the fact that no NATO ally escapes criticism in the Afghan affairs; and perhaps most importantly, the fact that the Alliance continues to inspire people's political imagination.

In these two overviews by Martin Smith and Stanley Sloan the reader will find food for thought in respect to big trends and NATO transformation. Smith and Sloan are essentially asking the reader whether NATO has become more transformable following the war in Afghanistan. Sloan is answering in the affirmative; Smith, not addressing the question directly, is reminding us to at least take a hard look at sources of Alliance inertia.

Three articles follow that address various critical aspects of the Afghan campaign. NATO could not limit itself to the provision of security assistance once it expanded ISAF beyond Kabul, as noted, and it has had to fight a counterinsurgency campaign. Jens Ringsmose and Peter Dahl Thruelsen, in "NATO's Counter-Insurgency Campaign in Afghanistan: Are the Classical Doctrines Suitable for Alliances?" deal with this issue. Counterinsurgency typically involves a broad faceted effort to provide governance, which in NATO language translates into a "comprehensive approach." This is the subject of Peter Viggo Jakobsen's "Right Strategy, Wrong Place: Why NATO's Comprehensive Approach Will Fail in Afghanistan." Finally, a key component of any comprehensive approach is

cooperation among many actors. Rebecca Moore's "NATO's Partners in Afghanistan: Impact and Purpose," examines this type of cooperation.

Ringsmose and Thruelsen rightfully remind us that counterinsurgency is more than benevolent "hearts and minds" operations. It can be very coercive – the classical case of British counterinsurgency in Malaya involved the forced encampment of 400,000 ethnic Chinese, they recall – and is always protracted, labor-intensive, and costly. Their article then skillfully works its way through the strategic, operational and tactical problems this type of campaign has raised for NATO. Their conclusion is that if NATO is to do this, it must happen with clear and overwhelming American leadership. Jakobsen tells us that the outcome will not be shaped by the "comprehensive approach" as adopted by NATO. NATO has simply been too slow in agreeing to it, in organizing it, and in working with partners to make it happen. Jakobsen's discussion of these shortcomings draws on great insight into NATO's organization, insights that sustain the argument that the CA is the right policy for the Alliance in the long run. Moore asks us to travel with her around the world as she examines the full scope of NATO's partnerships. In a masterful overview, Moore asks us to zoom in on an underlying question: NATO has traditionally organized partnerships by geography – in order to secure the approaches to Europe – but Afghanistan demands functional partnerships. If it is not the geographical location but functional capacity of a partner that counts, must NATO not then simply go global? This question bedevils NATO as it strives to provide coherence to its partnership policy and back this policy with a real capacity for partnership interaction.

Combined the three articles tell us about NATO's limited ability to provide solutions to some of the concrete problems with which it is faced in Afghanistan – how to fight, how to plan, and how to partner. Ringsmose and Thruelsen suggest that a short term solution lies in American leadership; Jakobsen suggests that NATO in the long run should be capable of comprehensive action. These suggestions may dovetail to the extent that American leadership transforms itself into collective organization and capacity. But will it? Moore's assessment of the partnership issue and her observation that Europeans tend to prefer the good old-fashioned geographical partnerships is food for thought. A collective organization and capacity presupposes a collective purpose that is not threatened by erosion. Moore calls attention to the Strategic Concept that is under review and due for presentation at the Lisbon summit in late 2010, and this exercise will notably indicate the strength of the transatlantic partnership that must carry the Alliance forward.

There is no question that the United States is the first among equals, and this is where the special issue ends. James Goldgeier, in "Making a Difference? Evaluating the Impact of President Barack Obama," asks us to look beyond the facile assumption that transatlanticism prevails once again simply because of an election that replaced W. Bush with Obama. As mentioned earlier in this introduction, NATO has been quick to endorse Obama's Afghan strategy – first in April and then in December 2009. However, Obama's strategy contains contradictions and its main purpose may be, as Goldgeier suggests, to simply kicking the can down the road. Obama refers to the Afghan war as a "war of necessity" and a vital American interest, yet there is no all-out engagement in it. There is a surge, but it is severely limited in duration. There is a desire to focus the fight against Al Qaeda, yet the United States is drawn into Afghan nation-building.

In this sharp and critical dissection of the Obama strategy Goldgeier concludes that NATO figures among Obama's problems, not solutions. NATO provides too few troops and lacks the political willingness to make a difference. Goldgeier's transatlantic forecast is overcast at best. It is an assessment that ties in with Smith's observation of inertia, Jakobsen's

of tardiness, and Moore's of political division. However, Goldgeier's article is also all about an American president striving to provide leadership, which was Ringsmose and Thruelsen's recipe for Alliance strength, and which ties in which Sloan's argument that in the Atlantic arena none are perfect yet all are driven to face the same set of threats.

In accepting the Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo in December 2009, President Obama foresaw a globalizing world where peace in parts depends on the legitimate and resolute use of military force. "I understand why war is not popular, but I also know this: The belief that peace is desirable is rarely enough to achieve it. Peace requires responsibility. Peace entails sacrifice. That's why NATO continues to be indispensable."[2] Inspired by this collection of articles one might continue the President's train of thoughts by adding that the belief that NATO is indispensable rarely has been enough to make it desirable. Much will depend on the politics of the Afghan war treated in this issue.

[2] Obama, Barack: "Remarks by the President at the Acceptance of the Nobel Peace Prize", Oslo, Norway (10 December 2009), at http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/remarks-president-acceptance-nobel-peace-prize.

AFGHANISTAN IN CONTEXT: NATO OUT-OF-AREA DEBATES IN THE 1990S

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Abstract:

NATO's first out-of-area operations in Bosnia and Kosovo offer instructive lessons for those seeking to understand its strengths and weaknesses in post-9/11 operations in Afghanistan and elsewhere. NATO was first drawn in to Bosnia largely as a result of its developing institutional links with the UN. Once it was involved, its members soon discovered a vital interest in preserving the institution's credibility by not withdrawing or admitting defeat. Operations in Kosovo and elsewhere in the Balkans soon followed. Despite its long-term presence in the region, NATO has remained restricted in terms of what it can contribute to multifunctional peace support operations.

Keywords: NATO, Out-of-Area, Bosnia, Kosovo.

Resumen:

Las primeras operaciones de la OTAN en territorios fuera del área del Tratado Atlántico en Bosnia y Kosovo ofrecen lecciones instructivas para todos aquellos que intenten entender los puntos fuertes y débiles de las operaciones post-11/S en Afganistán y otros lugares. La OTAN se vio involucrada en Bosnia como resultado esencialmente de sus crecientes lazos institucionales con la ONU. Una vez en el terreno, sus miembros pronto descubrieron que preservar la credibilidad de la organización negándose a proceder con la retirada de sus operaciones y rechazando la admisión de derrota, se había convertido en un interés vital. Pronto siguieron las operaciones en Kosovo y otros lugares de los Balcanes. A pesar de su presencia a largo plazo en la región, la OTAN se ha mantenido limitada en cuanto al margen de maniobra para contribuir en operaciones de apoyo a la paz de carácter multifuncional.

Palabras clave: *OTAN, Operaciones Fuera de Zona, Bosnia, Kosovo.*

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1. Introduction

In December 2004 a report issued by the Western European Union's Parliamentary Assembly asserted that:

"In the Balkans NATO underwent its most profound transformation, from a primarily political and military alliance for the collective defence of its members against external armed attack to a Euro-Atlantic crisis-management instrument, initially in Europe and then on other continents as is the case today in Afghanistan and also to provide training in Iraq. The wars in former Yugoslavia blurred the distinction between the "NATO sphere of influence" and "out of area" and allowed the Alliance to embark upon its transformation into a political and military organisation with a wide geographical role."[1]

These bold claims are not wholly supported by evidence arising from NATO's actual record in the Balkans. It is certainly true that the operations in Bosnia and Kosovo provided – in the words of another WEU report – 'a laboratory and catalyst for the design, testing and development of concepts and mechanisms for the command and control and use of forces in a multinational framework'.[2] Indeed it is in the areas of collective military planning, force generation and command and control that NATO has made its most effective contribution to coordinating the efforts of its member states in the Balkans and in Afghanistan.

One should not overestimate the extent to which Balkan operations have effected a more general transformation of NATO's culture, structures and processes however. In terms of decision-making for example, NATO members did adapt during the course of their 1999 bombing campaign against Serbia so that their decision-making processes were able to respond appropriately to military requests on the one hand and maintain essential political cohesion and unity on the other. These adaptations were crisis-specific however and notwithstanding optimistic assertions by certain analysts,[3] they did not lead to the evolution of new norms to replace the traditional all-inclusive consensus based approach which remains the basis of NATO decision-making today.[4]

Of equal significance has been the evident failure of NATO to develop new policy, doctrine and modalities for multifunctional peace operations. In operational terms, as Mats Berdal and David Ucko have argued, it has remained essentially configured to conducting high-end military operations rather than peace support tasks.[5] Underlying this has been a persistent reluctance on the part of most member states to countenance new roles and missions for their national armed forces. Experience in Bosnia and Kosovo suggests that member states have often been averse to seeing their armed forces used outside a fairly narrow range of traditional military tasks. This has been reflected in failures to plan effectively for contingencies other than war-fighting. In this context Dana Allin has rightly criticised the 'extraordinary' situation during the bombing of Serbia in 1999 when 'hardly

[1] "The Deployment of European Forces in the Balkans", *Assembly of Western European Union* (WEU), Paris (2004), para. 12.
[2] "European Forces in Afghanistan: Learning Lessons", *Assembly of Western European Union* (WEU) Paris (2006), paras. 75-76.
[3] Daalder, Ivo and Goldgeier, James: "Global NATO", *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 85, no. 5 (2006), pp. 111-112.
[4] In this context see the call for reform of consensus decision-making in Hamilton, Daniel (2009): *Alliance Reborn: An Atlantic Compact for the 21st Century*, Washington DC, Washington NATO Project, pp. 43-45.
[5] Berdal, Mats and Ucko, David: "NATO at 60", *Survival*, vol. 51, no. 2 (2009), pp. 55-76.

anyone on the NATO side' developed plans for post-war operations in Kosovo.[6] In summer 2004 almost nine years after the deployment of NATO-led peacekeeping forces to Bosnia, one of NATO's senior officials stated frankly that 'given the relatively small number of current operations, it is still possible to continue muddling through on the basis of ad hoc contributions and improvised solutions, much as the Alliance has been doing since launching its first peace-support mission [...] in Bosnia and Herzegovina in December 1995'.[7]

The discussions which follow attempt to substantiate the critique laid about here by exploring the nature and significance of NATO's two principal Balkan interventions during the 1990s – in Bosnia and Kosovo respectively. The article begins with a brief discussion of the course of the NATO 'out-of-area' debates prior to the initial decisions by member states to deploy NATO assets in support of UN operations in Bosnia. Analysis of NATO's developing role in Bosnia and Kosovo follows, with a focus on the major stakes which the institution and its member states established and developed there. The discussions in these substantive sections also identify issues which had a particular resonance not only in the Balkans but subsequently for NATO's post-9/11 operations in Afghanistan.

2. NATO´s pre-Bosnia Debates

During the Cold War, 'out-of-area' in the NATO context was a term which referred to regions of the world not explicitly covered by the security guarantee contained in Article 5 of the 1949 North Atlantic Treaty (NAT). The treaty's area of coverage was precisely defined in Article 6. It included the territory of its signatories in Western Europe and North America and the seas and airspace above and around them north of the Tropic of Cancer. The treaty did provide a legal basis for considering out-of-area issues. Article 4 permitted members to 'consult together whenever, in the opinion of any of them, the territorial integrity, political independence or security of any of the parties is threatened'. Entrenched multilateral consultative norms were not developed around this article however, despite periodic American efforts to interest allies in security issues outside the defined treaty area. Article 4 remained a relatively marginal legal and political instrument.

This is not to say that out-of-area issues were not considered at all within NATO forums, especially with regard to the Middle East. As Sten Rynning has shown, there were discussions and proposals put forward from NATO's earliest years to create some sort of association between it and various friendly – or strategically important – states in that region.[8] None of these efforts came to fruition however, as a result of lack of consensus amongst NATO members together with lack of interest and sometimes outright hostility from states and governments in the Middle East.

Nevertheless, towards the end of the Cold War NATO's collective planning resources were employed to help coordinate military operations in the Persian Gulf, although these were not conducted within a formal NATO command framework. The first such operation was the deployment of multinational naval task forces by the US and West European states

[6] Allin, Dana H. (2002): *NATO's Balkan Interventions*, Adelphi Papers, no. 347 (2002), London, Oxford University Press/International Institute for Strategic Studies, p. 86.
[7] Kobieracki, Adam: "NATO's evolving operations", *NATO Review*, no. 2 (2004), at http://www.nato.int/docu/review/2004/issue2/english/art3_pr.html.
[8] Rynning, Sten: "NATO and the Broader Middle East, 1949-2007: The History and Lessons of Controversial Encounters", *Journal of Strategic Studies*, vol. 30, no. 6 (2007), pp. 905-927.

from 1987 to protect oil tankers from possible attack during the latter stages of the Iran-Iraq War. The second and better known operation was the US-led response to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in August 1990. Taking advantage of the modalities developed by the naval co-operation in the Gulf since 1987, the US reportedly pushed at the beginning of this crisis for a joint military deployment explicitly under NATO auspices. This was rejected by European allies however, on the grounds that NATO had no legitimacy or mandate to conduct such an operation.[9] Nevertheless and following the 1987 precedent, member states did agree that NATO owned or operated a number of military assets and resources that would be invaluable in support of the international coalition operations conducted formally under the authority of the UN Security Council.[10]

These two Gulf operations, which coincided with the unravelling of the Cold War order in Europe, were important. They suggested that, as Rynning has put it, NATO member states' supposed 'ban' on out-of-area operations during the Cold War years had been 'a practice' rather than 'a principle' and so could be – and was – amended in response to a changing security context.[11] Douglas Stuart has also identified evidence of institutional adaptation:

"The record of NATO out-of-area cooperation during the Cold War is one of gradual learning and adaptation. After four decades of often intense disagreement, NATO governments came to accept the proposition that the alliance needed to monitor, discuss and in some cases respond to issues beyond the established treaty boundaries. On the other hand, all parties understood that out-of-area disputes could not be allowed to jeopardize the central mission of the alliance."[12]

By the time of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait it was clear that the 'central mission' of NATO was effectively being superseded by the ending of the Cold War. This had doubtless helped facilitate the member states' decision to utilise NATO's collective resources in support of operations in the Persian Gulf.

The pressing crisis there had prompted action before members had time to conduct a thorough internal debate on the ways and extent to which NATO could and should be used to support such operations in the new security context. The aftermath of the initial military deployments to the Gulf did witness an attempt to start such a debate. This was pushed to a significant extent by then Secretary-General Manfred Wörner. In November 1990, Wörner suggested that the Gulf operations should be seen as a precedent:

"Could we not develop an internal Alliance understanding whereby, in a spirit of solidarity, the degree of engagement in dealing with a given [out-of-area] problem might vary from Ally to Ally, but the assets of the Alliance would be available for coordination and support? This would operate where there is a clear need for common alliance interests to be defended."[13]

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[9] Chernoff, Fred (1995): *After Bipolarity: The Vanishing Threat, Theories of Cooperation, and the Future of the Atlantic Alliance*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, p. 181.
[10] These are detailed in Howe, Admiral J.: "NATO and the Gulf Crisis", *Survival*, vol. 32, no. 3 (1991), p. 249.
[11] Rynning, Sten (2005): *NATO Renewed: The Power and Purpose of Transatlantic Cooperation*, Basingstoke, Palgrave, p. 46.
[12] Stuart, D.: "The United States and NATO Out-Of-Area Disputes: Does the Cold War Provide Precedents, or Merely Prologue?", in Schmidt, Gustav (ed.) (2001): *A History of NATO: The First Fifty Years*, Basingstoke, Palgrave, p. 134.
[13] "Speech by the Secretary-General at the 36th Session of the North Atlantic Assembly", *North Atlantic Treaty Union* (NATO), *NATO Press Service*, Brussels (1990).

Wörner was effectively suggesting that member states agree to institutionalise what had been developing hitherto in an ad hoc manner with regard to defence of common interests, even if territory and national sovereignty were not directly threatened.

There was, however, little sign of consensus amongst NATO members on the desirability of going down this route. The Secretary-General publicly admitted to substantial internal opposition, saying in a February 1991 interview that 'the discussions we had…show that member nations want to deal with out of area questions in a way that does not involve NATO as such. It will be handled more on a case by case basis I believe'.[14] The 'Gulf formula', whereby members would consider using collective NATO assets for out-of-area operations but only on a 'case by case basis' and without prior presumption of agreement, therefore remained in place. Its parameters were confirmed in several important NATO statements issued during 1991 and 1992.

The first was the new Strategic Concept adopted at the Rome summit in November 1991. Here members signalled that they agreed in principle to consider making greater use of the consultative provisions set out in Article 4 of the NATO:

"Any armed attack on the territory of the Allies, from whatever direction, would be covered by Articles 5 and 6 of the Washington Treaty. However, Alliance security must also take account of the global context. Alliance security interests can be affected by other risks of a wider nature [...] Arrangements exist within the Alliance for consultation among the Allies under Article 4 [...] and, where appropriate, coordination of their efforts including their responses to such risks."[15]

By itself this meant little however and it was not dissimilar from statements put out periodically during the Cold War. More significant were two potentially 'operationalising' agreements reached by NATO members during 1992. The first was outlined in the ministerial communiqué issued at a meeting of the North Atlantic Council (NAC) at Oslo in June. This stated that 'we are prepared to support, on a case-by-case basis in accordance with our own procedures, peacekeeping activities under the responsibility of the C[onference on] S[ecurity and] C[o-operation in] E[urope] including by making available Alliance resources and expertise'.[16]

The reference to 'making available Alliance resources and expertise' echoed Manfred Wörner's original proposal of November 1990. On the other hand, inclusion of the phrase 'on a case-by-case basis' represented public reaffirmation of reluctance to consider a general presumption of availability of NATO assets for potential Article 4 operations. In addition, the Oslo offer did not extend to the UN. Sceptics could note that NATO members were well aware that the CSCE had never organised a peacekeeping operation and that there seemed little prospect of its doing so. Nevertheless, they were finding themselves under increasing political pressure to offer to contribute in some way. The catalyst was spreading conflict in the Balkans caused by the ongoing disintegration of socialist Yugoslavia since mid-1991.

[14] "Interview with Time Magazine", *North Atlantic Treaty Union* (NATO), *NATO Press Service*, Brussels (1991).
[15] "The Alliance's New Strategic Concept" *North Atlantic Treaty Union* (NATO) (1991), at http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_23847.htm.
[16] "Press Communiqué", *North Atlantic Treaty Union* (NATO), *NATO Press Service, M-NAC-1(92)51,* Brussels (1992).

3. The Bosnia Crisis

Pressure for NATO involvement in the Balkans was coming mainly from the UN Secretariat at this time. This might have seemed an unlikely source given the almost complete lack of contact between NATO and the UN during the Cold War. However the new UN Secretary-General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, had made clear that he wanted to see regional security institutions assume more of the burden for conflict management. Boutros-Ghali had also been commissioned at the beginning of 1992 by the UN Security Council to produce a report setting out recommendations for improvements to the UN's peacekeeping and peacemaking machinery. This was eventually published as An Agenda for Peace. As part of the drafting process he made contact with senior officials in regional institutions, asking them directly what these might be able to contribute to operations organised in co-operation with the UN. Contact with Manfred Wörner was part of this process.

In the summer of 1992, Boutros-Ghali opportunistically used this newly-established channel of communication to request NATO support for UN humanitarian relief operations in Bosnia where conflict had recently broken out.[17] This was despite the fact that the UN had not been included in the Oslo offer. Politically however it would have been difficult for NATO members to ignore or refuse Boutros-Ghali's request, as he doubtless calculated.

After a confused initial response involving the simultaneous dispatching of two naval task forces under NATO and the WEU respectively, subsequent requests for help from UN headquarters were met in a more united and cohesive way, with decision-making taking place largely in the NAC. The most significant operational decisions made during 1992 involved the deployment of West European military personnel (with the largest contingents coming from France and the UK) to help with escorting and protecting UN aid convoys on the ground in Bosnia. To facilitate command and control for them, the NAC decided to dispatch the multinational headquarters staffs previously assigned to NATO's Northern Army Group in Germany.

Still effectively driving the process, the UN Secretary-General took steps to ensure that the commitment of NATO assets in Bosnia would not turn out to be short-term or a one-off. In mid-December 1992 Manfred Wörner received a letter from Boutros-Ghali requesting 'eventual NATO support of future UN resolutions in former Yugoslavia' [emphasis added].[18] This contact was made just before an end-of-year ministerial meeting of the NAC, which duly agreed on 'the preparedness of our Alliance to support, on a case-by-case basis and in accordance with our own procedures, peacekeeping operations under the authority of the UN Security Council, which has the primary responsibility for international peace and security'.[19]

As with the previous Gulf crises, NATO's involvement in Bosnia had not come about as a consequence of unpressurised deliberative reflection. Once again member states had felt the need to respond to pressing external factors. Partly these came from the rapidly worsening security and humanitarian situation in Bosnia, which was already on its way to

[17] Drew, Nelson S. (1995): *NATO from Berlin to Bosnia: Trans-Atlantic Security in Transition*, Washington DC, National Defense University, p. 9.
[18] Vos, Henk (1993): *Co-operation in Peacekeeping and Peace Enforcement*, Brussels, North Atlantic Assembly (NATO), Sub-Committee on Defence and Security Co-operation between Europe and North America, p. 11. See also Leurdijk, Dick: "Before and after Dayton: the UN and NATO in the former Yugoslavia", *Third World Quarterly*, vol.18, no. 3 (1997), p. 459.
[19] "Press Communiqué", *North Atlantic Treaty Union* (NATO), NATO Press Service, *M-NAC-2(92)106,* Brussels (1992).

becoming the scene of the worst conflict in Europe since the Second World War. Coupled with this was the pressure being shrewdly exerted by the UN Secretary-General. Member states did not systematically discuss the legal, doctrinal and political bases of their new out-of-area operations.

This is a significant point given NATO's lack of peacekeeping experience prior to 1992. Member governments were sometimes unrealistic in their expectations about what NATO could be expected to contribute and achieve. In May 1992 for example just before the Oslo NAC meeting, US Defense Secretary Dick Cheney asserted that 'NATO's expertise in running complex multinational operations would make it easy to adopt a peacekeeping role'.[20] This statement conveniently ignored the fact that up until then NATO had no experience in actually 'running complex multinational operations', although it had some in supporting them in the Persian Gulf. Nor had member states evidently spent much time reflecting on the new operational commitments they were potentially taking on. One month after the Oslo meeting at which they first offered to consider supporting CSCE peacekeeping, Manfred Wörner admitted that the NAC had 'not started to discuss the question of NATO as a peacemaker',[21] without giving an indication of what either he or member states understood that term to actually mean.

In view of this it is hardly surprising that NATO-UN operations during the Bosnian conflict from 1992-95 were increasingly characterised by stresses and strains. Operational factors added further to these. The most basic was the difficulty confronting the UN-led forces on the ground in attempting to conduct humanitarian relief operations in a seriously deteriorating security environment. This was compounded by the fact that their mandates from the Security Council and operational rules imposed by the Secretariat required them to operate on the basis of traditional UN peacekeeping principles – chiefly impartiality and consent – in a situation where there was clearly no peace to keep. The principles therefore were arguably moot at best and an active hindrance to operational effectiveness at worst. Furthermore, Security Council members began to add to the UN forces' mandate missions – most particularly protecting designated 'safe areas' – for which the requisite troop numbers and rules of engagement were never provided.

In the specific NATO-UN context the most intractable and enduring problems concerned the possible use of air power. Partly the differences were conceptual: in terms of what air power could and should be used for. A NAC meeting in August 1993 authorised NATO planners to devise options and force packages for possible air strikes against Bosnian Serb military positions and bases. UN requests however, had been for close air support; i.e. the use of air power specifically to protect UN personnel on the ground. This was to become the source of much friction and argument between NATO and the UN Secretariat.[22]

A major source of contention in this respect was the so-called 'dual-key' arrangement for authorising the use of air power, which Boutros-Ghali insisted on. The UN side reportedly used its authority under the dual-key to block air strikes on several occasions, to the chagrin of the US which threatened to terminate the whole arrangement at least once.[23] US Admiral Leighton Smith the NATO holder of the key from 1994 publicly lambasted it on his

[20] Quoted in "NATO paves the way for a future peacekeeping role", *The Independent*, 28 May 1992.
[21] See the interview with Wörner in: *Jane's Defence Weekly*, 11 July 1992, p. 32.
[22] Rose, General M. (1998): *Fighting For Peace*, London, Harvill Press.
[23] *Ibid*., pp. 209-10.

retirement in 1996. 'I hated the dual key', he was quoted as saying, 'I thought it was the worst thing we could possibly have become involved in'.[24]

Underlying these operational disputes was the more basic issue of NATO's status as an autonomous international security institution. This was a theme in particular in the public statements of Willy Claes who became Secretary-General of NATO in 1994. Claes, a less diplomatic character than his predecessor, stated in January 1995 that by working with the UN in Bosnia, NATO had 'made itself ridiculous as a military organisation'. He added that 'if we cannot set the rules of our military operations, they will have to find other idiots to support peacekeeping'.[25] The following month Claes asserted that 'NATO is more than a sub-contractor of the UN', adding that 'it will keep its full independence of decision and action. There may even be circumstances which oblige NATO to act on its own initiative in the absence of a UN mandate'.[26] Such public statements reflected – and perhaps also reinforced – emerging realities on the ground. Operational planning for Bosnia was increasingly being carried out by NATO staffs with little or no coordination or consultation with the UN.[27]

These developments also reinforced perceptions that NATO and its member states had not evolved any deep understanding of, or empathy with, the norms and modalities of peace operations. British General Sir Michael Rose, who commanded UN operations in Bosnia during 1994, wrote in his memoir of the conflict that he never entirely trusted NATO as a partner for the UN on the grounds that the former – spurred on by the US – seemed constantly to be looking for excuses to bomb Bosnian Serb forces.[28]

Even as relations with the UN cooled however, NATO and its members were finding it increasingly difficult to contemplate leaving Bosnia. Aside from humanitarian considerations, this reflected increasing perceptions that NATO's credibility was on the line. Writing at the time, Lawrence Freedman identified the potency of this issue:

"It is far easier to send troops in than to extricate them at a later date [...] By then, the credibility of the intervener and probably the sponsoring institution – the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe, European Union, United Nations or NATO – will have been invoked. Reputation, or saving face, becomes an extra interest. As we have seen in Bosnia, the agonizing over a decision to admit failure and withdraw can be extremely intense."[29]

The NAC's decision to mount large-scale air strikes against Bosnian Serb military positions and bases in August and September 1995 should be seen in this context. Reinforcing NATO's credibility loomed large in the public justification for it. Statements declared that a key objective was to 'convince all parties of the determination of the Alliance to implement its decisions' and added that 'no-one can now doubt our resolve to see this matter through'.[30]

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[24] Quoted in "UN held back NATO help for Muslims'', *The Times*, 31 July 1996.
[25] Quoted in "Each state for itself", *Financial Times*, 6 January 1995.
[26] "Speech by the Secretary-General at the Munich Security Conference", *North Atlantic Treaty Union* (NATO), *NATO Press Service,* Brussels (1995).
[27] Leurdijk, *op. cit*., p. 463.
[28] Rose, *op. cit*., p. 123.
[29] Freedman, Lawrence: "Bosnia: does peace support make any sense?", *NATO Review*, vol. 43, no. 6 (1995), p. 20.
[30] "Press Release", *North Atlantic Treaty Union* (NATO), *(95)73* and *(95)79, NATO Press Service*, Brussels (1995).

Similar concerns were apparent following the negotiation of the Dayton peace agreement, when attention turned to deploying a multinational force to supervise the implementation of its military provisions. They were evident in the US in particular, as the Clinton administration sought (successfully) to convince Congress of the wisdom of deploying 30,000 US troops as part of a NATO-led Implementation Force (IFOR). Secretary of State Warren Christopher warned of 'the end of NATO' if the US was not prepared to help implement the agreement by deploying troops on the ground. Defense Secretary William Perry told a congressional committee that the successful implementation of an agreement would 'demonstrate the credibility of NATO'. Finally the President himself in a television broadcast, said that 'if we're not there, NATO will not be there; the peace will collapse [...] and erode our partnership with our European allies'.[31]

The early operations of IFOR and its successor Stabilisation Force (SFOR) suggested a restricted understanding of peace missions on the part of NATO and its member states. In the first instance, there was no serious suggestion amongst NATO members that the UN should have a continuing operational role, despite its experience in organising peacekeeping and stabilisation operations stretching back to the 1940s. NATO members saw IFOR and SFOR as replacing UN-led forces and not merely giving the latter a new mandate and additional military resources. From the beginning of 1996 the UN's role in Bosnia was essentially restricted to the Security Council providing a mandate for international operations there. This function was not unimportant: especially for Germany which was still coming to terms with deploying military forces outside its own territory and for which a UN mandate was essential. Yet there was no enthusiasm among NATO members for allowing the UN a continuing operational role. This reluctance was not wholly unwelcome on the UN side either. Boutros-Ghali had begun to criticise what he argued was an over-focus on Bosnia to the detriment of equally pressing crises elsewhere, especially in Africa.[32]

The narrowly military aspects of the Dayton agreements – such as the cantonment of heavy weapons from the former warring parties – were accomplished relatively quickly and without major incident. However, complaints were soon heard that other elements of the post-war effort in Bosnia were being neglected and that insufficient support for them was forthcoming from the NATO forces. Pursuing indicted war criminals and providing or supporting effective policing were two challenges most often mentioned in this context.[33]

Concerns over NATO's credibility ensured that its members did not feel able to simply dismiss these criticisms. In April 1996 the NAC issued a statement which said that:

"Creating a secure environment and promoting freedom of movement are IFOR's main contributions to the work of other organizations who are primarily concerned with the civil aspects of the Peace Agreement [...] IFOR is now providing increased support for civil tasks within its existing mandate, so long as this does not detract from its primary military mission [...] IFOR will continue to assist [...] efforts in such areas as the conduct of elections, the return of refugees and displaced persons, the maintenance of law and order and the

[31] Christopher, Warren: "Bosnia: now for the hard part", *Independent on Sunday*, 8 October 1995; Perry, William: "Clinton team starts Congress troops plea", *Financial Times*, 18 October 1995; Clinton, William Jefferson, *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents*, vol. 31, no. 48 (1995), p. 2062.

[32] This criticism recurs in his memoirs. See Boutros-Ghali, Boutros (1999): *Unvanquished: A US-UN Saga*, London, I. B. Tauris.

[33] See *inter alia*, Neville-Jones, Pauline: "Dayton, IFOR and Alliance Relations in Bosnia", *Survival*, vol. 38, no. 4 (1996/97), pp. 54-59; *Beyond IFOR and SFOR: After the Combatant Comes the Legislator* (1998), Brussels, North Atlantic Assembly (NATO), para. 51; Allin, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-42.

investigation of war crimes, tasks which are essential to the long-term consolidation of peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina."[34]

Thereafter the civil-military interface does appear to have gradually improved, though in a rather ad hoc manner which one analyst aptly described as combining 'luck and learning'.[35] By the second half of 1998, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan was noting good working relations and effective co-operation between SFOR and the UN, most especially with regard to police reform.[36]

Notwithstanding reticence over their military forces' involvement in 'civil tasks', NATO members increasingly came to appreciate that they had good reason to be basically co-operative: not least because their ability to draw-down their military commitment would to a large extent depend upon progress in civil stabilisation and reconstruction. From the beginning of the IFOR deployment, the question of how long NATO-led forces would be deployed in Bosnia had been a controversial one, most especially in the US. In dealing with it NATO members developed the 'end state' concept. On the one hand they rejected – with increasing confidence following the transition from IFOR to SFOR at the end of 1996 – political pressure to declare a specific end date for operations. This carried too great a risk of destabilising the fragile security situation. On the other hand for domestic political and financial reasons, few member governments felt that they could publicly commit to an open-ended engagement. Thus the idea of the end state was born.

The basic notion was set out in 1998 by Gregory Schulte, the head of the Bosnia Task Force on NATO's International Staff:

"The North Atlantic Council, in consultation with non-NATO contributing countries, will review SFOR's force levels and tasks at regular intervals beginning later this year, with the aim of achieving progressive reductions in the size, role and profile of the force against the background of developments in the political and security situation. Progress in the implementation of the civil elements of the Peace Agreement [...] will also be important considerations. The desired end-state for this transition strategy is a secure environment adequate for the consolidation of the peace without the further need for a NATO-led military force in Bosnia."[37]

This approach enabled NATO members to make substantial draw-downs in IFOR and SFOR numbers after 1995 without ending the ongoing operation altogether. Numbers fell from 64,000 when IFOR was first deployed in January 1996 to 7,000 when NATO handed over to the EU at the end of 2004.

In summing up the impact of Bosnia on NATO's evolution three observations can be made. First, the Bosnian catalyst was not sufficient to induce a serious effort to develop new doctrine and capabilities to undertake multifunctional peace operations. NATO's operational focus remained rather limited, with grudging support for activities beyond traditional military tasks. Second, NATO developed institutional links with the UN. This was a wholly new development since the Cold War. However it too was limited. During the course of Bosnian operations, NATO and its members increasingly came to view co-operation with the UN as

[34] "Press Release", *North Atlantic Treaty Union* (NATO), *NATO Press Service, (96)60,* Brussels (1996).
[35] Allin, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-46.
[36] "Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina", *United Nations* (UN), *Security Council, S/1998/862, UN Department of Public Information,* New York (1998).
[37] Schulte, Gregory: "SFOR continued", *NATO Review*, vol. 46, no. 2 (1998), p. 29.

irksome and restricting. This was bound up with the member states' view that they should retain NATO's autonomy as an international security actor. Finally, the sense that NATO's credibility was on the line in Bosnia increasingly became the key factor in effectively compelling its member states to commit to a long-term presence there.

4. The Kosovo Crisis

The last two considerations noted above were also apparent in NATO's initial response to the crisis over Kosovo which came to a head in 1998-99. The issue of NATO's credibility was fundamental from the start. This was not simply based on halting an impending humanitarian crisis in Kosovo. Member states were keenly aware of the risk of a knock-on effect on the fragile peace in Bosnia if Serb military and paramilitary activities in Kosovo were allowed to continue unimpeded. This concern was reflected in official statements. At a May 1998 NAC meeting for example, an agreed Statement on Kosovo asserted that 'the violence and the associated instability risk jeopardising the Peace Agreement in Bosnia and Herzegovina and endangering security and stability in Albania and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia'.[38] Humanitarian concerns were mentioned only in passing in NATO statements at this time. Following Operation Allied Force (NATO's air campaign from March-June 1999), a British parliamentary committee suggested that the humanitarian imperatives usually cited as the primary reason for the NATO intervention were at least partly a cover to provide legitimacy for operations actually designed to underpin NATO's credibility.[39]

Upholding NATO's credibility was undoubtedly a key concern – indeed it was sometimes explicitly stated as a core objective – behind the launch of Operation Allied Force. One week after it began, British Foreign Secretary Robin Cook stated publicly that 'the whole credibility of NATO is at stake – not just loss of face after earlier commitments, but confidence in our own security. It is in the national British interest to maintain NATO's credibility'. Shortly thereafter Senator John McCain in the US said that 'credibility is our most precious asset. We have purchased our credibility with American blood'.[40] Perhaps the clearest indication of the extent to which NATO's credibility became a de facto war aim was contained in the Pentagon's After-Action Report on the campaign. This identified 'ensuring NATO's credibility' as being one of the 'primary interests' of the US and its allies in conducting it.[41]

The belief that strong action was required in order to underpin NATO's institutional credibility was thus instrumental in drawing its members into a second Balkan engagement. The relative strength of such concerns, together with the impact of cooling NATO-UN relations since the early 1990s, were evident in the fact that NATO's members were prepared to go to war with Serbia without obtaining – or even seriously trying to obtain – an authorising resolution from the Security Council. When it became clear that the Russian government would veto any attempt to obtain UN authorisation, there is scant evidence of significant angst

[38] "Press Release: Statement on Kosovo", *North Atlantic Treaty Union* (NATO), *Ministerial Meeting, M-NAC-1(98)61*, Luxembourg (28 May 1998), at http://www.nato.int/docu/pr/1998/p98-061e.htm.
[39] "Kosovo Volume I: Report and Proceedings of the Committee", *UK House of Commons Select Committee on Foreign Affairs,* London (2000), p. xxviii.
[40] Cook, P. Riddell: "Former peacenik Cook warms to heat of battle", *The Times*, 30 March 1999. McCain, A. Sullivan: "America's hawks go into hiding", *Sunday Times*, 4 April 1999.
[41] "Kosovo/Operation Allied Force After-Action Report" *US Department of Defense* (DoD), Washington DC (2000), p. 1.

over the matter in the internal NATO debates which preceded the launching of the bombing campaign. This lack of a significant internal debate stood in marked contrast to the division and rancour which preceded the US-led military action in Iraq four years later.

Overall, the UN was a marginal actor during the campaign but an increasingly significant factor in the diplomacy which eventually brought it to an end. The demands made by NATO members of the Milosevic government to bring the bombing to an end did not envisage any role for the UN politically or operationally. The fact that the UN was eventually accorded significant roles in post-conflict Kosovo can be put down largely to the influence of the Russian government. Once it became clear that Milosevic would not concede quickly, Russian involvement came to be seen as important and indeed essential in hammering out a final diplomatic settlement. An important part of the Russians' 'price' was basing the post-conflict peacekeeping and reconstruction efforts firmly on a UN mandate and also entrusting a UN mission on the ground (UNMIK) with supervisory responsibility. As a veto-wielding permanent member of the Security Council, this was self-evidently in Russia's interests.[42]

UN Security Council Resolution 1244 passed in June 1999 laid the foundations for the international presence in post-conflict Kosovo. It effectively stipulated that the legal status of Kosovo as a province of Serbia could not be changed other than through a process agreed and supervised by the UN.[43] This gave Russia a veto over any future efforts to move Kosovo in the direction of sovereign statehood.

Operation Allied Force was the most intense and demanding military operation which member states had yet undertaken within a NATO planning and command framework. As such it put the institution's established structures and processes under unprecedented pressure. Later on, their performance during the Kosovo operation came under critical scrutiny and alleged deficiencies were often stated to be a major reason why the George W. Bush administration avoided using NATO during its initial operations in Afghanistan in 2001. It is therefore useful to critically examine NATO's actual operational performance during the Kosovo bombing campaign.

During the Cold War, the integrated military command and planning structures were frequently lauded as constituting one of NATO's core strengths. Typical in this respect were remarks made by Manfred Wörner in November 1990. He declared that 'one of NATO's unique historical achievements has been the integrated defence structure [...] Nations that merge their defence signal their wish to act together in a common unity of purpose'.[44] Granting the political importance of the integrated structures however, should not disguise the fact that in operational terms their actual utility remained untested during the Cold War.

Some military officers were undoubtedly frustrated at the degree of political interference, as they saw it, during the Kosovo campaign. The then Chairman of the NATO Military Committee, German General Klaus Naumann, went so far as to give public expression to his concerns during the course of operations:

[42] On the contrast between the initial NATO demands and the agreed basis of the settlement see Latawski, Paul C., and Smith, Martin A. (2003): *The Kosovo crisis and the evolution of post-Cold War European security*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, pp. 100-103.
[43] "Resolution 1244", *United Nations* (UN), *Security Council, S/RES/1244 (1999),* New York (10 June 1999), at http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N99/172/89/PDF/N9917289.pdf?OpenElement.
[44] Wörner, *op. cit*. (1990).

"We need to find a way to reconcile the conditions of coalition war with the principle of the use of surprise and the overwhelming use of force. We did not apply either in Operation Allied Force and this cost time and effort and potentially additional casualties. The net result is that the campaign has been undoubtedly prolonged."[45]

US Air Force Lieutenant General Michael Short as chief of NATO's Southern Europe Air Command had run the campaign. In the autumn of 1999 he was quoted assessing it thus:

"As an airman I would have done this differently. It would not be an incremental air campaign or slow build-up but we would go downtown from the first night so that on the first morning the influential citizens of Belgrade gathered around Milosevic would have awakened to significant destruction and a clear signal that we were taking the gloves off."[46]

The implication behind the public comments of commanders such as Generals Naumann and Short is that member states' political leaders had prevented Operation Allied Force from being run in a militarily optimal fashion – firstly by requiring the bombing campaign to commence with only limited strikes and secondly by shaping and constraining target selection throughout. To what extent were these criticisms justified?

During the earliest phase of the operation in late March 1999, there does seem to have been tight political control. Decisions – even over individual targets – required the approval of all the then 19 NATO members in the NAC. However, it appears to have been quickly realised that a more responsive and streamlined system was required. Less than ten days into the operation, The Times in London reported that NATO political leaders had decided to 'cast aside some of the bureaucratic shackles that have limited NATO's flexibility'. Specifically they had reportedly decided that the Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR) would 'now be subject to political control by the leaders of America, Britain, France, Germany and Italy and will no longer have to consult all 19 Nato ambassadors about every decision'.[47]

Thereafter, political oversight on a day-to-day basis was exercised by these major powers acting through what came to be known as the 'Quints' group.[48] The significance of the concession made by the 14 NATO governments not represented in the Quints should not be underestimated. Despite being relegated to a back-seat role, they were nevertheless still expected to maintain NATO-wide political consensus and solidarity behind the objectives of the campaign. A relatively limited degree of involvement in the day-to-day supervision of operations may have suited some NATO member governments politically. This was especially so in the case of Greece and two out of the three then new members (the Czech Republic and Hungary), where public and political opinion was less solidly behind the objectives of the campaign than in other NATO states.[49] There was also a de facto trade-off involving participation in the Quints and the level of a member state's contribution to military operations. The Quints between them provided over 80% of the almost 1,000 aircraft which

[45] Quoted in "Nato faults have prolonged war, says top general", *The Times*, 5 May 1999.
[46] Quoted in "Lessons of Kosovo, Volume I", *op. cit.,* para. 94.
[47] "Alliance general cleared to bomb at will", *The Times*, 3 April 1999.
[48] See Judah, Tim (2000): *Kosovo: War and Revenge*, New Haven, Yale University Press, p. 269; "NATO Policy and NATO Strategy in Light of the Kosovo Conflict", *North Atlantic Treaty Organisation* (NATO), *North Atlantic Assembly* Brussels, Belgium (1999), at http://www.nato-pa.int/archivedpub/comrep/1999/as252dsc-e.asp.
[49] Kostakos, G.: 'The Southern Flank: Italy, Greece and Turkey', and Talas, P. and Valki, L.: "The New Entrants: Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic", in Schnabel, Albrecht and Thakur, Ramesh (eds.) (2000): *Kosovo and the Challenge of Humanitarian Intervention*, Tokyo, United Nations University Press, pp. 166-180 and pp. 201-212.

were involved in the campaign's latter stages. The US, UK and France reportedly functioned as an elite within this elite, based on their operational contributions.[50]

Another mechanism for simplifying decision-making within NATO was the formal delegation of authority by the NAC in advance to then Secretary-General Javier Solana. Sir John Goulden, the UK's then Permanent Representative on the NAC, was subsequently asked whether NATO's decision-making machinery had proved sufficiently responsive to the pace of events. His reply was:

"Yes [...] mainly because of what I described as the delegation to Solana. Having agreed a plan we did not then constantly update it in the Council. We gave it to the military and Solana helped with the interpretation of the plan. He was completely up to date with the military. When they needed fine tuning or a political issue needed clarification, they would come to us and get it done on the day because the Council functioned daily [...] The consultation was very intense [...] By 29 March we had authorised all the powers that the military needed for the campaign, within six days of starting."[51]

The evidence discussed here suggests a process, which got under way from the first days of the bombing campaign, to streamline NATO decision-making. Partly this was done via the formation of the Quints group and partly via delegation of authority to the Secretary-General, who was granted an important degree of flexibility in determining whether and how to intensify the air operations. Overall, NATO political and military decision-making worked to an essential extent informally during Operation Allied Force. As members of the British parliamentary defence committee later concluded:

"We formed the distinct impression that the idealised wiring diagrams and flow charts reflecting NATO's command and control arrangements, and its associated staff procedures, had rapidly been thrown aside under the pressures of a real operation, and that this was an operation in which the element of political discretion was far higher than had ever been envisaged within the mindset of the Cold War in which NATO had grown up."[52]

Allegations made following 9/11 that NATO was unsuitable for high-end military operations because of the inherent limitations of fighting 'war by committee' are not fully substantiated by this analysis. It is undoubtedly true that the process was frustratingly slow and uncertain for some senior commanders. On the other hand it was ultimately good enough to enable NATO to prevail against Slobodan Milosevic in what became a protracted war of attrition. Crucially it allowed NATO members to preserve their political and diplomatic unity behind the aims of the campaign. This core unity has been rightly described as simultaneously representing NATO's weakest point and its greatest strength.[53] The basis of Milosevic's strategy had been to ride out the bombing for far longer than NATO members had initially envisaged, in the expectation that their united front against him would begin to fracture. When it did not do so, Milosevic realised that he had no real alternative but to concede defeat.

There were, to be fair, factors in play during the Kosovo campaign which made NATO's life less difficult than it might otherwise have been. In the first instance NATO and

[50] Rudolf, P.: "Germany and the Kosovo Conflict", in Martin, Pierre and Brawley, Mark R. (eds.) (2000): *Alliance Politics, Kosovo, and NATO's War: Allied Force or Forced Allies?*, Basingstoke, Palgrave, p. 138.
[51] "Lessons of Kosovo: Volume II, Minutes of Evidence" London, House of Commons Select Committee on Defence (2000), para. 871.
[52] "Lessons of Kosovo: Volume I", *op. cit.*, para. 203.
[53] *Ibid.*, para. 281.

its member states ultimately avoided having to fight a ground war in Kosovo, although by June 1999 they had more-or-less agreed to threaten to launch one if the air campaign failed to compel Milosevic to settle. The difficulty that member states had in reaching agreement to even begin planning for a possible ground offensive suggests that intra-NATO decision-making could have been subjected to significantly greater strains had it ultimately proved necessary to actually wage one.

It is also reasonable to ask whether the basic intra-alliance consensus would have held had the parallel diplomatic process involving the Russians (and the EU in the shape of Finnish president Martti Ahtisaari) not emerged. In this context it is worth recalling that although it was not until early June 1999 that a diplomatic breakthrough was finally secured, the process began to emerge from the second week of April. Had there not been at least some diplomatic activity in progress from a relatively early stage in NATO's bombing campaign, it is possible that its core cohesion could have been under greater threat.

Kosovo emphasised capabilities imbalances between the US and its European allies. These were particularly apparent in terms of weapons delivered during the campaign. According to William Arkin, the US Air Force delivered three quarters of the total number of weapons expended by the NATO allies. This share rose even further – to 83% – when the contributions of the Navy and Marine Corps were included[54]. It has been argued that it was American perceptions of European capability deficiencies that acted as the chief deterrent to the Bush administration involving NATO in the first phase of operations in Afghanistan[55]. The problem with this approach was that bypassing NATO, especially in the immediate aftermath of the unprecedented invocation of Article 5 in September/October 2001, was hardly likely to encourage allies to develop or commit more significant capabilities in future. This may not have appeared to matter too much during the rapid overthrow of the Taliban in the autumn of 2001. It became significantly more important however once the US realised that a long-term military commitment in Afghanistan would be required in order to try to prevent it becoming a haven for Islamic extremists in the future.

The concept of national caveats (or 'red cards') was something that before the Kosovo crisis had been familiar only to cognoscenti. Consequently when they began to attract media coverage from 1999, it may have appeared as if something new and debilitating had suddenly been introduced. In fact the extent of NATO 'military integration' had never been as profound or significant as many had assumed. At no point in its history has NATO been granted a formal supranational dimension by its member states. Members who have assigned forces to actual or potential NATO missions have been careful about the degree of authority that they have been prepared to delegate. In military parlance, they have not usually been willing to delegate operational command. Rather, allied commanders have been granted more restrictive operational control.[56]

[54] Arkin, W.: "Operation Allied Force: "The Most Precise Application of Air Power in History", in Bacevich, A. and Cohen, E. (eds.) (2001): War Over Kosovo: Politics and Grand Strategy in a Global Age, New York, Columbia University Press, p. 21.

[55] Medcalf, Jennifer (2008): *Going Global or Going Nowhere?*, Oxford, Peter Lang.

[56] The difference between them was succinctly summarised by the UK parliamentary defence committee in 2000: "Operational Command gives a commander authority to do virtually what he likes with the forces under his command, whereas Operational Control only gives him authority to use those forces for the missions or tasks for which they have been specifically assigned by contributing nations. The effect of this is that if commanders with Operational Control wish to use their forces for tasks different to those for which they were assigned, they have to seek national approval." "Lessons of Kosovo: Volume I", *op. cit.*, fn. 461.

Although national caveats had been used in Bosnia, Operation Allied Force was the first occasion on which the media and interested publics really became aware of their existence. Because they were not a new concept to NATO members and commanders however, their use was generally dealt with in a more matter-of-fact way than contemporary press coverage sometimes suggested. This is not to say that they did not sometimes become contentious. Tensions were especially likely to arise when individuals or governments sought to score political points. This was evident, for example, in a post-operation wrangle between the US and France. In October 1999, General Short was quoted in the press as singling out the French for criticism on the grounds that they had allegedly played a major role in restricting NATO targeting strategy during the latter stages of Operation Allied Force by vetoing particular targets in Serbia.[57] French officials soon replied, again through the press, with counter-accusations that the US had conducted parts of the operation outside NATO command structures.[58] Long standing Franco-US animosities over NATO made these disputes appear more serious than they probably were. Besides the French, other Quints group members had exercised vetoes over particular targets without attracting US criticism, at least in public. It is known for example that the UK had on occasion shown the red card in this respect.[59]

Political (and personality) clashes are also apparent in probably the most famous of all the publicly-known red card incidents which occurred during the Kosovo campaign. It came at the end of Operation Allied Force as the deployment of NATO's Kosovo Force (KFOR) was about to commence. British Lieutenant General Sir Michael Jackson was ordered by SACEUR, US General Wesley Clark, to deploy UK troops to confront Russian soldiers who were on their way to the airport in Kosovo's capital Pristina, ahead of NATO forces.[60] The political backdrop to this incident was failure to agree on a role for Russian peacekeeping forces in Kosovo prior to the deployment of KFOR. Jackson demurred from obeying Clark's order and referred the matter to the British government, which in turn consulted the US government. The Clinton administration overruled SACEUR. Jackson's basis for refusing to carry out the order was that General Clark was exceeding his authority in attempting to task NATO-assigned forces with a mission that no member government had agreed to. The US, in common with other NATO members, had not delegated operational command to any NATO officer, including SACEUR.[61]

For a time it appeared as if this incident had the potential to develop into a major controversy. There were some in the US who tried to ensure that it did. In the autumn of 1999 Senator John Warner, Chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, was quoted as saying that 'we can't have second-guessing at every level of command in a military organisation if it is to be effective', and threatening to hold Senate hearings on the matter.[62] Subsequently however, the controversy petered out. Jackson himself made light of the matter. He later wrote of 'a little sideplay by the Russian contingent which had us all amused. Especially the chain of command', adding that Pristina airport 'formed no part of our initial plans…..the whole thing frankly was very much hyped up by the press'.[63]

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[57] "Kosovo air chief says French put pilots in danger", *Daily Telegraph*, 22 October 1999; "USA claims France hindered raids", *Jane's Defence Weekly*, 27 October 1999, p. 3.
[58] 'US command structure in "Allied Force' slammed", *Jane's Defence Weekly,* 17 November 1999, p. 8.
[59] "Lessons of Kosovo: Volume II", *op. cit.*, para. 90.
[60] Fox, Robert: "Gen. Strangelove and the wimps", *Spectator*, 16 October 1999, pp. 14-15. For Clark's own account of the incident see Clark, General W. (2001): *Waging Modern War,* Oxford, Public Affairs, ch. 15.
[61] Gallis, Paul E. (ed.) (1999): *Kosovo: Lessons Learned from Operation Allied Force*, Washington DC, Congressional Research Service, p. 11.
[62] Fox, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
[63] Jackson, Lieutenant General M.: "KFOR: The Inside Story", *RUSI Journal*, vol. 145, no. 1 (2000), p. 16.

National caveats in the Balkans appear to have become a decreasing source of concern since the late 1990s. In Kosovo the need for KFOR to respond flexibly to an ever-present risk of inter-ethnic unrest seems to have persuaded troop-contributing states to adopt a pragmatic approach in reducing their impact. By 2005 a NATO Parliamentary Assembly report could claim that 'the issue of national caveats [...] mostly appear[ed] to have been resolved' there.[64]

5. Conclusions

A principal aspect of NATO's post-Cold War evolution has seen it taking on roles in what, during the Cold War years, were referred to as out-of-area operations. The origins of this evolutionary process were evident even before the Cold War ended – in the Gulf operations of 1987-88 and 1990-91 respectively. The key operations in this context were those undertaken in the Balkans during the 1990s however. They were the first to be conducted explicitly under NATO auspices.

The scale of the use of NATO operational assets in the Balkans was significant and its political profile was correspondingly high. These factors resulted in the growth of perceptions that the institution's credibility was at stake in a way which had not been the case in the earlier Gulf operations. This was a key reason why member states effectively felt compelled to adapt and modify their internal decision-making processes in order to try to ensure that NATO was able to achieve core objectives. Such efforts were especially evident during the course of Operation Allied Force in 1999 – the most intense military operation in which NATO was involved up to that time.

Having said this, it is noteworthy that the Balkan operations had a limited effect in promoting lasting normative or procedural change within NATO. Then Secretary-General Manfred Wörner had called for this as far back as November 1990. Very quickly however, he realised that the evolution of a new normative basis for out-of-area operations – an 'internal Alliance understanding' – would not be developed. Instead, member states would reserve the right to use NATO assets and resources on a case-by-case basis. This was explicitly written into key ministerial communiqués during 1992, when members formally offered to support peacekeeping operations conducted under the auspices of the CSCE (now the OSCE) and the UN.

Within these parameters there is a marked degree of continuity stretching back to the late Cold War years. Member states have shown themselves willing to utilise collective assets and resources through NATO to contribute to military operations where they have important or essential interests at stake. In the final analysis however, they have preserved their sovereign prerogatives over the employment of military power. Hence they have not permitted new intra-NATO norms or procedures to develop which might conceivably challenge or erode these.

[64] "NATO's Ongoing Role in Balkan Security", *North Atlantic Treaty Organisation* (NATO), *NATO Parliamentary Assembly*, Brussels (2005), para. 20. See also "NATO Operations: Current Priorities and Lessons Learned", *North Atlantic Treaty Organisation* (NATO), *NATO Parliamentary Assembly,* Brussels (2008), paras. 78-97 and Allin, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-85.

NATO IN AFGHANISTAN

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Abstract:
This article surveys the way in which NATO moved from resisting to accepting involvement in operations beyond Europe in circumstances in which its success or failure could be seen as a test that would determine the alliance's future utility. It argues that the outcome will inevitably affect the way that NATO is used by the allies in the future as well as challenging relations among them with burden sharing and casualty differential issues. In spite of the transformational nature of the commitment taken on by NATO in Afghanistan, the conclusion of the article is that the United States, Canada and the European allies will continue to see the transatlantic alliance as a critical element of their future security strategies, and will share both the burdens of achieving an acceptable outcome in Afghanistan and the blame for a failure to do so.

Keywords:
International Security Assistance Force (ISAF), Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF), Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRT), Counter-insurgency, Counter-terrorism, National Caveats, US Strategy.

Resumen:
Este artículo analiza la manera como la OTAN pasó de resistirse a la implicación en operaciones más allá de Europa a verse envuelta en circunstancias tales que podrían considerarse como pruebas de fuego para determinar la utilidad de la organización en el futuro. Se sostiene que el resultado de la intervención en Afganistán afectará inevitablemente la manera como la OTAN es utilizada por sus aliados en el futuro así como el desafío que se presenta en las relaciones entre ellos por el reparto de cargas y la división inducida por las bajas en combate. A pesar del carácter transnacional del compromiso asumido por la OTAN en Afganistán, la conclusión del artículo es que los EEUU, Canadá y los aliados europeos seguirán viendo la relación transatlántica como un elemento de importancia crítica para sus futuras estrategias de seguridad, y compartirán tanto los costes de lograr un resultado satisfactorio como las culpas por un hipotético fracaso.

Palabras clave:
Fuerza de Asistencia para la Seguridad Internacional (ISAF), Operación Libertad Duradera (OEF), Equipos de Reconstrucción Provincial (PRT), contrainsurgencia, contraterrorismo, reservas nacionales, estrategia de los EEUU.

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1. Introduction

NATO's invocation of Article 5 and allied offers of assistance immediately following the al Qaeda attacks on the United States met a lukewarm response in the Bush administration, where skepticism about NATO and allies was rampant in the new administration's Pentagon. When Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld proclaimed in September 2001, "The mission determines the coalition. And the coalition must not be permitted to determine the mission," the message to the NATO allies was loud and clear: thanks, but no thanks.

NATO did provide some early assistance to the United States, such as sending NATO Airborne Warning and Control (AWACS) aircraft to patrol US airspace while similar American systems were supporting operations against the Taliban and al Qaeda in Afghanistan. Despite inviting a select group of individual allies to contribute forces to operations in Afghanistan, NATO as an organization was largely left aside, owing to the Bush administration's belief that alliance involvement would only complicate decision-making and slow the pace of operations.

It was not long before the United States, recognizing the scope of the task of pacifying Afghanistan, sought additional help from the international community. The Bush administration did not initially call on NATO, but asked the United Nations to authorize NATO allies to help man and manage the operation.

Within two months of initiating military operations, the United States and its allies, including Afghan anti-Taliban elements known as the "United Front" or Northern Alliance, had broken the Taliban's control over most of the country. On December 5, the "Bonn Agreement Pending the Re-establishment of Permanent Government Institutions," brokered by the United Nations, established the central role of the United Nations and the US-led coalition in the reconstruction of the country (alongside Hamid Karzai's interim Afghan government). The Bonn meeting of various Afghan factions had designated Karzai, from the ethnic Pashtun majority, to take on the interim role. This agreement was confirmed by United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1386 on December 20th, which also called for the establishment of an International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) to "assist the Afghan Interim Authority in the maintenance of security in Kabul and its surrounding areas, so that the Afghan Interim Authority as well as the personnel of the United Nations can operate in a secure environment." The UK accepted initial responsibility for command of the operation, which was originally intended to rotate among troop-contributing nations.

When the ISAF was established, US and allied military operations against residual Taliban and al Qaeda elements continued as a coalition of the willing under the auspices of Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF), which had been created by the United States in October 2001 following the 9/11 attacks as the umbrella under which Afghanistan operations and other aspects of the Global War on Terror (GWOT) were conducted. Thus, the OEF coalition in Afghanistan and ISAF forces initially operated under parallel but separate command structures.

After a six-month period, the United Kingdom handed over command of the ISAF to Turkey and, at the end of 2002, it was commanded jointly by Germany and the Netherlands with support from NATO. During 2002, the Karzai government advocated an expanded role for the ISAF, which they hoped would help extend the authority of the fledgling central government to the provinces. This proposal was opposed by some domestic Afghan elements and the United States. The United Front feared the erosion of Afghanistan's sovereignty and

the marginalization of its own forces, while the US was concerned that the move might constrain its own combat operations.[2] Furthermore, European allies were reluctant to engage more fully in the struggle.

In 2003, however, as the United States began military operations intended to remove Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq, the Bush administration began to see a larger NATO role in Afghanistan as potentially relieving some pressure on US forces, which were increasingly occupied with the new and demanding operation in Iraq. Moreover, Germany and Canada saw a more prominent NATO role as politically facilitating their participation in Afghan operations, and alliance officials in Brussels leaned toward NATO taking on more responsibility.

2. NATO Assumes Command of the ISAF

Despite determined French and German opposition to US Iraq policy and related divisions cutting across the entire alliance, consensus was reached at NATO to take command of the ISAF; the decision to do so was confirmed in Brussels on April 16, 2003.[3] In historical perspective, this was a stunning event. Not only were the allies divided over Iraq, but, just four years earlier, the Europeans had resisted any suggestion in NATO's 1999 strategic concept that the alliance could be used to mount military operations beyond Europe. With very little debate or dissent, the allies agreed to take on a demanding military mission on soil far from Europe, for which the military forces of many allied countries were ill-prepared. The mission would become a litmus test for the ability of the alliance to be an effective contributor to contemporary security challenges.

NATO formally assumed command of the ISAF in August 2003. UNSCR 1510 (October 13, 2003) subsequently confirmed the ISAF mandate to operate outside of Kabul, using joint military-civilian Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs) to bring both security and reconstruction projects to other parts of the country. As Afghanistan moved toward presidential elections scheduled for October 2004, the need to broaden NATO's operations to help ensure security for the vote became more evident. NATO allies pledged in June 2004 to increase the NATO presence from 6,500 to around 10,000 by the time of the election. When the allies met at the summit in Istanbul in June 2004, it seemed an open question whether or not the forces would be provided. In the end, allies made up the shortfall and helped ensure a relatively peaceful election process. In December 2004, NATO ministers meeting in Brussels agreed to continue the process of expanding NATO's role in Afghanistan by deploying PRTs to the country's western provinces, yet no allies pledged additional troops for the effort.

Based on the UN mandate, the allies developed a plan to work through progressive stages in Afghanistan with goal of ultimately providing security and reconstruction programs across the entire country. The first stage, carried out in 2003-2004 by French and German troops, was to secure the more stable, northern regions. Stage two began in May 2005, when Spanish and Italian forces moved into western Afghanistan. Establishment of ISAF command

[2] Saikal, Amin: "Afghanistan's transition: ISAF's stabilization role?", *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 27, no. 3 (June 2006), p. 528.

[3] For an excellent examination on a constantly-updated basis of NATO's involvement in Afghanistan, refer to Morelli, Vincent and Belkin, Paul: "NATO in Afghanistan: A Test of the Transatlantic Alliance", *Congressional Research Service, RL33627* (July 2009). Updated versions of this and other CRS reports can be found on-line, at http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL33627.pdf.

in the more volatile Southern and Eastern regions began on July 31, 2006 with the initiation of stage 3 and continued with the final stage 4 on October 5th of the same year. Some forces from the separate, US-led OEF remained for counter-terror operations but, by the end of 2006, the ISAF was responsible for providing security for all of Afghanistan. As of June 2009, there were 61,130 ISAF troops in the country from 42 contributing nations and 89,500 soldiers in the Afghan National Army.

The operation was organized around five conceptual phases, the first two of which have been completed with the enactment of stage four. They are (I) assessment and preparation (in Kabul), (II) geographic expansion through Afghanistan, (III) stabilization, (IV) transition to domestically provided security, and (V) redeployment of ISAF troops.

3. Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs)

The Provincial Reconstruction Teams have been the main organizational instrument for the ISAF's contributions to the stabilization and development of Afghanistan. The alliance's comprehensive approach to the ISAF mission has brought together "civilian-military units of varying sizes, designed to extend the authority of the central government into the countryside, provide security, and undertake projects to boost the Afghan economy."[4] As of July 2009, there were 26 PRTs under ISAF jurisdiction with various lead countries, some taking over from teams formerly controlled by the United States, including those in Kandahar (Canada), Lashkar Gah (Britain), and Tarin Kowt (The Netherlands).

As late as 2009, there was still no established model for PRTs, some were civilian controlled, others military-run, but all were attempting to fulfill the goals of the UN mandate. Most US PRTs were composed of 50-100 military personnel, civilian government officials (both American and Afghan), and many had staff to train Afghan security forces. The Turkish-run PRT in Wardak Province provided health care, education, police training and agricultural development. According to the 2009 NATO/ISAF Afghanistan report, PRTs had engaged in such activities as coordinating agricultural development in the poppy reliant Helmand province (Britain), renovating the Kahla Dam irrigation system near Kandahar (Canada), and strengthening government institutions providing rule of law (judiciary, police, local administration) across the country.[5]

Despite some successes, the PRT program has come under criticism for a variety of reasons, many stemming from the disconnected and non-standardized nature of the operations. One expert observed that PRTs seemed to be largely a localized form of support, leaving large swathes of territory unprotected and unaided.[6] Germany has been criticized for its operation of PRTs due to the politically-imposed caveats that prevent both civilians and military PRT elements from operating beyond the borders of their PRTs. Some Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs) have complained that PRTs tread on their feet, bringing heavy firepower and inexperienced operatives to bear on situations in which they (the NGOs) have specific experience and skills.[7] Their claims suggested that the civilian-military nature of PRTs had blurred the lines between combatants and aid workers, and thus

[4] Morelli *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8.
[5] "Afghanistan Report 2009", *North Atlantic Treaty Organization* (NATO), *Public Diplomacy Division,* Brussels, Belgium (2009), pp. 18, 35, 36.
[6] Cordesman, Anthony: "Sanctum FATA", *The National Interest*, no. 101 (May-June 2009), p. 31.
[7] Saikal, *op. cit.*, p. 532.

endangered independent NGO staff, whose supposed neutrality was thus compromised, consequently exposing them to increased risk of kidnap and death.[8]

In spite of these criticisms, the PRT concept responded to the accurate perception that the war in Afghanistan could not be won without the kind of reconstruction and development that the PRTs were intended to produce. The provision of stability in Afghanistan requires a "comprehensive approach,"[9] one that provides a degree of security for the development of Afghan infrastructure, economy, educational opportunities, public health programs and a modern legal system. The main shortcomings seem to have been the low number of teams and lack of security, both of which have prevented the program from achieving its goals on a national scale. In addition, the fact that the PRTs were designed and operated on a nation-by-nation basis stood in the way of any consistent NATO or ISAF design for the country-wide operation.

4. Operation Enduring Freedom and the ISAF

From its inception with UNSCR 1386, the ISAF existed in parallel with but separate from the US-led Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF) that had successfully ousted the Taliban from power and continued to pursue al Qaeda and Taliban elements. In 2009, the OEF continued as a counter-insurgency combat operation with approximately 38,500 troops under US command, while the ISAF was expressly mandated by the United Nations to provide security and development for Afghanistan. With completion of stage four of ISAF, in which NATO assumed responsibility for providing security for the entire country, the line separating the objectives of the two operations became increasingly blurred, as the necessity of combating a growing Taliban/al Qaeda insurgency forced ISAF troops into more combat roles.

Some way of consolidating the commands seemed logical from early on. However, the idea met with mixed emotions on both sides of the Atlantic. Some experts claimed that initial US rejection of proposals to integrate the operations was based on its desire to retain autonomous control over its forces in the region.[10] One of these experts, Amin Saikal, has claimed it was an extension of American aversion to UN supervision that kept the ISAF and OEF separate. European resistance, Saikal said, resulted from some NATO contributors not wanting to see their troops redirected into harm's way in the unstable south of the country.[11] In addition, Markus Kaim reported that the public perception in Germany was "…that

[8] Dziedic, Michael J. and Seidl, Colonel Michael K.: "Provincial Reconstruction Teams and Military Relations with International and Nongovernmental Organizations in Afghanistan", United States Institute of Peace, *Special Report* 147 (September 2005), p. 2.

[9] The lessons of NATO operations in the Balkans and then in Afghanistan have led the alliance to recognize formally that military interventions on their own are insufficient to "win the peace." NATO has also acknowledged that, as an organization, it does not have the mandate or the in-house resources to provide everything that is required to deal with a defeated or failed state. At the 4 April 2009 Strasbourg/Kehl Summit, allied leaders in their "Declaration on Alliance Security", noted: "We aim to strengthen our cooperation with other international actors, including the United Nations, European Union, Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and African Union, in order to improve our ability to deliver a comprehensive approach to meeting these new challenges, combining civilian and military capabilities more effectively. In our operations today in Afghanistan and the Western Balkans, our armed forces are working alongside many other nations and organisations." PRTs and cooperation with other international organizations are the core of NATO's comprehensive approach to the ISAF mission in Afghanistan.

[10] See, for example, Sperling, James and Webber, Mark: "NATO: from Kosovo to Kabul", *International Affairs*, vol. 85, no. 3 (May 2009), p. 509, and Saikal, *op. cit*., p. 532.

[11] Saikal, *op. cit*., p. 532.

Enduring Freedom is the 'bad' American part of the Afghanistan mission, bombing villages and killing innocent civilians, whereas the ISAF is the 'good' one, focusing on state building and reconstruction…"[12]

Nevertheless, ISAF stage four requirements and the intensification of the Afghan insurgency finally forced a partial consolidation of the OEF and ISAF commands. The separate commands led to differences in both strategy and tactics, compromising attempts to produce an Afghanistan-wide approach to dealing with the insurgents and the accompanying need for development of governmental and civilian systems and infrastructure. When ISAF operations were expanded to include all of Afghanistan, 10,000 American troops were rebadged and transferred to NATO command. Additionally, all American troops, regardless of their mission affiliation, began to operate under the command of US Forces Afghanistan, which was double-hatted with command of ISAF—as of August 2009 occupied by General Stanley A. McChrystal. General McChrystal reported both to NATO's SACEUR (ISAF chain of command) in Brussels and the US Central Command (US national chain of command) in Tampa, Florida. In August 2009, the North Atlantic Council approved creation of a subordinate ISAF command, also led by an American general, in charge of day-to-day combat operations.

While the ISAF was making the transition to a more active combat capacity, the OEF continued to conduct its own, separate operations against high value targets and other militant concentrations. NATO and US planning began to reflect the realization that withdrawing from areas after completion of combat operations was resulting in the reestablishment of Taliban influence. As a result, the operational strategy for the NATO forces country was changed to "clear, hold and build."[13] Instead of clearing territory of Taliban and promptly leaving, NATO troops began to hold newly-won territory and develop indigenous security forces and services in the hopes of fostering a more persistent stability. However, there still were insufficient forces and inadequate (corrupt, compromised or incompetent) government infrastructure to implement the concept successfully on a wide-scale basis.

5. The Pakistan Complication

Beginning in 2007, violence caused by the Taliban and al Qaeda insurgencies escalated with significant increases in ISAF and US casualties. The expansion of Taliban capabilities was in no small measure due to the fact that the insurgents had established their base of operations and support facilities across the border in Pakistan. The insurgent leadership, having been dislodged from Afghanistan by persistent NATO and coalition action, began operating from safe havens nearby, in Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and Baluchi region. The traditional Taliban under Mullah Muhammad Omar, along with two other Taliban groups with links to Al-Qaeda operated from these territories. In addition, Pakistani Jihadist elements under the separate leaderships of Gulbuddin Hekmatyar and Jalaluddin Haqqani operated from the FATA. The latter established the so-called "Islamic Emirate of Waziristan"

[12] Kaim, Markus: "Germany, Afghanistan, and the future of NATO", *International Journal*, vol. 63, no. 3 (Summer 2008), p. 613.
[13] O'Hanlon, Michael: "Toward Reconciliation in Afghanistan", *The Washington Quarterly*, vol. 32, no. 2 (April 2009), p. 142.

with several thousand fighters, and claimed responsibility for a number of suicide bombings in Afghanistan.[14]

Dealing with this challenge was complicated by the fact that the government of Pakistan, for a wide variety of reasons, until the second half of 2009, was unwilling or unable to take on the Taliban and other extremist elements that had solidified their base along Pakistan's border with Afghanistan. In addition, reports suggested that elements of the Pakistani government (especially the Inter-Services Intelligence organization) were complicit in the operation of cross-border insurgent groups.

The border, demarcated by the British mandated Durban line of 1893 is effectively non-existent for those living nearby. From a security standpoint, this makes it very difficult for NATO soldiers to keep track of who is coming in and out of the country. General David Richards, former commander of ISAF Afghanistan, describes the porous nature of the border in stark terms, "Up to 200,000 people cross that border on any given day, dressed all the same. It's not easy to distinguish the Taliban from perfectly law-abiding people."[15]

Despite their reluctance to pursue the Taliban presence in their border frontiers, the Pakistani military has engaged in combat in the FATA against foreign fighters and takes part in dialogues both with the ISAF and the Afghan National Army through the Tripartite Joint Intelligence Operations Center (T-JIOC), which aims to coordinate military action on the border between the three forces. Further cooperation is exhibited through the opening of the Khyber Pass Border Coordination Center and the construction of two more in Lawara and Nawa Pass. Control of these passes is particularly vital to NATO efforts in the country because a vast majority of their supplies come from or over Pakistani territory. As much as 60% of NATO's supplies come through the Khyber Pass, where violence shot up 45% from 2007 to 2008.[16]

There is now widespread agreement that stability can never be secured in Afghanistan until Pakistan controls its border and resolves its own problems with the Taliban/al-Qaeda insurgency. The resignation of President Pervez Musharraf in 2008 and the restoration of civilian rule to the country were followed by rapid deterioration of the economy, and despite the new government's pledge to combat growing insurgency and terrorism in the country, pro-Taliban militancy grew bolder, notably in the north-western city of Peshawar. But the departure of Musharraf led to improved relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan, and the program of "peace jirga" meetings between prominent tribal elders from both countries began anew.

The Obama Administration made it clear in its early months that it would deal with Afghanistan and Pakistan as key parts of the same problem. In 2009, the Government of Pakistan took a more active and effective approach to dealing with Taliban and extremist elements in the regions adjacent to Afghanistan. The Pakistan military mounted a major operation in the fall of 2009 seeking to take control of Taliban and al Qaeda strongholds in Waziristan from which the insurgent leaders mounted operations and sought refuge from US and ISAF forces on the other side of the border. The operation, for which Pakistan authorities claimed major successes, led almost immediately in an upsurge in attacks against Pakistani civilian and governmental targets. It remains clear that close cooperation among all players—

[14] Cordesman, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
[15] Kiley, Sam: "Interview: Lieut. General David Richards", *From Afghanistan: The Other War, Frontline World, PBS*, 10 April 2007.
[16] Cordesman, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

the United States, NATO ISAF, Afghan authorities and Pakistani officials—will be required to reduce the threat of radical extremists in both countries, and that sustaining domestic support in Pakistan for its role in the conflict will be a challenge to the government in Karachi.

6. The Mission: A Self-Governing Secure Afghanistan

The NATO allies agree that "NATO's main role in Afghanistan is to assist the Afghan Government in exercising and extending its authority and influence across the country, paving the way for reconstruction and effective governance."[17] When the NATO leaders celebrated the alliance's 60th anniversary at Strasbourg (France) and Kehl (Germany) in April 2009, they issued a Summit Declaration on Afghanistan elaborating on the mission and its rationale, declaring:

In Afghanistan we are helping build security for the Afghan people, protecting our citizens and defending the values of freedom, democracy and human rights. Our common security is closely tied to the stability and security of Afghanistan and the region: an area of the world from where extremists planned attacks against civilian populations and democratic governments and continue to plot today. Through our UN-mandated mission, supported by our International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) partners, and working closely with the Afghan government, we remain committed for the long-run to supporting a democratic Afghanistan that does not become, once more, a base for terror attacks or a haven for violent extremism that destabilises the region and threatens the entire International Community.[18]

The task of establishing a legitimate, competent, centralized government presents a unique challenge to the international community, because Afghanistan has a long history of decentralized rule and has frequently looked much like a failed state, in which no one power possessed a monopoly on the legitimate use of force. Rule of law and provision of security was administered informally on an ad-hoc basis across the country, with little or no standardization, training, or even literate officials. The Bonn Agreement of 2001 set the goal of establishing governmental legitimacy and consolidating central control following the defeat of the Taliban, but widespread corruption and the perception of weakness in the face of the Taliban's continued insurgency cast doubts about the ability of the government to sustain itself. In fact, the Bonn Agreement itself, while seeking to strengthen the government in Kabul, led to an international approach that may have worked against the stated objective. Pursuant to the accord, NATO nations and international organizations focused many of their efforts locally and regionally without a clear national strategy and also without necessarily strengthening the influence of the central government over distant and historically autonomous regions and population centers.

A new Afghan constitution was ratified in January of 2004, establishing a strong presidency counterbalanced by a legislature, confirming equal rights for men and women, and laying a framework of Sunni Islamic law for the judiciary.[19] The head of the interim

[17] The goal is found in numerous locations on the NATO website. See, for example http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_8189.htm , accessed 12 November 2009.

[18] "Summit Declaration on Afghanistan", *North Atlantic Treaty Organization* (NATO), *North Atlantic Council,* Strasbourg/Kehl (4 April 2009).

[19] Katzman, Kenneth: "Afghanistan: Government Formation and Performance", *Congress Research Service, RL30508* (June 2009) (updated regularly), p. 15.

administration, Hamid Karzai, was subsequently elected with 55% of the popular vote and was then free to appoint a 27-member cabinet. The international community recognized that the fledgling government would require significant financial and organizational support. At the national level, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) focused its efforts on increasing the government's ruling capacity through developing structures such as an independent election commission, support mechanisms for the newly elected Afghan Parliament, training for civil servants, financial and logistical support for police forces, and other measures.

At the provincial level, NATO-ISAF supported various efforts to extend governance by providing security, PRT operations, and support of various initiatives such as the Afghan Social Outreach Program (ASOP), which increases dialogue between provincial authority figures and their populations. In the 2009 provincial and presidential elections, the ISAF provided logistical support to domestic security forces that were taking more significant roles in maintaining stability. Consistently positive changes in indicators such as school enrollment and economic growth were presented as encouraging signs that a sense of order was returning to many parts of the country.[20]

The August 2009 elections came off without major terrorist attacks, although it appeared that the relatively light turnout had been induced by Taliban threats and attacks prior to the elections, particularly in the southern and eastern parts of the country. President Karzai won a decisive victory over his one major opponent, former Foreign Minister Dr. Abdullah Abdullah, but evidence of widespread voter fraud led to demands and plans for a runoff election. However, Adbullah withdrew from the election arguing that the runoff election would not be conducted fairly. As a consequence, President Karzai was returned to power, but with a large black cloud over his head. The outcome posed serious problems for the Obama Administration, which had hoped for a more legitimate and less corrupt government in Kabul in return for an increase in US forces there.

Despite some areas of success, the establishment of a self-sufficient, legitimate government is proving in many ways to be fraught with difficulty. It is widely acknowledged that President Karzai has tolerated corruption and appeased faction leaders with appointments to facilitate stability,[21] but endemic corruption consistently stood out as a crippling factor in the extension of effective governance, and reports indicated that the government consistently failed to provide basic services to the population. Various international efforts to provide local delivery of aid through PRTs, NGOs, Special Forces and other programs often conflicted both with one another and with domestic government processes that remained unregulated and disconnected from one another. Inefficient, highly centralized ministries in Kabul were often responsible for delivery of services across the country, and while efforts were made to delegate authority to lower levels (such as Karzai's initiative *The Directorate for Local Governance*),[22] results were limited.

Provision of essential services is critical for establishing the legitimacy of a central Afghan Government, but as of 2009, the government lacked even the means to collect taxes. Indeed, bookkeeping, even at the national level, is so underdeveloped that the government could not keep track of aid flows. Instead it left the task of accountancy up to individual

[20] "Afghanistan Report", *North Atlantic Treaty Organization* (NATO), includes updated assessments of all aspects of international assistance to Afghanistan. The 2009 report is available at http://www.nato.int/nato_static/assets/pdf/pdf_2009_03/20090331_090331_afghanistan_report_2009.pdf .
[21] Katzman, *op. cit*., p. 16.
[22] Korski, Daniel (2008): *Afghanistan: Europe's Forgotten War*, European Council on Foreign Relations, p. 24.

donors, who had varying recordkeeping methods that further complicated information sharing.[23] There was little sub- national governmental organization in the provinces and lower level courts had not been established. According to a US RAND think-tank study, the coalition's support of the Northern Alliance in the overthrow of the Taliban ultimately led to a weakening of central authority in favor of traditional, regional warlords[24] and the sort of decentralized rule that has been a recurring theme throughout the country's history.

According to the former Interior Minister of Afghanistan Ali A. Jalali, writing in 2007, "The structural legitimacy of the current Afghan government suffers from a lack of capacity, particularly at the sub-national level, where the vacuum is filled by insurgents, militia commanders, [and] local gangs, all of whom undermine human security, local governance, democratic values and the delivery of basic services."[25] The weakness of the government, he claimed, has caused a crisis of confidence and the erosion of its legitimacy. Apparently the fundamentals had not changed by 2009 when the Congressional Research Service observed that "The Karzai government's own problems are apparent: discontented warlords, endemic corruption, a vigorous drug trade, the Taliban, and a rudimentary economy and infrastructure. In the view of former NATO General and now Ambassador to Afghanistan, Carl Eikenberry, 'The enemy we face is not particularly strong, but the institutions of the Afghan state remain relatively weak.'"[26] This loss of confidence translated into a tangible hemorrhage of territory, and in recent years, the Taliban has regained "influence and control in what now amounts to nearly half of Afghanistan."[27]

Rule of law and an operational justice system, often considered keystones to the establishment of a legitimate regime, were still woefully underdeveloped and, according to a World Bank assessment, the Afghan system was still one of the worst in the world.[28] Reports indicated that warlord control over regions had dramatically disrupted attempts by the central government to appoint judges and establish authority, and allegations of serious corruption were lodged against both the attorney general's office and the Supreme Court in Kabul. In 2006, an Asia Foundation report concluded that only 16% of Afghan legal disputes were being brought to official courts and the vast majority was decided in traditional settings outside the authority of the state.[29] Furthermore, reports from early 2007 claimed that Taliban courts had returned in some provincial areas, where they were viewed as more efficacious than the corrupt, official ones.[30]

Corruption and incompetence in the newly reconstituted police force proved disastrous for its credibility. An International Institute for Strategic Studies report asserted in 2007 that "The Afghan National Police (ANP) has been a source of insecurity for communities across the country, rather than a solution to it."[31] The report charged that informal bribe earnings for police in the country ranged between $200 and $30,000 per month, and that besides failing to prosecute in instances of murder and torture, the police themselves engaged in crimes, such as

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 10.
[24] Jones, Seth G.: *Counterinsurgency in Afghanistan: RAND Counterinsurgency Study--Volume 4, RAND Counterinsurgency Study,* Arlington, RAND Corporation (2008), p. 80.
[25] Jalali, Ali A.: "Afghanistan: regaining momentum", *Parameters*, vol. 37, no. 4 (Winter 2007), p. 8.
[26] Morelli *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
[27] Cordesman, *op. cit.*, p. 28.
[28] Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 84.
[29] Hodes, Cyrus and Sedra, Mark (2007): *The Search for Security in Post-Taliban Afghanistan*, Abingdon, Routledge, for the International Institute for Strategic Studies, p. 79.
[30] Rubin, Barnett R.: "Saving Afghanistan," *International Affairs*, vol. 86, no. 1 (January/February 2007), p. 60.
[31] Hodes *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

bank-robberies and kidnappings for ransom.[32] Reforms were slow moving, and despite efforts by EUPOL and the United States to raise standards, it was concluded in July 2007 that only 40% of the ANP was adequately equipped.[33] The bulk of police salaries were paid out of the internationally funded Law and Order Trust Fund for Afghanistan, which as of 2008 was still severely underfunded.

These problems continued virtually unabated into 2009. NATO's annual assessment reported that "The capacity of the Afghan Government at the national, provincial and district levels remains limited and suffers from corruption. Continuing insecurity, criminality and, in places, the influence of the narcotics trade further impede efforts to improve good governance."[34]

In the United States, the new Obama Administration immediately placed a high priority on improving training of the Afghan police and sent an additional 4,000 troops to Afghanistan to strengthen the training program. The United States hoped that the injection of additional trainers would make a difference in combating corruption. The unscrupulous nature of the current force was pervasive: ranking positions on police forces and judiciary frequently went to the highest bidder and, as one provincial police official observed, "This is the reason no one accepts the rule of law…, because the government is not going by the rule of law."[35] According to interviews with American and Afghan sources, "The list of schemes that undermine law enforcement is long and bewildering…: police officials who steal truckloads of gasoline; judges and prosecutors who make decisions based on bribes; high-ranking government officials who reap payoffs from hashish and chromite smuggling; and midlevel security and political jobs that are sold, sometimes for more than $50,000, money the buyers then recoup through still more bribes and theft."[36]

The irony in all this is that the Taliban reportedly are reaping large financial benefits from the illicit narcotics trade—a line of business they suppressed when in power. For many Afghans, growing poppy for that trade has become their main way of life as well as the main source of revenue for the Taliban. NATO has summarized the issue in the following terms:

There is a recognised nexus between the narcotics trade and the insurgency. Each year, the insurgency benefits from an estimated 100 million - 200 million USD from the narcotics trade. Experience on the ground demonstrates that opium production and insurgent violence are correlated geographically and opium remains a major source of revenue for both the insurgency and organized crime. The drugs trade also fuels corruption and undermines the rule of law. It jeopardises the prospects of long-term economic growth and impacts on the nation's health, as drug addiction is an ever-increasing problem in Afghanistan.[37]

Since the Taliban was removed from power, opium poppy cultivation in Afghanistan has increased to supply 93% of the world's opium. Part of the answer to the drug problem has been destroying poppy fields and disrupting production and transportation of opium to the international market. US, ISAF and Afghan forces cooperate in such destruction and interdiction activities. However, these approaches do not present a long-term solution to the

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 62.
[33] *Ibid.*, p. 64.
[34] "Afghanistan Report 2009", *op. cit.*, p. 5.
[35] Oppel, Richard A., Jr.: "Corruption Undercuts Hopes for Afghan Police", *The New York Times*, 8 April 2009, at http://www.nytimes.com/2009/04/09/world/asia/09ghazni.html .
[36] *Ibid*.
[37] "Afghanistan Report 2009", *op. cit.*, p. 28.

problem, in part because so much of the Afghan economy depends on the revenue from the trade. The Executive Director of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, in his 2009 assessment of the situation, suggested that "Progress depends on more than reducing the amount of opium hectarage : it depends on improving security, integrity, economic growth, and governance." He continued, "We must concentrate on winning long-term campaigns, not just short-term battles."[38] If US, NATO and Afghan government forces simply destroy crops without providing alternative sources of income for the farmers support for the Taliban will grow and the long-term battle will be lost.

Until the judicial and police systems move away from the culture of corruption, central government control in Afghanistan will be difficult to establish and maintain, and the Taliban will be seen by some Afghans as providing a more reliable form of justice and security. Given the fact that the legal and governmental system has traditionally depended on this illicit lubrication, establishing effective rule of law in Afghanistan could therefore be a decades-long process.

7. The Afghanistan National Security Forces (ANSF)

A critical key to the security component of Afghanistan's future is the development of domestic security forces capable of defending the political system from its enemies. This also has proven to be a daunting task, even though slow progress apparently is being made. According to NATO, in 2008 "The ANSF grew in strength and capability and Afghan forces assumed responsibility for security in the Kabul area for the first time."[39]

In its *Counterinsurgency Study*, the US RAND think tank underscores the fundamental necessity of developing an indigenous security force to combat the Taliban and other fighters. It focuses in particular on the so-called "Fallacy of External Actors" that pervades popular thinking regarding counter-insurgency strategy, which overemphasizes the role of foreign, direct military power while downplaying the importance of local forces. This ignores many realities, such as the long time frame of many insurgencies (averaging greater than ten years), the intimate knowledge domestic forces have of their cultures and geography, and frequently negative public opinion held towards foreign troops on the ground.[40] The study assesses the essential characteristics of an effective indigenous security force (which is committed to a long term counter-insurgency struggle) as high initiative, good intelligence, high integration, good leadership, competent, loyal soldiers, and adaptability.[41] Most of these characteristics are still sorely lacking in the Afghan National Security Forces.

Responsibility for training the Afghan National Army (ANA) has been primarily taken on by the United States, but includes the cooperation of French, British, Turkish and other nations' trainers in establishing an officer corps. In the Summit Declaration on Afghanistan in April 2009 NATO leaders announced the establishment of a NATO Training Mission – Afghanistan to provide higher level training for the ANA and additionally confirmed the

[38] Costa, Antonio María: "Afghanistan Opium Winter Assessment Report", *United Nations* (NATO), *United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime* (UNODC)(January 2009), as reported in "Afghanistan Report 2009", *op. cit.*,, p. 28.
[39] "Afghanistan Report 2009", *op. cit.,* p. 5.
[40] Jones, *op. cit.,* p. 11.
[41] *Ibid.,* p. 15.

target for army expansion to be 134,000 troops.[42] Newly trained units have encouragingly experienced early successes in combat operations alongside foreign forces and, in 2008, 62% were led by the ANA.[43] ISAF and coalition troops are deployed with ANA units through the Embedded Training Team (ETT) and Operational Mentoring and Liaison Team (OMLT) programs, monitoring and supporting the development of the force. By mid-March 2009, the ISAF was operating 52 OMLTs with at least 30 additional teams planned to enter service by the end of 2010.[44]

NATO has also provided support for the ANA through its Equipment Support Program and the ANA Trust Fund, which the North Atlantic Council set up in 2008. Various NATO nations have donated equipment with the intention of modernizing the Soviet-era armaments of the ANA, but internal complaints persisted regarding the dismal state of the army's weaponry and, as of early 2009, contributions to the trust fund were still limited, totaling approximately 18.5 million Euros.[45]

The driving rationale for General McChrystal's request for 40,000 additional troops was to provide both more trainers and a better security environment in which Afghan national forces could be trained up more rapidly. Speaking at the International Institute for Strategic Studies, after his report and recommendations had been leaked to the press, McChrystal summarized his assessment of what need to be done, including prominently training Afghan security forces to take over responsibility for their country's safety:

- Gain the initiative by reversing the perceived momentum possessed by the insurgents.
- Seek rapid growth of Afghan national security forces – the army and the police.
- Improve their effectiveness and ours through closer partnering, which involves planning, living and operating together and taking advantage of each other's strengths as we go forward. Within ISAF, we will put more emphasis on every part of that, by integrating our headquarters, physically co-locating our units, and sharing ownership of the problem.
- Address shortfalls in the capacity of governance and the ability of the Afghan government to provide rule of law.
- Tackle the issue of predatory corruption by some officials or by warlords who are not in an official position but who seem to have the ability, sometimes sanctioned by existing conditions, to do that.
- Focus our resources and prioritise in those areas where the population is most threatened. We do not have enough forces to do everything everywhere at once, so this has to be prioritised and phased over time.[46]

[42] "Summit Declaration on Afghanistan", *op, cit.*
[43] "Afghanistan Report 2009", *op. cit.,,* p. 13.
[44] *Ibid.*
[45] *Ibid.,* p. 14.
[46] McChrystal, Stanley A.: "Special Address - General Stanley McChrystal, Commander, International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) and Commander, US Forces Afghanistan", speech to the *International Institute of Strategic Studies*, London, (1 October 2009), at http://www.iiss.org/recent-key-addresses/general-stanley-mcchrystal-address.

Despite some successes, the ANA has been criticized for its crippling dependence on foreign military assistance, in the form of embedded NATO/Coalition troops, air-support and funding,[47] and for its high attrition rate.[48] That said, developments, such as the creation of the Afghan National Army Air Corps (ANAAC), spearheaded by the United States, gave the ANA greater independence. In 2008, they flew 90% of ANA air support missions.[49]

The development of self-sufficient Afghan military forces is a long-term project, but is one that perhaps has made more progress than the development of the judicial and legal system. This is not surprising, given the fact that the US and ISAF military forces in Afghanistan have been able to provide the resources to help mold an Afghan military with its own standards and internal relationships that perhaps will rise above those seen in Afghan civilian society. The development of Afghan security forces could, in this sense, provide part of the foundation around which a modern civil society can grow, as well as strengthen the country's ability to provide for its own security.

8. Implications for NATO

The ISAF mission has become NATO's most ambitious and demanding task in its history. The Cold War required large armies and defense budgets, but never brought alliance forces into a combat environment. Afghanistan has become a groundbreaking experience for the alliance, both because it requires "kinetic" active combat and counter-insurgency operations and because it is so far from the alliance's base in Europe. Questions remain as to whether the mission will transform the alliance into a global intervention instrument or, on the other hand, will threaten the future viability of the institution.

At least initially, assumption of the ISAF mission appeared to be a vote of confidence in unity and cooperation on both sides of the Atlantic. The Bush administration had been forced to acknowledge that it needed help from allies and the alliance to deal with the demands of two conflicts: one in Iraq, which was given highest priority, and the other in Afghanistan, which had begun as the immediate reaction to the 9/11 attacks. The fact that the allies fell in behind the ISAF mission at a time when the alliance was so profoundly divided over Iraq suggested that the alliance could survive its most heated disagreements.

9. The Issue of US Priorities

By 2008, it was clear that the combination of ISAF and OEF operations had not been sufficient to turn the tide against the Taliban or to capture Osama bin Laden. Subsequent paragraphs examine the shortcomings of ISAF that are deeply rooted in Europe. However, it seems appropriate to start with a brief acknowledgment that the US decision to invade Iraq and remove Saddam Hussein from power led to such a demanding commitment there that the goals in Afghanistan became a secondary priority. In 2007, Chairman of the US Joint Chiefs of Staff, Admiral Mike Mullen, said pointedly: "In Afghanistan, we do what we can. In Iraq, we do what we must." In May 2009, Mullen reversed field, and declared that Afghanistan was

[47] Jones, *op. cit.*,p. 75.
[48] Hodes *et al*., *op. cit.*, p. 57.
[49] "Afghanistan Report 2009", *op. cit.,* p. 15.

the US military's "main effort" – a priority that would guide troop assignments, equipment purchases and deployments, and allocation of other resources.[50]

The United States did not dedicate the military manpower needed to establish and maintain control against the Taliban. It did not devote sufficient civilian capabilities and financial resources to help the government in Kabul establish itself around the country. However, the specific problems and history associated with Afghanistan suggest that even with a devoted and persistent effort, the United States might not have been able to achieve its objectives there. Regardless, it is clear that US objectives in Afghanistan would have been better served by a more serious commitment.

None of the European allies portrayed the deficient US commitment as a rationale for the shortcomings of their own contributions. And, it could be further argued that the more the United States does, the less the Europeans will feel their efforts to be essential. Nevertheless, if leadership by example has any value, the fact is that the United States constructed a very poor model for the Europeans to emulate.

10. Weak Allied Public Support

European involvement in ISAF combat operations has never enjoyed widespread support among the domestic populations of the contributing nations. According to the German Marshal Fund's 2008 Transatlantic Trends public opinion survey, support for deploying their troops in combat operations gains majority support only in the United Kingdom (64% favor) and France (52% favor). In Germany, 62% oppose using their troops to conduct operations against the Taliban. The overall results in the 12 European countries polled found an average of only 43% in support of troops being used for combat operations. When asked if they favored deploying troops to provide security for reconstruction, train Afghan soldiers and police, or combat narcotics production, all European countries polled produced strong majorities in support. Respondents in the United States showed strong majority support for the use of American troops in combat and non-combat operations.[51] In Canada, a country that has been on the front lines in combat operations, support for its role in ISAF eroded in 2008-09, with its mission set to expire in 2011.[52]

The aversion to combat in Afghanistan did not necessarily reflect public loss of confidence in NATO. In spite of strong European disapproval of the Bush administration and its policies, public opinion of NATO's importance to their country's security remarkably remained relatively strong in 2008. An average of around 60% of European respondents in the 2008 Transatlantic Trends polling agreed that NATO was "still essential" to their country's security, a number almost identical to the percentage of Americans who thought the alliance still essential to US security. However, there certainly was the chance that Afghanistan could undermine this support in the long run. As one Norwegian defense official, Espen Barth-Eide,

[50] Tyson, Ann Scott: "Afghan Effort is Mullen's Top Focus", *The Washington Post*, 5 May 2009, p. 1.
[51] German Marshal Fund of the United States *et al.*: "Transatlantic Trends 2008 Topline Data", *Transatlantic Trends*, *The German Marshall Fund of the United States* (October 2008), at http://www.gmfus.org/trends/doc/2008_english_top.pdf .
[52] Morelli *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

observed "NATO appears to our publics to be an organization that takes our sons to send them to Afghanistan."[53]

The reluctance of NATO members to provide forces to the ISAF underlines the limited enthusiasm for its mission. Despite touting the achievement that all NATO members and several partners provide forces to the ISAF, many give only token contributions, and some are withdrawing. The difficulty that European members of NATO had in 2006 finding 2,200 troops to replace departing soldiers demonstrated the failure of the allies to shoulder the burden that NATO accepted in taking command of the ISAF. Despite the UN's authorization "to take all necessary measures to fulfill its mandate," many NATO European allies have been either unable or unwilling to commit forces to the Afghanistan conflict. With the advent of the Obama Administration in Washington, hopes were raised that Obama's popularity in Europe would increase European support for ISAF. That phenomenon, however, was not immediately apparent.

Secretary of Defense Robert Gates, preparing to leave for meetings with his counterparts in June 2009, nonetheless took an upbeat approach, telling a US Senate committee that the United States was not alone in Afghanistan and that more than forty allies deploy a total of 32,000 troops there. Gates avoided criticizing those that avoid combat missions, but specifically commended Canada, Denmark, the UK and Australia, all of which have put their troops in harm's way and have taken heavy casualties.[54] In the past, Gates had taken the allies to task for the limits on their contributions, but apparently the United States decided that public praise for allied efforts would be more effective than public criticism of their shortcomings.

Public opinion against sending forces to participate in combat operations in Afghanistan certainly posed serious challenges for most European governments. However, the bottom line is that some responded by trying to lead their publics toward a rationale for participation while others simply accepted that they did not have the public or parliamentary support to make serious sacrifices. The future success or failure of ISAF will likely depend on the will and ability of European governments to sustain public and parliamentary tolerance, if not support, of the effort.

11. National Caveats, Casualty Differentials and Burden-Sharing

Ambiguity in the UN mandate for the ISAF and the level of decision-making discretion given to NATO allies has led to a wide variety of approaches to how individual nations deploy and use PRTs and other programs and what limits govern the troops they commit to the ISAF. National caveats, placed by many nations on their forces in Afghanistan, have exacerbated tensions within the alliance. They also have reduced the flexibility of commanders to allocate forces in the country, while nationwide reconstruction programs, undertaken by various allies, have met with mixed effectiveness and occasional charges of inefficiency and redundancy. One NATO general is quoted as saying "Opponents and national caveats have polluted ISAF's command-and-control system…If politicians don't trust their military commanders,

[53] "Have combat experience, will travel", *The Economist,* 26 March 2009, at http://www.economist.com/opinion/displaystory.cfm?story_id=13376058.

[54] Pessin, Al: "Gates to Meet with Allies on Afghanistan, Wants Progress Within a Year", *VOANews.com*, 9 June 2009, at http://www.voanews.com/english/archive/2009-06/2009-06-09-voa62.cfm?CFID=264832194&CFTOKEN=30150613&jsessionid=00307cc5cba8a4a9a39e4b28425775234242.

they should kick them out, but they should not try to run local battles from faraway capitals. It is wrong and it can kill people."[55]

In mid-2009, nearly half of all troops under ISAF command had some sort of restrictions on their operational capacities, relating to geographic deployment, mission profiles, and the use of force. According to the Congressional Research Service,

While caveats in themselves do not generally prohibit the kinds of operations NATO forces can engage in, caveats do pose difficult problems for commanders who seek maximum flexibility in utilizing troops under their command. Some governments' troops lack the appropriate equipment to function with other NATO forces. Some nations will not permit their troops to deploy to other parts of Afghanistan. Still others prohibit their troops from participating in combat operations unless in self-defense. NATO commanders have willingly accepted troops from some 42 governments but have had to shape the conduct of the mission to fit the capabilities of and caveats on those troops.[56]

These limitations, while often a reflection of the domestic political realities of the allies, have been widely criticized outside the countries with the most constraining caveats. In 2006, SACEUR James Jones, who in 2009 became President Barack Obama's National Security Advisor, argued that "It's not enough to simply provide forces if those forces have restrictions on them that limit them from being effective."[57] At the 2008 Munich Security Conference, Secretary of Defense Gates issued an unequivocal condemnation of national caveats, saying "in NATO, some allies ought not to have the luxury of opting only for stability and civilian operations, thus forcing other allies to bear a disproportionate share of the fighting and the dying."[58]

The nationally-imposed limitations on Germany's ISAF contribution have been the focus of greatest controversy. Germany's 3,500 troops, largely confined to the relatively stable northern regional command, have been required to go to great lengths to avoid confrontations with militants and are prohibited from initiating combat operations, authorized by the German government to fire only in self-defense. Demilitarization and the legacy of World War II in the German collective conscious has, according to German foreign policy expert Markus Kaim, led to what military sociologists call "post-heroic society" which is "casualty-shy and risk averse", needing to rationalize military involvement as a noble, humanitarian mission of state-building.[59] Politically, taking an anti-Afghanistan war stance became tremendously profitable in Germany, and left wing parties gained serious traction by advocating immediate withdrawal and painting entanglement in Afghanistan as an outgrowth of following the Bush doctrine.[60] Chancellor Merkel's coalition government was forced to walk a fine line between placating an increasingly impatient public and destabilizing the entire NATO operation by heeding their demands. The disaffection of the German populace is

[55] Lok, Joris Janssen: "Defining Objectives: Taliban and European Politics Challenge NATO mission in Afghanistan", *Defense Technology International*, vol. 1, no. 6 (August 2007), p. 16.
[56] Morelli *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 10.
[57] "NATO Commander Asks Member Nations to Drop Troop Limits", *Mideast Stars and Stripes*, 25 October 2006.
[58] Omestad, Thomas: "NATO Struggles Over Who Will Send Additional Troops to Fight in Afghanistan", *USNews.com*, 13 February 2008, at http://www.usnews.com/articles/news/world/2008/02/13/nato-struggles-over-who-will-send-additional-troops-to-fight-in-afghanistan.html.
[59] Kaim, *op. cit.*, p. 614.
[60] *Ibid.*, p. 613.

not unique, and similar trends exist in other contributing nations as well, including France and the Netherlands, and even staunch US ally Great Britain.[61]

One aptly-titled assessment ("Don't Shoot, We're German") has made note of the fact that the debate in Germany on the role of the Bundeswehr in Afghanistan is carried on in an unreal vocabulary:

"According to the government, the situation in Afghanistan has little to do with a violent struggle or an armed conflict. In fact, the German government appears to have blacklisted the word "war." Anybody who suggests that something like war is happening in Afghanistan risks being rebuked, especially if he or she suggests that the Bundeswehr is participating in this war as part of the NATO-led ISAF. German soldiers "are not waging war there," says Green politician Jürgen Trittin. "They are only securing the reconstruction effort. That's a fact.""

"...The political debate on the Afghanistan mission is based on the following military policy rationale: We Germans do not fight wars. And even if we do, they are someone else's wars, or at least wars for a very good cause."[62]

The German situation in some ways illustrates the success of Western policy after World War II. Every possible political, legal, social and educational attempt was made to ensure that Germany would never again be a threat to European or international peace. The campaign was embraced by West Germany's leaders and its educational system. Furthermore, German reunification at the end of the Cold War brought in a population that had been trained to be suspicious of the West, the United States, and NATO. For some German politicians, the limits on Germany's role in Afghanistan may be largely a way of avoiding difficult decisions and commitments. But, for others, it is a matter of strong political beliefs concerning Germany's role in the world.

In spite of public pressures on European governments, and increased intensity of the conflict in Afghanistan, some have taken steps to reduce the number and severity of restrictions on their ISAF forces. In 2009, the French contingent was authorized to offer emergency assistance to other NATO forces and the Italian and Spanish commanders were granted discretionary authority concerning the use of the troops under them in urgent situations.[63] With German national elections approaching in the second half of 2009, it was clear that any loosening of constraints on the role of German forces in Afghanistan would have to await their outcome which, in any case, might not change the political dynamics limiting Germany's contribution.

Perhaps the greatest danger to success in Afghanistan and to the future utility of NATO is the development of a multi-tiered alliance, in which some countries assume much greater risks than others on behalf of a shared mission. In the relationship between the United States and the European allies, this concern takes the form of the traditional burden-sharing issue, in which the United States appears to carry most of the weight and becomes resentful of the less-robust European contributions. With the Obama Administration's shift in US priorities and

[61] Visser, Josh: "Deaths in Afghanistan Testing Britain's Resolve", *CTV News*, 19 July 2009, at http://www.ctv.ca/servlet/ArticleNews/story/CTVNews/20090716/afghan_britain_090719/20090719?hub=TopStories.

[62] Chauvistré, Eric: "Don't Shoot, We're German! Obstacles to a debate on the Bundeswehr's international missions", *Internationale Politik* (Summer 2009), pp. 69, 77.

[63] Morelli *et al*., *op. cit*., p. 11.

resources from Iraq to Afghanistan, the gap between the North American and European contributions has grown, and the grounds for a new burden-sharing debate have expanded as well.

Moreover, there are serious differentials in the casualties suffered by alliance members as a result of their contributions. Grim reality dictates that the countries that deploy their forces on the front lines of combat with the Taliban and al Qaeda will suffer the greatest casualties. In addition to the United States, Great Britain, Canada, Denmark and the Netherlands face the greatest risk and take the heaviest casualties. Countries like Germany, deployed in the more stable north, take fewer risks and sustain lighter casualties. This is a form of the burden-sharing debate that cuts across the alliance at a very personal level. It is not a matter of money, but rather concerns the lives of soldiers. Should the life of a soldier from one allied country be more valuable than that of another? Of course not. But the consequences of political decisions taken by various allies have produced the appearance of such a difference, and this casualty differential could leave long-term scars on the alliance.

12. A Continuing Story…

The story of NATO in Afghanistan is far from over. In some ways, the European allies only now are realizing the full consequences of offering to help their American allies in their hour of need. Mistakes were made. The United States made the first one by invading Afghanistan without devoting the time, attention and resources to the task of stabilizing the defeated and failed state. Yet the European allies have also contributed to the problem by severely limiting the manpower and resources they were willing to commit to the conflict. The constraints many allies placed on the forces they did deploy made if difficult if not impossible for NATO to construct a coherent effort on the ground. The European Union, which has access to many of the non-military assets not commanded by NATO, was slow and tentative in contributing, some say because EU officials were reluctant to play second fiddle to NATO and the United States in Afghanistan.[64]

Ultimately, among all the external actors in Afghanistan, the United States will have the decisive influence on success or failure. The Afghan and Pakistani people and governments will also play critical roles, frequently beyond the influence of all external actors. Yet the persistence and effectiveness of the American effort will ultimately determine whether the Western nations remain in Afghanistan long enough to help the country achieve self-sufficiency without overstaying their welcome and subsequently appearing as an enemy occupation force.

In the second half of 2009, a challenge to such an outcome emerged in the United States itself. The Obama administration's attempt to refocus American military priorities on Afghanistan, based on a calculated assessment of US interests, was challenged by shifting American public opinion. As the increased number of US troops in Afghanistan and much higher tempo of operations against Taliban targets produced growing numbers of American casualties, public opinion in the United States began to turn against continuing the war.[65] The

[64] While not officially documented, the author has heard this rationale widely rumored among European officials.

[65] Agiesta, Jennifer and Cohen, Jon: "Public Opinion in U.S. turns Against Afghan War", *The Washington Post*, 20 August 2009, at http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2009/08/19/AR2009081903066_pf.html.

polling results raised questions about whether the Obama administration could sustain the American presence in Afghanistan without resorting to the kind of fear-mongering that so successfully produced initial public support for the Bush administration's war against Iraq. It is obvious that, if the United States cannot sustain its role in Afghanistan, that of NATO will fail as well.

The administration was put in a particularly difficult bind by the fact that as public opinion was running away from support for the war, his military advisors were recommending a large increase in US forces devoted to the effort. The recommendation by the commander of US and ISAF forces in Afghanistan, General Stanley A. McChrystal, that as many as 40,000 additional American troops would be required to avoid mission failure, presented the administration with a difficult set of choices: go against the President's political base or against the advice of his top military commanders.

In November 2009, Obama announced he had decided to order substantial increases in the US military forces in Afghanistan. In so doing, he largely followed the advice of his military commanders. In response to concerns, expressed strongly in his own party, about escalation of the conflict, Obama declared that his strategy placed a high priority on training up the Afghan National Army to be able progressively to take over responsibilities for security to allow the United States to begin withdrawing forces by the middle of 2011. He also called for NATO allies to increase their own commitments during the same time period. He still faced criticism from the right for setting a deadline by which time to begin withdrawing forces and from the left for sending more troops in the near term and not receiving sufficient support from the international community.

It is, of course, possible that the Obama administration will be able to stay the course in Afghanistan in spite of growing public opposition. This could eventually yield a successful mission in which US efforts are sustained to the point of producing a self-reliant Afghan regime but in which NATO is perceived as having played a less-than-satisfactory role. This would not necessarily result in the end of the alliance, but certainly could translate into dramatic changes in the role that the organization plays in dealing with future international security challenges. The consequences of the burden sharing and casualty differential issues could trouble transatlantic relations for decades. The fact that NATO survived the Iraq crisis suggests a degree of permanence that many observers would not have expected.

Respect for the sovereign decisions of member states has, of course, been the underlying problem with NATO's operation of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan. ISAF's effectiveness was handicapped by the fact that some countries were unwilling to allow their troops to operate in parts of Afghanistan and in circumstances that would put them at greater risk. It is well understood that political realities and historical experiences have determined the approaches that nations have taken to this issue. The eventual evaluation of NATO's performance in Afghanistan will undoubtedly reflect such problems, even if the long run produces a relatively successful outcome. Assessing the mission's effectiveness will become part of the process of adapting the alliance to future security challenges.

Will the NATO members continue to find NATO cooperation to their advantage, even with a difficult experience in Afghanistan? Only time will tell. However, history suggests that, in spite of their differences, the United States and Europe will try to keep their act together. And today, NATO remains an important part of the script for that routine. Dealing with the threats posed by terrorism and managing most other aspects of transatlantic relations

demand more effective transatlantic cooperation in political, economic, financial, and social as well as military aspects of the relationship. While NATO, the European allies and the European Union can all be faulted for either ineffective or insufficient contributions to the effort in Afghanistan, the United States carries part of the blame for not making Afghanistan a higher priority. There is plenty of blame to go around, and the "failures" in this effort may unite the allies as much as dividing them.

For its part, the United States does not want the Afghan problem to be "Americanized," and the formal involvement of NATO and NATO allies in helping shape an acceptable outcome helps ensure that the conflict remains internationalized. NATO's involvement, even as flawed as it may be, provides a critical link to international legitimacy for US policy objectives. That link runs through NATO directly to the United Nations, hopefully (from the US point of view) ensuring that the broader international community will share responsibility for ensuring that Afghanistan does not return to a failed state that offers a welcoming habitat for future terrorist operations.

As far as the European allies are concerned, most if not all governments appear to recognize that the future of Afghanistan does hold the key to the level of threat likely to be posed by international terrorism in the coming years. They also recognize that bailing out of responsibility for the outcome in Afghanistan would call into question the vitality of the security links among them and to the United States. They too want the broader international community to remain committed to a positive outcome in Afghanistan, and the NATO role provides and important link to international legitimacy and assistance for the European allies as well.

The bottom line, therefore, is that the transatlantic bargain will survive Afghanistan. The alliance has already shown its resilience during the early 21st century when decisions by the Bush administration put alliance cooperation under severe pressure.[66]

The bargain will survive in part because the security of the member states cannot be ensured through national measures alone. It will survive because the member states will continue to recognize that imperfect cooperation serves their interests better than no cooperation at all. NATO will be adapted to meet new challenges. And the value foundation of the transatlantic bargain will persist, in spite of differences over specific issues and shifting patterns of member state interests.

It will survive in part because the bargain is not just NATO. In fact, recent trends suggest that there is much more creative thought and political momentum behind enhancing transatlantic cooperation rather than diminishing it. As Lawrence S. Kaplan has observed, "The transatlantic bargain still resonates in the twenty-first century."[67] As a result, this bargain in the hearts and minds of the member states has become as close as one could imagine to being a "permanent alliance." The outcome in Afghanistan will inform judgments by the United States and other alliance members concerning when and how to use the alliance in the future, but it will not likely lead to its end.

The bottom line, however, is that it is not just NATO's future that is at risk in Afghanistan. The entire international community has an important stake in ensuring that

[66] See, for example, my analysis in: Sloan, Stanley R.: "How and Why Did NATO Survive Bush Doctrine", *North Atlantic Treaty Organisation* (NATO) ,*College Research Directorate,* Rome, Italy (October 2008).
[67] Kaplan, Lawrence S. (2007): *NATO 1948, The Birth of the Transatlantic Alliance*, Lanham, Rowman & Littlefield, p. 242.

Afghanistan is not transformed once again into a launching pad for international terrorism and that the nuclear armed Government of Pakistan is not destabilized or taken over by radical extremists who share al Qaeda's terrorist goals.

NATO´S COUNTERINSURGENCY CAMPAIGN IN AFGHANISTAN: ARE CLASSICAL DOCTRINES SUITABLE FOR ALLIANCES?

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Abstract:

The focus of this article is on one overall question: can an alliance conduct a classical counterinsurgency campaign in the absence of clear leadership? The article will reveal the painful internal problems that NATO and its member states have faced in their current mission to Afghanistan. Our main argument is that, in the absence of unambiguous leadership, conducting traditional counterinsurgency by alliance is intrinsically problematic. Without a clearly discernible leading nation, a collective actor seeking to employ a classical counterinsurgency recipe is destined to be faced with all sorts of collective action problems including free-riding, inconsistent threat perceptions, and difficulties of coordination. Eight years after the toppling of the Taliban regime, the insurgency in Afghanistan seems stronger than ever, while at the same time public support for the campaign is steadily eroding in several western capitals. To be sure, prevailing against a weak but determined irregular opponent in an ill-defined conflict is no easy feat for any actor. The NATO-led campaign has shown that there is a clear lack of unity within the mission and that the only solution to the challenge seems to be the emerging US takeover that is currently underway.

Keywords: Counterinsurgency, Afghanistan, NATO, ISAF, Unity of efforts and command.

Resumen:

El objetivo de este artículo es obtener una respuesta a una pregunta de carácter general: ¿puede una alianza dirigir una campaña clásica de contrainsurgencia en ausencia de un liderazgo claro? El artículo revela los difíciles problemas internos con los que la OTAN y sus estados miembros han estado enfrentándose en su actual misión en Afganistán. El principal argumento es que en ausencia de un liderazgo sin ambigüedades, dirigir operaciones clásicas de contrainsurgencia a través de una alianza es intrínsecamente problemático. Sin un país claramente en posición de liderazgo, un actor colectivo que intente poner en práctica recetas tradicionales en el campo de la contrainsurgencia estará abocado a enfrentarse con todo tipo de dilemas propios de la acción colectiva, incluyendo "free-riding", percepciones de amenaza inconsistentes y diversas dificultades de coordinación. Ocho años después del derrocamiento del régimen talibán, la insurgencia en Afganistán parece estar más fuerte que nunca, a la par que el apoyo público hacia la campaña está progresivamente erosionándose en las capitales de Europa Occidental. Se puede decir con certeza que prevalecer sobre un enemigo débil e irregular, pero con determinación en un conflicto mal definido no es ni mucho menos una hazaña fácil. La campaña dirigida por la OTAN ha demostrado que se carece de unidad en el seno de la misión y que la única solución para este desafío parece ser el despliegue de los EEUU que está en marcha.

Palabras clave: *Contrainsurgencia, Afganistán, OTAN, ISAF, unidad de mando y unidad de esfuerzos.*

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1. Introduction

Can an alliance conduct a classical counterinsurgency campaign in the absence of clear leadership? Since Western forces became embroiled in irregular warfare in Afghanistan and Iraq, the politico-military art of countering insurgencies has once again moved to the forefront of strategic studies. To a large extent, however, what has recently been preached by scholars and practitioners alike is little more than a rediscovery of classic counterinsurgency principles originally formulated in response to national liberation movements in the decades following World War II. Classic doctrines and theorists have been retrieved from the dustbin of history, but little new has been added to our understanding of how to prevail in so-called small wars. In effect, classic counterinsurgency constitutes the dominant paradigm guiding contemporary thinking about the campaigns in Iraq and Afghanistan.

In response to the rediscovery of traditional approaches, practitioners and scholars have rightly warned that applying time-honoured ideas to current insurgencies might be a mistake. Today's insurgencies, as David Kilcullen has noted among others, differ markedly from those of earlier eras, "possibly requiring fundamental re-appraisals of conventional wisdom".[3] What has been mostly ignored, however, are the challenges arising from the changes pertaining to the other side of the equation: not only have the insurgents changed, so have the counterinsurgents.[4] Whereas campaigns to quell anti-colonial, nationalist or communist rebellions have historically been led by single nation states, or less often – as, for instance, in Iraq and Vietnam – by a single dominant lead nation with minor contributions from its coalition partners, today's counterinsurgency campaign in Afghanistan is much more collective and multilateral in character. Although the United States is providing more troops to the NATO-led International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) than any other single country – and is increasingly taking on a leadership role – the bulk of the forces operating under NATO command were still non-American until mid 2009. Accordingly, the conflict in Afghanistan is characterized by a fundamentally new constellation of adversaries.

This, of course, begs the question as to whether the classic counterinsurgency paradigm that emerged in the 1950s is suitable for a multinational contingent consisting of military and civilian contributions from a wide range of countries with different interests, threat perceptions, strategic cultures, capabilities, national experiences and objectives. Do traditional counterinsurgency strategies, doctrines and techniques that were originally tailored by single states for the use of single states form a fitting conceptual framework for an alliance or a group of countries that is struggling to subdue an armed rebellion? This is the guiding question of the present article.

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[3] Kilcullen, David: "Counter-insurgency *Redux*", *Survival*, vol. 48, no. 4 (2006/2007), pp. 111-130. See also Kilcullen, David (2009): *The Accidental Guerrilla: Fighting a Small War in the Midst of a Big One*, London, Hurst & Company; Sewall, Sarah: "Introduction to the University of Chicago Press Edition: A Radical Field Manual", in The US Army & Marine Corps (2007): *Counterinsurgency Field Manual*, Chicago, Chicago University Press, p. xlii; Metz, Steven: "New Challenges and Old Concepts: Understanding 21st Century Insurgency", *Parameters,* vol. 37, no. 4 (Winter 2007-08), pp. 20-32; Fitzsimmons, Michael: "Hard Hearts and Open Minds? Governance, Identity and the Intellectual Foundations of Counterinsurgency Strategy", *Journal of Strategic Studies*, vol. 31, no. 3 (June 2008), pp. 337-365; Barno, David W.: "Challenges in Fighting a Global Insurgency", *Parameters,* vol. 36, no. 2 (Summer 2006); Cassidy, Robert M. (2006): *Counterinsurgency and the Global War on Terror: Military Culture and Irregular War*, Westport, Praeger Security International.

[4] Notable exceptions are Kay, Sean and Khan, Sahar: "NATO and Counter-insurgency: Strategic Liability or Tactical Asset?", *Contemporary Security Policy*, vol. 28, no. 1 (April 2007), pp. 163-181; Coker, Christopher: "Between Iraq and a Hard Place: Multinational Co-operation, Afghanistan and Strategic Culture", *The RUSI Journal*, vol. 151, no. 5, pp. 14-19.

Our main argument is that, in the absence of unambiguous leadership, conducting traditional counterinsurgency by alliance is intrinsically problematic. Without a clearly discernible lead nation, a collective actor seeking to employ a classical counterinsurgency recipe is destined to confront all sorts of collective action problems, including free-riding, inconsistent threat perceptions, and difficulties of coordination. NATO's rather unsuccessful attempts to subdue the Taliban insurgency in Afghanistan testify to this conclusion. As the mission in Afghanistan is being increasingly dominated the United States, the Alliance is likely to become more effective, while at the same time to some extent becoming reduced to being a provider of legitimacy to a United States-led campaign.

The article is divided into three main sections. In the first section, we briefly take stock of what are currently understood as the main tenets of the classic counterinsurgency paradigm. We also examine how this paradigm has evolved over time and how it dominates today's thinking about irregular warfare. The second and third sections identify some of the challenges facing an alliance that is trying to employ the classic paradigm against an irregular and elusive opponent. Using NATO's mission to Afghanistan as a case study, the second section focuses on the strategic level, while the third section investigates the operational and tactical level.

2. The Reinvention of the Classic Counterinsurgency Paradigm

The basic tenets of classic counterinsurgency strategy are clearly discernible in current thinking about irregular warfare. Therefore an essentially indirect, or population-centric approach to irregular warfare has been recommended by Western strategists and military analysts since it was acknowledged that the US and its partners were faced with an insurgency in Iraq. Consider, for instance, the following observations made by David Kilcullen, one of the chief architects behind the current US strategy in Iraq and elsewhere:

"In essence, effective counterinsurgency is a matter of good governance, backed by solid population security and economic development measures, resting on a firm foundation of energetic IO [Information Operations, JR & PDT], which unifies and drives all other activity. Security, political, (governance and institution-building), and economic measures are built in parallel to gain control over the environment. The government must de-energize the insurgency and break its hold on the population, rather than seeking solely to kill insurgents…as the classical counterinsurgency theorist Bernhard B. Fall pointed out, a government that is losing to an insurgency is not being outfought, it is being outgoverned."[5]

Kilcullen's observations are indeed representative of present-day authoritative conceptions of counterinsurgency in the West.[6] The main canons of yesteryear's major

[5] Kilcullen "The Accidental Guerrilla…", *op. cit*., p. 60. A similar view is to be found in the US Government's *Counterinsurgency Guide*: "Best practice COIN integrates and synchronizes political, security, economic, and informational components that reinforce governmental legitimacy and effectiveness while reducing insurgent influence over the population. COIN strategies should be designed to strengthen the legitimacy and capacity of government institutions to govern responsibly and marginalize insurgents politically, socially, and economically.": "Counterinsurgency Guide: United States Government Interagency Counterinsurgency Initiative", *US Department of State, Bureau of Political-Military Affairs*, Washington (January 2009), p. 12, at http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/119629.pdf.

[6] See, for instance, The US Army & Marine Corps (2007): *Counterinsurgency Field Manual*, Chicago, Chicago University Press; *Australian Army Journal*, vol. 5, no. 2 (2008). Sarah Sewall places the new US counterinsurgency doctrine squarely within the classic paradigm: "The new US doctrine heartily embraces a

paradigm are evidently being reproduced today, and military commanders and policy-makers in most NATO countries have been quick to find merit in these revived principles.

One clear illustration of the reappearance of the classic counterinsurgency paradigm is the latest US counterinsurgency manual, *Field Manual 3-24*. Tellingly, the publication's annotated bibliography mostly lists books and articles from the 1960s and the 1970s. Another indication is the frequent references to traditional counterinsurgency theory made by NATO commanders: just before he was approved by the US Congress as NATO's commander in Afghanistan, General Stanley McChrystal stated that he would focus on classic counterinsurgency techniques; similarly, General Sir David Richards, Head of the British Army and former commander of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF), has repeatedly expressed his support for traditional counterinsurgency principles.[7] Moreover, both the so-called surge in Iraq and the new American strategy for Afghanistan are clearly built on a classic template. In both cases, US officials and commanders have identified securing the population as the main objective – a population-centric strategy as opposed to an enemy-centric one.[8]

What has been currently rediscovered began to evolve slowly by the end of the nineteenth century. Arguably, the first example of doctrinal work to cover embryonic aspects of today's dominant counterinsurgency paradigm can be traced back to 1896, when the British War Office published a much celebrated manual (*Small Wars: Their Principles and Practice*) written by army officer, Charles Callwell.[9] What set both Callwell's thinking and some of the contemporaneous campaigns against guerrilla forces apart from most of the nineteenth century's "small wars" and imperial policing was an incipient acknowledgement of the need to separate the insurgents from the wider population. The counterinsurgent was not only to target rebel groups in the field (a direct, enemy-centric approach), but also to loosen the bonds between the local population and the rebels, thus denying the insurgents both material and political support (an indirect, population-centric approach). This emphasis on marginalising the guerrillas was to become a defining feature of the classic counterinsurgency paradigm. The tools and methods employed to cut off the insurgency from its sources of support, however, have changed markedly since the publishing of *Small Wars*. Simplifying somewhat, the trend leading to the present-day Western concept of counterinsurgency is in many ways a story of less coercion and more persuasion.

Well into the twentieth century, Western powers involved in anti-guerrilla campaigns more often than not sought to force the local population to give up support for the insurgents.

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traditional – some would argue atavistic – British method of fighting insurgency…" Sewall, *op. cit*., p. xxiv. Not all military analysts and scholars have embraced the reintroduction of the classic paradigm. For opposing views, see Luttwak, Edward: "Dead End: Counterinsurgency as Military Malpractice", *Harper's Magazine* (February 2007), pp. 33-42; Creveld, Martin Van (2008): *The Changing Face of War: Combat from the Marne to Iraq*, New York, Ballantine, pp. 268-269; Peters, Ralph: "Progress and Peril: New Counterinsurgency Manual Cheats on the History Exams", *Armed Forces Journal* (February 2007), at http://www.armedforcesjournal.com/2007/02/2456854/.

[7] Shanker, Thom and Schmitt, Eric: "U.S. Commander in Afghanistan is Given More Leeway", *New York Times*, 10 June 2009; Smyth, Chris and Evans, Michael: "General Sir David Richards, Advocate of an Afghanistan 'surge', is new Head of the Army", *The Times*, 18 October 2008. For a depiction of Field Manual 3-24 as "derived from classic counterinsurgency texts of the 1960s", see Kalyvas, Stathis: "Review Symposium: Counterinsurgency Manual", *Perspectives on Politics*, vol. 6, no. 2 (June 2008), pp. 351-353.

[8] This distinction was made clear in the "ISAF Commander's Counterinsurgency Guidance" *North Atlantic Treaty Organisation* (NATO), *ISAF Headquarters*, Kabul, Afghanistan (Fall 2009), at http://www.nato.int/isaf/docu/official_texts/counterinsurgency_guidance.pdf.

[9] Beckett, Ian F. W. (2001): *Modern Insurgencies and Counter-insurgencies: Guerrillas and their Opponents since 1750*, London, Routledge, pp. 32-37.

Both sticks and carrots – or "attraction and chastisement", as the Americans dubbed their strategy during the Philippine Insurrection (1899-1902)[10] – were employed to isolate the rebels, but usually the more heavy handed methods played the decisive part. This was certainly true for the Portuguese in Africa, the British in Kenya and South Africa, and the French in Morocco and Algeria. The coercive side of the new population-centric approach was perhaps most vividly reflected in the widespread use of resettlement camps.[11] Even during the Malayan Emergency (1948-1960), which is often considered the quintessential example of a benevolent "hearts and minds" campaign, the British authorities forced about 400,000 primarily Chinese peasants, or ten percent of the entire population, into guarded camps euphemistically labelled "new villages".[12] Similarly, the Dutch military, which is sometimes considered to be the architect of a particularly benign, Dutch approach to counterinsurgency, resorted to extraordinarily brutal measures and imposed collective punishment on entire communities when policing its colonies prior to World War II.[13]

The more gentle and at the time much less influential side of the population-centric approach to counterinsurgency was aimed at building legitimacy and the non-combatant population's allegiance through good governance, protection, socio-economic development and public work projects. The counterinsurgents, in other words, sought co-operation and consent by persuasion.[14] The essence of this more benign approach was put into words by US President William McKinley just weeks before the Filipino insurgency erupted:

"It should be the earnest and paramount aim of the military administration to win the confidence, respect, and affection of the inhabitants of the Philippines…and by proving to them that the mission of the United States is one of benevolent assimilation, substituting the mild sway of justice and right for arbitrary rule."[15]

Yet it was not until the late 1940s and the Wars of National Liberation and decolonization that recognition of the need for a more benevolent approach began to translate into more substantial principles, manuals and practice. Partly spurred by Western democracies' waning acceptance of excessive carnage and bloodshed in non-existential conflicts with weaker opponents, a modified and less coercive framework began to take shape.[16] During the 1960s and the 1970s, such prominent counterinsurgency experts as Sir

[10] Deady, Timothy K.: "Lessons from a Successful Counterinsurgency: The Philippines, 1899-1902", *Parameters* vol. 35, no. 1 (Spring 2005).

[11] Beckett, *op. cit*., pp. 36-38. See also Joes, Anthony James (2004): *Resisting Rebellion: The History and Politics of Counterinsurgency*, Lexington, The University Press of Kentucky, pp. 106-113.

[12] Stubbs, Richard (2004): *Hearts and Minds in Guerrilla Warfare: The Malayan Emergency 1948-1960*, Singapore, Eastern University Press, pp. 100-135; Strachan, Hew: "British Counter-insurgency from Malaya to Iraq", *The RUSI Journal*, vol. 152, no. 6 (December 2007), pp. 8-11.

[13] Zaalberg, Thijs W. Brocades: "The Roots of Dutch Counterinsurgency: Balancing and Integrating Military and Civilian Efforts from Aceh to Uruzgan", in Davis, Richard G. (ed.) (2008): *The U.S. Army and Irregular Warfare 1775-2007: Selected Papers from the 2007 Conference of Army Historians*, Washington, Department of the Army.

[14] Although the measures entailed in the classic approach clearly paid more attention to marginalising the insurgents by persuasion, its benevolent character has often been overstated. The traditional paradigm was not a strategic formula for making friends with the local population. The counterinsurgents of the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s were above all striving for the reestablishment of authority – not appeasement. As the British military historian Hew Strachan noted: "When we talk about 'hearts and minds', we are not talking about being nice to the natives, but about giving them the firm smack of government", Strachan, *op. cit*., p. 8.

[15] See Deady, *op. cit*., p. 53.

[16] Merom, Gil (2003): *How Democracies Lose Small Wars: State, Society, and the Failures of France in Algeria, Israel in Lebanon, and the United States in Vietnam*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press. See also Mack, Andrew: "Why Big Nations Lose Small Wars: The Politics of Asymmetric Conflict", *World Politics*, vol. 27, no.

Robert Thompson, Frank Kitson, Bernhard Fall and David Galula thus articulated the need for an increased focus on attacking the political ties between the population and the insurgents by way of persuasion. Establishing a perception of legitimacy among the local population was deemed crucial. In the words of British counterinsurgency expert Sir Robert Thompson, who served in Malaya and as head of the British Advisory Mission to South Vietnam: "'Winning' the population can tritely be summed up as good government in all its aspects…such as improved health measures and clinics…new schools…and improved livelihood and standard of living".[17] Accordingly, it became even more important to redress the political, economic or social grievances fuelling the insurgency than to eradicate every last insurgent: counterinsurgency, so the adage went, was twenty percent military action and eighty percent political. By the end of the 1960s, this strategic conception of counterinsurgency came to be the conventional wisdom.[18] And it is this conventional wisdom that has been rediscovered in the last half decade.

According to the classic paradigm, a number of principles and tactical rules provide guideposts for forces engaged in the struggle to isolate and eradicate an irregular opponent. Most importantly, these include protecting the population, synchronizing – or even integrating – all civilian and military efforts involved in the campaign and thus creating a seamless unity of efforts, building robust national security forces, good intelligence, securing the borders, calibrating the use of firepower, patrolling with small units, initiating effective information campaigns, and establishing government structures that are perceived as legitimate. Although sometimes neglected in contemporary counterinsurgency literature, the development and employment of indigenous security forces often proved to be a particularly important aspect of the classic approach to irregular warfare. Besides increasing the number of boots on the ground, host-nation forces provided troops "whose knowledge of the terrain, culture, and language generally produced an even greater and exponential improvement in actionable intelligence".[19] Moreover, creating effective national security forces was seen as crucial to the establishment of a legitimate government able to uphold a legitimate monopoly of violence. In the end, strategic success rested on the local capacity to sustain the status quo.

Besides being less coercive, classic counterinsurgency tends to be protracted, labour-intensive and very costly in lives, treasure and political capital. It takes considerable stamina to pursue an indirect population-centric strategy, particularly when fighting an insurgency abroad. First, the approach requires the employment of a large number of forces to high-risk areas. Different classic scholars have recommended different force levels, but during previous campaigns, planners have usually assumed that the counter-insurgency requires a ratio of force of 10 to 20 between itself and the insurgents in order to prevail over the latter. Others have recommended the deployment of 20 to 25 counterinsurgents for every 1000 residents.[20] Secondly, the politically contested and prolonged character of counter-insurgency warfare makes significant demands on the policy-makers who are supporting and taking responsibility for the campaign. This holds particularly true for democratically elected governments

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2 (January 1975), pp. 175-200; Metz, Steven (2007): *Rethinking Insurgency*, Carlisle, US Army War College, p. 6; Fitzsimmons, *op. cit.,* p. 339.

[17] Thompson, Sir Robert G.K. (1966): *Defeating Communist Insurgency: The Lessons of Malaya and Vietnam*, New York, Praeger, pp. 112-113.

[18] Galula, David (1964): *Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice*, Westport, Praeger Security International, p. 63. For a pointed critique of this classic counterinsurgency maxim, see Peters, Ralph: "COIN lies we love: dissecting the myth that the military has only a supporting role", *Armed Forces Journal* (April 2009), at http://www.armedforcesjournal.com/2009/04/3978447/.

[19] Cassidy, *op. cit*., p. 127.

[20] See for instance, Joes, *op. cit*., pp.171-179.

confronted with a war-weary public. Thirdly, the major emphasis given to the tight coordination and unity of all national efforts (military and civilian) in the classic paradigm requires both the ability and the determination to synchronize every activity of all the actors involved in the conflict. Since unity of effort at the strategic, operational, and tactical levels is seen as so essential to the approach, any inability or unwillingness to harmonize civilian and military activities seriously reduces the chances of success.

Importantly for our purposes, the classic paradigm was originally articulated as a strategic and doctrinal formula for individual nation states engaged in irregular warfare. The hard-learned lessons that have informed the conventional wisdom were all drawn from conflicts pitching single nation states against an irregular opponent. The question then becomes: What challenges arise when an alliance or a group of states attempts to make use of a classic counterinsurgency recipe? In the following, we utilize NATO's ongoing campaign in Afghanistan to identify the pitfalls of conducting counterinsurgency by alliance.

3. Challenges at the Strategic Level

NATO's undertakings in Afghanistan did not commence until August 2003, when the Alliance agreed to take over responsibility for the UN-authorised ISAF. Since the signing of the Bonn Accord in late 2001, ISAF – a coalition of the willing operating independently of the American-led Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF) – had been under the rotating command of different lead nations, but in response to growing operational demands and the need for permanent leadership, the allies agreed to assume collective responsibility for the mission. NATO had in fact offered to assist the United States much earlier. In response to the terrorist attacks on New York and Washington DC, on 12 September 2001, for the first time in its existence, the Alliance invoked Article V of the North Atlantic Treaty. Washington, however, bluntly rejected any form of military assistance from NATO. In the eyes of the Bush administration, conducting "war by committee" – as experienced during the Kosovo conflict – was a trap to be avoided. Essentially, the message to the Europeans was one of "Don't call us, we'll call you". "In the future", Secretary of Defence Donald Rumsfeld elaborated, "the mission will determine the coalition, and not the other way around".[21] Consequently, when American forces launched OEF against the Taliban regime on 7 October 2001, the only participating allied forces were British.[22]

Initially, ISAF's UN mandate was limited to providing security in and around Kabul. The rest of Afghanistan was left to the counterterrorist operations of the thinly stretched OEF. Based on a new UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR 1510) from October 2003, ISAF gradually began to expand its area of responsibility, beginning with the Northern provinces by the end of that year. By October 2004, ISAF had completed its expansion to the north. Symptomatic of NATO's fragmented political will and reluctance to commit the necessary materiel and human resources, it took yet another two years before ISAF had taken full responsibility for the entire country in accordance with the provisions of UNSCR 1510. Only in July and October 2006 did ISAF assume command of the military operations in the

[21] Dobbins, James F. (2008): *After the Taliban: Nation-Building in Afghanistan*, Washington, pp. 39-50; Rynning, Sten (2005): *NATO Renewed: The Power and Purpose of Transatlantic Cooperation*, New York, Potomac Books, p. 120.

[22] Dobbins, *op. cit*., p. 44. In 2002 several Western nations became involved in the operations in Afghanistan. Special Forces from, among other countries, Germany, Italy, Norway, Denmark, Australia, Canada and New Zealand took part in the efforts to defeat the remnants of the old regime.

southern and eastern provinces respectively. This is not to say that ISAF is anywhere near being in *control* of all provinces. Indeed, due primarily to the critical lack of resources troubling the mission, some Afghan provinces were still without any, or only a marginal ISAF, OEF or ANA (Afghan National Army) presence towards the end of 2009.[23]

NATO's experiences in the insurgent-infested country demonstrate that alliances that attempt to adhere to classic counterinsurgency principles will be faced with daunting challenges at the strategic level. Clearly, stabilising Afghanistan is no easy task for any kind of actor, but the evidence is more than enough to suggest that employing traditional counterinsurgency stratagems is even more testing for an alliance than for a single nation. One might, of course, argue that any kind of warfare will be particularly demanding for alliances due to problems of collective action and diverse threat perceptions among the allies. However, as insurgents rarely, if ever, pose a direct threat to the survival of the external powers struggling to subdue the rebels,[24] an alliance will be bereft of the unifying glue that tends to facilitate cooperation and burden-sharing when confronted with a strong conventional adversary. In other words, war against a weak, irregular opponent is always apt to test the political stamina of any external power – but this holds particularly true for alliances. NATO's experiences in Afghanistan reveal that an alliance conducting a counterinsurgency is faced with at least two major challenges at the strategic level of conflict: 1) making available sufficient resources; and 2) coordinating military and non-military activities. In the following, we address these challenges in turn.

As noted already, conducting a counterinsurgency campaign in the classic manner is a taxing endeavour. Isolating the insurgents from the wider population is often a long drawn out process, with considerable costs in life and treasure. On the face of things, therefore, one could be led to believe that an alliance or a multilateral coalition that brings together the resources of a number of countries would be particularly well-suited for counterinsurgency missions. Alas, this is not so. From their very beginning, the operations in Afghanistan suffered from a critical lack of resources. With the support of the United Nations and, in particular, the United States, the international community opted for a "light footprint" approach which basically translated into "doing nation building on the cheap". As NATO gradually took over responsibility for security and reconstruction in larger parts of the country – and as Washington shifted its attention towards the escalating conflict in Iraq – the gap between resources and requirements only deepened. The military, civilian and economic resources available were far too limited to create the tolerable environment that would have prevented the resurgence of the Taliban and other insurgent groups.[25]

Undoubtedly, several factors have contributed to the current lack of resources in Afghanistan: many Western countries are suffering from peacekeeping fatigue; the initial American rejection of NATO involvement in the campaign made the Europeans reluctant to

[23] Two cases in point are the provinces of Nimroz, bordering Iran, and Day Kundi in central Afghanistan. In August 2009, Afghan officials considered 13 of Afghanistan's 398 districts to be "completely in enemy hands", and 133 as "highly dangerous"; Gebauer, Matthias: "Rasmussen Vows Renewed Efforts in Afghanistan", *Spiegel Online International*, 6 August 2009. During interviews conducted in Kandahar in May 2009 with a UNAMA representative, it was specified that 11 of the 13 "black districts" without any government presence were located in the south of the country.

[24] Mack, *op. cit*.

[25] Based on the US counterinsurgency doctrine, General Dan McNeill, commander of ISAF from February 2007 to June 2008, came to the conclusion that 400,000 troops would be required to conduct an effective counterinsurgency campaign in a country the size of Afghanistan. Susanne Koelbl, Interview with ISAF commander Dan McNeill: "The Taliban Kills more Civilians than NATO", *Spiegel International*, 24 September 2007.

contribute in the years following the intervention; the conflict in Iraq diverted attention away from Afghanistan at a critical moment; and in most cases the war has been unable to compete with other issues on the national agendas of the force-contributing countries. A more deep-seated reason, however, is linked to the enduring and inherent problems of collective action that have beleaguered NATO since its creation in 1949. In a nutshell, all the allies have a strong interest in the benefits of peace and security that the Alliance produces, but in the absence of a supranational taxation authority and clear leadership, most member states will seek to take advantage of the efforts of their brothers-in-arms. The well-known results are burden-shifting, free-riding, and the under-provision of armed forces.[26] Faced with what in terms of capabilities is a weak enemy that poses no existential threat to the allies, the incentives to cooperate and contribute the required resources will be even smaller than when alliance members are confronted with a clear-cut threat to their national security.[27] Moreover, in the absence of an easily identifiable and unambiguous threat, the strongest allies will have little leverage to cajole and pressurize some of the smaller allies into contributing more. These are dynamics that make it intrinsically difficult for an alliance to employ a cost-demanding classic counterinsurgency formula.

Perhaps most illustrative of the problems of collective action hampering NATO in Afghanistan is the acrimonious row within the Alliance about national caveats and force contributions to the south and the east of the country. While one group of countries – most notably Great Britain, the United States, Canada, the Netherlands and Denmark – has committed relatively high numbers of troops to combating the insurgency in the most dangerous parts of Afghanistan, another group of countries, including Germany, Italy and Spain, has placed narrow restrictions on, in the words of the columnist Roger Cohen, "when, why and where soldiers will fight and die rather than do the soft-power, school-building, Euro thing".[28] For a long time, the German government was even denying that the Bundeswehr was involved in a war: euphemistically, former Minister of Defence Franz Josef Jung labelled the mission among other things "eine risikobehaftete Einsatz".[29] This in turn has led United States Defence Secretary Robert Gates to warn about a "two-tiered alliance", with "some allies willing to fight and die to protect people's security and others who are not".[30] The gist of the matter is that conducting classic counterinsurgency by alliance is likely to produce problems of collective action that are less liable to bedevil single nation states when confronted with an armed insurgency.[31]

Besides being hampered by a woeful lack of manpower and equipment, NATO's performance in Afghanistan has also been strained by poor coordination of the inadequate resources that have actually been allocated. Until recently, no single nation provided the strategic leadership necessary to help ensure the synchronization of all the available instruments. A key tenet of the classic counterinsurgency paradigm is that "Unity of effort must be present at every echelon of a COIN operation. Otherwise, well-intentioned but uncoordinated actions can cancel each other or provide vulnerabilities for insurgents to

[26] The seminal work on the problems of collective action and burden-sharing in NATO is Olson, Mancur and Zeckhauser, Richard: "An Economic Theory of Alliances", *Review of Economics and Statistics*, vol. 48, no. 3 (1966), pp. 266-79. For a more recent introduction to the literature on this topic, see Thies, Wallace (2003): *Friendly Rivals: Bargaining and Burden-Shifting in NATO*, New York, M.E. Sharpe.
[27] Lepgold, Joseph: "NATO's Post-Cold War Collective Action Problem", *International Security*, vol. 23, no. 1 (Summer, 1998), pp. 78-106.
[28] Roger Cohen, "The Long Haul in Afghanistan", *The New York Times*, 28 February 2008.
[29] Ansgar Graw, "Jung will von einem Kriegszustand nicht wissen", *Welt-online*, 4 September 2008.
[30] "A Ray of Light in the Dark Defile: The State of NATO", *The Economist*, 29 March 2008.
[31] For a similar view, see Diehl, Paul F.: "Problems with NATO Peace Operations in Afghanistan", *Swords and Ploughshares,* vol. XVI, no. 2, (Summer 2008), pp. 10-13.

exploit".[32] Accordingly, all military and civilian organizations involved should act as "a single anti-bandit force".[33] However, instead of developing a comprehensive overall strategy effectively harmonizing high-intensity combat operations with stability and reconstruction efforts, the mission in Afghanistan has suffered from uncoordinated and ad hoc solutions. Even if all the actors involved agree that the synchronization of all military and civilian efforts is a *conditio sine qua non*, progress towards a comprehensive approach at the strategic level has been immensely slow and tortuous. At the heart of the matter stands the fact that NATO is impeded by strategic confusion. Nearly two decades after the end of the Cold War, the Alliance is still in internal disarray regarding its proper role in world politics.[34]

True, steps have been taken towards realizing an integrative approach – in NATO jargon, the Comprehensive Approach (CA). Originally put on NATO's agenda by Denmark in late 2004, the CA initiative gradually gathered momentum in 2005 and 2006 before being somewhat reluctantly endorsed by the allies at the Riga summit in November 2006.[35] Despite some member states being concerned that NATO would impinge on the European Union's evolving nation-building ambitions, CA was enshrined in the Comprehensive Political Guidance adopted by the allies at Riga. It was not until the Bucharest summit in April 2008, however, that an Action Plan on how to advance the adoption of the new concept was approved by the member states.[36]

Despite some allies' attempts to construe CA as a concept involving few or no combat operations, the approach is obviously very similar to today's notion of classic counterinsurgency as described above.[37] Indeed, the very essence of CA is to create stability and a secure environment by winning "hearts and minds" through the integrated use of civilian *and* military means. As with the traditional counterinsurgency paradigm, CA is basically a population-centred approach to insurgencies. While some of the Alliance members who are unwilling to deploy forces to the south and east of Afghanistan have argued that the still evolving concept should pay little attention to the kinetic side of the equation, experiences from the most unruly parts of the country suggest that civilian reconstruction, development and the highly restricted use of armed force are – at best – insufficient instruments of power.[38] In a post-Dayton Peace Agreement Balkan-style peace-keeping context, CA might imply a very limited use of military tools, but in an environment like Afghanistan any meaningful interpretation of a comprehensive approach must be very similar to the classic conception of counterinsurgency.

[32] "Counterinsurgency Field Manual…", *op. cit*., p. 39.
[33] Nagl, John (2002): *Learning to Eat Soup with a Knife: Counterinsurgency Lessons from Malaya and Vietnam*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press.
[34] See, for instance, Ringsmose, Jens and Rynning, Sten: "Come Home, NATO?: The Atlantic Alliance's New Strategic Concept", Danish Institute for International Studies, *DIIS Report*, no. 4 (2009) .
[35] The initial Danish contribution was labelled "Concerted Planning and Action of Civil and Military Activities", or CPA; see Fischer, Kristian and Christensen, Jan Top: "Improving Civil-Military Cooperation the Danish Way", *NATO Review,* vol. 53, no. 2 (Summer 2005).
[36] The evolution of NATO's CA is thoroughly analysed in Jakobsen, Peter Viggo: "NATO's Comprehensive Approach to Crisis Response Operations: A Work in Slow Progress", Danish Institute for International Studies, *DIIS Report*, no. 15 (2008).
[37] In the eyes of some allies, CA is the equivalent of counterinsurgency: see, for instance, US Under Secretary of Defense for Policy Eric Edelman: "A Comprehensive Approach to Insurgency: Afghanistan and Beyond", Keynote Address, *North Atlantic Treaty Organisation* (NATO), *Conference on A Comprehensive Approach for Afghanistan*, Freising, Germany (27 March 2007).
[38] Jakobsen, *op. cit*.

NATO's apparent inability to craft an effective, multifaceted strategy for Afghanistan can first of all be attributed to the Alliance's very nature. To be sure, NATO's difficulties are also reflective of the lack of cooperation between individual member states' various branches of government and their generally underdeveloped deployable civilian capacities. But progress toward a comprehensive counterinsurgency strategy has above all been stalled by NATO being what it is: an institutionalized cooperation between sovereign states. Being a group of states united only by overlapping interests and values, a common history and a sixty-year-old treaty unavoidably allows profound political and strategic differences to hamper the effective employment of scarce resources. This is particularly the case in an era that is characterized by a rather benign threat environment like the current one. During the Cold War, when they were faced with an unambiguous military threat, all the allies unconditionally subscribed to a common view of what NATO was for. However, once deprived of its unifying foe, the Alliance has become the victim of a divisive dispute over its very purpose: should the Alliance go global in conducting a broad range of crisis management and stability operations; or should it return to its original *raison d'être* as a provider of European collective defence? As a result, the Alliance has become different things to different member states. These differences have significantly hindered the successful development of an appropriate and comprehensive response to the Afghan insurgency at the strategic level. In the following to sections, we examine the challenges of conducting counterinsurgency by alliance at the operational and tactical level.

4. Challenges at the Operational and Tactical Level: Acting as a Unified Actor

The principle of unity within a military campaign originates from the time of the American Civil War and was later manifested during the allied nations' experiences of the Great War. The overall philosophy of unity – unity of effort and unity of command – is that the main actors within a campaign work, cooperate and allocate resources in accordance with an overall plan and a common goal. As Marshal Foch said to General Pershing's liaison officer in 1918: "I am the leader of an orchestra. Here are the English bassos, here the American barytones, and there the French tenors. When I raise my baton, every man must play, or else he must not come to my concert".[39] Foch thus emphasised that an overall, agreed-upon strategy should lead campaigns, not individual preferences or national agendas. Today, unity of effort and command is in theory a non-negotiable principle within NATO. NATO doctrine states that the resources and personnel allocated to a given mission should be under the command and control of the mission, and that everyone involved should work in accordance with an overall strategy.[40] Looking at cases of classic counterinsurgency, the mere fact that the majority of all historical campaigns have been implemented by a unitary actor has to a large extent eliminated the challenge of unity. However, in campaigns such as the first and second wars in Chechnya, the Russians had to work hard for unity of command in particular because of the different national security services involved in the campaign. The same can be said with reference to the US engagement in Vietnam, where true unity of command was probably never achieved either.[41]

[39] Mott, Thomas Bentley (1979): *Twenty Years as Military Attaché*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, p. 228.
[40] NATO Allied Joint Publication (2007): *Operations AJP-3(A)*, North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), pp. 1-2 and 2-1.
[41] Hope, Ian (2008): "Unity of command in Afghanistan: a forsaken principle of war", *Strategic Studies Institute* (November 2008), pp. 5-6, at http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pdffiles/PUB889.pdf.

4. 1. Caveats: National Impediments to United Leadership

Over time the lack of unity that materialises in ongoing missions has become known within NATO as caveats or national restrictions, terms used where the troop-contributing countries attach restrictions and boundaries regarding how and where the troops may be used. This is not a problem limited to counterinsurgencies or large-scale military campaigns such as the world wars: it has also been seen in different NATO peacekeeping and peace-enforcement missions, such as those in Bosnia and Kosovo. In these missions caveats existed, but the NATO commanders could manoeuvre between them when necessary primarily due to the high number of troops present and the relatively benign environment. There is, however, no doubt that the use of caveats and correlated problems has never been as evident and explicit as in the Alliance's current counterinsurgency engagement in Afghanistan.[42] In 2006, former Supreme Allied Commander Europe, US General James Jones, outlined the problem by calling national caveats "NATO's operational cancer" and "an impediment to success".[43] At the NATO summit in Riga in November 2006, the topic reached the agenda at the highest political level within NATO, but still with little effect on the mission.[44] This was precisely when ISAF was enlarging its area of operations to the south and east of Afghanistan, and when the campaign was changing markedly from more traditional peacekeeping to counterinsurgency. At that point, NATO tried to summon troops to participate in the enlargement and to find troops who were actually allocated to the mission, and not just deployed without a mandate to be used. According to high-level NATO sources, only 14 of the 40 countries participating in the mission in 2008 did not employ written restrictions on the use of their troops.[45] As for the remaining countries, more than 70 different caveats had been applied.[46] The many restrictions have a major impact at the different levels of command and are indeed seen as an impediment to success when ISAF commanders are trying to juggle the restrictions in trying to plan and implement complex counterinsurgency operations. Consequently, commanders at all levels of the mission need to bear the restrictions in mind to avoid involving troops in an operation who are not permitted to take on a certain task, so that other troops, without restrictions on their use, can replace them.

However, the written restrictions are only the tip of the iceberg. A former deputy commander of ISAF stated that: "in fact all countries have caveats on the use of their soldiers". By this he meant that unwritten restrictions only appear when operations are about to be executed. Often when operations are in the final planning stage, the different national commanders need to obtain approval for the operation from their capitals. If approval is withheld, the force commander has to find other troops to include in the operation or else must change it or cancel it altogether. As opposed to the written restrictions, which commanders can to a large extent take into account in their operational planning, the non-written restrictions impose a major challenge for operational success. The authorisation

[42] Jones, Seth G. (2008): *Counterinsurgency in Afghanistan*, Santa Monica, RAND Corporation, pp. 104-106.
[43] Rashid, Ahmed: "A Taliban Comeback", *Global Politician,* 24 May 2006, at http://www.globalpolitician.com/21796-afghanistan-taliban .
[44] See the "Riga Summit Declaration", *North Atlantic Treaty Organization* (NATO), *Riga Summit,* Riga, Latvia (29 November 2006), at http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_37920.htm?selectedLocale=en and the" NATO Parliamentary Assembly Resolution 336 on Reducing National Caveats", *NATO Parliamentary Assembly* (NATO), Copenhagen, Denmark (15 November 2005), at www.nato-pa.int/default.asp?SHORTCUT=828.
[45] Interview conducted at ISAF headquarter October 2008 in Kabul, Afghanistan.
[46] Thruelsen, Peter Dahl: "NATO in Afghanistan: what lessons are we learning and are we willing to adjust?", Danish Institute for International Studies, *DIIS Report 14* (2007), pp. 19-20.

processes involving national governments and the possibility of a refusal to allow national troop contingents to participate can delay operations, remove the initiative in conducting them and increase considerably the burden on the remaining forces. Thus, apart from being a burden on the commander, this also creates mistrust and despondency both among Alliance members and within the mission.[47]

The problem with both written and non-written caveats is quite visible in both ISAF headquarters and the regional commands.[48] Often it is necessary to look all the way down the command structure to the taskforce level within the different provinces to find a unity of effort and command implemented with an understanding of cooperation and equal burden-sharing. At ISAF headquarters in Kabul, where the overall control and management of the mission is supposed to take place, the frustrations over national restrictions are quite explicit. As one senior ISAF headquarters staff officer remarked, "Nobody listens to the headquarters; they don't even report to headquarters but directly to the national capitals".[49] ISAF headquarters (ISAF HQ and ISAF Joint Command, IJC) is in charge of the overall campaign design and in managing it down the chain of command through the regional commands to the task forces. But often plans are blocked because of conflicting national interests.

4.2. Waving the Bilateral Flag

The impediments caused by the lack of unity and by national caveats within the Alliance's counterinsurgency efforts are perhaps best illustrated by the Provisional Reconstruction Teams (PRT) that have been deployed in provinces across the country.[50] The PRT concept was introduced by the US in 2002 at a time when the mission was changing from the initial counter-terrorism focus to a phase of stabilisation. At this time the unity part of the mission was not very high on the agenda because of the more benign environment and the US focus on having a light-footprint in the different provinces rather than on implementing a centrally controlled concept. "PRT Working Principles" was issued in February 2003 to identify the main activities (focusing on unity of effort) for the PRT to build on, but as early as 2004 the concept had mutated into very different models being implemented in a variety of ways.[51] Nothing genuine was done to streamline the PRTs or to strengthen the command structure other than issuing a number of PRT Handbooks as inspiration for the national-led teams.

Therefore the PRTs have remained under national as opposed to ISAF control and are mostly seen to be pursuing national interests led by national agendas and principles.[52] For example, the development and reconstruction funds assigned to PRTs for use in their

[47] "Eighth Report; Global Security: Afghanistan and Pakistan, part 2", *UK House of Commons, Foreign Affairs Committee* (21 July 2009), at http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200809/cmselect/cmfaff/302/30202.htm.

[48] At the top of NATO's engagement in Afghanistan is the higher operational headquarters, ISAF HQ commanded by General Stanley A. McChrystal (USA). Subordinated is an intermediate headquarters, ISAF Joint Command (IJC) commanded by Lieutenant General David M. Rodriguez (USA), both HQ being located in Kabul. Under the command of the IJC are five regional commands located in Mazar-e-Sharif, Herat, Kabul, Kandahar and Bagram. For more on the ISAF chain of command, see www.nato.int/isaf.

[49] Interview conducted at ISAF headquarters on 04 June 2009 in Kabul, Afghanistan.

[50] NATO has defined PRTs as "a joint military-civilian organisation, staffed and supported by ISAF member countries, operating within the Provinces of Afghanistan. […]" The Mission for PRTs is "To assist GoA to extend its authority in order to facilitate the development of a stable and secure environment in the identified area of operations, and enable SSR and the reconstruction effort."; ISAF (2006): *Provincial Reconstruction Team Handbook*, version 6 (July 2006).

[51] Jakobsen, Peter Viggo: "PRTs in Afghanistan: Successful but not Sufficient", Danish Institute of International Studies, *DIIS Report* no. *6* (2005), pp. 11-28.

[52] *Ibid.,* pp. 23-24.

particular areas are allocated directly to them, with no means of control or involvement from ISAF headquarters. As a consequence, the 26 PRTs currently in operation in Afghanistan, led by 14 different states, have produced 14 different solutions for how to organise, implement and especially prioritise the tasks at hand, which are often not in agreement with the overall strategy. Concomitantly, the quantities of human and economic resources assigned to different national-led PRTs differ markedly. Thus, for ISAF headquarters and the other non-state actors, such as the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) or the European Union Police mission in Afghanistan (EUPOL Afghanistan), to interact with, supervise, cooperate with or merely understand the different PRTs is a great challenge. In addition, the lack of unity within the PRT concept also challenges interactions with the Afghan government and local populations who have to cope with these dissimilar approaches.[53] All these aspects undermine the classic focus of the counterinsurgency campaign as implemented by the Alliance.

A key question is, of course, whether anything could have been done? The short answer is no. Probably nothing could have been done because of the minimal international focus on Afghanistan and because the different governments saw the PRT concept as an excellent opportunity for them to plant a "bilateral-flag" distinguishing their individual (low-risk) commitments to the country. Today it will probably be impossible to create unity, and the new efforts in Kabul to strengthen the leadership of the ISAF mission and amongst others to focus on the above problem of unity will not have much effect on the PRTs.[54]

4.3. A Coalition of the Willing within ISAF

At the regional commands, experiences with unity of effort and command seem to reflect those at the headquarters level. In Regional Command South, which covers six southern provinces, eight of the 42 troop-contributing countries are conducting operations on a permanent basis.[55] The Alliance's activities here can be regarded as a mini "coalition of the willing" within the overall NATO mission. None of the countries deployed to the south is restricted by written caveats,[56] and, taking the non-written restrictions into account, they can all be employed more or less anywhere in all types of operation, ranging from large-scale combat operations to the training of the national security forces and reconstruction work. The headquarters of Regional Command South can to a large extent rely on the willingness of the contributing states to agree to the deployment of its forces, but it is also fully aware of the fact that the other, more than thirty countries present in the other parts of the country cannot be counted on. This was painfully demonstrated during Operation Medusa in September 2006 in the Panjwayi District of Kandahar Province, when Regional Command South requested assistance from troops stationed in other parts of the country. During the operation, it was felt that additional troops would be needed in the aftermath of the operation to support de-mining and rebuilding efforts. This request was, however, turned down because of national caveats

[53] Azarbaijani-Moghaddam, Sippi et al. (2008) "Afghan hearts, Afghan minds: exploring Afghan perceptions of civil-military relations", Research conducted for the European Network of NGOs in Afghanistan (ENNA) and the British and Irish Agencies Afghanistan Group (BAAG), pp. 4-8, 43-50.

[54] The US has decided to divide ISAF headquarters into a higher operational headquarters and an ISAF joint command (IJC).This was agreed by the NATO allies on 3 August 2009. The motivation was the development of the mission since the last adjustment of the command structures in summer 2006 which required a separation of the strategic functions from the day-to-day operational leadership of the mission.

[55] As of October 2009: http://www.nato.int/isaf/docu/epub/pdf/placemat.pdf.

[56] Two of the countries in Regional Command South do have some administrative caveats but there should be no formal operational caveats in the regional command. Email correspondence with a high-level staff member of Regional Command South headquarters December 2009.

applied by other states on the use of their troops. In interviews at Regional Command South, these types of problem are often mentioned.[57]

At the provincial level, where different taskforces and PRTs are conducting operations under the guidance of the regional commands, relations with respective national capitals back home are described as being closer than those with the next level of command within the mission. Often, the task forces and PRTs do not perceive the regional level as their closest point of reference. As one informant stated, "Regional command is no more than a two-star post office".[58] The regional command is thus perceived as quite weak, which leaves considerable room for manoeuvre to a strong task force following national agendas. A former task-force commander in the south described the relationship with the regional command as frustrating. He emphasised that the regional command did not understand the fight in terms of counterinsurgency and that it did not "do the flanks" as he expected the regional level to do.[59]

In Regional Command South, Canada (with the US in a supporting role), The Netherlands (with Australia as a partner), the United Kingdom (with the US in a substantially supporting role, soon to be a shared responsibility) and the United States, are each in charge of a province,[60] and they implement their counterinsurgency campaign according to an equal number of national counterinsurgency doctrines, all largely in accordance with the classical principles of counterinsurgency, but with differences in priority and implementation. During the training and preparation of the UK division that took command of Regional Command South in November 2009, issues over operational procedures and doctrine were explicit. The Dutch within the regional multinational staff wanted to implement the counterinsurgency campaign according to NATO doctrine, the US wanted to use their new doctrine, and the British wanted to use UK doctrine.[61] As the region is currently under British command there is a clear tendency to lean towards British doctrine, but with the large influx of US forces and civilian resources it would appear likely that the emphasis over the next 12 months will significantly shift towards the new US doctrine. This is already now a tendency seen in the doctrines applied e.g. by the newly arrived (summer 2009) US forces where substantial emphasis is attached to force delivery of humanitarian operations and social services like access to medical treatment and delivery of winterization humanitarian aid directly by US forces. By way of contrast the British emphasis is more on facilitating and supporting the delivery of such functions by the national afghan security forces.

During a high level interview with a representative from Regional Command South the doctrinal differences was explained as 'the Americans simply being more advanced in their basic understanding of COIN [counterinsurgency]'. The US has fully integrated their civilian capacities, whereas the other representatives of Regional Command South still see security operations as a precondition for the access of civilian agencies. Because of these difficulties and Alliance members' national agendas, the US has intimated that, if the current UK command of Regional Command South (November 2009–November 2010) does not deliver a well-thought-out, strongly led and coherent counterinsurgency campaign, the US will take

[57] Numerous interviews conducted during several field visits to Regional Command South in 2006, 2007, 2008 and 2009.
[58] Interview conducted in Regional Command South on 31 May 2009 in Kandahar, Afghanistan.
[59] High-level briefing received in United Kingdom on 13 May 2009.
[60] As of summer 2009, Canada in Kandahar, the Netherlands in Oruzgan, the UK in Helmand and the US in Zabul.
[61] Interviews conducted during summer 2009 with a high-level staff member of the UK multinational division headquarters who participated in the training and preparations.

over command of Regional Command South in November 2010 and keep the command on a permanent basis.[62]

It seems that, for NATO to conduct a counterinsurgency campaign with all the participating actors following the same overall strategy, a fast decision-making procedure is needed, as well as an actor at the end of the table with the power to take decisions and support their implementation – a capacity that only a very few actors within NATO have. Many informants stressed that only the US can create a strong and coherent regional command level which can overrule or harmonise these national agendas. Thus, even within Regional Command South, where a mini "coalition of the willing" can be said to have materialized, a strong leadership is still needed to create unity within the campaign.

Tellingly, the problems with cooperation that are hampering Regional Command South are much less significant in the eastern parts of Afghanistan. Here the US heads ten of the thirteen PRTs in the provinces and is also in overall regional command.[63] Thus, all the US task forces and PRTs operate within the same command and control structure and are therefore not affected by the same problems as in the south. If operations are planned by the regional command headquarters, the US troops there can implement them without needing to seek national approval or to follow other doctrines. The downside, however, is that in their turn the US forces do not seem to listen to branches of ISAF headquarters other than their own.[64] This tendency was described by a number of informants in Kandahar. Some of the sections within the ISAF regional headquarters were being copied by US parallel reporting if the US did not agree on the set up or priority of the ISAF-led section in question. Parallel reporting was seen already in early summer 2009, bypassing ISAF lines of communications.

To sum up, the national and regional level within the mission is frequently acting as a point of contact for the respective national capital more than as the implementer of a coherent NATO mission strategy – guided by national agendas more than by mission unity. Most actors are tied down by national restrictions and focuses that make them loath to follow commonly agreed strategies and goals. Unity of effort and command can be found at the provincial PRTs and task-force level in cases where one actor is resourced and staffed to control the environment and has command over the lower levels. However, only a few NATO members have the resources to assume this role at the regional and national mission levels. That is why the US seems to be an essential partner for the Alliance when conducting a counterinsurgency campaign. As noted by one ISAF general: "The US is the only show in town".[65] This illustrates one of the clearest disparities between the classic and current counterinsurgency approaches. As noted above, the classic campaigns were conducted by a single state acting predominantly as a single actor – even the Iraqi campaign seems to fall under this category. The campaign in Afghanistan has been focused more on achieving equality and a political balance than on operational efficiency. In an interview at Regional Command South in Kandahar, the regional command level was characterised as being structured more by national and political necessities than by operational needs.[66] During visits to Regional Command South in all of the years 2006, 2007, 2008 and 2009, the change of

[62] High-level briefing received in United Kingdom on 12 May 2009, and interviews conducted in Regional Command South on 30 and 31 May 2009 in Kandahar, Afghanistan.
[63] Regional Command East comprise the following provinces: Nuristan, Kunar, Nangarhar, Bamyan, Ghazni, Kapisa, Laghman, Paktiya, Wardak, Logar, Khost, Paktika, Parwan and Panjshir.
[64] Interviews conducted at ISAF headquarters on 28 May and 4 June 2009 in Kabul, Afghanistan.
[65] High-level briefing received in United Kingdom on 12 May 2009.
[66] Interview conducted in Regional Command South Headquarters, Kandahar, on 30 May 2009 with a high-level NATO officer.

command[67] and the subsequent change in focus were obvious, and the work within some of the headquarters sections was characterised more by cutting and pasting information received by the province task forces and PRTs than by operational planning.

4.4. Testing Unity: Building National Security Forces

As in most counterinsurgency campaigns throughout modern history, the establishment of efficient national security forces has been central to the Afghan campaign. The (re)establishment of both police and military as crucial elements in the counterinsurgency efforts played an important role in classic campaigns such as the British-led police programme in Malaya and the build up of the host-nation's military by the US in Vietnam. The emphasis on national security forces has recently been reproduced in some of the newest doctrine, such as the US Counterinsurgency Manuel FM 3-24, which stresses that "Developing effective HN [Host Nation] security forces—including military, police, and paramilitary forces—is one of the highest priority COIN tasks".[68] The latter continues by emphasising that local police forces should have priority because, "In COIN operations, military forces defeat enemies to establish civil security; then, having done so, these same forces preserve it until host-nation (HN) police forces can assume responsibility for maintaining the civil order".[69] Several empirical lessons based on classic counterinsurgency campaigns support this point, as Marcus Skinner has observed. First, the establishment of security and the rule of law to win the support of the local population are crucial. Secondly, the national security forces, and especially the police, "provide a vital connection to the people….".[70] Finally, the provision of security is a precondition for the state's survival.[71] Thus, the importance of incorporating this focus into the campaign plan early in the engagement is emphasised.

In the Afghan case, the lessons of earlier campaigns were more clearly reflected in the overall political strategies that emerged in 2002 than in their actual implementation by the US and the Alliance. Shortly after the fall of the Taliban in late 2001, the international community agreed a division of labour in establishing a new army and a police force in the country. Germany became the lead nation for the police reform programme and the US for the rebuilding of the military.[72] At this early stage of the engagement, no one talked about producing national security forces to be part of a counterinsurgency campaign, but merely to build them up as part of the overall goal of the mission, namely to ensure that the Afghan state could maintain a monopoly of power within the country.

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[67] In Regional Command South, since 2006 the command has been rotated every six months between UK, the Netherlands and Canada. Cooperation has not been easy, and the different commanders have had quite different ideas of how the operation is to be implemented, thus failing to create the sort of continuity that a counterinsurgency mission optimally needs.

[68] "Counterinsurgency Field Manual…", *op. cit*., pp. 6-22.

[69] *Ibid.,* pp. 7-5.

[70] Skinner, Marcus: "Counterinsurgency and State Building: An Assessment of the Role of the Afghan National Police", *Democracy and Security*, vol. 4, no. 3 (2008), pp. 290-311, Taylor & Francis Group, p. 292.

[71] *Ibid.*

[72] The set up of the security-sector reform program for Afghanistan was decided at a conference in Geneva in April 2002. For more details, see: Sedra, Mark: "Security Sector Transformation in Afghanistan", Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, *Working Paper,* no. 143 (2004), p. 3, and Hodes, Cyrus and Sedra, Mark: "Chapter Five: Security-Sector Reform", in Hodes, Cyrus and Sedra, Mark: "The search for security in post-Taliban Afghanistan", International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), *Adelphi Papers*, vol. 47, no. 391 (2007), pp. 51-93.

The German-led efforts focused almost entirely on building a strong officer corps and not on the lowest levels of the police. A smaller number of German police officers were assigned to the project of establishing a police academy in Kabul, where all Afghan police officers were to be educated.[73] The idea was to provide Afghan police officers with three years of education emphasising the principles of the rule of law, human rights and the role of the police in a democratic society. The lowest level of police officers were given merely a four- to eight-week training programme implemented by a US private contractor, DynCorp. The police building efforts were seen more as a reform programme, with the ministry and overall structures of the police to a large extent remaining the same, rather than as the rebuilding programme the US-led military programme was designed to be.

The US-led programme for the Afghan army, by contrast, was highly prioritised almost from the beginning. The US established a task force to be in charge of the programme and allocated some 2000 trainers and advisors to the project. Although the US focused on all levels of the new army, the first years' emphasis was to a large degree on getting soldiers into the field to assist mainly US forces in the "war against terror", particularly in the eastern regions of the country.[74] The programme was built on an initial fifteen-week training course for the new soldiers and on comprehensive education for officers, all taking place in Kabul.[75] As opposed to the German programme to reform the police, this programme embarked on a total rebuilding, thus not relying on old, ineffective and often corrupt structures. By 2006 it had become clear that the deteriorating security situation in the country demanded that both programmes – but especially the police programme – needed both restructuring and resources to be able to counter the challenges of a counterinsurgency campaign.[76]

At this time, ISAF had only a limited involvement in the two programmes, even though most contributors to the mission acknowledged the importance of national security forces in what was hastily becoming a classical counterinsurgency campaign.[77] By 2006, only about half of the approximately 62,000-strong police force was seen as capable of conducting the most basic police tasks,[78] and of the planned 70,000-man national army, only half had gone through basic training.[79] As a result, the US wanted to take over and strengthen the basic police programme and to engage ISAF fully in the training and mentoring of the Afghan army. As one informant stated, "there was no overall plan to build the Afghan national

[73] The number of police officers that Germany actually deployed to Afghanistan has varied from between about forty and eighty officers. See, e.g., Skinner, *op. cit*.
[74] Interview conducted in Kabul in December 2004 with the director of an international think tank.
[75] The initial training programme has now been reduced to ten weeks. For more on the Afghan National Army, see Younossi, Obaid; Thruelsen, Peter Dahl et al. (2009): *The Long March: Building an Afghan National Army*, Santa Monica, RAND Corporation.
[76] For more on the state of the Afghan National Police at this time, see Inspectors General: "Interagency Assessment of Afghanistan Police Training and Readiness", *US Departments of State and Defence*, Report, *ISP-IQO-07-07* (2006),
[77] The then British commander of ISAF, Lieutenant General David Richards, was the first ISAF commander to begin implementing a more classic counterinsurgency strategy for the mission. Among other things, he tried to implement an "ink spot" or "oil spot" strategy much inspired by earlier engagements in the 1950s and 1960s. Prior to Richards, US Lieutenant General David Barno (commander of the US-led operations in Afghanistan from 2003 to 2005) had had a large impact in creating a more focused population-centred strategy for the US forces. For further details, see Marston, Daniel and Malkasian, Carter (eds.) (2008): *Counterinsurgency in Modern Warfare*, Wellingborough, Northants, United Kingdom, pp. 230-5.
[78] "Interagency Assessment of Afghanistan …", *op. cit*., p. 15.
[79] Younossi et al., *op. cit*., p. 31.

security forces", and such plans as did exist were not integrated into an overall strategy or aligned with each other.[80]

To restart the programmes, however, the US needed the Alliance's genuine commitment to the counterinsurgency campaign. Washington wanted to introduce police mentoring teams equal to the military ones, but for this to be possible, ISAF had to commit to the mentoring of the army to release US mentors for this new task. From the beginning of the military rebuilding programme, the US had introduced what it called Embedded Training Teams (ETT), which followed the national army units into the field to mentor and conduct "on the job training". To release the US ETTs for the much needed police mentoring, ISAF introduced an equivalent called the Operational Mentor and Liaison Team (OMLT), which was to be filled by ISAF soldiers stationed in the provinces. At first the participating countries within ISAF seem to support the idea, but when it came actually to allocating forces to the OMLTs, only a few NATO members signed up. By December 2008, only 42 of the 103 teams that ISAF were to substitute were operational, and even many of these were subject to national caveats.[81] Even in the parts of Afghanistan where the security situation was relatively calm, there was a great reluctance to participate in this extremely critical counterinsurgency task. Of the fifteen teams authorised in the north, only five were filled by January 2008, and of these two were "Tier II" OMLTs, meaning that restrictions were imposed on their use.[82] As a consequence, the US had to keep a large number of ETTs involved in the army programme on a permanent basis, thus reducing the greatly needed involvement with the police.

As well as the mentoring programme, the US introduced a new focused training programme for the police. The US Department of State hired DynCorp to undertake an eight-week training programme for the police, who were then to be supported by the mentoring teams that were to follow the newly trained police units into the field. Also, within this programme, the US tried to get ISAF to participate by sending police officers to the country to be included in the new Police Mentor Teams (PMT). Again, support for the programme came only slowly, and by late 2008 only about 25% of the more than 600 PMTs had been filled.[83] In this case, however, the US could not provide the absent teams because their ETTs were not being released by ISAF from their mentoring role with the army, with the negative effect that many police units are being left without oversight and mentoring.[84]

A striking example of the lack of unity hampering the creation and employment of effective Afghan security forces was revealed to us during interviews at Regional Command South in Kandahar. One high-level ISAF officer informed us about the decision to increase the Afghan police in the south and east with 10,000 personal.[85] The decision had been taking by the Afghan Ministry of Interior and the US Combined Security Transition Command – Afghanistan (CSTC-A). Following the decision, CSTC-A communicated the news through

[80] Sedra, Mark: "Security Sector Reform in Afghanistan: The Slide Towards Expediency", in *International Peacekeeping*, vol. 13, no. 1 (2007), pp. 106-07.
[81] "Progress towards Security and Stability in Afghanistan", Report in accordance with the 2008 National Defence Authorization Act (Section 1230, Public Law 110-181), *US Congress* (2009), p. 8, at http://www.afghanconflictmonitor.org/USDoD_ProgressTowardSecurityStability_Afghanistan_Jan2009.pdf.
[82] Younossi *et al*., *op. cit*., p. 37.
[83] "Progress towards Security …", *op. cit*., p. 44. The plan is that each ANP unit will have a PMT attached (with 365 districts, 46 city police precincts, 34 provinces, 5 regions, 20 ANCOP battalions, 33 ABP battalions and 135 ABP companies).
[84] The problem was mentioned by numerous informants during interviews and conversations conducted in Kabul, Kandahar and Helmand in May and June 2009.
[85] Cordesman, Anthony H. (2009): *Afghan National Security Forces: Shaping the Path to Victory*, Washington DC, Center for Strategic & International Studies (CSIS), pp. 27, 34.

US lines of communications down to the regional level.[86] CSTC-A at the regional level then initiated the planning and implementation process to support the police build-up with mentors and training. Being part of the ISAF structure, Regional Command South was not informed about the decision, even though it has a substantial role in the support of the Afghan police and is in overall charge of operations in the south. Only because of good personal relations between the chief of the US-led Afghan Regional Security Integration Commands (ARSIC) and the ISAF chief in supporting the Afghan national security forces was Regional Command South informed about the decision and their subsequent role in the increase. As the ISAF officer said, "There are no official communications structures. It is all about personal relations, and this has to be solved if unity is to be achieved".[87] In conducting a counterinsurgency campaign of such complexity as that in Afghanistan, it is imperative that the Alliance has clear communication and control structures, otherwise nobody will know what anyone else is doing. This will eventually undermine the efforts to build up the national security forces and thus the efficiency of the mission.

Currently, the Afghan National Army is scheduled to grow to 134,000 troops and the Afghan National Police to 82,000, plus 4,800 extra police for Kabul and 10,000 extra for the southern and eastern regions. However, there is a persistent debate about the proper size of both the army and the police,[88] which, in combination with the deteriorating security situation and the international desire to downsize the military presence, is constantly increasing the need for mentoring and training teams for the two services. An Afghan army of 134,000 soldiers is authorised to have 168 OMLTs and the current number of police (including border police) to have some 600 PMTs. With currently less that 50% of the OMLTs and only a fraction of the PMTs provided by ISAF, the US has realised that ISAF will probably not be assuming its share of the burden. Therefore, in launching his new Afghanistan strategy, President Obama stated that 4,000 trainers were to be deployed to assist both the Afghan army and the Afghan police.[89] However, in the summer of 2009 the US was still relying on ISAF to come up with approximately 200 of the PMTs and a majority of the OMLTs.[90]

Whether the Alliance will buy into this crucial element of counterinsurgency is uncertain. Even in relation to the newly agreed decision to establish a NATO training mission to Afghanistan,[91] Washington does not seem to have much confidence that there is a genuine commitment to the Afghan national security forces on the part of NATO members. As several high-level members of the international community in Kabul stated, "The US will take what they can get from NATO and then deliver the rest themselves". The impression given was that NATO's role within the newly strengthened US commitment will be "as a bit player" within the ISAF mission. The US will see what the different countries provide, but they seem to be

[86] CSTC-A is represented in the regions by Afghan Regional Security Integration Commands (ARSIC). CSTC-A and the ARSICs are designed to support the build-up of the Afghan national security forces: CSTC-A in conjunction with ISAF and the Afghan government "plans, programs and implements the generation and development of the Afghan National Security Force (ANSF) in order to enable GIRoA [the Afghan government] to achieve security and stability in Afghanistan", at http://www.cstc-a.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=124&Itemid=1.

[87] Interview conducted in Regional Command South and ARSIC South on 30 May 2009 in Kandahar, Afghanistan.

[88] Commander ISAF recommended in his *COMISAF's Initial Assessment* that the national army should grow to 240,000 and the national police to 160,000. Also, one of President Karzai's five priority areas mentioned during his election campaign was to increase the Afghan national security forces to some 260,000 members.

[89] Obama, Barack: "speech on the new US strategy towards Afghanistan" (27 March 2009).

[90] Interviews conducted at ISAF headquarters in May and June 2009 in Kabul, Afghanistan.

[91] "Summit Declaration on Afghanistan", *North Atlantic Treaty Organisation* (NATO), *Strasbourg/Kehl Summit*, Strasbourg/Kehl (4 April 2009), at http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/news_52836.htm.

taking the lead themselves. As one informant stated, "within a year we [NATO] will only be contributors to the mission, not taking the lead".[92] One current issue illustrating the challenges involved is the discussion over whether the ISAF operational plan (O-plan) should be revised to meet the current challenges of a counterinsurgency operation. A revised plan could make the training and mentoring of the ANP a "key military task", as opposed to its current status as the "key supporting task" of ISAF. That will make it easier for ISAF to engage fully in the programme. However, revising the operational plan will probably open up another Pandora's Box, with 28 member states trying to agree not only on the new police training role, but also on all the other issues that will ultimately surface because of the direction the engagement has taken since ISAF took command in August 2003.

5. Conclusion

The problems of conducting classic counterinsurgency by alliance have been painfully revealed by NATO's current mission to Afghanistan. Eight years after the toppling of the Taliban regime, the insurgency seems stronger than ever, while the public support for the campaign is steadily eroding in several western capitals. To be sure, prevailing against a weak but determined irregular opponent in an ill-defined conflict is no easy feat for any actor. History offers quite a few examples to corroborate this observation. The analysis, however, suggest that fighting an insurgency the classic way is particularly challenging for a multilateral coalition or an alliance. Collective action problems, inconsistent threat perceptions, free-riding, and an unwillingness to subjugate narrow national interests to the need for tight coordination all work to the detriment of the effective implementation of a traditional counterinsurgency approach.

This is not to say that fighting as an alliance in an armed conflict against insurgents is all negative. Most importantly, an alliance can add significant legitimacy to the mission in ways that a small coalition built around a clearly dominant actor or a single nation state engaged in a war against irregular forces overseas, can not. Consider the war in Iraq. Although Washington occasionally portrayed the Multi-National Force-Iraq (MNF-I) as a truly multilateral cooperation, it was evidently the United States that was doing the majority of the fighting and calling the shots. And although a significant number of western countries took part in the coalition, key NATO allies derided the war as an illegal attack on a sovereign state. Despite the fact that 40 countries contributed to the U.S.-led coalition, MNF-I thus never enjoined the broad political goodwill that still surrounds ISAF's mission in Afghanistan.

This is also why the current Americanisation of ISAF might turn out to be a double-edged sword. On the one hand, the strengthened American commitment and the increased number of US forces deployed to the particularly unruly parts of the country are raising hopes of a diminishing of the problem of collective action and the lack of coordination currently plaguing ISAF's undertakings. Greater unity of effort and more adequate military and civilian resources could reasonably be the results of increased US leadership. On the other hand, Washington's decision to take ownership could also engender even more political opposition to the campaign in European capitals. Already unpopular, turning the conflict into an "American-led war" would do little to make the mission more accepted. Less multilateralism would thus mean that the war efforts would be viewed as less legitimate. On a wider scale,

[92] Interview conducted with a NATO staff officer in Regional Command South headquarters, Kandahar, 31 May 2009.

Americanisation could even endanger the cohesiveness of NATO, as US policy-makers might eventually lose interest in European partners who persistently show themselves unwilling and unable to contribute significantly to out-of-area operations.

RIGHT STRATEGY, WRONG PLACE-WHY NATO´S COMPREHENSIVE APPROACH WILL FAIL IN AFGHANISTAN

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Abstract:
NATO has been right to adopt a joint Comprehensive Approach (CA) involving the international community since it is a prerequisite for success in its crisis response operations. However, it has been wrong to hail its CA as a "sine qua non" for success in Afghanistan, as the new strategy remains a work in progress. This article demonstrates that NATO's CA will fail in Afghanistan because three necessary conditions cannot be implemented in time: (1) Creation of NATO consensus on how the CA should be implemented, (2) Institutionalization of CA doctrine, procedures and thinking within the Alliance enabling it to plug and play with other actors, and (3) Establishment of effective cooperation with the organizations and local actors that NATO must cooperate with in Afghanistan.

Keywords: Afghanistan, COIN, Comprehensive Approach, crisis response operations, ISAF, NATO, PRT.

Resumen:
La OTAN ha tenido razón en adoptar conjuntamente una Aproximación Integral (CA) implicando a toda la comunidad internacional ya que es un prerrequisito para el éxito en las operaciones de respuesta en situaciones de crisis. Ha sido un error sin embargo alabar el CA como condición "sine qua non" para el éxito en Afganistán, ya que la nueva estrategia sigue estando en proceso de elaboración. El presente artículo demuestra que la actual CA de la OTAN fracasará al no cumplir los tres siguientes requisitos que han de ser ejecutados a tiempo: (1) Crear un consenso en el seno de la OTAN sobre la ejecución del CA, (2) Una institucionalización de la doctrina, procedimientos y pensamiento de la CA en el seno de la OTAN que permitan su interacción con otros actores, y (3) El establecimiento de una cooperación efectiva con las organizaciones locales con las que la OTAN debe cooperar en Afganistán.

Palabras clave: *Afganistán, COIN, Enfoque Integral, operaciones de respuesta en situación de crisis, ISAF, OTAN, PRT.*

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1. Introduction

In 2006 NATO adopted the Comprehensive Approach (CA) to enhance the scope for success in its non-article five crisis response operations. The adoption of the CA reflected the lesson learned by the Alliance in the Balkans and Afghanistan that it cannot win the peace alone even if it conducts a textbook military operation. In addition to military security, sustainable peace also requires development, good governance, rule of law and local ownership. NATO has consequently conceptualized the CA as a collective endeavour involving all the actors engaged in such operations. It is not NATO owned and should not be NATO driven. The CA is supposed to foster "cooperation and coordination between international organisations, individual states, agencies and NGOs, the private sector and the host government, and effective implementation requires the cooperation and contribution of all major actors".[2] To this end NATO emphasizes that this cooperation and coordination should be "done in a way that does not compromise any organisation's independence. Nor must it infringe on the humanitarian space to which Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) understandably attach great importance".[3] Similarly, the Alliance has pledged not to develop "purely civilian capacities" in order to reassure the United Nations, the EU and the NGOs that it does not intend to trespass on their turf.[4]

NATO has been right to formulate its CA in this way as the Alliance will always depend upon other civilian actors for success on the crisis response operations that it becomes involved in. Being a military organisation it cannot provide all the civilian contributions that sustainable peace requires, and the adoption of a collectively owned CA is essential to ensure the Alliance's continued relevance in a situation where its members are no longer threatened by conventional military attack. Its future relevance will depend on its ability to support crisis response operations outside of Europe since it is only a matter of time before the EU will take over responsibility for the Alliance's last remaining operation on the European continent in Kosovo.

NATO has been wrong to present the CA as a sine qua non for success in Afghanistan however. Three years on NATO's efforts to implement the CA have failed to make a difference on the ground in Afghanistan, and this article will demonstrate that it will continue to do so because three necessary success requirements cannot be realized in time to turn the deteriorating situation around:[5] (1) Creation of NATO consensus on how the CA should be implemented, (2) Institutionalization of CA doctrine, procedures and thinking within NATO facilitating the formulation of common operational objectives and strategies, as well as joint planning, implementation and evaluation with other actors in all operational phases (pre-deployment, deployment, post-deployment), and (3) Establishment of effective cooperation with the organizations and local actors that NATO has to cooperate with in Afghanistan. Nothing suggests that the Alliance can meet these success requirements within the time frame

[2] "Speech by NATO Secretary General at the Microsoft-BBC-NATO", *North Atlantic Treaty Organization* (NATO) *Defence Leaders Forum,* Noordwijk aan zee, Netherlands (23 April 2007) .

[3] Bisogniero, Claudio: "Assisting Afghanistan: the importance of a comprehensive approach", Keynote address by NATO Deputy Secretary General Ambassador, *North Atlantic Treaty Organization* (NATO), *GLOBSEC Conference*, Bratislava, Slovak Republic (17 January 2008); See also: "Bucharest Summit Declaration", *North Atlantic Treaty Organization* (NATO), *Bucharest Summit, Press Release (2008)049*, Bucharest, Romania (3 April 2008).

[4] "Riga Summit Declaration", *North Atlantic Treaty Organization* (NATO), *Riga Summit,* Riga, Latvia (26 November 2006) , para. 10 .

[5] That the security situation is deteriorating is generally accepted. For the most recent UN assessment see: "The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security", *United Nations* (UN), *General Assembly-Security Council, A/64/364–S/2009/475* (22 September 2009), para. 29-37.

of the next twelve to twenty-four months that many analysts regard as critical to prevent the American and hence NATO's commitment to the operation from collapsing.[6]

In what follows NATO's efforts to meet the three conditions necessary for CA success are discussed in turn. A conclusion at the end sums up the main points and identifies American leadership, blood and treasure as the key to turn the Afghan operation around.

2. Little Consensus on CA Implementation within NATO

Progress with respect to implementing the CA has been slow since Denmark put it on the Alliance's agenda in late 2004.[7] The Danish initiative was followed by difficult negotiations that led to the endorsement of the idea by the Alliance in the Riga Summit Declaration in November 2006.[8] It took another sixteen months to reach agreement on an Action Plan for developing and implementing NATO's contribution to CA. The Action Plan was finally adopted at the Bucharest summit in April 2008, but this did not speed up the process. The wording of the Action Plan was very general and a CA Task Force at NATO Headquarters (HQ) tasked with its implementation has not made much headway with respect to turning it into practical policy that can make a difference in Afghanistan.[9]

Profound disagreements in three areas explain why. The first is the disagreement over NATO's role in world politics, in particular, whether NATO should remain a regional actor with a focus on the transatlantic region, or become a player in the management of global security issues in cooperation with like-minded democratic countries in other parts of the world such as Australia, Japan, New Zealand, and South Korea. The United States (US) has been the principal advocate of a global role since the late 1990s, whereas France has led the opposition insisting that NATO remain a regional organization with a principal focus on collective national defence.[10] French president Sarkozy, who has taken France back into NATO's military command, has also taken this position since he entered office in 2007.[11] This disagreement has had a negative impact on the development of NATO's CA role because of French concerns that the US may seek to use the CA to give NATO a global role. Moreover, the new members who joined the Alliance in order to obtain a security guarantee

[6] See for instance Ackerman, Spencer: "Obama Faces Rising Anxiety on Afghanistan", *The Washington Independent*, 12 August 2009, at http://washingtonindependent.com/54840/; Interview with Steven Biddle, "U.S. Needs a Stronger Commitment to Improving Afghan Governance", Council of Foreign Relations (CFR), 30 July 2009, at http://www.cfr.org/publication/19936/; Exum, Andrew M; Fick, Nathaniel C.; Humayun, Ahmed A. and Kilcullen, David J. (2009): *Triage: The Next Twelve Months in Afghanistan and Pakistan*, Washington DC, Center for a New American Security; Lubold, Gordon: "In Afghanistan, time is running out, Pentagon worries", *Christian Science Monitor*, 2 June 2009; Woodward, Bob: "McChrystal: More Forces or 'Mission Failure'", *Washington Post*, 21 September 2009.

[7] Fischer, Kristian and Christensen, Jan Top: "Improving Civil-Military Cooperation the Danish Way", *NATO Review* (Summer 2005).

[8] "Riga Summit Declaration", *op. cit*.

[9] Interviews with sources in NATO HQ, June 2009.

[10]: "The future of NATO and European defence, Ninth Report of Session 2007–08", *UK House of Commons, Defence Committee* (2008), para. 38.

[11] Jakobsen, Peter Viggo: "NATO's Comprehensive Approach to Crisis Response Operations: A Work in Slow Progress", Danish Institute for International Institute, *DIIS Report*, no. 15 (2008), p. 11, at http://www.diis.dk/sw69155.

against Russia also have an interest in ensuring that NATO does not divert too many resources away from collective defence towards out-of-Europe CA activities.[12]

The second area of disagreement hampering CA implementation concerns the extent of the military involvement. Determining how much of a role the military should play in CA and with what capabilities remains a topic of debate both at the national level within member states and at the Alliance level. Although NATO Response Force has "deployed" Stabilization Battalions on exercises,[13] this debate is unlikely to be settled in the near future as it taps into the fundamental identity question concerning what "proper soldiering" is all about. Although most NATO member states realize that their armies may have to fill gaps and conduct civilian tasks in a transitional period if no civilian actors are present to do so, they still remain deeply ambivalent about it, and none of them have taken effective steps to prepare their forces for such "gap-filling" functions. Any such development is hampered by the fact that NATO's armies are caught in a dilemma. Most if not all of them would prefer the relevant civilian organizations to establish the deployable civilian capacities that are required for effective stabilization, reconstruction and peacebuilding in the aftermath of war. They consequently have little incentive to move ahead and prepare their forces for civilian gap-filling, as this would lessen the pressure on the civilian sector to establish these capabilities. The problem with this approach is that civilian capacity-building remains in its infancy, and that the relevant civilian government agencies and organizations have generally shown little interest in developing the rapid reaction capacities required.[14] Since the civilian rapid-reaction capacities established by the UN and the EU also remain limited, the implication is that the responsibility for performing important civilian tasks in the foreseeable future will continue to fall to armies precisely because the civilian actors have a limited capacity for rapid reaction and for operating in hostile environments.

Striking the right balance that will enable NATO to provide enough gap-filling to hold the ring until other actors are capable of taking over without removing the civilian incentive for capacity-building is difficult. While it is easy to agree with the recommendation made by the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs that the approach should be "as civilian as possible and as military as necessary",[15] this recommendation offers no guidance as to exactly what capacities the military should deploy. Agreement has yet to be struck as to what gap-filling capacities NATO should be capable of deploying, in what quantities and by whom. Reluctant gap-fillers consequently have a strong incentive to sit back and wait for other members to move first in the hope that their actions will remove the need for them to act. The uncertainty about what is required and the deep military reluctance to engage in "civilian" gap-filling will prevent the rapid development of relevant CA capabilities.

The third area creating problems for the implementation of the CA Action Plan is the internal disagreement that NATO's International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) mission in Afghanistan has given rise to. For the US, ISAF is a counterinsurgency (COIN) operation and

[12] On this point see Gaspers, Jan: "France's Rapprochement with NATO: Paving the Way for an EU Caucus?", *European Security Review*, no. 40 (September 2008), p. 4.
[13] Stabilization Battalions were deployed in *Exercise Steadfast Jaw 2007*.
[14] The 10,000-strong Canadian civilian roster CANADEM is the exception to the rule. According to CANADEM Executive Director Paul LaRose-Edwards, CANADEM is capable of deploying more civilian experts at short notice than the Canadian government has been willing to fund. CANADEM facilitated the deployment of 150 civilian experts to Afghanistan in the 2001-2007 period and has established a 300-strong roster of Afghanistan experts. See: CANADEM web page, *Government of Canada,* at http://canadem.ca/canadem-in-afghanistan/ .
[15] "Recommendations for increased synergy between defence, diplomacy and development", *Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs- The Centre for European Reform* (CER) (2007).

in American eyes COIN equals CA and may involve high-intensity combat.[16] Canada, Denmark, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom (UK), who are conducting COIN operations in the southern parts of Afghanistan, agree with this interpretation in the sense that they view a coordinated approach in which combat (if necessary) and reconstruction go hand in hand as a sine qua non for success.[17] By contrast, other NATO members, including Germany, Italy and Spain, who have refused to deploy forces to the south and allow their troops to engage in combat, interpret the ISAF operation as a peace support operation that should focus on winning hearts and minds through reconstruction and development. In their view, the US and the NATO members in the south should re-consider their high-intensity approach and place greater emphasis on civilian means and Afghan capacity-building.[18] This dispute is not easily resolved as it goes far deeper than the short-term electoral considerations that figure prominently in analyses of this problem: it is also a function of different strategic cultures and threat perceptions that cannot be changed overnight. Since the member states will view the development of CA capabilities through the prism of Afghanistan and seek to push it in the direction they prefer (COIN versus peace support operation), it will continue to brake the process.

3. Little CA Institutionalization within the Alliance

A second necessary requirement for effective CA is the institutionalization of the relevant doctrine and procedures allowing NATO to plug and play with other actors involved. This institutionalization must occur at both the strategic and the operational levels which is why we will look at both in turn.

3. 1. No Institutionalization at the Strategic Level

Given the problems and disagreements identified in the previous section, it is hardly a surprise that NATO has made little progress at the strategic level. The Alliance is still in the process of laying the foundation for future institutionalization. The Allied Command Transformation's (ACT) efforts to incorporate the Effects Based Approach to Operations (EBAO) into current NATO doctrine and procedures should make NATO military commanders and planners more receptive to the need to involve outside actors into the planning, conduct and evaluation of NATO operations.[19] The pace of EBAO institutionalization has been slow to date and it is not being helped by General Mattis' decision of August 2008 to cease the use of the Effect Based Operations concept in the US Joint Forces Command (USJFCOM) on the grounds that the concept had been misapplied and

[16] US Under Secretary of Defense Edelman, Eric: "A Comprehensive Approach to Modern Insurgency: Afghanistan and Beyond", Keynote Address, *NATO Conference on A Comprehensive Approach for Afghanistan*, Freising, Germany (27 March, 2007), p. 4.

[17] See Elmer, Jon and Fenton, Anthony: "Canada's Counterinsurgency Strategy", *Znet*, 27 March 2007; Gabriëlse, Robbert: "A 3D Approach to Security and Development", *PfP Consortium Quarterly Journal*, vol. 6, no. 2 (Summer 2007), pp. 67-73; "Den danske indsats i Afghanistan 2008-2012",*Udenrigsministeriet and Forsvarsministeriet* (2008), pp. 22-23; "Speech by Air Chief Marshal Sir Jock Stirrup, Chief of the Defence Staff", *UK Ministry of Defence-Royal United Service Institute* (3 December 2007).

[18] "The future of NATO and European defence..", *op. cit.*, para. 81-82.

[19] "Effects Based Approach to Operations (EBAO) Handbook", *North Atlantic Treaty Organisation* (NATO), *Bi-Sc Pre-Doctrinal Handbook* (4 December 2007) , para. 1-1.

was fundamentally flawed. Although Mattis explicitly stated that this decision and critique did not apply to NATO's EBAO concept it will not make its adoption within NATO easier.[20]

Second, ACT participation in Multinational Experiment (MNE) 5 and 6 may also help to pave the way for the CA. MNE 5 was an international experiment that ran from 2006-2008 with the participation of several NATO countries (Canada, France, Germany, Norway, the UK and the US), which, through, a series of workshops, seminars and exercises, aimed at developing better methods and processes for employing the CA in the planning, conduct and evaluation of complex operations.[21] MNE 6 (2008-2010) focuses on how the CA can be employed to counter irregular adversaries and to prevent non-compliant actors from becoming adversaries.[22]

Third, ACT is facilitating the adoption of CA through its conceptual work on NATO's civil-military relations (the Future Comprehensive Civil-Military Interaction Concept) and its experimental efforts to enhance NATO's ability to share relevant information with civilian actors involved in crisis operations (Civil-Military Fusion Centre and the Civil-Military Overview). The objective is to improve NATO's relations with civilian actors involved in complex crises by creating a website where all actors can share and obtain relevant open-source information covering the areas of Economic Stabilization, Governance & Participation, Humanitarian Assistance, Infrastructure, Justice & Reconciliation, Security, and Social Well-being. The website currently covers the conflicts Afghanistan and North East Africa, but its utility is significantly reduced by the fact that you need to be approved by other users to get access to it.[23]

Finally, ACT has successfully promoted the idea of establishing a Civilian Actors Advisor (CIVAD) position on NATO staffs in order to enhance cooperation with the civilian actors in the field. The proposal submitted for approval by NATO's Military Committee calls for the establishment of two types of CIVAD: a permanent CIVAD at the strategic level in Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE) and an operational level CIVAD to be designated to the operational, specifically selected upon the designation of a theatre of operations on a case-by-case basis. The proposal also states that CIVADs should have extensive leadership experience from the major civilian organisations that NATO cooperates with in the field.[24] Implementation of this proposal should therefore facilitate the establishment of the cooperative relationships between the Alliance and these organizations that is required for CA success – but this unlikely to happen until 2012.

While these efforts will facilitate the future institutionalization of CA within the Alliance, they will not have an immediate impact in Afghanistan in the foreseeable future.

[20] Mattis, James N.: "USJFCOM Commander's Guidance for Effects-based Operations", *Parameters*, vol. 38, no. 3 (Autumn 2008), pp. 18-25.
[21] "Multinational Experiment 5 - Key Elements of a Comprehensive Approach: A Compendium of Solutions", *Finnish Ministry of Defence* (March 2009), at http://www.defmin.fi/files/1433/MNE5_Compendium_Mar2009_PUBLIC.pdf.
[22] "Fact Sheet: Multinational Experiment 6", *United States Joint Forces Command* (USJFCOM), *Public Affairs* (March 2009).
[23] See Icayan, Tony: "Civil-military Fusion Centre and Civil Military Overview (CFC/CMO)", Powerpoint briefing (15 April 2008).
[24] Email correspondence with Paul LaRose-Edwards, August 2009.

3.2. Limited CA Institutionalization and Implementation in Afghanistan

Five steps have been taken at the HQ level in Kabul to enable ISAF to implement CA. The first came in 2003 when NATO sent a Senior Civilian Representative (SCR) to Kabul to represent the political leadership of the Alliance. The SCR is tasked to work closely with the ISAF Commander (COMISAF) to ensure that NATO adopts a CA to its own activities and cooperates effectively with the Afghan government, Afghan civil society, international organisations and NGOs engaged in Afghanistan, and neighbouring countries.[25] So far the value added by the SCR has been limited by the problem of defining his role. This has left the SCR competing with COMISAF and the diplomatic representations in Kabul for attention and influence and made it an ongoing challenge to ensure that the SCR and COMISAF speak with one voice on the coordination bodies on which both are represented.[26] This suboptimal outcome is not surprising considering that the SCR is supposed to influence a huge military organization from outside the chain of command, with no formal powers and without bringing any tangible resources to the table.

The second CA initiative came in March 2006, when incoming COMISAF General David Richards added two development advisors (DEVADs) to his staff.[27] This practice has not yet been institutionalized, and its continuation thus depends on whether COMISAF regards this position as useful. COMISAF, General David D. McKiernan (June 2008-June 2009), had one DEVAD, a representative of the United States Agency for International Development, on his staff. The current ad hoc arrangement means that it cannot be taken for granted that the development perspective will be represented in future ISAF HQs.

A third initiative, ISAF's Post-Operations Humanitarian Relief Fund (POHRF) established in December 2006, can also be regarded as a CA instrument in the sense that it enables the ISAF leadership to provide quick humanitarian assistance, such as the supply of food, water and shelter, or the repair of buildings or key infrastructure, immediately following sizable ISAF military operations.[28] Humanitarian relief is to be distributed in according with the Oslo Guidelines, and only in situations where no civilian alternative exists. The fund is based on voluntary contributions and as of June 2009 12 of the 42 ISAF contributing nations had given total of 2.9 million Euros to the fund. Of this sum 2.2 million Euros had been disbursed. According to NATO officials, the POHRF has been successful with respect to winning back support from Afghans affected by ISAF operations.[29]

The most recent NATO CA initiative at HQ level is the establishment of a Comprehensive Approach Team (CAT) in the summer of 2007. The CAT is convened on a regular basis by the planning cell within ISAF and includes ISAF forces, the United Nations

[25] NATO: "NATO's Senior Civilian Representative in Afghanistan", *North Atlantic Treaty Organization* (NATO) (30 July 2008).
[26] Aronson, Michael: "An Outsider's View on the Civil-Military Nexus in Afghanistan", in Williams, Michael J. and Clouston, Kate (eds.) (2008): *Comparative Perspectives on Civil-Military Relations in Conflict Zones*, RUSI Occasional Paper , London, Royal United Service Institute (RUSI), p. 12; interview with Lars Jensen, former Political Advisor (POLAD) NATO SCR Kabul, August 2008.
[27] Parker, Michelle: "The Role of the Department of Defense in Provincial Reconstruction Teams", Testimony, *House Armed Services Committee, Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations* (5 September 2007) .
[28] "Fact Sheet: NATO-ISAF Post-Operations Humanitarian Relief Fund (POERF)", *North Atlantic Treaty Organization* (NATO) (June 2009).
[29] Bertagnolli, Marla: "NATO States Falter on Afghan Aid, Including to War Victims", *CIVIC Press Release*, 1 April 2008.

Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA), other UN agencies, and NGOs.[30] The CAT was originally established following a suggestion from an American colonel to provide the UN and NGOs with a forum for direct interaction with ISAF's military planners, both to influence the direction of its military operations and to provide a perspective on its six-month planning process. After a good start, the initiative petered out because subsequent military planners did not perceive the same need to involve civilian actors in the planning process. The CAT is therefore no longer used for military planning purposes but instead functions as a forum for networking and information-sharing. CAT meetings are now used to discuss topical issues of mutual civil-military interest such as civil-military cooperation (CIMIC), refugee return etc.[31]

A new mechanism allowing civilian inputs into the planning process may be established as part of the adjustments of the ISAF HQ that the Allies agreed to in August 2009, but it had not happened at the time of writing.

At the provincial level, ISAF HQ seeks to employ its 26 Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs) to implement the CA. PRTs were initially developed by the US to bridge the gap between major combat operations and civilian-led reconstruction and development efforts. The idea was to use small joint civil-military teams to expand the legitimacy of the central government in Kabul to the regions and to enhance security by supporting security sector reform and facilitating the reconstruction process.[32] NATO took command of all the PRTs in Afghanistan in 2006.

The problem with the PRTs from a CA perspective is that they more or less do as they please. There is no agreed concept of operations or organizational structure,[33] and a host of initiatives undertaken by ISAF HQ to ensure that the PRTs conduct their operations in a coherent manner have proven ineffective.[34] The PRT military component may be constrained by national caveats, and the civilian components are outside the ISAF chain of command reporting directly to their national capitals. Moreover, ISAF has no way of ensuring that the PRTs are adequately resourced or that they spend their funds in a way that promotes the overall mission.[35]

All in all, the level of CA institutionalization and implementation within NATO's own organisation remains very limited indeed at both the strategic and operational level. NATO still lacks doctrine and procedures enabling it to conduct its own activities in the coherent and coordinated manner that is required to make its contribution to a CA effective.

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[30] Bah, Sarjoh and Jones, Bruce D. (2008): *Annual Review of Global Peace Operations 2008,* Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, pp. 38-39.

[31] Email correspondence with Lars Jensen, former POLAD NATO SCR Kabul, August 2008, and telephone interview with Peter Dahl Thruelsen, Royal Danish Defence College, August 2008.

[32] Jakobsen, Peter Viggo: "PRTs in Afghanistan: Successful but not Sufficient", Danish Institute for International Studies, *DIIS Report*, no. 6 (2005), p. 11.

[33] "ISAF PRT Handbook", Edition 3, *North Atlantic Treaty Organization* (NATO) (3 February 2007), p. ii.

[34] For a list and detailed description of these initiatives see Jakobsen: "NATO's Comprehensive Approach…", *op. cit.*, p. 25.

[35] See Abbaszadeh, Nima et al. (2008): *Provincial Reconstruction Teams: Lessons and Recommendations*, Princeton, Woodrow Wilson School of Public & International Affairs, Princeton University; Aronson, *op. cit.*, p. 12; Jones, James L. and Pickering, Thomas R.: "Afghanistan Study Group Final Report", *Center for the Study of the Presidency* (30 January 2008); Stapleton, Barbara J.: "A Means to What End? Why PRTs are Peripheral to the Bigger Political Challenges in Afghanistan", *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies*, vol. 10, no. 1 (Fall 2007), pp. 1-49.

4. Ineffective Cooperation with the EU, UN and International NGOs in Afghanistan

Effective cooperation with other key actors is the third necessary condition that effective CA requires. Effective cooperation was defined in the introduction to involve joint planning, execution and evaluation of operational activities, and NATO is not even close to meeting this requirement vis-à-vis the three actors that the Alliance regards as its most important CA partners: the EU and the UN, and the NGOs.[36] Not only was its level of institutionalised cooperation with these actors limited prior to the launch of ISAF, but it has also proved very difficult for the alliance to establish it both at the strategic level and in Afghanistan.

4.1. NATO Cooperation with the EU, UN and the NGOs an the Strategic Level

The EU-NATO relationship has been accurately described as a frozen conflict.[37] On paper, strategic cooperation between the two organizations has grown steadily and become increasingly institutionalized since 2001, when a practice of joint meetings at the level of foreign ministers and ambassadors was established. In practice, cooperation has been paralysed since Cyprus joined the EU in 2004, because Cyprus has used its membership to veto Turkey's participation in the European Defence Agency. Turkey has reciprocated by using its NATO membership to block official NATO-EU meetings and this has prevented the two organizations from discussing EU-NATO cooperation in Afghanistan formally.[38]

In addition EU-NATO cooperation has been hampered by the concern held by a group of EU/NATO members led by France that the Anglo-American pressure for closer EU-NATO cooperation would increase American influence over the EU and prevent it from developing a capacity to conduct autonomous military operations.[39] The Anglo-French compromises underpinning the development of the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) notwithstanding, France and the UK continue to approach the ESDP with two different interests in mind: for France the ESDP remains a tool for enhancing the EU's ability to act independently of the US on the world scene, whereas the UK perceives the ESDP as a burden-sharing tool that will help to preserve the transatlantic relationship. As mentioned above, this dispute has had a negative impact on the Alliance's ability to develop its CA, as France has opposed the development of civilian NATO capacities and has sought to ensure that NATO remains a purely military organization acting in support of the EU and the UN. The French resistance to the CIVAD proposal promoted by ACT demonstrates a continued French insistence on keeping NATO "as military as possible".

Some observers and diplomats have expressed cautious optimism that recent US support for a strong military ESDP and the French decision to rejoin NATO's military structures may pave the way for a resolution of this conflict.[40] Whether the rhetorical rapprochement between France and the US will lead to enhanced EU-NATO cooperation remains to be seen, but it is

[36] See "Comprehensive Political Guidance" *North Atlantic Treaty Organization* (NATO) (29 November 2006), para. 3; and Bisogniero, Claudio: "Assisting Afghanistan: the importance of a comprehensive approach", Keynote address by NATO Deputy Secretary General Ambassador, *North Atlantic Treaty Organization* (NATO), *GLOBSEC Conference*, (17 January 2008).

[37] Scheffer, Jaap de Hoop: "NATO and the EU: Time for a New Chapter", Keynote speech by NATO Secretary General, *North Atlantic Treaty Organization* (NATO), (29 January 2007) .

[38] Jakobsen: "NATO's Comprehensive…", *op. cit.*, p. 31.

[39] Yost, David. S.: "NATO and International Organizations", NATO Defence College, *Forum Paper*, no. 3 (2007), pp. 98-103.

[40] Nuland, Victoria: Speech by U.S. Ambassador to NATO, *U.S. Department of State*, Paris (22 February 2008); The "French White Paper on defence and national security", *Présidence de la République* (June 2008).

important to bear in mind that it is in the US interest to be able to use a militarily stronger ESDP in pursuit of its global interests, just as it is in France's interests to use NATO as a means of building a militarily stronger and more autonomous ESDP. The increasing overlap and duplication between the two organizations that is bound to result from the steady growth of EU military power will not make these divergent interests easier to reconcile.

NATO-UN cooperation at the strategic level is also limited. This is primarily due to the fact that many UN member states, including China and Russia, view NATO as a military instrument of Western "neo-imperialism". The signing of a *Joint Declaration on UN/NATO Secretariat Cooperation* on 23 September 2008 in New York illustrates the problem nicely. The signing ceremony was postponed a number of times by a highly reluctant UN Secretary-General; it was eventually done in a low-key fashion away from the media; the UN has not made the contents of the declaration public; and Russia criticized it strongly arguing that the UN SG had been acting beyond his powers and made clear that it would view the document as illegitimate and as reflecting the UN chief's personal opinion only.[41] As a consequence, the declaration is not expected to make much difference to the cooperation between the two organizations in the foreseeable future.

The NATO-NGO relationship is the least developed of the three, and it is unrealistic to expect NATO to be able to create the culture of cooperation and the joint planning, execution and evaluation of operational activities with NGOs that effective CA cooperation calls for. NATO has actively sought to enhance its cooperation with the NGO community. The Alliance regularly invites NGOs to visit NATO HQ and to attend NATO conferences and seminars on issues of mutual interest. NGOs are also routinely invited to attend CIMIC and Peace Support Operation courses and exercises.[42] NATO has been particularly eager to expand its cooperation with NGOs in the field of training, but progress has been slow and limited by two factors. The first is the capacity problem, which stems from the fact that NATO has far more resources for such cooperation than the NGOs. It is a problem for NGOs to find the time, money and personnel required to respond positively to NATO requests and invitations for cooperation, especially ones that involve courses lasting a week or longer. The imbalance in resources between NATO and the NGOs has also made training cooperation a rather one-sided affair in which NGO personnel participate in conferences and training arranged by NATO. The traffic moving in the opposite direction remains limited, and this contributes to the perception in the NGO community that NATO-NGO cooperation is driven and dictated by military concerns.

The second factor limiting NATO-NGO cooperation is a strong NGO reluctance to engage in cooperation that can be seen as legitimizing NATO's growing involvement in humanitarian and development activities. NATO's involvement in the delivery of humanitarian assistance and the building of refugee camps during the 1999 Kosovo crisis and its involvement in humanitarian and development activities in Afghanistan is seen by many NGOs as a grave threat to their "humanitarian space", i.e. the independence and neutrality from military and political forces that allow them to provide life-saving aid to civilians in need on all sides of a conflict.[43] NATO's Kosovo operation generated fears of a hegemonic

[41] Jakobsen, "NATO's Comprehensive…", *op. cit.*, pp. 33-34; "Russia stunned by UN-NATO cooperation deal", *RIA Novosti,* 9 October 2008.
[42] Borgomano-Loup, Laure: "Improving NATO-NGO Relations in Crisis Response Operations", NATO Defense College, *Forum Paper*, no. 2 (2007), p. 49.
[43] Mollett, Howard: "No Space for Humanitarianism? NGO perspectives on civil-military relations and the Comprehensive Approach", in Williams et al., *op. cit.*, p. 64; Olson, Lara: "Fighting for humanitarian space: NGOs in Afghanistan", *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies*, vol. 9, no. 1 (Fall 2006), pp. 1-28.

NATO that would dominate civilian-military operations,[44] fears that NATO's involvement in Afghanistan and the invention of PRT concept have done nothing to diminish.[45] Most NGOs view the CA agenda with scepticism, since they are extremely wary of being seen or used as force multipliers by NATO. Thus, while increased liaison arrangements, better information and offers of security training are welcomed, most NGOs reject the joint planning, implementation and evaluation with NATO that effective CA cooperation calls for.

4.2. NATO Cooperation with the EU, the UN and the NGOs in Afghanistan

NATO's strong and persistent efforts to enhance the coordination and cooperation among the international actors in Afghanistan have been undermined by the Alliance's inability to provide the level of security required for the civilian actors to operate without military protection. Security is what the other international actors expect NATO to contribute to a joint CA, and the security problems, which in part can be attributed to NATO unwillingness to commit the necessary resources, have made the civilian actors unwilling or unable to provide the funds, the personnel and the overall coordination that effective CA cooperation with ISAF would require. The EU has only pledged 400 police to Afghanistan of which only 245 have arrived.[46] The United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) has only deployed 1,639 personnel (1,266 are local Afghans) and it is still not present in all Afghanistan's provinces.[47] Finally, the deteriorating security situation has made the south, southwest, east and central areas of the country no-go areas for vast majority of the international NGOs that refuse to accept military protection.[48]

The result has been a vicious circle from a CA point of view. The limited involvement of the civilian organizations has forced deeper NATO involvement in humanitarian and reconstruction activities than ever before. This has triggered protests from the humanitarian NGOs, as well as greater reluctance towards deeper involvement in both the EU and the UN. This will force even greater US military and NATO involvement which will then trigger more protests and greater CA reluctance from the civilian actors.

NATO has taken a number of steps to break this circle such as the recent promise to stop its use of white vehicles, which has been a major bone of contention with the humanitarian organisations for years.[49] Helpful though there are, such steps cannot establish the level of trust and cooperation that is required for effective CA cooperation in Afghanistan. What is needed is a major and durable improvement in the security situation, something that does not seem feasible in the near future.

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[44] Pugh, Michael: "Civil-Military Relations in the Kosovo Crisis: an Emerging Hegemony?", *Security Dialogue*, vol. 31, no. 2 (June 2000), pp. 229-242.

[45] Cornish, Stephen: "No room for humanitarianism in 3D Policies: have forcible humanitarian interventions and integrated approaches lost their way?", *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies*, vol. 10, no. 1 (Fall 2007), pp. 14-19.

[46] "EU Police Mission in Afghanistan (EUPOL AFGHANISTAN)", *European Union* (EU) (July 2009).

[47] "The situation in Afghanistan…", *op. cit*., para. 62; "United Nations Political and Peacebuilding Missions", Background Note, *United Nations* (UN) (31 October 2009).

[48] "Afghanistan: High risk humanitarianism", *IRIN,* 18 August 2009; Meo, Nick: "Leaked aid map of Afghanistan reveals expansion of no-go zones", *The Times*, 5 December, 2007.

[49] "Afghanistan: Aid agencies win NATO concession on vehicle markings", *IRIN*, 1 June 2009, at http://www.irinnews.org/Report.aspx?ReportId=84634; Jakobsen: "PRTs in Afghanistan…", *op. cit*.; Waldman, Matt: "Caught in the Conflict. Civilians and the international security strategy in Afghanistan", briefing paper by eleven NGOs operating in Afghanistan, *North Atlantic Treaty Organization* (NATO), *Heads of State and Government Summit* (3-4 April 2009), p. 6.

5. Conclusion: Is NATO´s CA and ISAF doomed?

This article has argued that the CA envisioned by NATO as a joint undertaking involving all the major international actors in Afghanistan as well as the Afghan government will fail to make a difference on the ground within the next 24 months that many analysts view as critical in order to prevent the collapse of Western domestic support for the operation. It has demonstrated that NATO is incapable of meeting three necessary conditions for CA success within that timeframe.

First, consensus on CA implementation within the Alliance is limited. While all members agree that civilian and military instruments should be employed in a concerted and coordinated manner, the implementation of CA has been hampered by disagreements over NATO's role in world politics (regional versus global actor; collective defence versus non-article five crisis response missions); disagreement over the extent to which NATO should use its military capabilities to fill the gap if civilian actors are incapable of carrying out their CA tasks; and finally disagreement over how the ISAF operation should be conducted (COIN versus peace support operation).

Second, NATO has made little progress both at the strategic and operational levels with respect to institutionalizing CA doctrine and procedures within its own organization. At the strategic level, the Alliance is still trying to lay the foundation that will facilitate the adoption of CA sometime in the future. In Afghanistan, ISAF HQ has little influence over PRT operations, and neither the use of DEVADs in COMISAF's staff nor the involvement of civilian actors in ISAF force planning has been institutionalized. Moreover, the value-added by the SCR is unclear.

Finally, NATO has made even less progress with respect to establishing effective CA cooperation with the EU, UN and the international NGOs, none of whom have been eager to establish closer relations with the Alliance. NATO's efforts to establish such cooperation have been undermined by its failure to establish the level of security that is necessary to allow the civilian organisations to perform their operations without military protection. NATO's failure to commit sufficient military resources has made the civilian actors unable or unwilling to commit the civilian resources required for success.

The failure of NATO to implement the CA in time in Afghanistan raises two questions:

1) Should NATO turn its back on CA and go back to basics focusing on the provision of military security?

2) Is ISAF doomed to failure?

The answer to both questions is no. CA Implementation should continue since effective CA will be required on future operations. The assumption that NATO needs to enhance its own capability to make an effective contribution to a CA involving the major international actors involved in peacebuilding is a sound one, because it can never succeed on such operations alone. NATO can provide the military component that is necessary for success but not the civilian capacities that are necessary for lasting peace.

That the pace of implementation has been too slow for Afghanistan does not mean that it cannot make a difference on future ones; especially ones where the security situation is less challenging. NATO will become involved in such operations. All members will continue to

support the Alliance regardless of the outcome in Afghanistan. The European members will not have a reliable alternative security guarantee against Russia for another two decades at least, and the US will also continue to support the Alliance because it will become increasingly dependent upon allied support for its out-of-Europe operations in a world where China, India, Brazil and other great powers with a non-Western world view are rising. While the US is likely to blame its allies if ISAF fails, it is also likely to conclude that limited NATO support on future operations is preferable to no NATO support at all.

As regards the second question, the future of ISAF depends on whether the new strategy and the "surge" initiated by the Obama Administration are successful with respect to turning the situation in Afghanistan around. This is obviously too early to say but two positive features of the strategy should be noted. First, President Obama has committed himself strongly to the Afghanistan operation describing it as a "necessary war" and by authorizing a major increase in both personnel (civilian and military) and funds to the operation.[50] Second, the Administration has articulated a clear US-led CA strategy involving a more limited end-state (emphasis on defeating Al Qaida as opposed to building democracy), greater emphasis on training the Afghan security forces, a regional approach spearheaded by Richard Holbrooke, a more realistic counter-narcotics approach, and a people-centred approach to COIN informed by the lessons learned in Iraq.[51]

This US-led CA may succeed because the US unlike NATO has determination and the resources to implement it. The US is currently imposing its version of the CA approach on NATO, the civilian organizations engaged in Afghanistan and the Afghan government by asking them to support the new strategy or get out of the way. When these organizations prove unwilling or unable to make the contributions deemed necessary by the US for success, the US either takes over or makes available the resources necessary to fill the gaps. As pointed out by Jens Ringsmose and Peter Dahl Thruelsen elsewhere in this issue, the US approach is not without dangers,[52] but it is the only hope left for ISAF.

[50] The White House: *Remarks by the President at The Veterans Of Foreign Wars Convention Phoenix Convention Center*, 17 August 2009; The White House: *Remarks by the President in Address to the Nation on the Way Forward in Afghanistan and Pakistan*, 1 December 2009.

[51] "ISAF Commander's Counterinsurgency Guidance" *North Atlantic Treaty Organization* (NATO), *ISAF HQ* (27 August 2009), at http://www.nato.int/isaf/docu/official_texts/counterinsurgency_guidance.pdf; "Remarks by the President on a New Strategy for Afghanistan and Pakistan"*, The White House* (27 March 2009).

[52] Ringsmose, Jens and Thruelsen, Peter Dahl: "NATO's Counterinsurgency Campaign in Afghanistan: Are the Classical Doctrines Suitable for Alliances?", *UNISCI Discussion Papers*, no. 22 (January 2010), pp. 56-77.

NATO´S PARTNERS IN AFGHANISTAN: IMPACT AND PURPOSE

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Abstract:
Since 2003, NATO's ISAF (International Security Assistance Force) mission in Afghanistan has relied on troop contributions, not only from NATO members but also from EAPC/PfP partners and so-called global partners—non-European states that have not been formally incorporated into NATO's formal partnership structures. The experience of working with these non-European allies, in particular, has been transformative as it has highlighted the need for cooperative relationships that extend beyond Europe if NATO is to function effectively in a world of increasingly global security challenges. This article explores the role of NATO partners in Afghanistan and their potential long term impact on NATO's future.

Keywords: North Atlantic Treaty Organization, International Security Assistance Force, Afghanistan, Partnership for Peace (PfP), Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EACP), global partners.

Resumen:
Desde el 2003, la misión de la OTAN, ISAF (Fuerza de Asistencia para la Seguridad Internacional) se ha apoyado en las contribuciones en tropas no sólo de países de la OTAN sino también en socios EAPC/PfP y los llamados socios globales (países no europeos que no han sido incorporados formalmente en las estructuras asociativas de la OTAN). La experiencia de haber colaborado con estos aliados no europeos ha tenido necesariamente un carácter transformador en la medida que ha puesto de manifiesto la necesidad de que la OTAN se extienda fuera de Europa si pretende hacer frente a unos desafíos de seguridad crecientemente globales. Este artículo explora el papel de los socios de la OTAN en Afganistán y su impacto potencial a largo plazo sobre el futuro de la OTAN.

Palabras clave: *Organización del Tratado del Atlántico Norte, Fuerza Internacional de Asistencia de Seguridad, Afganistán, Asociación para la Paz (PfP), Consejo de Asociación Euro-Atlántica (EACP), socios globales.*

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1. Introduction

NATO's ISAF mission in Afghanistan reflects, not only a recognition that NATO must broaden its focus beyond Europe if it is to meet the security challenges of the post-September 11 world, but also a growing awareness of the need to reach out to new, non-European partners if those challenges are to be addressed successfully. Indeed, non-European, non-NATO allies such as Australia, Japan, and New Zealand, although not part of any of NATO's formal partnership structures, share NATO's liberal democratic values and have been among the most significant contributors to the ISAF mission. The geography of Afghanistan has also prompted NATO to devote greater attention to the five Central Asian members of its Partnership for Peace (PfP) (Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, and Tajikistan), all of which have provided various forms of assistance that are critical to NATO's ability to operate in Afghanistan, including military bases, transit routes, and cooperation on border security. Increasingly, the Allies also now appear to recognize the need for closer cooperation with institutions like the European Union (EU) and United Nations (UN) as well as non-governmental organizations which possess the civilian expertise and resources crucial to stabilizing and rebuilding Afghanistan. In short, the challenges associated with operating in Afghanistan have fostered a broad and increasingly complex network of relationships for NATO—relationships which could prove useful in dealing with the increasingly global challenges that the Allies confront outside the context of Afghanistan.

NATO's recognition of the need to equip itself for an increasingly global array of threats and challenges, however, has prompted little thought as to just how these new relationships might serve NATO's interests beyond Afghanistan. The extent to which the ISAF mission has consumed the Alliance's time, energy, and resources is partly to blame, but it is not the only factor. Indeed, the growing diversity of NATO's partners and the challenges associated with maintaining a web of partnerships that now extends as far as Asia and the Middle East has exposed tensions within the Alliance over the proper form and function of NATO's partnerships, which are in turn a reflection of differences over the very purpose and identity of NATO itself. For some Allies, NATO must remain an exclusively Euro-Atlantic alliance focused on the territory of its member states. For others, the experience or working with non-European allies only strengthens the case in favor of a functional rather than geographic approach to partnership in which states' ability to contribute to NATO's missions becomes the most significant factor underpinning NATO's partnership frameworks.

The debate over just how global NATO should be is not a new one. Indeed, the so-called "out-of-area" debates began in the early to mid-1990s when NATO first confronted the question of whether to admit new members from Central and Eastern Europe. The debate then shifted to the issue of whether NATO should take on military missions outside its territory (e.g. Bosnia and Kosovo) and, ultimately ---in the case of Afghanistan---outside Europe. NATO's reliance on a wide range of partners in Afghanistan, including non-European allies, adds a new dimension to the continuing debate about just how global NATO's reach should be. The Alliance must now confront the reality that some of the most significant contributors to the ISAF mission and ardent defenders of NATO's values are neither European nor formal Alliance partners. At the same time, NATO must reconcile the need for closer cooperation with partners in Central Asia and the Middle East, which despite their partnership status do not share the liberal democratic values that have been so central to NATO's transformation since the end of the Cold War.

Although NATO's new missions and to some degree its new partners suggest that the Alliance has adopted a more functional approach to addressing the security challenges of the

post-September 11 world, the reluctance of some members to embrace partnerships structured along functional rather than geographic lines suggests that, for all of their success in transforming NATO for a post-Cold War world, the Allies have yet to achieve a consensus on the fundamental question of NATO's core identity and mission. The process of drafting a new Strategic Concept launched at the Strasbourg-Kehl Summit in April 2009 offers an opportunity for NATO to think more broadly about how it might cooperate with partners around the globe in fulfilling its larger strategic vision. Achieving a consensus on that subject, however, will require that the Allies first reach agreement as to what that larger vision should be and the extent to which shared liberal democratic values rather than geography or historical experience should ground an Alliance which now confronts a strategic environment characterized by a growing number of challenges that cannot be confined to any particular geographic space.

2. The Beginnings of Partnership

NATO's collaboration with partners in Afghanistan represents the logical progression of a process begun during the early 1990s when the Allies first invited their former Warsaw Pact adversaries to establish diplomatic liaisons to NATO and later established institutional frameworks for dialogue and military cooperation in the form of the Partnership for Peace (PfP) and North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC), which ultimately became the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC). These institutions constituted an essentially political means of encouraging the growth of liberal democratic values beyond NATO's borders and building a new, more unified and democratic Europe. The PfP/EAPC framework would also serve to promote interoperability and training with NATO forces and permit participation by non-member states in NATO's post-Cold War peacekeeping/stabilization missions, including Bosnia, Kosovo, and, more recently, Afghanistan.

Although NATO's early partnership initiatives focused on the integration and stabilization of Europe, the terrorist attacks in the United States on September 11, 2001 prompted a new phase in NATO's thinking about the role of partnership. In an ever more globalized world, instability, even well beyond Europe's borders, was now understood to constitute a threat to the Allies' security, just as potential and realized instability in Central and Eastern Europe threatened it during the 1990s. Threats to the North Atlantic area would now likely stem from areas to the south and east of NATO, a reality that prompted former NATO Secretary General Lord Robertson to declare in 2002 that NATO must shift from a "geographic" to "functional" approach in addressing new challenges.[2] Indeed, NATO foreign ministers agreed in Reykjavik in May 2002 that the Alliance must develop the capacity to mobilize forces "quickly to wherever they are needed" and "sustain operations over distance and time."[3]

Accordingly, the role of NATO's partnerships also shifted. Although partnership remained an important vehicle for the integration of Europe, it also came to be recognized as a means by which NATO could "project stability" outside of Europe, in part by encouraging partners—both those with and those without membership aspirations—to contribute in some

[2] Lord Robertson: "NATO: A Vision for 2012", Speech of NATO Secretary General, *North Atlantic Treaty Organisation* (NATO), *GMFUS Conference*, Brussels, Belgium (3 October 2002).
[3] "Final Communiqué", Press Release, *North Atlantic Treaty Organisation* (NATO), *Ministers' Meeting*, *North Atlantic Council, M-NAC-1 (2002) 59,* Reykjavik, Iceland (14 May 2002), at http://www.nato.int/docu/pr2002/p02-059e.htm.

capacity to NATO's military missions in Kosovo, Afghanistan, and even Iraq. This new partnership function overlapped with the earlier integrative mission in so far as prospective member states were put on notice that they would be evaluated based on their willingness to behave as security producers and not simply consumers of NATO assistance.[4] NATO was now focused as much on what partners could do for the Alliance as it was on what NATO could do for partners.

As NATO's missions began to shift away from Europe, the Alliance also began to pay more attention to existing and potential partners in Central Asia, the Mediterranean, the Middle East, and even Asia by creating new partnership initiatives, including the Mediterranean Dialogue (MD) and the Istanbul Cooperation Initiative (ICI). The extension of the partnership concept beyond Europe represented a continuation and broadening of the process begun during the early 1990s, but these partnerships were fundamentally different from the partnerships that NATO had established with the states of Central and Eastern Europe. Although NATO continued to identify liberal democratic values as central to its partnership efforts, partnership initiatives in Central Asia, the Mediterranean, and the Middle East clearly did not have the same potential for democracy promotion demonstrated in Central and Eastern Europe through PfP and the EAPC. The fact that few states in these regions aspired to membership meant that NATO would not enjoy the same degree of leverage with them that it had with the governments of Central and Eastern Europe, virtually all of which sought full membership in the Alliance. Rather, these partnerships were primarily about equipping NATO for the increasingly global threats of the post-September 11 world, although a consensus as to just how global NATO missions should be still eludes the Allies. The political, geographical, historical and cultural diversity of these newest partners, however, generated controversy within the Alliance regarding both the structure and function of NATO's various partnerships and the extent of NATO's involvement in some regions. In the context of Afghanistan, NATO's partners currently fall into four principal categories: the Caucasus and Central Asian states (Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan)—all of which border Afghanistan and have been members of NATO's PfP and EAPC; the so-called "global partners" which are not currently members of any of NATO's formal partnership structures, but include important ISAF contributors such as Australia, New Zealand, and Japan; international institutions such as the European Union and United Nations; and, finally, Pakistan and Afghanistan.

3. Central Asia and the Caucasus

To date, none of the Central Asian states has contributed troops to ISAF. Since 2002, however, all have to varying degrees offered the United States and NATO other assistance critical to the Afghan mission, including the provision of military bases, transit rights, and re-fueling facilities as well as co-operation on border security. [5] To a significant degree this cooperation has been facilitated by political and military ties developed through PfP, which

[4] For further discussion of the evolution of NATO expectations for partners, see Moore, Rebecca R. (2007): *NATO's New Mission: Projecting Stability in a Post-Cold War World*, Westport, Praeger Security International, pp. 83-86.

[5] See, for example, Jones, A. Elizabeth, Assistant Secretary of States for European and Eurasian Affairs, Testimony, *US House International Relations Committee, Subcommittee on the Middle East and Central Asia,* Washington DC (29 October 2003), at http://www.state.gov/p/eur/rls/rm/2003/25798.htm) See also "Frequently Asked Questions about U.S. Policy in Central Asia", Fact Sheet, *U.S. Department of State, Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs*, Washington DC (27 November 2002), at http://www.state.gov/p/eur/rls/fs/15562.htm.

all of the Central Asian states joined in 1994, with the exception of Tajikistan which was admitted in 2002. In this context, NATO forces had conducted training exercises in the region and become familiar with local facilities. As former U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary for European and Eurasian Affairs Robert Bradtke put it in testimony before the U.S. Congress in 2004: "The war in Afghanistan proved the value of relations with the Caucasus and Central Asia. Ties forged with those countries through the Partnership for Peace (PfP) facilitated the establishment of a U.S. military presence in the region that has been one of the keys to success in Operation Enduring Freedom."[6]

Indeed, as NATO's involvement in Afghanistan grew between 2003 and 2004, so too did the geostrategic importance of the Caucasus and Central Asia to NATO. As NATO international staff member Robert Weaver explained it, the fact that NATO was operating in Afghanistan, outside its traditional defense perimeter, had necessitated more attention to the needs of the Central Asian states. "Relationships developed through the Partnership for Peace," Weaver observed, had "laid the basis for the Allies to draw up bilateral agreements for the transit of material across these states and the basing of forces and supplies on their territory."[7] Not surprisingly then, NATO's 2004 summit in Istanbul, which focused on renewing and expanding NATO's partnerships, began with a "special focus" on partners "in the strategically important regions of the Caucasus and Central Asia."[8] Toward this end, NATO agreed at Istanbul to send two liaison officers to the region—one to be assigned to the Caucasus and the other to Central Asia—and to designate a NATO special representative for the region.

NATO also agreed at Istanbul to elevate its seven-member Mediterranean Dialogue (Egypt, Israel, Morocco, Mauritania, Tunisia, Algeria, and Jordan) to the level of a full NATO partnership aimed at strengthening practical cooperation with the region, and to launch the Istanbul Cooperation Initiative (ICI)—a new program aimed at developing practical bilateral security cooperation between NATO and the states of the Greater Middle East.[9] NATO's efforts to revitalize its partnerships with the Central Asian and Caucasus states and extend the partnership concept to the south stemmed in large part from a belief in the success of PfP and a determination that the events of September 11 had only made the argument for partnership with states along NATO's periphery more compelling.[10] Partnership constituted an increasingly important means of facilitating the practical cooperation necessary to address the challenges of Afghanistan, and, more broadly, the increasingly global threats of the post-September 11 world.

At the same time, the new partnership initiatives reflected a recognition that NATO's existing partnerships needed to be expanded or adapted so as to better serve the interests and

[6] Bradtke, Robert A., Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs: "U.S. Initiatives at NATO's Istanbul Summit", Testimony, *US House International Relations Committee, Subcommittee on Europe*, Washington, DC (16 June 2004), at http://www.state/gov/p/eur/rls/rm/33701.htm.

[7] Weaver, Robert: "Continuing to Build Security Through Partnership", *NATO Review*, no.1 (Spring 2004), at http://www.nato.int/docu/review/2004/issue1/english/art/_pr.htm. See also "Alliance Partnerships: Projecting Stability Beyond NATO's Central and Eastern Borders", Report, *North Atlantic Treaty Organisation* (NATO), *NATO Parliamentary Assembly Subcommittee on Central and Eastern Europe*, *153 PCCEE04 E* (13 May 2004), at http://www.nato-pa.int/default.asp?SHORTCUT=358.

[8] "Istanbul Summit Communique", *North Atlantic Treaty Organisation* (NATO), *Istanbul Summit, PR/CP (2004) 096* (28 June 2004) , at http://www.nato.int/docu/pr/2004/po4-096e.htm.

[9] *Ibid*.

[10] On this point, see Simon, Jeffrey: "NATO's Partnership for Peace: Charting a Course for a New Era," *RFE/RL East European Perspectives*, vol. 6, no. 16 (7 August 2004), (obtained via email subscription at http://www.rferl.org/reports).

needs of both Allies and Partners. Indeed, NATO had recognized for some time that the enlargement process was having problematic implications for the EAPC. The accession of seven new members in March 2004 left behind two diverse groups: the European neutrals (Austria, Finland, Ireland, Sweden and Finland)—all of them well-established liberal democracies—and the Central Asian and Caucasus states—all significantly less advanced in terms of their political and economic development.[11] The division only enhanced the EAPC's already existing reputation as a forum with little capacity for dialogue or practical cooperation.

NATO had made some effort to address this concern during its 2002 Prague Summit by approving within the EAPC a Partnership Action Plan Against Terrorism (PAP-T). The plan committed EAPC members to cooperate against terrorism in a variety of areas, including political consultations and information sharing, civil-emergency planning, force planning, air defense and airspace management, border control, arms control, non-proliferation, and training exercises related to terrorism.[12] At Istanbul in 2004, NATO launched a second PAP—the Partnership Action Plan on Defence Institution Building (PAP-DIB). Targeted specifically at Central Asia and the Caucasus, the new plan focused on defense reform and reflected NATO's conviction that bringing defense institutions under firm civil and democratic control was "fundamental to stability in the Euro-Atlantic area and essential for international security cooperation.[13] Ultimately, both plans constituted part of a larger effort to enhance political dialogue and practical cooperation with partners on a range of international and domestic issues, including terrorism, democratization, and partner participation in NATO-led operations.[14]

In the larger effort to engage the Central Asian partners, NATO would also come to rely heavily on both its Planning and Review Process (PARP)—the process by which PfP members identify and evaluate capabilities to be made available to PfP for multinational training and operations conducted with NATO forces—as well as a program introduced during the 2002 summit in Prague known as the Individual Partnership Action Plan (IPAP). The IPAP initiative constituted an attempt to build on the success of NATO's Membership Action Plan (MAP)—the program NATO has used since the late 1990s to evaluate and provide guidance to prospective member states regarding their progress toward meeting NATO's membership expectations. Partners who had expressed a desire for closer cooperation with NATO, but had not been deemed ready for participation in the MAP would be eligible for an IPAP. Like MAP participants, they would be expected to draft national plans detailing specific reforms that they planned to implement.[15] NATO would then provide country-specific advice and assistance on meeting reform objectives. Although IPAPs carry no expectation of membership, they do include—as do the MAP annual plans—a political chapter through which NATO may seek to foster reforms in the domestic political as well as defense sectors.

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[11] Romania, Bulgaria, Slovakia, Slovenia and the Baltic states of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia acceded to NATO in March 2004.

[12] "Partnership Action Plan Against Terrorism (PAP-T)", *North Atlantic Treaty Organisation* (NATO), *Prague Summit,* Prague, Czech Republic (22 November 2002), at http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_19549.htm.

[13] Partnership Action Plan on Defence Institution Building (PAP-DIB), *North Atlantic Treaty Organisation* (NATO), *Brussels Summit,* Brussels, Belgium (7 June 2004), at http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_21014.htm.

[14] "The Euro-Atlantic Partnership - Refocusing and Renewal", *North Atlantic Treaty Organisation* (NATO), *Istanbul Summit,* Istanbul, Turkey (23 June 2004), at http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_21015.htm.

[15] IPAPs are drafted every two years rather than annually as is required under MAP.

As of mid-2009, however, the only Central Asian partner participating in the IPAP program was Kazakhstan. Although Uzbekistan had initially sought to take advantage of this opportunity for closer cooperation with NATO, it suspended that effort in 2005 following a brutal government crackdown on anti-government demonstrators in Andijan, which prompted NATO and bilateral criticism of the Tashkent government's handling of the incident and led to U.S. support for an airlift of over 400 Uzbek refugees from Kyrgyzstan to Romania. Uzbekistan then evicted the United States from an airbase at Karshi-Khanabad (K-2), which had played an important role in supporting U.S. operations in Afghanistan.[16] In a further effort to distance itself from NATO and move closer to Russia, Uzbekistan also re-joined the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) in 2006.[17]

Although NATO's relations with Uzbekistan have since improved, this experience highlights the extent to which the absence of democratic reform and instability in the region has made the Central Asian states problematic partners in the context of Afghanistan. Indeed, the lack of political reform and continuing human rights abuses, not only in Uzbekistan, but throughout the region prompted critics during the George W. Bush administration to charge that the United States and NATO were shoring up repressive regimes with economic and military assistance in exchange for their cooperation in the war on terror.[18] One particular incident fueling this charge occurred during former U.S. Vice President Dick Cheney's visit to the region in May 2006. During a speech in Vilnius, Lithuania, Cheney had strongly criticized Russia's democratic failures, but then traveled on to Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan where he failed to denounce publicly the even more repressive regimes of those states.[19] Although liberal democratic values remain at the core of PfP/EAPC framework documents—a point the NATO Secretary General sought to emphasize during a trip to Central Asia in the fall of 2004, telling his listeners at several stops that NATO's liberal democratic values were "not only for the Allies but also our Partners"—in reality the Central Asian states have never demonstrated any clear commitment to those values.[20] Yet their cooperation remains essential to the ISAF mission.

Tense NATO-Russia relations have also complicated NATO's engagement in the region. On the one hand, Russia, which is linked to NATO through the NATO-Russia Council (NRC), has an interest in the stability of Afghanistan and agreed in July 2009 to allow the United States to transport military equipment and personnel to Afghanistan through Russian air space.[21] That agreement followed a Russian offer in April 2008 to permit the land

[16] For more on this topic, see Cooley, Alexander: "Base Politics", *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 84, no. 6 (November/December 2005), pp. 79-92.

[17] Uzbekistan had been a member of the Collective Security Treaty, which was first signed in 1992. It withdrew in 1999 as part of an effort to move closer to the West. In 2002, Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, and Tajikistan attempted to revitalize the group and focus on regional collective security through the establishment of the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO). See "Uzbekistan Rejoins CSTO," *RFE/RL Newsline*, 18 August 2006, at http://www.rferl.org/content/article/1143698.html.

[18] See, for example, Wishnick, Elizabeth: "Growing U.S. Security Interests in Central Asia", *Strategic Studies Institute*, October 2002, at http://www.carlisle.army.mil/ssi/pdffiles/PUB110.pdf"; Luong, Pauline Jones and Weinthal, Erika: "New Friends, New Foes in Central Asia", *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 81, no. 2 (March/April 2002), p. 69; and Cooley, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-92.

[19] Lieven, Anatol: "A Hypocritical Approach to Russia", *Financial Times*, 31 May 2006. For further commentary on the United States' alleged hypocrisy in the region, see Peel, Quentin: "America's Muddle in Central Asia", *Financial Times*, 1 April 2006.

[20] Scheffer, Jaap de Hoop, Speech by NATO Secretary General, *North Atlantic Treaty Organisation* (NATO), *Visit to the Kyrgyz Republic*, Bishkek, Kyrgyz Republic (19 October 2004) .

[21] "U.S. and Russia Agree on Military Transit for Afghanistan", USNATO Public Affairs Newsletter, *Transatlantic Focus* (10 July 2009), at http://nato.usmission.gov/Newsletter/transatlantic_focus_newsletter_071009.htm.

transit of non-military equipment by ISAF contributors into Afghanistan.[22] At the same time however, Russia dislikes the presence of U.S. and NATO forces in a region that it views as properly within the Russian sphere of influence. Its inclination to view NATO as a competitor in the region is also evidenced by the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), which was officially established in 2001 as an antiterrorism partnership between Russia, China, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan, but was also likely designed to limit U.S. influence in the region.[23] Indeed, the SCO called for the United States to close its military bases in Central Asia in 2005—the same year that the United States was evicted from its K-2 base in Uzbekistan.[24]

More recently, Kyrgyzstan, presumably under pressure and promises of economic aid from Russia, announced in early 2009 that it would close a U.S. airbase at Manas that was considered to be a vital refueling and transit point for ISAF.[25] The base had been open since 2001 and its importance had grown after the United States lost the Uzbekistan base. Then, in June 2009, Kyrgyzstan reversed course, announcing that it would allow the base to remain open for an additional year with a one-year renewal option, although rent for the base would increase significantly under the new lease. Kyrgyzstan also tentatively agreed at roughly the same time to allow Russia to establish through the CSTO a second military base on its territory for a period of up to 49 years.[26]

At the same time, however, the desire of the Central Asian states to assert some degree of independence from Russia has produced a willingness to engage in varying degrees of practical cooperation with NATO.[27] Given that armed insurgents from Afghanistan have taken advantage of relatively porous borders to infiltrate into Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan, the Central Asians understand that the stability of their own states is at least partly tied to the fate of Afghanistan. Consequently, border security is one area in which NATO has enjoyed relatively good cooperation with the Central Asian regimes.[28]

Of these five states, NATO currently enjoys the greatest level of cooperation with Kazakhstan, which, as noted earlier, is the only Central Asian state that currently maintains an IPAP with NATO .[29] Kazakhstan has participated in and hosted PfP training and exercises, and, as a member of NATO's PARP, has been working toward interoperability between its forces and NATO's. [30] The government is also reported to be considering a possible deployment of troops to ISAF in addition to the bilateral assistance it provides for reconstruction purposes.[31] Notably, Kazakhstan volunteered to host the EAPC Security Forum

[22] "NATO's Relations with Russia", *North Atlantic Treaty Organisation* (NATO) (18 March 2009) , at http://152.152.95.200/issues/nato-russia/topic.html.
[23] See, for example, Berman, "The New Battleground", pp. 67-68; Blagov, Sergei: "Nay to NATO in Central Asia", *Transitions Online*, 12 July 2004; and Luong *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 65.
[24] Dyer, Geoff and McGregor, Richard: "Opposition to U.S. Inspires 'NATO of the East'", *Financial Times*, 22 June 2006.
[25] Barry, Ellen and Schwirtz, Michael: "Kyrgyzstan Says It Will Close U.S. Base", *New York Times*, 4 February 2009.
[26] "Russia, Kyrgyzstan Sign Base Deal at CSTO Summit", *RFE/RL*, 1 August 2009.
[27] Author telephone interview with former NATO diplomat, 5 August 2009.
[28] Author telephone interview with Department of Defense officials, 19 August 2009.
[29] Author telephone interview with NATO official, 7 August 2009.
[30] "NATO's Relations with Kazakhstan", *North Atlantic Treaty Organisation* (NATO) , updated 24 February 2009, at http://www.nato.int/issues/nato-kazakhstan/index.html.
[31] Author telephone interview with NATO official, 7 August 2009.

in June 2009. This was the first time that the forum, which focused on Afghanistan, energy security and Central Asian security, had been held outside Europe.[32]

NATO's cooperation with the remaining four Central Asian states is more limited. All, however, are engaged in some level of practical cooperation with the Alliance through PfP and their Individual Partnership Programs (IPP) in the areas of crisis management, civil emergency planning, border security and counter-terrorism cooperation. These partners have also supported the ISAF mission by providing reconstruction assistance to Afghanistan, including funding various infrastructure projects.[33] Consistent with decisions reached during the 2004 Istanbul Summit, NATO's Special Representative for the Caucasus and Central Asia, Robert Simmons works to facilitate cooperation through regular visits to the region where he meets with high-level government officials. NATO also continues to maintain liaison officers for both the Caucasus and Central Asia.[34] Indeed, from NATO's perspective the geostrategic significance of the region to the ISAF mission makes continued cooperation an imperative.

Constructive multilateral political dialogue, on the other hand, has proven to be more challenging. Although NATO does hold so called 28+5 (the 28 NATO members plus the 5 Central Asian states) meetings to discuss Afghanistan, the EAPC remains a highly problematic institution whose ministerial meetings are viewed even by EAPC members themselves as of little utility given the diversity of political systems, interests, and needs currently represented by the individual members of the partnership. As a result, U.S. and NATO relations with Central Asia are largely bilateral despite the existence of the multilateral framework.

NATO also enjoys relatively close cooperation with the Caucasus states of Armenia, Azerbaijian, and Georgia, although, again, this cooperation takes place largely in a bilateral context. All three states are members of the PfP and EAPC, and all have agreed to contribute or are already contributing troops to the ISAF mission in Afghanistan. Azerbaijan, which also participates in the NATO stabilization mission in Kosovo has actively supported the ISAF mission from the beginning and, as of July 2009, had approximately 90 troops in Afghanistan. Azerbaijan also maintains an IPAP with NATO and participates in the Partnership Action Plan on Terrorism (PAP-T). Armenia, which has contributed troops to both KFOR and Iraq and is also an IPAP participant, announced in July 2009 that it too will send troops to Afghanistan to participate in ISAF. Although the troop contributions of these states are relatively small, both continue to work through PARP toward interoperability with NATO forces and cooperate with NATO in developing crisis management and civil emergency response capabilities.

More recently, Georgia offered in early December 2009 to send nearly 1,000 troops to Afghanistan to serve alongside NATO forces.[35] Although the Obama administration had appealed for more European forces and Georgia's troop contribution will be larger than that

[32] Author telephone and e-mail interviews with members of NATO's international staff, June and August 2009. See also "Security Forum Discusses Key Challenges in Central Asia", *North Atlantic Treaty Organisation* (NATO), *Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council Security Forum,* Astana, Kazakhstan (24-25 June 2009) at http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/news_55920.htm.

[33] For further discussion of NATO's cooperation with the 5 Central Asian states, see "Partners in Central Asia", NATO Backgrounder, *North Atlantic Treaty Organisation* (NATO) (November 2007).

[34] Author telephone interview with NATO official, 7 August 2009.

[35] See Saakashvili, Mikheil: "Why Georgia Sends Troops to Afghanistan", *Telegraph.co.uk*, 14 December 2009 http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/georgia/6809222/Why-Georgia-sends-troops-to-Afghanistan.html.

of any of the Caucasus or Central Asian states as well as that of many NATO members, the administration's decision to accept even an earlier offer of approximately 500 troops was surprising in so far as Georgia's desire to join NATO has been a particular sore point in NATO's relations with Russia, whose cooperation in the region it also needs. Moreover, despite a NATO agreement in late 2008 to establish a NATO-Georgia Commission to assist Georgia in preparing for full membership, NATO-Georgia relations have also been a source of tension within NATO itself. Although the Alliance issued a statement during the 2008 Bucharest Summit declaring that Ukraine and Georgia will ultimately become NATO members, the Allies have been deeply divided over whether these two aspirants should be invited to join MAP. [36]

4. "Other Partners across the Globe"

The most significant partner contributions to the Afghanistan mission, however, have come not from the existing partnership frameworks that NATO has fostered since the mid-1990s, but rather from non-European allies who are not actual members of any of NATO's formal partnerships, including Australia, New Zealand, South Korea, and Japan. Frequently referred to as "global partners" (although the official NATO term is now "other partners across the globe," following the brief use of the term "contact countries"), these states have emerged as key contributors to ISAF at a time when many NATO members have been reluctant to provide the troops and other resources deemed critical to the success of the mission by NATO commanders. Australia in particular, has contributed troops at roughly the same level as NATO's own primary contributors.

Although the nature of their contributions has varied, the importance of these non-European allies to the ISAF mission prompted NATO during its 2006 Riga summit to declare that it would now actively seek to enhance its relations with these non-traditional partners. Notably, ISAF was not the first NATO mission in which these global partners had participated. Australia and New Zealand had both contributed troops to NATO's missions in the Balkans, while Japan had served as a major donor in the region. It was participation in the ISAF mission, however, that prompted Australia , in particular, to seek closer relations with NATO, including a greater voice in NATO's decision-making and operational planning for Afghanistan.

In fact, Australia, which has had a strategic relationship with NATO since the 1990s, is the largest non-NATO contributor to ISAF. Its commitments in Afghanistan currently include a Mentoring and Reconstruction Task Force tied to a Dutch-led Provincial Reconstruction Team (PRT) at Tarin Kowt in Oruzgan Province, a Special Operations Task Group also deployed to Oruzgan province, an Air Force Control and Reporting Centre at the Kandahar airport, and a medical treatment facility, which also supports the Dutch in Tarin Kowt.[37] In late April 2009, Australia announced that it would increase its troop contribution to Afghanistan by 450 soldiers, from 1100 to 1550. The government has also signed an agreement with NATO on the protection of classified information and maintains a defense attache in Brussels, in addition to exchanging high-level visits with NATO. Although New

[36] The United States under the Bush administration supported the invitations while France, Germany and some other Allies opposed them.

[37] "Operation Slipper", *Australian Department of Defence*, at http://www.defence.gov.au/opEx/global/opslipper/index.htm; See also "Australia in Afghanistan Briefing Book", *Global Collaborative*, 21 June 2009, at http://www.globalcollab.org/Nautilus/australia/afghanistan .

Zealand has deployed a much smaller contingent of troops (160 troops as of July 2009), its contribution to ISAF is also close to or greater than that of many NATO members. Since September 2003, it has led a PRT in Bamian, which was originally under the command of the United States' Operation Enduring Freedom but became an ISAF responsibility in 2006.[38]

South Korea currently has no combat troops in Afghanistan, but it did lead a PRT in Parwan Province under the command of Operation Enduring Freedom until late 2007 when it withdrew all of its military forces. The withdrawal was reportedly part of deal negotiated with Taliban militants aimed at winning the release of South Korean missionaries, who they had taken hostage in the summer of 2007, and occurred just before the Parwan PRT was to be transferred to the ISAF command.[39] Although South Korea has not yet agreed to redeploy combat forces, the government did announce in late October 2009 that it would expand the number of South Korean civilians engaged in reconstruction and development projects in Afghanistan and send troops and police officers to assist in the protection on these aid workers.[40]

Japan's contribution is unique among the principal non-NATO, non-partner contributors to ISAF. Although Japan has not committed troops to ISAF, Japanese Maritime Self Defense Forces beginning in 2001conducted an 8-year refueling operation in the Indian Ocean in support of Operation Enduring Freedom---the U.S. mission in Afghanistan. In March 2007, Japan also finalized with NATO a framework for cooperation under which it would provide financial support for humanitarian projects in Afghanistan, with priority given to healthcare and education projects proposed by ISAF PRTs.[41] The commitment followed an address to NATO's North Atlantic Council by former Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe in January 2007. In his speech, Abe had declared that, in the interests of "international peace and stability," Japan would "no longer shy away from carrying out overseas activities involving the SDF" (Self Defense Forces). He also pledged to strengthen cooperation between Japan and NATO with a particular focus on Afghanistan.[42] Since then, the Japanese government has appointed a liaison officer to the office of the NATO Senior Civilian Representative to assist in the screening of potential projects as well as the administration of those approved.[43] Japan's relations with NATO and the United States, however, have cooled significantly since the August 2009 legislative elections, which produced a new governing coalition led by the Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ), but which also includes the Social Democratic Party, a firm opponent of international activity by the SDF.[44] Indeed, the new government within just

[38] Pan, Esther: "NATO Takes on Afghan Security", *Council on Foreign Relations* (27 July 2006), at http://www.cfr.org/publication/11166.

[39] "South Korean Hostages Head Back Home from Afghanistan", *New York Times*, 31 August 2007.

[40] Sang-Hun, Choe: "South Korea Says It Plans Afghanistan Deployment", *The New York Times*, 1 November 2009.

[41] "NATO Cooperation with Japan," updated 9 March 2009, NATO Topics, at http://www.nato.int/issues/nato_japan/index.html.

[42] Abe, Shinzo: "Japan and NATO: Toward Further Collaboration", Statement by Japanese Prime Minister, *North Atlantic Treaty Organisation* (NATO), *North Atlantic Council*, 12 January 2007, at http:www.nato/int/docu/speech/2007/s070112b.html. For further insight into the thinking underpinning Japan's interest in NATO, see Tsuruoka, Michito: "NATO as a Partner: Multifaceted Motivations and Expectations Outside", *NATO Review*, forthcoming 2010.

[43] "NATO/Japan Cooperation in Afghanistan" Fact Sheet, *North Atlantic Treaty Organisation* (NATO), *Media Operations Center, Press and Media Service*, NATO HQ Brussels, Belgium (October 2008) , at http://www.nato.int/isaf/topics/factsheets/nato_japan_coop.pdf

[44] See, for example, Easley, Leif-Eric; Kotani, Tetsuo and Mori, Aki: "Japan's Foreign Policy and the U.S. Alliance", *Real Clear World,* 23 September 2009, at http://www.realclearworld.com/articles/2009/09/23/japans_foreign_policy__the_us_alliance_97196.html.

weeks of taking power announced that it would end its refueling mission in the Indian Ocean.[45]

While each of NATO's global partners has its own particular reasons for cooperating with NATO, they all share with the Allies a number of common security challenges, including terrorism, nuclear proliferation, and the dangers of failed states. Not insignificantly, they also share NATO's liberal democratic values. As Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe put it in his address to NATO's North Atlantic Council in January 2007: "We have in common such fundamental values as freedom, democracy, human rights and the rule of law. It is only natural that we cooperate in protecting and promoting those values."

Indeed, the fact that the NATO Allies share both interests and liberal democratic values with these so-called global partners constitutes further reason for them to consider how these relationships might be utilized not only to combat shared threats but also to enlarge further the liberal democratic security order that NATO set out to construct in the early 1990s, beginning in Central and Eastern Europe. To date, however, there has been little progress in this direction largely because the nature of NATO's cooperation with global partners has been a source of controversy within the Alliance itself. In part the controversy is linked to a proposal advanced by the United States and Britain during the 2006 Riga summit calling for the creation of a new political framework or "stability providers forum" designed to draw allies such as Australia, Japan, and South Korea closer to NATO. Although the proposal did not specify the states that would comprise the forum or even utilize the term "global partnership," former U.S. Undersecretary for Political Affairs and Ambassador to NATO Nicholas Burns, in a press briefing just prior to the Riga summit, gave the impression of a new, narrowly defined political framework on a par with NATO's existing partnerships in characterizing the Alliance "as 26 members and then a mosaic of partnerships in NATO," including PfP, the Mediterranean Dialogue, and the "global partners," which he explicitly identified as Japan, Australia, South Korea, Sweden and Finland.[46] According to one State Department official familiar with the proposal and the discussions surrounding it, while the administration was indeed advocating a new political forum, the intent was not to promote dialogue as an end in itself, but rather to focus on the need for practical cooperation and to recognize formally the extent of NATO's existing cooperation with its non-European allies.[47] The proposal also recognized that despite significant contributions on the part of these states to NATO's military missions, they had no voice in NATO's operational planning in Afghanistan. Nor had they been invited to participate fully in PfP activities and training as had other NATO partners.

The new partnership initiative was also designed to enhance NATO's ability to operate effectively in contexts other than Afghanistan on the assumption that the principal threats to the Alliance would now stem from "complex and unpredictable challenges," including terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and failing states, which could emerge "far from member states' borders and arise at short notice."[48] The proposed new framework represented a departure from NATO's existing partnerships in that it constituted a

[45] "Japan to End Afghan Refueling Mission", *RFE/RL*, 13 October 2009.
[46] Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, Burns, R. Nicholas: "Briefing on NATO Issues Prior to Riga Summit", *US Department of State,* Washington DC (21 November 2006).
[47] Author telephone interview with Department of State official, January 2007. On this issue, see also Johnson, David T., Minister: "The New NATO: World Class Capabilities in Global Partnership", Remarks, *UK Defence Forum* (December 2006).
[48] "Comprehensive Political Guidance Endorsed by NATO Heads of State and Government", Riga, Latvia (29 November 2006) , at http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_56425.htm.

functional rather than geographical approach to partnership. However, as evidenced in part by former NATO Secretary General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer's repeated assertions that NATO was not becoming a "global alliance," but rather an "alliance with global partners," many Allies were uneasy with the prospect of deepening political ties between NATO and states well beyond the transatlantic area, even though the Bush administration had stressed repeatedly that it was not pushing for the admission of non-European partners into NATO.

To a significant degree, this uneasiness reflected continued internal divisions over just how global NATO's reach should be. The Bush administration had already sought in the aftermath of September 11to move NATO in a less Euro-centric direction by encouraging the European Allies to engage in an effort to project stability beyond the Euro-Atlantic area, beginning with the Central Asian and Caucasus states but ultimately extending to the Middle East as well. Indeed the administration had sought during the 2004 Istanbul Summit to use the partnership concept to focus greater attention on both regions, ultimately leading to the creation of the Istanbul Cooperation Initiative. The partnership initiative was intended to complement a broader administration agenda, centered on what the Bush administration initially labeled its Greater Middle East Initiative (GMEI). Put forward initially as a set of guidelines for promoting political and economic reform in the Greater Middle East in cooperation with the G-8, the proposal was later revised in a process of consultation with Arab and European governments, ultimately emerging as the Broader Middle East and North Africa Initiative (BMENI). Despite the consultation process, however, key NATO Allies remained uncomfortable with this foray into a region already deeply divided over the Iraq war. Concerns that NATO was already overextended and had lost sight of its core collective security function thus formed part of the backdrop for the 2006 Riga Summit and the controversy that would ensure over the global partners initiative.

The fact that the Bush administration had identified as part of the proposed new consultative framework two states (i.e. Sweden and Finland) that were already members of the EAPC also generated a related concern among some Allies that the United States, by appearing to preference some NATO partners over others, was undermining the EAPC in favor of a more functional partnership structure. In fact, then U.S. Ambassador to NATO Victoria Nuland, in calling for the reform of NATO's existing partnerships, including potentially the dissolution of the EAPC, had floated the idea of a new political framework for global partners during NATO's annual partnership conference in Oberammergau, Germany in January 2006.[49] Although the challenges facing the EAPC were well understood, some Allies resented what they perceived as a unilateral effort on the part of the Bush administration to restructure NATO's existing partnerships.[50]

In part the idea of a global partnership was controversial because of a fear on the part of some Allies that global partners were simply a first step toward a global NATO or a NATO with members from outside Europe. Indeed, a number of commentators including the current U.S. Ambassador to NATO, Ivo Daalder, had explicitly called for opening NATO's door to any liberal democratic state willing to contribute to NATO's responsibilities.[51] Advocacy of a

[49] Author interview with Department of State official, January 2007. On Nuland's speech, see also Kamp, Karl-Heinz, "'Global Partnership': A New Conflict Within NATO?", der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, *Analysen und Argumente*, no. 29 (2006), p. 3.
[50] Author e-mail interview with NATO international staff member, January 2007.
[51] See, for example, Daalder, Ivo and Goldgeier, James: "Global NATO," *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 85, no. 5 (September/October 2006), p. 10; and "NATO: An Alliance for Freedom: How to Transform the Atlantic Alliance to Effectively Defend our Freedom and Democracies", *FAES (Fundacion para el Análisis y los Estudios Sociales)* (2005), p. 40.

more global NATO has also been linked to calls for a Concert of Democracies, an idea first proposed in 2004 by Daalder and James Lindsay.[52] Although controversial, the proposed concert has attracted a substantial following, including the support of 2008 Republican presidential candidate John McCain.[53] The idea was also endorsed in a 2006 report stemming from the Princeton Project on National Security, a bipartisan initiative aimed at developing a "sustainable and effective" U.S. national security strategy for the United States.[54]

Support for a Concert of Democracies rests in part on the assumption that an organization comprised exclusively of liberal democracies would not suffer from the divisions over humanitarian intervention that precluded the U.N. Security Council from responding to a series of crises dating back to the early 1990s, including Somalia, Bosnia, Rwanda, Kosovo, and Darfur. Yet key NATO Allies—while not necessarily opposed to closer cooperation with global partners—have expressed concern that formalizing political ties with non-European allies would undermine NATO's political cohesion and transform the very nature of the alliance. Former French Defense Minister Michele Alliot-Marie, for example, argued in late 2006 that, while the Alliance should try "to improve the practical modalities" of NATO's relationships with non-NATO states such as Australia and Japan, "the development of a global partnership" could potentially "dilute the natural solidarity between Europeans and North Americans in a vague ensemble." Then French President Jacques Chirac also argued that cooperation with global partners should be "confined to practical matters and focused on situations that may require military intervention by the alliance and its partners" so as not to distract the Alliance from its central mission as a "guarantor" of members' collective security.[55]

Like France, Germany also favored greater cooperation with global partners, but with the shared caveat that this cooperation should occur on a "case-by-case" basis and should be driven by expressions of interest from the global partners themselves.[56] A global partnership, both states feared, had the potential to distract the United States from NATO's collective defense mission and enable it to circumvent the task of developing a consensus within NATO by forming coalitions with like-minded allies outside of NATO.[57] Both France and Germany also expressed concern that a more formal consultative framework would, in the words of Alliot-Marie, "send a bad political message: that of a campaign launched by the West against those who don't share their ideas."[58] Germany similarly suggested that transforming NATO

[52] Daalder and Lindsay's original proposal called for an "Alliance of Democratic States" that would address challenges ranging from terrorism to weapons proliferation, to global warming in addition to working to advance liberal democratic values. They later adopted the term "Concert of Democracy" to describe the proposed institution. See Daalder, Ivo H. and Lindsay, James M.: "An Alliance of Democracies," *The Washington Post*, 23 May 2004 and Daalder, Ivo and Lindsay, James: "Democracies of the World Unite," *The American Interest Online* (Winter 2006-07), at http://www.the-american-interest.com/aiz/aricle.cfm?ID+219&MId=6.

[53] McCain, John: "An Enduring Peace Built on Freedom," Speech, *Hoover Institution, Stanford University*, Stanford (May 1, 2007).

[54] Ikenberry, G. John and Slaughter, Anne-Marie, (co-directors) (2006): *Forging a World of Liberty Under Law: U.S. National Security in the 21st Century: Final Report of the Princeton Project on National Security*, The Princeton Project Papers, Princeton, Princeton University,Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs .

[55] Chirac, Jacques: "France's Vision for NATO", *Christian Science Monitor*, vol. 99, no. 2 (28 November 2006).

[56] See, for example, Ambassador Dr. Duckwitz, Edmund: "NATO After the Riga Summit", Speech, *Konrad Adenauer Foundation, European Affairs Office*, 6 December 2006.

[57] Riecke, Henning and Koschut, Simon: "NATO's Global Aspirations", *Internationale Politik,*, vol. 63, no. 3 (Summer 2008).

[58] Alliot-Marie, Michele: "Don't diminish NATO's effectiveness", *The Washington Times*, 20 October 2006.

into a bloc of "like-minded countries" had the potential to "set a 'global NATO' against the rest of the world."[59]

Europeans were not alone in resisting the creation of a new political forum for global partners. In fact, it appeared that even those most likely to be included in the new framework were not necessarily in favor of the idea. Rather, for a variety of reasons, NATO's global partners have generally expressed a preference for continuing their cooperation with NATO through more informal mechanisms, although they have continued to seek enhanced dialogue with NATO, including a voice in operational planning.[60]

Despite the absence of consensus on the global partners framework, however, the Allies did agree "to fully develop the political and practical potential of NATO's existing cooperation programmes" and "increase the operational relevance of relations with non-NATO countries" in two particular ways: First, it was agreed that NATO could "call ad-hoc meetings as events arise" with contributors or potential contributors to NATO missions, including interested "contact countries," utilizing flexible formats...based on the principles of inclusiveness, transparency and self-differentiation."[61] The Allies also agreed to make established partnership tools more widely available to interested contact countries and members of the Mediterranean Dialogue and ICI, on a case-by-case basis. Characterized as a move to open up NATO's "toolbox," the decision meant that states such as Australia, South Korea, New Zealand, and Japan, would now have greater access to those partnership tools and activities currently available to NATO's PfP/EAPC members, including training and other educational opportunities at NATO schools.[62]

By the time the Allies met in Bucharest in 2008, they had agreed on Tailored Cooperation Packages (TCPs) with four of the states now referred to as "other partners across the globe;" namely, Australia, New Zealand, Japan, and South Korea. Similar to the individual cooperation programs offered to MD and ICI partners, the TCPs are essentially lists of cooperation activities that have been "tailored" to the individual states based on NATO's priorities and the particular interests of the partner states.[63] Although the scope and number of activities included in the TCPs are more limited than is true of the cooperation programs offered to other NATO partners, they cover a fairly broad range of activities, including training and education, crisis management, civil emergency planning, and consultation on WMD proliferation. Ultimately, TCPs are intended to promote broad cooperation between NATO and global partners and are not directly tied to involvement in

[59] Duckwitz, *op. cit*.
[60] See, for example, by the Australian Foreign Minister Downer, Alexander: "NATO in the Age of Global Challenges" Speech, *Australian Ministry of Foreign Affairs,* Munich, Germany (10 February 2007), at http://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/download/media/pressrel/GCLO6/upload_binary/gclo63.pdf;fileType=application/pdf#search=%22P52%20media%20lpa%22.
[61] "Riga Summit Declaration", Press Release, *North Atlantic Treaty Organisation* (NATO), *Riga Summit, (2006) 150*, Riga, Latvia (29 November 2006).
[62] *Ibid.*; "NATO After Riga: Prevailing in Afghanistan, Improving Capabilities, Enhancing Cooperation", *North Atlantic Treaty Organisation* (NATO), *NATO Public Diplomacy Division,* p. 6; and author telephone interview with U.S. Department of State official, January 2007. See also Assistant Secretary General for Political Affairs and Security Policy, Erdmann, Martin: "The PfP Planning Symposium", Interview, *North Atlantic Treaty Organisation* (NATO) (16 January 2007), at http://www.nato.int/docu/speech/2007/s070116a.html.
[63] "Bucharest Summit Declaration", Press Release, *North Atlantic Treaty Organisation* (NATO), *Bucharest Summit, (2008) 049,*Bucharest, Romania (3 April 2008), at http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_8443.htm?selectedLocale=en and author e-mail interview with NATO international staff member, 20 January 2009.

Afghanistan. To date, however, the focus has been on Afghanistan with a particular interest in promoting interoperability with NATO forces.[64]

No additional TCPs had been agreed as of fall 2009, but NATO officials note that more are possible. One of the most likely candidates at present is Singapore, which agreed during NATO's 2008 summit in Bucharest to send a small number of troops to Afghanistan.[65] NATO, in fact, cited Singapore, along with Australia, Japan and New Zealand, for a "significant contribution" to the ISAF mission in the declaration issued at the conclusion of the summit.[66] In short, there continues to exist strong support within the Alliance in favor of increased practical cooperation with other partners across the globe as long as it takes place on a case-by-case basis rather than through new institutions or political frameworks.[67]

That said, NATO has perhaps been less successful in engaging global partners in dialogue utilizing flexible formats than was envisioned in the Riga communiqué. The term consultations "in a flexible format" refers to meetings that occur between the 28 NATO members plus various groups of partners, including the EAPC, ICI, MD or subgroups of these partners. Although NATO had hoped to use this format to respond to the appeals of some global partners for a greater say in NATO decision-making, to date meetings with the global partners have largely been limited to an ISAF context or format — specifically troop contributors meetings at the level of defense minister and ambassador. Although such meetings occur fairly regularly —approximately once a month—and provide an opportunity for policy coordination, the global partners seeking a larger role in NATO's decision making have not been completely satisfied.[68] Global partners who are KFOR contributors also meet with NATO in KFOR format, but these contributors' meetings preceded the Riga summit and would have occurred even without the additional efforts to enhance engagement with global partners. NATO officials also acknowledge that, aside from the contributors' meetings, there currently exist no other forums in which global partners might meet collectively.[69]

Moreover, although former NATO Secretary General de Hoop Scheffer spoke in mid-2008 of NATO's cooperation with global partners as a "model for the future," very little attention has been devoted to these relationships outside the context of Afghanistan.[70] As one Pentagon official responsible for NATO policy observed, the attention devoted to these relationships has not yet been very "forward looking." Rather all relationships have been viewed through the lens of Afghanistan with a focus on "what can you do for us now?" as opposed to how NATO might shape relations with global partners over the long term.[71]

[64] Author telephone interview with Pentagon officials, 19 August 2009.
[65] Author telephone interview with member of NATO's international staff, July 2009.
[66] "Bucharest Summit Declaration", *op. cit.*
[67] See, for example, "Strasbourg/Kehl Summit Declaration", *North Atlantic Treaty Organisation* (NATO), *Strasbourg/Kehl Summit, PR (2009) 044,* Strasbourg-Kehl, France-Germany (4 April 2009), at http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/news_52837.htm?mode=pressrelease.
[68] Author interviews with former NATO diplomat, 5 August 2009, and NATO official, 7 August 2009.
[69] Author interviews with NATO officials and diplomats, August 2009.
[70] NATO Secretary General, Scheffer, Jaap de Hoop: "NATO: The Next Decade", Speech, *North Atlantic Treaty Organisation* (NATO), *the Security and Defence Agenda*, Brussels, Belgium (3 June 2008), at http://www.nato.int/docu/speech/2008/s080603a.html.
[71] Author telephone interview Department of Defense official, 18 August 2009.

5. Pakistan, Afghanistan, China and India

NATO's tendency to direct partnership activities toward Afghanistan is also evident in a recent decision to offer both Pakistan and Afghanistan additional access to NATO's "toolbox" or partnership activities—just as it has done with MD and ICI partners. NATO already maintains strategic partnerships with Afghanistan and Pakistan through the Tripartite Commission, which brings together representatives from ISAF, the Afghan National Army and the Pakistan Army to discuss military and security issues in four principal areas: intelligence sharing, border security, countering improvised explosive devices, and initiatives related to information operations. The commission holds regular meetings at various levels and offers an opportunity to exchange views, discuss security matters of mutual concern, and coordinate operations. It also maintains a joint intelligence center at ISAF Headquarters in Kabul for the purpose of facilitating coordination between its members.[72]

NATO's cooperation with Pakistan dates back to October 2005 when the Alliance deployed its new NATO Response Force to provide humanitarian assistance following a devastating earthquake. NATO has maintained high level exchanges with Pakistan since former NATO Secretary General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer's visit there in May 2007 and has allowed Pakistani officers to participate in select NATO training and education courses in the areas of peace support operations, civil-military cooperation and defense against terrorism.[73] According to NATO officials, it was in part Pakistan's considerable appetite for NATO assistance that prompted the Allies to agree to make additional partnership activities available.[74]

NATO also maintains an informal dialogue with China, although high level contacts remain limited. According to NATO officials and diplomats, even though China has demonstrated considerable interest in learning more about NATO initiatives, that interest falls short of desiring real partnership with NATO.[75] Efforts to develop closer NATO-China relations could also prove divisive within the Alliance. Yet, given NATO's involvement in Central Asia and the increasingly global nature of the challenges NATO confronts, including the threat posed by North Korea, enhanced dialogue between NATO and China could potentially be useful. Similarly, there is a good case to be made for closer ties between NATO and India, particularly given the stake that India has in the outcome of events in Afghanistan and Pakistan. To date, however, there exists no formal contact between NATO and India.

The above suggests that the experience of conducting a military mission in Afghanistan has fostered a growing awareness of the need for a broad range of partners, including global partners, if NATO is to enhance its capacity to address global threats. Indeed, troop contributions from Australia and other global partners have proven themselves essential to the ISAF mission given the reality that many NATO Allies have been unable or unwilling to produce the number of troops recommended by NATO commanders and the fact that caveats

[72] "Border Security: Promoting Cooperation Between Afghanistan and Pakistan", *North Atlantic Treaty Organisation* (NATO), at http://www.nato.int/isaf/topics/border-security/index.html, and Ross, Mike: "Pakistan: A Test of Transatlantic Co-operation", *North Atlantic Treaty Organisation* (NATO), *NATO Parliamentary Assembly*, *034 PCTR09 E,* at http://www.nato.int/default.asp?SHORTCUT=1775.

[73] "First Visit by Top Pakistani Officer to NATO," *NATO News*, 17 November 2006, at http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/news_22086.htm?selectedLocale=en.

[74] Author telephone interviews with NATO officials, August 2009.

[75] Author interviews with former NATO diplomat, 5 August 2009, and former Department of Defense official, September 2009.

remain with respect to where many of the troops that Europe has produced can be deployed. It would be wrong, however, to conclude that those who have pushed for NATO's partnerships to become more functional and less focused on geography have prevailed. Although the ISAF mission has fostered a recognition of the need for further discussion regarding the role of global partners, it has also precluded that debate from taking place in any meaningful way, in part because NATO's time, energy, and resources have been focused on Afghanistan.

6. Institutional Partners

NATO's experience in Afghanistan, along with its missions in the Balkans and Iraq, has also been instrumental to the evolution of its new Comprehensive Approach, which seeks to enhance the civil-military cooperation that has proved so vital to the stabilization and reconstruction missions that NATO has undertaken since the 1990s. In so far as it involves the expansion and deepening of NATO's relations with other international institutions and organizations, including the United Nations, the European Union, the African Union and the Arab League, as well as a wide variety of non-governmental organizations (NGOs), the Comprehensive Approach is itself a partnership initiative, which recognizes the deficiencies of a purely military approach to dealing with 21st century threats. First promoted by Denmark in 2005, the initiative was formally placed on NATO's agenda at the 2006 Riga summit, where the Allies then agreed to consider how NATO might create a framework for a more comprehensive approach to crisis management and conflict resolution operations.[76] Underpinning the decision, was an assumption that NATO will continue to be engaged in stabilization and democratization missions for the foreseeable future, coupled with a realization that the successful conduct of such missions will require close coordination with other institutions that possess relevant expertise and resources. As U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert Gates has observed, "war in the 21st century does not have stark divisions between civilian and military components. It is a continuous scale that slides from combat operations to economic development, governance and reconstruction—frequently all at the same time."[77]

In 2008 at Bucharest, NATO then endorsed an Action Plan aimed at developing and implementing a Comprehensive Approach. The Action Plan, which NATO tasked the NAC with implementing, comprised a set of proposals aimed broadly at enhancing practical cooperation at all levels with other actors/institutions that have experience and skills in the areas of institution building, development, governance, judiciary, and police.[78] Although development of the Comprehensive Approach is considered a long-term, ongoing effort that will be subject to regular review, NATO is currently developing proposals in five areas: improved practical cooperation at all levels with relevant organizations and actors in the planning and conduct of operations; the development of joint training of civilian and military personnel to promote sharing of lessons learned and build confidence between NATO, its partners and other international and local actors; extensive civil-military interaction with other relevant organizations and actors on a regular basis; efforts to ensure that the public information strategies of main actors complement each other; improved military support of stabilization and reconstruction at all phases and better coordination of NATO's military

[76] For more on Denmark's role in promoting the Comprehensive Approach Initiative, see Fischer, Kristian and Christensen, Jan Top: "Improving Civil-Military Cooperation the Danish Way," *NATO Review* (Summer 2005).
[77] Gates, Robert, Speech by US Defense Secretary, *Munich Conference on Security Policy*, Munich, Germany (10 February 2008).
[78] "Bucharest Summit Declaration, Press Release", *op. cit.*

efforts in this area with those of partners and other international and non-governmental organizations.[79]

One essential element in the development of the Comprehensive Approach will be a stronger partnership between NATO and the EU. Since 2001, the two organizations have worked together to facilitate military cooperation, first by ensuring that the EU would have access to NATO's planning capabilities in conducting its own military operations and later permitting the EU access to NATO assets and capabilities for EU-led operations under what became known as the "Berlin-Plus rules.[80] These rules, however, are not particularly relevant to Afghanistan because the EU's contributions there have been of a purely civilian nature.

This is not to suggest, however, that the EU's role in Afghanistan is without implications for the ISAF mission. To the contrary, the success of ISAF mission depends upon the civilian resources the EU has committed to Afghanistan. In November 2005, the EU signed with the Afghan government an EU-Afghanistan Joint Declaration in November 2005 through which the EU committed itself to work toward consolidating a democratic political system, including "responsible and accountable government institutions, strengthening the rule of law, and safeguarding human rights (including the rights of women) and the development of civil society."[81] In June 2007, the EU also began a Rule of Law mission (EUPOL), followed by efforts to promote judicial reform and funding for civilian projects being conducted by EU-member state-led PRTs under the command of NATO.[82]

Recognizing the need for NATO-EU cooperation in Afghanistan, NATO included the EU in its ISAF contributors' meeting in Bucharest in 2008, and the two organizations have held regular ministerial meetings. What cooperation exists on the ground in Afghanistan, however, is largely informal, and NATO's new Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen has called for the EU to do more to assist the process of civil reconstruction in Afghanistan.[83] Moreover, the conflict stemming from the division of Cyprus, and Turkey's continuing refusal to recognize the Republic of Cyprus, which is an EU member, continues to stand as an obstacle to closer NATO-EU cooperation in so far as Turkey typically blocks within NATO any initiatives requiring cooperation with Cyprus. Disagreement also persists among the Allies as to what tasks properly belong to NATO and which belong to the EU. As Stephanie Hofmann and Ken Weisbrode have put it, "NATO and the EU now coexist with a confusing and ambiguous set of overlapping tasks, with no clear functional or geographical division of labor in the cards anytime soon."[84]

NATO has also explicitly recognized that development of the Comprehensive Approach depends upon close cooperation between NATO and the United Nations. In fact, ISAF is a

[79] "A Comprehensive Approach", NATO Topics, *North Atlantic Treaty Organisation* (NATO), at http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_51633.htm; For a thorough discussion of the evolution of the Comprehensive Approach by two of its strongest advocates, see Petersen, Friis Arne and Binnendijk, Hans: "The Comprehensive Approach Initiative: Future Operations for NATO", Center for Technology and National Security Policy, National Defense University, *Defense Horizons* (September 2007), p. 3.

[80] See "NATO's Relations with the European Union", *North Atlantic Treaty Organisation* (NATO), at http://www.nato.int/issues/natu-eu/index.html.

[81] "EU-Afghanistan Joint Declaration: Committing to a new EU-Afghan Partnership", *European Union* (UE), *Council of the European Union*, *14519/05 (Presse 299),* Strasbourg, France (16 November 2005).

[82] "NATO's Relations with the European Union", *op. cit*.

[83] Kennedy, Stephanie: "NATO Chief Wants More EU Help in Afghanistan", *ABC News*, 3 August 2009, at http://www.abc.net.au/news/stories/2009/08/04/2645454.htm.

[84] Hofmann, Stephanie and Weisbrode, Ken: "EU and NATO: Interlocking or Interblocking?", *World Politics Review* (1 May 2009), at http://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/articlePrint.aspx?ID=3680.

U.N. mandated force, which has enlarged its presence in Afghanistan through a series of U.N. resolutions. NATO has pledged to support the U.N. Mission in Afghanistan's lead role in coordinating the civilian effort in Afghanistan, and invited NATO Secretary General Ban Ki-moon, along with his special representative for Afghanistan, to its 2008 Bucharest summit.[85] Not long after that summit in September 2008, NATO and the UN issued a Joint UN-NATO Declaration through which they agreed to establish a framework for expanded consultation and cooperation in areas such as communication and information-sharing; capacity-building, training and exercises; and operational coordination and support. [86]

7. The Role of NATO´s Partners

As suggested above, the experience of conducting a mission in Afghanistan has magnified the importance of establishing cooperative working relationships with partners outside of Europe. Indeed, the increasingly global reach of NATO's partnerships is understood to be vital to addressing global challenges, and the persistent widening of NATO's circle of partnerships is, itself, a testament to the perceived success of the concept. Yet, as NATO's partnerships have multiplied and expanded beyond Europe, the growing diversity of their members has also served to generate important questions about the structure and purpose of these relationships, including NATO's very first partnerships: the Partnership for Peace and the EAPC. Although these institutions once played a key role in preparing aspirants for membership, three rounds of post-Cold War enlargement have led to significant changes in both their membership and function. None of the Central Asian states have demonstrated any interest in NATO membership and most would not qualify because of their lack of democratic credentials. Moreover, while the EAPC and PfP remain multilateral frameworks, NATO's relations with the Central Asian partners are essentially bi-lateral relationships, with NATO's interest in continued partnership driven largely by the proximity of these states to Afghanistan. NATO's mission in Afghanistan has also generated, not only significant interest in developing relations with partners outside of Europe, but also new questions as to whether the role of these so-called global partners should be limited to contributions of troops or other military capabilities on an ad hoc basis, or whether non-European states who share NATO's values should play a larger role in shaping a global order more favorable to NATO's interests and values. As Ronald Asmus has put it, the Allies must ask whether partnerships with Australia or Japan are "really just about squeezing more troops and money out of them for NATO-led missions" or whether they should "be about building strategic relationships in new and important regions."[87]

Ultimately, one of the key questions that arises in any discussion about the future of NATO's relations with its partners is whether the Alliance should move toward a partnership model that is grounded on functional considerations rather than regional identity. Indeed, NATO's interest in partners in Central Asia has been less about integration than about acquiring capabilities and access to a particular geographic location. NATO's efforts to

[85] "ISAF's Strategic Vision", Press Release, *North Atlantic Treaty Organisation* (NATO), *(2008) 052* (3 April 2008), at http://www.nato.int/docu/pr/2008/p08-052e.html.
[86] "NATO's Relations with the United Nations", NATO Topics, *North Atlantic Treaty Organisation* (NATO), updated 25 September 2009, at http://www.otan.nato.int/cps/en/SID-0B464EE4-6CD3D483/natolive/topics_50321.htm?selectedLocale=en.
[87] Asmus, Ron: "Bucharest: the Place Where Answers Take Place?", *NATO Review* (March 2003), at http://www.nato.int/docu/review/2008/03/ART4/EN/index.htm.

enhance cooperation with global partners suggest an even stronger shift in the direction of a more functional and less regional approach to partnership.

Yet, despite a broad consensus regarding the need for all partnerships to become more functional, as evidenced by the controversy over global partners at Riga, many of the Allies have been leery of attempts to emphasize the functional attributes of partnership at the expense of a regional focus. In fact, intra-alliance discussion of the topic has to date largely been avoided. Rather the prevalent assumption has been that NATO works better in practice than in theory, and the United States, in particular, has tried to push NATO in an increasingly global direction by focusing on opportunities for practical cooperation rather than encouraging intra-alliance discussion regarding the larger vision NATO's partnerships are intended to serve.

The reluctance to engage in such conversation has been partly driven by a belief that practical cooperation and initiatives have outpaced where NATO is at theoretically. As then U.S. Deputy Secretary of State for European Affairs Daniel Fried put it in testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Committee in June 2007: "The tools that NATO needs to succeed in Afghanistan—from combat forces, to peacekeeping, to global partners, to coordination with civilian donors and institutions largely define the directions in which NATO must grown in the future."[88] Former U.S. Ambassador to NATO Victoria Nuland made essentially this same point just prior to the Riga summit. In her words:

"When Allied Heads of State meet in Riga they will contemplate an Alliance that has grown stronger both politically and operationally because, in large measure, of NATO's commitment in Afghanistan. This has resulted in a powerful irony. While the North Atlantic Council documents reflect continuing disagreement over the nature and extent of the Alliance's power, the demands of everyday operations have forced NATO to blow past the theoretical limitations on its missions. For example, the concept of NATO global partnerships—indeed, the very term—has been controversial. The practice of global partnerships, however, is a reality today on the ground."[89]

Yet, practical cooperation can only go so far without a core consensus about the structure and purpose of these partnerships. Indeed, Rasmussen stated in his first speech as NATO Secretary General that "the moment has come for the theory to catch up with the practice."[90] A senior level U.S. official responsible for NATO policy also suggests that there is now a consensus emerging across the Alliance that the existing "alphabet soup" of partnerships "needs to be streamlined" and that NATO can no longer ignore the question of how to structure NATO's relationships with new partners like Australia.

The fact that there may be a growing consensus in favor of taking a more strategic perspective on the issue on NATO's partnerships, however, does not mean that the ongoing debates will be easily resolved. In fact, NATO foreign ministers meeting in Brussels in December 2009 declared that, while they intended "to work towards enhancing [NATO's] partnership policy," they were also committed to "preserving the specificity of each

[88] Fried, Daniel: "The Future of NATO: How Valuable an Asset?", Testimony, *US House Committee on Foreign Relations* (22 June 2007).
[89] Nuland, Victoria: "NATO's Mission in Afghanistan: Putting Theory into Practice", *NATO Review*, no. 4 (Winter 2006), at http://www.nato.int/docu/review/2006/issue4/english/art3.html.
[90] Rasmussen, Anders Fogh: "The New NATO", Press conference by NATO Secretary General, *North Atlantic Treaty Organisation* (NATO) (3 August 2009), at http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/opinions_56776.htm.

partnership."[91] This caveat suggests a continued reluctance on the part of at least some Allies to abandon the regional nature of NATO's existing partnerships. Indeed, given that NATO's partnerships currently all have a geographical basis, one particularly difficult issue that will need to be addressed if the debate is to move forward has to do with the importance of a common regional and cultural identity to the continuing appeal and cohesion of the partnership concept.

In this context, it's notable that, beginning in the early 1990s, NATO increasingly identified itself, not so much as an Alliance devoted to a specific piece of territory but rather as an ever-widening community of liberal democratic states. That trend prompted Ron Asmus to ask at the time of the Riga Summit: "Will NATO...continue to see itself as an exclusively American-European alliance that increasingly works closely with non-European partners? Or should NATO define itself as the military arm of the Western democratic world and, therefore be open to close partnerships with other non-European democracies that could eventually become strategic in nature and even grow into membership at some point in the future."[92]

Ultimately, however, this is a debate that extends beyond partnership issues to the very purpose and identity of NATO, including—as evidenced by debates over NATO's role in Afghanistan—a long-standing division over just how global NATO's reach and composition should be. Indeed, as one member of NATO's international staff put it, the continuing controversy over NATO's partners—its global partners in particular—is in effect a "proxy war" over the very nature and future direction of the Alliance.[93] For some members, NATO's decision to take on Afghanistan was a move in the right direction, although the Alliance has a long way to go in achieving the global force and counterinsurgency capabilities necessary to meet the challenges posed by Afghanistan and other potential conflicts. For others, however, NATO has gone astray; the Alliance must return to basics and refocus its attention on its Article 5 commitment to the collective defense of NATO territory. Until the missions that partnership is intended to serve are clarified, the controversies over the form and function of NATO's partnerships will continue.

The process of drafting a new Strategic Concept, which NATO formally launched on July 7, 2009 presents an opportunity to begin to address the issue of NATO's larger strategic vision and the role of partnership in facilitating that mission. As one Obama administration official observed, the tendency at NATO since September 11 has been to focus on capabilities, but the time has now come to take a step back and consider the future of NATO from a more strategic perspective.[94] Ironically, the demands of Afghanistan have both precluded this debate, and, at the same time, highlighted the need for NATO to articulate a longer-term vision and align its theory with its practice. How much of a role NATO's partners---formal and informal---will have in shaping that vision is yet unclear, but Secretary General Rasmussen has pledged that the process of drafting the new Strategic Concept will be an open and transparent one and that all of NATO's partners will have a voice in it. In fact, NATO invited all of its partners—including the global partners—to the July 7 meeting launching the process. As NATO's 2010 Summit in Lisbon approaches, the Alliance should

[91] "Final Statement of the Meeting of the North Atlantic Council at the level of Foreign Ministers", Press Release, *North Atlantic Treaty Organisation* (NATO), *North Atlantic Council, Foreign Ministers, (2009) 190,* Brussels, Belgium (4 December 2009).
[92] Asmus, Ronald D.: "Introduction to NATO and Global Partners, Views from the Outside", *German Marshall Fund of the United States*, Riga, Latvia (November 27-29, 2006), p. 2, at http://www.gmfus.org/publications/article.cfm?id=238.
[93] Author interview with a NATO international staff member, January 2009.
[94] Author interview with Department of Defense official, August 2009.

seize the opportunity to contemplate in a careful and comprehensive fashion how NATO's own interests might be served by working with a broad array of partners in contexts outside of Afghanistan.

8. Conclusion

At this juncture of NATO's post-Cold war evolution, it is reasonable to assume that, as the Allies confront an increasingly global array of new threats, the need for cooperation with an increasingly diverse pool of partners will only grow. Additionally, the Afghanistan experience highlights the extent to which NATO's partnership model has set new international standards for interoperability. As Damon Wilson of the Atlantic Council observed, "NATO often should be the organizing core around which broader coalitions are built."[95] Moreover, NATO has now proven in Afghanistan its ability to work with like-minded allies as well as partners that do not share its values, despite the challenges such relationships present.

At the same time, however, this experience strongly suggests that NATO's partnership structures are in need of an overhaul. NATO must now think carefully and comprehensively about how it can best structure partnerships with an increasingly diverse set of partners and what the principal objectives of these partnerships will be. On the one hand, it makes sense for NATO to strengthen its relations with partners who share its values and consider how they might together work to promote shared values and interests even beyond the context of Afghanistan. The ISAF experience, however, also highlights the need for NATO to establish functional relationships with non-liberal partners such as Pakistan, the Central Asian states and possibly even China. The vast majority of NATO's MD and ICI partners already fall into this category. Moreover, Rasmussen has now identified enhanced engagement with the MD and ICI partners as one of his top three priorities.[96] As suggested earlier the extent of NATO's involvement in this region has been a source of disagreement within the Alliance, but key Allies, including France and Germany now appear more willing to play an active role in the Middle East, partly in exchange for Turkey's reluctant support of Rasmussen's selection as Secretary General.

These developments only further the need for NATO to think seriously about how to promote interoperability and dialogue with partners across a wide range of areas of mutual interest and geographic space. At the same time, NATO will almost certainly have to recognize different categories of partners, think seriously about the purposes or functions these various partners might serve, and then consider what sort of structures best facilitate those goals. In some cases, bi-lateral frameworks will likely make more sense than multi-lateral frameworks, even though NATO's experience with partnership during the 1990s suggests that a common identity can serve as a powerful source of cohesion and attraction.

The experience of working with global partners in Afghanistan should also force NATO to contemplate seriously its own identity and purpose. Indeed, NATO's growing network of partnerships is already contributing to changing perceptions of who properly belongs to the NATO community. Should NATO remain an exclusively Euro-Atlantic alliance when there exist non-European allies who share its values, and, in some cases, are more willing than

[95] Wilson, Damon, Testimony by the director of the Atlantic Council's International Security Program on the Future of NATO, *US Senate Foreign Relations Committee Subcommitte on Europe* (6 May 2009), at http://www.acus.org/highlights/damon-wilson-congressional-testimony-future-nato.
[96] Rasmussen, *op. cit*.

existing NATO members to deploy troops in defense of those values? Although much of the interest in global partners has been driven by their capacity to contribute much needed troops or other material resources to ISAF, allies such as Australia, New Zealand, and Japan are also full-fledged liberal democracies who are not only well-positioned to cooperate on other issues such as counter-terrorism and non-proliferation, but could also potentially play a role in furthering the liberal international security order that NATO has sought to construct since the end of the Cold War. Interestingly, in his confirmation hearings before the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee the new U.S. ambassador to NATO, Ivo Daalder, characterized NATO as "an Alliance of Democracies, of like-minded nations that share common values, and are willing, if necessary to fight for these values—as we and our Allies are doing right now in Afghanistan.[97] That reality alone should encourage the Allies to consider seriously how the fact, that NATO's values have now been embraced well beyond the borders of Europe, should affect its sense of self and purpose.

[97] Ivo H. Daalder, Testimony, *US Senate Foreign Relations Committee* (22 April 2009).

MAKING A DIFFERENCE? EVALUATING THE IMPACT OF PRESIDENT BARACK OBAMA

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Abstract:
Barack Obama promised during his election campaign to draw-down the war in Iraq while providing the resources necessary to combat the Taliban in Afghanistan. In March, he announced a strategy for Afghanistan and Pakistan focused on defeating al Qaeda. By August, he was calling the war in Afghanistan a "war of necessity." But upon receiving General Stanley McChrystal's assessment of the troops required to fulfill the new strategy, Obama began an extensive review to determine if he was on the right course. At West Point in December, the president declared both that he was sending 30,000 new American troops to the conflict, but he promised to begin withdrawing them within 18 months.

Keywords: Obama, Afghanistan, War of Necessity, West Point speech.

Resumen:
Barack Obama prometió durante su campaña electoral poner fin a la guerra en Irak y al mismo tiempo poner a disposición los recursos necesarios para combatir a los Talibán en Afganistán. En marzo, anunció una estrategia para Afganistán y Pakistán centrada en la derrota de Al Qaeda. En agosto, definía la guerra en Afganistán claramente como "una guerra de necesidad". Pero tras recibir del General Stanley McChristal la evaluación de las tropas necesarias para cumplir con la nueva estrategia, Obama empezó una extensa revisión para determinar si se seguía el curso correcto. En West Point en diciembre, el presidente declaró que se enviarían 30.000 nuevas tropas americanas al conflicto, pero prometió acometer la retirada pasados 18 meses.

Palabras clave: *Obama, Afganistán, guerra de necesidad, discurso de West Point.*

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1. Introduction

In his campaign for the American presidency, Barack Obama emphasized the "right war" in Afghanistan in order both to highlight the folly of the "wrong war" in Iraq and to establish that he was not against all wars – just "dumb" ones.[2] Al Qaeda's safe haven in Afghanistan prior to September 11, 2001 produced the plans and personnel that led to the terrorist attacks on New York and Washington, D.C. Unfortunately, argued Obama, the George W. Bush administration distracted itself from the job of eliminating al Qaeda by bungling its way into Iraq. Emboldened, the Taliban began to undermine the U.S.-backed Afghan government and sought to return to power, raising the specter of a renewed training ground for Islamic extremists. As president, Obama promised the American voters, he would devote the resources necessary to successfully prosecute the counterinsurgency campaign.

In his first months in office, Obama moved swiftly to fulfill his campaign pledges. He appointed the Democratic Party's star troubleshooter, Richard Holbrooke, as his special representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan. He ordered a strategy review to be completed in his first months in office. Even before the review was finished, Obama had announced a substantial increase in American troops for the conflict, amidst reports that the number would grow even further as the year wore on. And in the summer he inserted as commander of the U.S. forces in Afghanistan General Stanley McChrystal, whose Special Forces background was seen as ensuring a keen understanding of what was required to wage a successful counterinsurgency campaign.

Obama's determination to prosecute the war, however, ran into two serious problems during the course of the summer of 2009. One was the failure of Afghan President Hamid Karzai to inspire confidence in the legitimacy of his government; the August elections involved massive voter fraud, making it more difficult to gain public support, either in Afghanistan or the United States, for the American military effort. The other was the skittishness of the Democratic Party; with an economy continuing to sour and with dreams of bold new domestic programs such as health care reform, leading members of Congress such as House Speaker Nancy Pelosi (D-CA) would just as soon draw down the military effort, particularly as the number of American battle deaths continues to rise. Obama may have come into office wanting to make a difference on Afghanistan, but pulling his party along with him to see the counterinsurgency campaign to its conclusion will be difficult.

A third problem looms. Despite Obama's extraordinary popularity in Europe (in some countries his favorability rating is eighty points higher than that of his predecessor), he will not be able to count on sizable numbers of European combat troops to fight the Taliban as part of the NATO-led International Security and Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan. Despite their December 2009 pledge to send additional forces, European nations have neither the political will nor significant numbers of deployable combat troops to add much to their current contributions. Two of the NATO members that have engaged in heavy fighting – Canada and the Netherlands – have already set deadlines to withdraw within the next year or two. Signs that the American political landscape is shifting against the war will only hasten sentiment among Europeans that they should get out, particularly after Obama's West Point speech announcing that the United States would begin its withdrawals in July 2011. If countries such as Canada and the Netherlands pull their troops out, American public opinion will turn even more unfavorable toward the war.

[2] On Iraq as a dumb war, see Obama, Barack, Speech by US Senator, *National Public Radio* (NPR), Chicago, United States (2 October 2002) at http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=99591469.

With its announcement that 30,000 additional American troops would head to Afghanistan in 2010 to reverse the momentum of the Taliban balanced against the declaration that those troops would begin coming home the following year, Obama's West Point speech highlighted that the president has no good options in Afghanistan. He does not know whether American and allied forces can train Afghans in sufficient quality and quantity to take over responsibility for protecting the government. But the larger problem for him is that his early rhetoric about the stakes involved in the conflict would suggest that the United States needed to make an all-out effort. Instead, the December 2009 speech highlighted that the president was eager to emphasize that he could find a way out. To convince Americans that the stakes warranted additional troops while at the same time assuring the public that the country's commitment was not open-ended left Obama open to criticism from both sides of the political spectrum. Democrats criticized him for doing too much, and Republicans complained that the president was talking about an exit strategy at West Point (although conservatives were cheered ten days later by the full throated defense of America's global role in the president's Nobel acceptance speech).

But while the West Point speech attempted to balance escalation with withdrawal, the news was the exit date. The White House had leaked for weeks that the president was likely to order 30,000 more troops into battle. By beginning to talk about when he would start getting out, the president reflected the larger mood of the country. At the end of eight years and in the face of continued high unemployment, Americans were tired of hearing that they needed to be at war. At West Point, Obama began to change to narrative from his earlier commitment to a "war of necessity" to a story that would make clear that his election in 2008 meant that America would not be at war indefinitely. By reminding voters that all combat troops would leave Iraq by the end of 2011 and telling them that troops would begin to leave Afghanistan at the same time, Obama signaled that his reelection campaign in 2012 would be about ending America's wars, not intensifying them.

2. A War of Necessity?

The distinctions Obama drew between Iraq and Afghanistan during the campaign in 2008 were vital to his candidacy, but they also contributed to the growing sense in 2009 that the Afghanistan war had now become "Obama's war." In the campaign, he scored points with the Democratic Party base by emphasizing his opposition to the Iraq war from the start (in contrast to his chief opponent for the nomination, New York Senator Hillary Clinton); he built his credentials with independents by arguing the need to transfer troops, resources, and attention away from Iraq to the war in Afghanistan. "Iraq is not the central front in the war on terrorism, and it never has been," wrote candidate Obama in a *New York Times* op-ed in July 2008. "As president, I would pursue a new strategy, and begin by providing at least two additional combat brigades to support our effort in Afghanistan. We need more troops, more helicopters, better intelligence-gathering and more nonmilitary assistance to accomplish the mission there."[3]

A week after the president took office, administration officials sent signals that the president sought to focus more American attention on the war, leaving development work to be done by European allies, and they made clear to Afghan President Hamid Karzai that they had no intention of tolerating his corruption. Narrowing the American emphasis, U.S.

[3] Obama, Barack: "My Plan for Iraq", *New York Times*, 14 July 2008.

Secretary of Defense Robert Gates declared, "If we set ourselves the objective of creating some sort of Central Asian Valhalla over there, we will lose." Therefore, he added, "My own personal view is that our primary goal is to prevent Afghanistan from being used as a base for terrorists and extremists to attack the United States and our allies."[4]

Two months later, the administration released its strategy review for Afghanistan and Pakistan, and the president made clear that he was focused on one major objective. "I want the American people to understand," said Obama, "that we have a clear and focused goal: to disrupt, dismantle and defeat al Qaeda in Pakistan and Afghanistan, and to prevent their return to either country in the future." Following his campaign rhetoric about the central front in the war on terror, the president declared, "Al Qaeda and its allies – the terrorists who planned and supported the 9/11 attacks – are in Pakistan and Afghanistan. Multiple intelligence estimates have warned that al Qaeda is actively planning attacks on the United States homeland from its safe haven in Pakistan." Combating the threat, Obama said, was not simply a matter of finding al Qaeda members and eliminating them. It also meant going after the Taliban in the south and east, a task for which he had ordered 17,000 additional American combat troops: "[I]f the Afghan government falls to the Taliban – or allows al Qaeda to go unchallenged – that country will again be a base for terrorists who want to kill as many of our people as they possibly can."[5]

The strategy paper recognized, however, that the counterinsurgency campaign would not be successful without focusing some attention on government capacity, economic development and indigenous security capabilities in both Pakistan and Afghanistan – i.e., nation building. In his March address, the president announced his support for a bill in Congress that would provide $1.5 billion yearly in assistance to go directly to the Pakistani people for 5 years. A further goal was to train Afghan army and police forces to create by the end of 2011 a 134,000 strong Afghan army and an 82,000 member police force (a number that many, including Holbrooke and McChrystal, deem inadequate.)

One major innovation of the new administration's approach was linking the fate of the two nations, thereby giving rise to the term "AfPak." As the White Paper put it, "The ability of extremists in Pakistan to undermine Afghanistan is proven, while insurgency in Afghanistan feeds instability in Pakistan." It also laid out what it called "realistic and achievable objectives." These included, however, "promoting a more capable, accountable, and effective government in Afghanistan," and "assisting efforts to enhance civilian control and stable constitutional government in Pakistan and a vibrant economy that provides opportunity for the people of Pakistan." Not Valhalla, perhaps, but was this really either "realistic" or "achievable"? The White Paper itself noted, "These are daunting tasks."[6]

A second new strategy element would be the effort to distinguish between those Taliban deemed "irreconcilable" and those viewed as willing to end their insurgency. The paper explicitly sought to get "non-ideologically committed insurgents to lay down their arms, reject al Qaeda, and accept the Afghan Constitution." This element of the strategy reflected the perceived success in Iraq resulting from turning former insurgents into responsible participants of the developing new order.

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[4] Cooper, Helene and Shanker, Thom Shanker: "Aides Say Obama's Afghan Aims Elevate War over Development", *New York Times*, 28 January 2009.
[5] Obama, Barack: "Remarks by the President on a New Strategy for Afghanistan and Pakistan", *The White House, Office of the Press Secretary*, Washington DC, United States (27 March 2009).
[6] "White Paper of the Interagency Policy Group's Report on U.S. Policy toward Afghanistan and Pakistan", *The White House,* Washington DC, United States (March 2009).

At the end of the summer, Obama reminded the American audience of his thinking on the war in an address before the Veterans of Foreign Wars Convention in Phoenix: "[M]ilitary power alone will not win this war …[W]e also need diplomacy and development and good governance. And our new strategy has a clear mission and defined goals: to disrupt, dismantle, and defeat al Qaeda and its extremist allies." In a fateful statement, he then argued bluntly, "This is not a war of choice. This is a war of necessity."[7] Having said it was not a choice, he signaled that he was prepared to see it through to the end.

Ironically, the person chiefly responsible for bringing the terms "wars of choice" and "wars of necessity" into the American debate, Richard Haass, president of the Council on Foreign Relations and author of a book comparing the two Iraq wars, suggested the president had it wrong.[8] Surely, said Haass, the United States had to go after the Taliban in 2002 to get at the source of the 9/11 attacks. But a war of necessity involved both "vital national interests" and a "lack of viable alternatives to the use of military force to protect those interests." Under those criteria, Afghanistan didn't count. If it were a war of necessity, Haass wrote, "it would justify any level of effort. It is not and does not."

The United States given both its geography and resources usually has the luxury of choosing its wars. After all, the American homeland has rarely been under assault. The issue is not so much whether Afghanistan is a war of necessity or not, but rather, is it the right choice (a point that Haass himself made in his op-ed)? By laying down such a clear marker on the necessity of fighting the war, the president made it extremely difficult to do anything other than ramp up the American commitment. As Haass says, if it is a necessity, then the United States has to do whatever it takes to prevail.

On that score, the administration sent mixed signals as summer turned to fall. Obama did announce a troop increase after coming into office before his strategy review was even complete. But his National Security Adviser James Jones caused a stir in the summer when on a visit to Afghanistan, he made clear that asking for more troops so soon after Obama had ordered 21,000 troops to deploy (17,000 in a combat role, 4,000 to train Afghan forces) would cause the president to have a "Whiskey Tango Foxtrot" (What the f---?") moment.[9] According to sources close to the team advising McChrystal, as the new commander was preparing his policy review for the president, Secretary Gates also made clear that asking for more troops was unwise.[10]

As summer gave way to fall in Obama's first year, the president was putting himself in an unenviable position, having declared that the war was one the United States had to win but not wanting to escalate the number of American troops any further. He had promised that Bush's "underresourced war" would now finally get the attention it deserved. But would it?

[7] "Remarks by the President at the Veterans of Foreign Wars Convention", Phoenix, United States (17 August 2009).
[8] Haass, Richard N.: "In Afghanistan, the Choice is Ours", *New York Times*, 21 August 2009.
[9] Woodward, Bob: "Key in Afghanistan: Economic, Not Military", *Washington Post*, 1 July 2009.
[10] Cuddehe, Mary: "Fiasco," *The New Republic*, 23 September 2009.

3. A New Commander and a New Strategy

As the Obama team prepared to assess its policy in the fall, General McChrystal's review of the situation and his recommendations going forward to fulfill the president's goals became the central focus of both supporters and critics of the war.

Obama had concurred with the senior military leadership by summer 2009 that the theater commander he inherited, General David McKiernan, was no longer suitable. No president had fired a wartime theater commander since Harry Truman sacked General Douglas MacArthur in 1951. After the success of General David Petraeus in Iraq – a creative military thinker with significant political skills – Obama decided on McChrystal for Afghanistan and unceremoniously dumped McKiernan. The former head of the Joint Special Operations Command, McChrystal could not only oversee the troops, but he was viewed as someone who could sell the strategy on Capitol Hill and work effectively with international partners.[11]

McChrystal moved quickly to establish two new objectives for a more successful counterinsurgency strategy. One was to protect the population of Afghanistan; the new commander was concerned that ISAF spent too much time on troop protection and not enough on providing security for the population. The second was to reduce civilian casualties, whose rise had turned the Afghan population against the Western military effort (as well as cost support for the mission in Europe). McChrystal declared, "The point of security is to enable governance….My metric is not the enemy killed, not ground taken: it's how much governance we've got."[12]

A list of the metrics that would be used to gauge success appeared online in mid-September (after Richard Holbrooke had suggested that "we'll know [success] when we see it").[13] It reiterated the basic goal laid out by the president in March: "to disrupt, dismantle, and defeat al Qaeda in Pakistan and Afghanistan, and to prevent their return to either country in the future." But the document demonstrated the difficulty of merely disrupting terrorist networks rather than trying to create a "Central Asian Valhalla." There were metrics clearly focused on measuring the strength of the insurgency – e.g., how much territory the insurgents hold vs. that secured by American, coalition and Afghan government forces. But a number of the metrics had to do with the effectiveness and popularity of the government in Afghanistan and Pakistan. Presumably the notion is that to be successful, one has to win hearts and minds and that means popular support for governments over terrorists and insurgents. But whereas goals such as increasing Pakistani counterinsurgency capabilities or strengthening Afghan national security forces are within reason, laying out metrics that include Pakistani public opinion of government performance and progress in that judicial system becoming free of military involvement simply set the Obama administration up for never-ending nation building.[14]

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[11] Chandrasekaran, Rajiv: "Pentagon Worries Led to Command Change", *Washington Post*, 17 August 2009.
[12] Thompson, Mark and Baker, Aryn: "Starting Anew", *Time*, 20 July 2009. Also Chandrasekaran, *op. cit*.
[13] The metrics are at http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2009/09/16/evaluating_progress_in_afghanistan_pakistan; The Holbrooke remarks were reported, for example, at http://afpak.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2009/08/12/holbrooke_on_success_we_ll_know_it_when_we_see_it.
[14] In addition to the metrics document, see also McChrystal, Stanley A. and U.S. ambassador to Afghanistan, Eikenberry, Karl: "The United States Government Integrated Civilian-Military Campaign Plan for Support to Afghanistan" (10 August 2009).

McChrystal, meanwhile, had produced his initial assessment of the situation in Afghanistan. Delivered to Washington on August 30, it was leaked to Bob Woodward of the *Washington Post* and published on September 21, creating a firestorm in the nation's capital. McChrystal suggested in his report that readers not focus on force or resource requirements; "The key takeaway from this assessment," he wrote, "is the urgent need for a significant change to our strategy and the way that we think and operate." He reiterated that the mission had to shift its emphasis from "seizing terrain or destroying insurgent forces" and focus on the Afghan population (a strategy that had led to increasing numbers of American casualties). He argued that the next year was critical for laying the ground for success; failure to gain the initiative would risk "an outcome where defeating the insurgency is no longer possible." Building up indigenous capabilities was essential, and McChrystal called for increasing the size of the Afghan army to 134,000 not by December 2011 as originally called for but by October 2010, with an eye toward then going up to 240,000.[15]

In the report, McChrystal blasted ISAF, calling it "a conventional force that is poorly configured for [counterinsurgency], inexperienced in local languages and culture, and struggling with challenges inherent to coalition warfare." It needed a new strategy, properly resourced, and it had to work closely with the Afghan national security forces to help promote effective governance, protect the population, and seize the initiative from the insurgency.

The Obama adminstration reacted initially to the report with some amount of hostility. One official told a reporter, "Who's to say we need more troops? McChrystal is not responsible for assessing how we're doing against al-Qaeda."

Presumably, that is precisely what the theater commander is supposed to do. Obama was well within his right as commander in chief to say that he needed time to discuss the report with his top advisers and take all inputs in order to make a wise deliberation. But having senior officials snipe at the general who produced a serious and honest assessment was unseemly.

The leaking of the assessment highlighted differences within the administration and on Capitol Hill. Vice President Biden had reportedly opposed the troop increases announced at the onset of the administration, and he was once again arguing against more troops and reconfiguring the strategy to focus on knocking out individual Taliban and al Qaeda leaders from afar. Hillary Clinton, meanwhile, who supported the troops increase in the spring, continued to do so in the fall as did Secretary of Defense Robert Gates, who supported his military commanders. While Obama's Democratic base made clear its opposition to more troops, Republicans such as John McCain urged Obama to stand tough.

The White House made clear, however, that it was rethinking a strategy that Obama had outlined in March and reiterated in August. Although it is hard to imagine anyone was surprised that President Hamid Karzai engaged in massive electoral fraud to stay in office, some in the administration were calling his growing illegitimacy a "game-changer." Combined with Congressional Democratic opposition, an increase in American casualties, and eroding public support, that election led officials in Washington to begin to redefine their strategy.[16]

[15] McChrystal, Stanley A.: "COMISAF's Initial Assessment" (30 August 2009); Woodward, Bob: "McChrystal: More Forces or 'Mission Failure'", *Washington Post*, 21 September 2009.
[16] Chandrasekaran, Rajiv and De Young, Karen: "Changes Have Obama Rethinking War Strategy", *Washington Post*, 21 September 2009.

4. America´s Allies: Obama´s Popularity has its Limits

Any discussion of a need to rethink the strategy only made Europeans more skittish than they already were. But European doubts about the war had begun far earlier, and were in direct contrast to initial American attitudes. In the United States, even staunch opponents of the war in Iraq during the Bush years supported the war in Afghanistan. After all, whereas Saddam Hussein did not possess weapons of mass destruction and had no connection to the September 11 plotters, Osama bin Laden had hatched his plan to murder innocent Americans from the territory of Afghanistan. Convincing Americans that they had to go after the terrorists where they lived was never difficult for the Bush administration. Convincing Europeans was another matter.

The Europeans had good reason to be unhappy with the initial American approach to Afghanistan. Although NATO had invoked Article 5 for the first time in its history on September 12, 2001, conveying European solidarity with the United States, the Bush administration had not sought to run the war through NATO, believing that the lesson of the Kosovo war was that alliance management was too unwieldy. It was only after American troops got bogged down in Iraq in 2003 that the Bush team turned to NATO to take over the UN-mandated International Security Assistance Force in Kabul.

Given European opposition to the Iraq war and their tremendous mistrust of George W. Bush, and viewing the ISAF request as an effort to bail out the Americans in the midst of their misadventure there, European publics were wary of the Afghanistan mission. But European leaders presented the objectives to their populations as humanitarian: they would be there to assist the Afghan population in building roads and schools and purifying water.

As time went on, the United States asked ISAF to expand its writ to the dangerous areas of the south and east. Few countries were willing to venture into a difficult counterinsurgency campaign, and many issued "caveats" that limited what their troops would do and where they would go. (For example, German troops were not allowed to go off base at night.) Only Canada, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom (and to a lesser extent, Denmark and Romania) were willing to engage in serious combat operations (in addition to non-member Australia). By early 2008, Gates was decrying what he called a "two-tiered alliance of those who are willing to fight and those who are not."[17]

Even those willing to fight were not going to do so indefinitely. The Canadians believed it was unfair of them to shoulder a burden so many allies were not, and they set 2011 as a firm deadline for withdrawing combat forces from Afghanistan; the Dutch meanwhile, declared they would be gone by 2010.

Obama may have believed his tremendous popularity in Europe as he entered office would change the dynamics, but it had almost no effect on European attitudes. He went to Europe three times in his first six months in office, but had little to show for his efforts. In fact, he got more help from Moscow (the Russians gave permission for transit into Afghanistan) than from his European allies.

The United States by fall 2009 was projected to have nearly 70,000 troops serving in Afghanistan. The United Kingdom was contributing 9,000, the Canadians nearly 3,000, and

[17] Gray, Andrew: "Gates Says Two-tiered NATO Puts Alliance at Risk", *Reuters*, 10 February 2008, at http://www.reuters.com/article/topNews/idUSL1027452420080210.

the Dutch less than 2,000. Of countries supplying troops largely for reconstruction efforts rather than combat, Germany had 4,000 troops serving in the north, France and Italy each had around 3,000 and Poland had sent 2,000.

The allies did agree at the April 2009 April summit to send 5,000 additional troops to assist with election security in August, with the Italians agreeing to send 800 more troops, Spain 450, Britain 900, and Albania 140. That mission was important given the threats that the Taliban issued to those daring to vote, but it did not signify that NATO had agreed to engage in counterinsurgency (although the British decided to keep their additional troops indefinitely and in November announced plans to send 500 more).

There are two core problems for NATO in Afghanistan, and neither one is conducive to Obama's powers of persuasion. One is the issue McChrystal identified in his report: the inability of NATO forces to perform counterinsurgency missions. The force, argues McChrystal, is a conventional force. Troops are not able to interact with the population, lacking both language skills and knowledge of local culture. But whereas it would be a lot to ask NATO troops to have significant knowledge of language and customs, the larger problem remains: Europe on the whole has neither the equipment nor the deployable troops necessary to fight these missions. The second is political will. For Europe, Afganistan is a humanitarian mission; it is not the defining threat that Obama has declared it. Most Europeans do not believe that their security is "also being defended at the Hindu Kush," as then-German Minister of Defense Peter Struck declared in 2002.[18] As European troops get killed (particularly as the Taliban takes the fight to new parts of the country where the European missions are ones of reconstruction not combat), publics will increasingly demand their removal. Those demands will accelerate if the United States is seen as shifting its thinking on the war.

5. Obama, the Democrats, and the Politics of National Security

When Obama entered office in January, he had an opportunity that no Democrat had had since the onset of the Vietnam war: he could refashion the Democratic Party as the new party of national security. For his two most recent Democratic predecessors (Jimmy Carter and Bill Clinton), Vietnam and its aftermath made that impossible. The Democrats had split badly over the war in Southeast Asia, and in the 1970s, Republicans became seen as the real stewards of American national security. The tough anti-communism of Harry Truman and John F. Kennedy had given way on the left to a strong anti-militarism and anti-interventionism. Ronald Reagan's firm stand against the Soviet threat followed by the collapse of the USSR led many to believe the Democrats could no longer win at the national level due to their inability to project a seriousness on national security.

Ironically, while Republicans viewed the end of the Cold War as their triumph, it meant Americans no longer cared if their president could handle foreign policy. Bill Clinton won the presidency on his message about the economy. But Republicans hounded him mercilessly on his lack of bona fides as commander in chief. Issues early in his presidency such as gays in the military and the Black Hawk down incident in Somalia only further cemented the notion that Clinton was not capable of leading the troops.

[18] Lobjakas, Ahto: "NATO at 60: The Alliance's Article of Faith," *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty*, 2 April 2009, at http://www.rferl.org/content/NATO_At_60_Alliances_Article_Of_Faith/1600763.html.

By the end of the 1990s, Clinton was a different person. He had led NATO forces in a successful war against Serbia. But Republicans were still seen as the party of national security. George W. Bush's appointments of heavyweights such as Dick Cheney, Donald Rumsfeld, and Colin Powell solidified this notion, and the attacks of September 11 allowed Bush to further buttress Republican advantages on national security policy in the minds of the American public.

By 2006, however, whatever advantages the Republicans had claimed since the second half of the Cold War were gone. By the time Bush introduced a "surge" of forces in Iraq, it was too late. Barack Obama was just as inexperienced on national security matters as Bill Clinton, and he had to run a general election campaign against war hero John McCain, but he stood toe-to-toe with McCain in discussions of national security, and no one seriously questioned his fitness to serve as commander-in-chief. Most significantly, Obama never seemed to fear that Republicans would label him as weak, which was a marked contrast with Clinton, who (along with his top advisers) always seemed to pursue policies (e.g., toward Iraq, missile defense, or China) designed to minimize Republican charges that the Democrats were not tough enough on national security.

When Obama entered office, it seemed he had huge advantages in recreating a sense of Democratic abilities to manage national security policy in ways the party had not seen since the presidency of John F. Kennedy. Obama appointed retired General James Jones to serve as national security adviser, presumably to project confidence that the president would manage the drawdown in Iraq and the escalation in Afghanistan effectively. He put retired General Eric Shinseki, a hero in the army for having correctly called for more troops initially in the war in Iraq (and been fired by Bush for it) in charge of veteran affairs. Hillary Clinton came into the job of secretary of state having spent the Bush years in the Senate working hard on the Armed Services Committee to develop a strong relationship with the military. Michelle Obama promised that as first lady she would focus on the plight of military families. Meanwhile, in important positions in government came a number of Democrats who had worked during the Bush years to develop strong positions on defense, including Michele Flournoy, who joined the Pentagon as Undersecretary for Policy.

But as American casualties mounted in Afghanistan over the summer, Obama faced a traditional hurdle: the left wing of the Democratic Party, which had powerful voices on Capitol Hill. "I and the American people," declared Senator Russ Feingold (D-WI), "cannot tolerate more troops without some commitment about when this perceived occupation will end." Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi (D-CA) laid down her own marker, telling reporters, "I don't think there is a great deal of support for sending more troops to Afghanistan in the country or in Congress." And even Senator Carl Levin (D-MI), whose support on Armed Services would be critical to Obama's ability to garner Congressional support emphasized the need to build up Afghan forces, not add new American ones. "I think there are a significant number of people in the country – and I don't know the exact percentage – that have questions about adding troops in Afghanistan."[19]

Obama's challenges in promoting the Democrats as the new party of national security was running into obstacles similar to those that Clinton had run into in his efforts to create a Democratic Party more supportive of free trade. Clinton came into office preaching the need for America to embrace globalization, arguing that protectionism – supported by the labor

[19] Cooper, Helene: "G.O.P. may be vital to Obama in Afghan war", *New York Times*, 3 September 2009; Dimascio, Jen and Isenstadt, Alex: "Levin Complicates W.H. Afghan Strategy", *Politico*, 11 September 2009.

unions that formed the backbone of the Democratic Party – was counterproductive. Jobs that had gone overseas, argued Clinton, were not coming back, and he suggested that training Americans for the new economy that would result from the information technology revolution was more appropriate. In his first year in office, he pushed hard to get the North American Free Trade Agreement (signed by his predecessor) passed through Congress.

Clinton's travails in that battle are instructive. The Republicans supported trade but were unwilling to let him avoid a fight within his own party. So they promised him half the votes needed for passage and told him to get the other half from the Democrats. A bruising battle ensued, and the president barely got more than 100 votes from his own party. (At the end of the day, the Republicans did give him the rest, and NAFTA passed.)[20]

For Clinton, it was a significant achievement, but over time he came to realize the high price the battle exacted. Many Democrats still believe that the anger it stoked among the unions led labor to sit on the sidelines in the midterm elections a year later, thereby contributing to the Republican takeover of both the House and the Senate for the first time in forty years.

Congressional Democrats have an eye firmly on the midterm elections of 2010, and they will not let Obama bring them down over Afghanistan. As polls show more and more Americans opposed to sending more troops to fight the insurgency, Democrats in Congress will ratchet up their rhetoric against the current strategy.

Many observers saw Obama's appointment of General Jones as national security adviser and the retention of Secretary of Defense Robert Gates as helpful politically to ward off possible criticism of the president as he fulfilled his campaign promises to end the war in Iraq and turn attention to the war in Afghanistan. Gates in particular is extremely useful politically – but only with the right. Whatever difficulties Obama finds himself in with respect to either conflict, Gates' support for the policy will be critical in muting Republican opposition. But Jones and Gates do not help Obama on the left, and that is where the major opposition to escalating involvement in Afghanistan lies. Once the president acceded to his military's requests to add more troops in Afghanistan, he made himself more reliant on Republican support going forward, and no doubt Republicans will relish the ensuing split within the Democratic Party.

Clinton was willing to take on the left wing of the Democratic Party to push free trade. Indeed, one observer argued in January 2001, that Clinton's ability to turn the Democratic Party into a free trade party would be his lasting achievement.[21] As it turns out, the party reverted to its protectionists instincts as soon as Clinton left the White House. It is too soon to know how Obama will fare as a national security president since he will be judged by the success of his war strategy, but regardless he will find it as hard to hold his party together around these issues as Clinton did on trade.

[20] See Chollet, Derek and Goldgeier, James (2008): *America Between the Wars: From 11/9 to 9/11*, New York, Public Affairs, chapter 6.
[21] Wright, Robert: "Clinton's One Big Idea", *New York Times*, 16 January 2001.

6. The Strategic Challenge Ahead

A further problem for Obama is that a range of observers called into question the assumptions underpinning his strategy. After all, the problem in Afghanistan is no longer al Qaeda, which has fled into Pakistan. The central issue is a resurgent Taliban, which has reestablished a network throughout major areas of the country. The assumption of American policy has been that a Taliban victory would reopen the door to renewed al Qaeda activity and thus U.S. and coalition forces must prevent the insurgency from succeeding.

Counterarguments have emerged, however. Paul Pillar, for example, the CIA's deputy chief of counterterrism in the late 1990s, has noted that al Qaeda and other jihadist networks no longer rely on physical havens to carry out attacks; technology has made territory such as Afghanistan less important to them.[22] *Washington Post* columnist George Will has suggested that the United States operate largely from a distance, using long-range missiles (with intelligence, however, provided by special forces on the ground), in order to strike at targets along the Afghanistan-Pakistan border, but it should forget about counterinsurgency in a country with a weak state and corrupt government. Will also noted that al Qaeda operates in places like Yemen and Somalia that the United States is not considering invading, so why should America be engaged in major combat operations in Afghanistan?[23]

Similarly, a group of realist scholars of international relations and foreign policy, many of whom had opposed the Iraq War, issued an open letter to Barack Obama on September 15, 2009.[24] In it, they argued that America's objectives had grown too ambitious, and that its war strategy was only driving the Taliban and al Qaeda closer together. To succeed in fostering a stable, effective government in Afghanistan was simply beyond the scope of American policy; it would require a state-building effort that would last decades and would probably never succeed in any event.

7. The Obama Dilemma

As Obama's first year in office drew to a close, Afghanistan was fast becoming his most intractable and significant challenge as president. Politically, he was increasingly at odds with his Democratic Party base. European publics remained skeptical. If he hadn't agreed to military requests for more troops, he would have risked a tremendous civilian-military rift; since he did agree, he risked being compared to Lyndon Johnson in Vietnam.

Obama was elected by promising to end the "bad war" in Iraq and to resource the "good war" in Afghanistan. He promised early in his presidency to focus not on unrealistic objectives but rather in eliminating the threat posed by al Qaeda. Recognizing that Pakistan was as big a problem as Afghanistan, he developed a strategy for thinking about these two countries in tandem. And he told the American public that the war was one of "necessity."

But by fall, he realized that he was being asked to send more troops to a conflict whose objectives had once again grown. To eliminate al Qaeda and prevent the Taliban's return was

[22] Pillar, Paul R: "Who's Afraid of a Terrorist Haven?", *Washington Post*, 16 September 2009. See Partlow, Joshua: "In Afghanistan, Taliban surpasses al-Qaeda", *Washington Post*, 11 November 2009, for a discussion of how al-Qaeda has become more reliant on a resurgent Taliban.
[23] Will, George F.: "Time to Get Out of Afghanistan", *Washington Post*, 1 September 2009.
[24] The letter can be found at http://www.realisticforeignpolicy.org/archives/2009/09/letter_to_presi.php.

not just about eliminating bad guys and retaking territory; it was, as it was in the Bush years, about winning hearts and minds. McChrystal argued that the United States had to show the population why it should support the American-led effort. That meant protecting Afghans, and helping Afghanistan create an effective government. It meant shoring up the government of Pakistan and rooting out corruption there or risk facing a backlash from the population. But it doesn't take a realist to recognize how high a bar that is. Even if one isn't trying to build a "Central Asian Valhalla," the prospects of a stable, effective central government emerging in the poorest country on earth even with significantly more numbers of American troops are slim at best.

The root of the problem in fact is Obama's own making. He made an argument about Afghanistan in 2008 that was correct in 2003, but not necessarily relevant five years later. He followed that campaign rhetoric with a strategy to fulfill it in the first months of his presidency. That top advisers like Vice President Biden would try to talk him out of it is no surprise. His decisions in the fall of 2009 were momentous: for the troops and their families, for his presidency, and for the Democratic Party. And potentially for the safety and security of the American people.

In the midst of these dilemmas, Obama went to West Point on December 1 to lay out his strategy before the country, the allies, the Afghan people, and the world.[25] The speech was the culmination of a review process that had involved national security deliberations at the highest level over several months, leading to charges by former Vice President Dick Cheney and others that the president was "dithering." Obama insisted that in-depth discussion was necessary to come up with the right answers, and that seat-of-the-pants decision-making in the previous administration had generated many of the problems he inherited.

The president began his speech with his usual remarks: the war was legitimate, the Bush administration never provided sufficient resources, and the problem was growing worse. And then he delivered the results of his review: "As Commander-in-Chief, I have determined that it is in our vital national interest to send an additional 30,000 U.S. troops to Afghanistan. After 18 months, our troops will begin to come home." It was a surge, but one that came with a time limit. The Afghan government would know that America was going to do more to reverse the momentum the Taliban had built in recent months, but there would be no "blank checks" or open-ended commitments. President Karzai was on notice that he had a limited amount of time to shore up the capabilities of his government to take responsibility for security.

The president's announcement helped him with different constituencies. By providing General McChrystal with most of the troops he wanted, Obama avoided a rift with his military leaders. By announcing a time frame for beginning to bring troops home, he signaled to his Democratic Party base that he understood the country could not afford to let the war drag on indefinitely.

But the obvious contradictions in those core two sentences of the speech left him open to criticism from the left and right. For those in the Democratic Party who see the costs of the war as weighing down the American economy, the addition of 30,000 troops was unwelcome news. Meanwhile, many on the right believe that announcing a withdrawal date merely gives comfort to the Taliban that they can simply wait out the American presence.

[25] "Remarks by the President in Address to the Nation on the Way Forward in Afghanistan and Pakistan", *The White House, Office of the Press Secretary,* Eisenhower Hall Theatre, United States Military Academy at West Point, West Point, New York, United States (1 December 2009).

The problem is not just political. The argument that the United States has a vital national interest requiring it to send more troops but that it can begin to bring some troops home in July 2011 is contradictory.

"I make this decision," said the president, "because I am convinced that our security is at stake in Afghanistan and Pakistan." If American security was at stake in December 2009, it will still be at stake in July 2011. The Karzai government is unlikely to be ready to begin standing on its own. The Taliban will continue to operate. Al-Qaeda will not have disappeared. If the war is still one of necessity, in which core interests are threatened, then the United States has to remain for as long as it takes. If America's vital interests are not sufficient to require an indefinite commitment, then what is the rationale for sending more troops at all?

Essentially, like many presidents before him, he had kicked the can down the road. Given that any withdrawals would occur only if conditions warranted, he bought himself a year and a half to see if the counterinsurgency strategy might work.

It might, but we won't know much by July 2011. There is simply too much work to be done, particularly in training Afghan troops. And the central problem the president has in explaining the policy to the American people remains: what threat exists in Afghanistan that justifies the presence of 100,000 American troops? Al Qaeda operates in many locations, as the president noted in his remarks. And what will constitute "winning"? The president was careful to talk about reversing the momentum of the Taliban rather than defeating them. But that means that at the end of his first year, and despite two strategic reviews and several major speeches, he still has not made a decision about what he really thinks of the war in Afghanistan: necessity or not?

Understandably, Obama does seem to want to be the president that ended the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. And that may provide the real clue as to how he sees himself as a national security Democrat: recognizing that America's power is limited, that its financial resources are constrained, and therefore its objectives are limited. He will combat threats, not because he believes he can eliminate them but to make problems manageable. And he will do so by working closely with other nations and international institutions in order both to make America a more responsible power but also a less burdened one.

THE CHANGING NATURE OF NATO: TOWARDS A REGIONAL SECURITY ORGANIZATION?

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Abstract:
This article deals with the role of NATO as a cornerstone of the Transatlantic Relationship, and its possible development as a regional or global organization. In this regard, NATO has launched the development of a new Strategic Concept and Transatlantic Relations are being redefined in an international context of loss of US hegemony. Obama's foreign policy strategy is to reposition the US for a much more multipolar world, while, at the same time, the European integration is progressing and the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) is being developed. Europe is not longer the centre of the US strategic policy, and the European Union has its own interests to defend, especially in its neighbourhood. However, the United States and the European allies still have common threats and shared security interests, and NATO is still the primary Transatlantic security institution. An Alliance exclusively focused on European Security and collective defence is probably not interesting for the US anymore, but a global NATO, with global reach and global partners, is not acceptable for European countries. A NATO with regional identity, but open to discuss common challenges and threats of global nature is an intermediate option.

Keywords: Transatlantic Relations, NATO, ESDP, European Security, New Strategic Concept.

Resumen:
El artículo trata el papel de la OTAN como pieza clave de las Relaciones Transatlánticas y su posible desarrollo como organización internacional de carácter regional o de proyección global. En este sentido, la OTAN está desarrollando un nuevo Concepto Estratégico y las Relaciones Transatlánticas se están redefiniendo en un contexto internacional de pérdida de la hegemonía norteamericana. La estrategia de política exterior de Obama consiste en resituar a los Estados Unidos en un mundo más multipolar, mientras, al mismo tiempo, la integración europea avanza y la Política Europea de Seguridad y Defensa (PESD) se desarrolla paulatinamente. Europa ya no es el centro de la política estratégica de los Estados Unidos, y la Unión Europea tiene sus propios intereses que defender, especialmente en su vecindario cercano. No obstante, los Estados Unidos y los aliados europeos siguen teniendo amenazas comunes e intereses de seguridad compartidos, y la OTAN sigue siendo la principal institución transatlántica de seguridad. Una OTAN exclusivamente centrada en la defensa colectiva y la seguridad europea probablemente no sea interesante para los Estados Unidos, mientras que una OTAN global no es aceptable para los países europeos. Una OTAN de carácter fundamentalmente regional, pero abierta a discutir sobre los desafíos y amenazas comunes de carácter global es una opción intermedia.

Palabras clave: *Relaciones transatlánticas, OTAN, PESD, Seguridad Europea, Nuevo Concepto Estratégico.*

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1. Introduction

Alliances are generally an incentive created by an anarchical international system to face the security dilemma. Thus, the alliance formed by the United States and its European allies, and then its main embodiment, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), should be generated by the structure of the current international system, and not only be a follow-up to the Cold War. However, an international organization like NATO is also the result of its historical development and can not forget its legacy when designing its future. Then, since this current alliance is not completely new, it will have some features from the former and some ex novo.

Transatlantic relations have suffered important tensions, especially during the last decade. In this vein, US policy, strategies and behaviour during the Bush Administration have been considered profoundly destablising for the foundations of the US-Europe Alliance and for transatlantic relations as a whole. US foreign policy since the 9/11 attacks has produced a perception of disengagement in the US-Europe Alliance. The arrival of Barack Obama to the Presidency of the United States has been perceived as a window of opportunity to reinforce the Atlantic Alliance, but new transatlantic relations depend on a redefinition of United States foreign policy, which no longer considers Europe as a priority and maintains a much more global vision.

At the same time, European allies' behaviour in the last decade has created a perception of abandonment in the US government, or in certain circles, even defection, related to issues such as the Global War on Terror (GWOT), or Iraq. However, changes in transatlantic relations are related more to international system dynamics and domestic changes rather than simply US behaviour during the Bush administration. US policies before Obama were supported more by European allies than expected, despite reluctance in European public opinion and in some European core countries, France and Germany mainly, as regards the Bush administration. These results could have been produced due to similar assessments by European countries, not only in terms of threat perceptions, but also in terms of strategic vision, above all among countries (Spain, Portugal, the UK, Italy) on the periphery of the EU core, and Central and Eastern European countries.

In any case, NATO's European allies consider the change of administration in the United States as an opportunity to reconstruct transatlantic relations on new bases, but they must first resolve several issues. Is it already the time to define a real "European identity" inside NATO or, on the contrary, should each member country continue to give priority to its bilateral relationship with Washington, in order to protect its own interests? Do the European Alliance countries want to, or can they, maintain NATO as a regional (not global) organization? The answer to these questions will be very important, not only in defining the future of transatlantic relations and the design of a European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP), but also in persuading the Obama administration that NATO must remain a cornerstone in its new vision of international relations, instead of leaving the Alliance more or less irrelevant.

2. International Order and Transatlantic Relations in Alliance Atlantic Politics

The structure of the international system after the end of the Cold War and the 9/11 attacks has clearly and deeply changed, and, more than a no polarity system[3], a kind of "Unipolarity-Multipolarity complex"[4] has finally arisen, although several of its characteristics, actors and interactions, still have to be defined. It is clear that there is a military unipolarity, a re-distribution of economic polarity and, finally, the world governance system is under reconstruction.

First there is a more anarchical international system with different parameters than those of the Cold War[5]. In spite of the absence of military conflicts among great powers, the actors in the international system seem prone to the use of force or the threat of the use of force in conflicts. At the same time, however, the "soft power" or "power of attraction" is now much more important than ever in international politics. Soft power, getting others to want the outcomes that you want, persuades people rather than coerces them. "A country may obtain the outcomes it wants in world politics because other countries admire its values, emulate its example; aspire to its level of prosperity and openness"[6]. Soft power lies in the ability to attract and persuade, and the attraction and image of success of the European Union abroad (as a model of economic integration), is a good example of this strategy. In addition, the centre of world affairs has moved from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

Secondly, there is a different and asymmetrical distribution of power and capabilities at global level. A clear US military superiority (pre-eminence), and a group of great and regional powers, mainly the EU, Japan, China, India, Russia, Brazil, Iran and South Africa, some of them competing with the United States in economic terms and political influence, at the regional or global level.

Third, there is a new concept of security, where the difference between internal security and foreign security has been blurred. Issues such as "energy security", "environmental security" or the "new security threats" (terrorism, piracy, transnational crime, cybercrime, etc.) are now part of the political agenda. A trend to the "privatization of war" exists, due to non-state groups and the creation of low-intensity conflict environments, but there is also rising classical competition among regional powers, creating a complex environment.

Moreover, and as a fourth character of the international system, as a result of US policies and behaviour during the Bush administration, there is a weakened acceptance of the US role as a benign hegemon (weakened normative pre-eminence). The Obama administration still has to show its international leadership on these issues.

The United States enjoyed the three pre-eminences that denote primacy, or *in strictu sensu*, hegemony during the Cold War: political-military, economic and normative. This is no longer the case. Transatlantic relations have to face a different international system from that

[3] This vision is developed in Hass, Richard: "The Age of Nonpolarity", *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 38, no. 3 (May-June 2008).
[4] Samuel Huntington used this term first in 1999. See Huntington, Samuel: "The Lonely Superpower", *Foreign Affairs,* vol. 78, no. 2 (March-April 1999).
[5] See Waltz, Kenneth: "Structural Realism after the Cold War", *International Security*, vol. 5, no.1 (Summer 2000).
[6] Nye, Joseph S. (Jr): "The Benefits of Soft Power", Harvard Business School, (08 February 2004), at http://hbswk.hbs.edu/archive/4290.html.

of the Cold War; a different distribution of power and capabilities at global and transatlantic level; but also changes produced within each part of the alliance.

Transatlantic relations were established within the framework of the Cold War international system, and based on certain core parameters:

- Political-military parameter: an existential security threat posed by the Soviet Union, with Europe protected by US Extended Deterrence.

- Economic parameter: a deep bilateral relationship since the Marshall Plan.

- Democratic Peace parameter: common values such as democracy, rule of law, civil freedoms and human rights, and free market economy."[7]

Progressively, with the fall of the Berlin Wall, changes in transatlantic relations could be seen, above all since the middle of the 1990s, although as noted above the inertia and relative stability of the alliance framework allowed this structure to be maintained. The "soft landing" and development of a new international system during the 1990s were not well recognised in spite of successive crises in the Balkans. American and European Allies reinforced the transatlantic link using the inertia of the Cold War model with only some gradual institutional changes, in part due to a thirst for the "dividends of peace", even though NATO started a policy of enlargement to the East and instigated a change in the vision and the mission of the Atlantic Alliance. The 1999 NATO Strategic Concept would substantially reflect these changes in the nature of the alliance. However, evolution in the international system and in the parameters of transatlantic relations was clear and progressive during the 1990s, producing a unipolar international system where the US enjoyed a situation of global primacy[8] that the European allies did not question. But, at the same time, US Extended Deterrence in Europe lost its main rationale after the end of the Soviet threat, and the role of transatlantic relations in US strategic policy then started to change.

From an economic point of view, the members of the original transatlantic market turned their attention increasingly to a globalized economy, where competition, not cooperation, is the general rule. The transatlantic market, although reinforced after successive initiatives and buttressed by the largest mutual foreign direct investment in the world, is not the only market for Europeans and Americans. The European integration process has been focused on a progressively enlarged common market, and both sides of the Atlantic have focused on the opportunities offered by Asian economic growth. In addition, the consensus about US normative pre-eminence has changed to a new normative framework. According to this, "Democratic Peace" should be achieved, but using different means according to Americans and Europeans. There is a different understanding of the content of democracy and human rights and the ways to promote them globally. Once again, we have to see if the Obama administration has a new perspective on these issues, closer to the European vision.

[7] Deutsch, Karl (1957): *Political Community and the North Atlantic Area*. Princeton, Princeton University Press.
[8] Krauthammer, Charles: "The Unipolar Moment", *Foreign Affairs,* vol. 70, no. 1(Winter 1990/91), pp. 23-33.

3. The Atlantic Alliance and Transatlantic Relations in the Post-Cold War

Twenty years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, NATO may be facing its most decisive moment since the end of the Cold War. The Alliance survived the collapse of communism, at a time when many questioned its necessity, given that there was no enemy. The organization was able to adapt, and contributed very significantly to the democratization, the expansion of market economy, and the stability of the former enemies of Central and Eastern Europe. In the 90s, the Alliance broke the geographical boundaries established by the Treaty of Washington, acting with its military forces in the Balkans. This was the acknowledgment that security threats emanate from beyond NATO's borders. A few years later, in 2003, the Alliance began its military operations in Afghanistan.

NATO is currently in a process of redefinition that will affect its goals, missions, and US/Europe relations as a whole. The United States does not have the primacy it enjoyed during the Cold War and the last decade of the twentieth century. We are living in a post-American world, and Obama's foreign policy strategy is to reposition the US for that post-American world, working with anyone who can help serve the US's interest[9]. For instance, apart from the necessary collaboration in the UN Security Council, he will work with China on economy and environment, with Russia on disarmament and nuclear proliferation, and with Yemen on terrorism, if necessary. In addition, Europe is no longer a US priority. That is, Europe has been a key ally in the past, but cooperation with it in the future will depend on whether it has something to offer or not.

The European allies are also changing. The European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) delivered mixed results in its ten years of life. "While the success of this Unión Policy is unquestionable, its omissions and failures are equally evident"[10]. The progress that has been made is a source of satisfaction, but the European Union continues to be perceived as a marginal player in global security matters. The Lisbon treaty has just come into force, providing new tools that should enhance the EU's international role: the new High Representative (with reinforced responsibilities); the President of the European Council, an integrated diplomatic service, and enhanced cooperation and permanent structured cooperation for those members which wish to go further in the field of defence. It is the time to develop these tools to place the EU among the main actors in the multipolar world (as the European Security Strategy declares), but it will depend on the political will of Member States.

Taking into account these parameters, the tendency in transatlantic relations was that the Allies should face problems in material capacities, incentives to cooperate, and convergence in expectations of interests (present and future). As a result, they faced uncertainty, and after the 9/11 attacks and previous assessment about the evolution of the international system, US policy and behaviour tried to balance this situation and this was to provoke reactions[11].

The gap in military capabilities between the U.S. and the European NATO allies is not new, but it is increasingly difficult to accept. Europe lived under the protection of the United States during the Cold War, but the Extended Deterrence is already an illusion. The United

[9] Shapiro, Jeremy, Witney, Nick: "How Europe can be heard in Washington", *Financial Times*, Nov 16, 2009, p. 13.
[10] Gnesotto, Nicole: "The need for a more strategic EU", in Vasconcelos, Alvaro (ed.) (2009): *What ambitions for European Defence in 2020?,* Paris, European Union Institute for Security Studies, p. 25.
[11] In this sense see Walt, Stephen (2005): *Taming American Power*, New York, Norton.

States defended Europe against communism, but now it neither can, nor wants, to defend European "interests" in a multipolar context. The interests of U.S. and European allies are not always the same, even on security issues. But the differences among allies should be considered legitimate and acceptable. A healthy transatlantic relationship requires tough negotiations to establish commitments that work for both parties. The development of the ESDP should be useful in building credible military capabilities available to the EU, to defend the EU's interests[12], but also available to make a more balanced contribution to NATO.

Alliance creation is a result of the existence of general incentives generated by the structure of the international system, states will search for allies or abstain from alliances, and since there are asymmetries in capabilities and different security interests, alliance formation (maintenance, in the NATO case) will mean gains and costs. But there are other major interests that help to address indeterminacy in the bargaining process of creating the alliance: general interests and particular interests, which predispose states to align with certain other states.

General or strategic interests are related to the anarchic structure of the international system. From this point of view, US Extended Deterrence in Europe lost its sense after the end of the Soviet threat, and Europe is not the centre of US Strategic Policy: there are other areas such as East Asia and the Greater Middle East that command greater attention. But the European Security Strategy (ESS) 2003, its 2008 Report on Implementation and the United States National Security Strategy 2002 and 2006 identified a more anarchic international system and common threats such as terrorism, proliferation of WMD, regional conflicts, and rogue states, among others. The United States and the European Allied Forces not only share the principles of liberty, democracy, and respect for human rights, but also security interests on many issues. NATO remains the main international military organization, and the best tool for effective transatlantic cooperation, but its future will depend basically on its capacity to cope with these common threats. And, particularly, the European allies need to convince the US that maintaining the Atlantic Alliance is necessary and beneficial for both parties, although EU countries are not willing to accept a global NATO, which the United States would like. The US time of global dominance after the Cold War has gone, and the Obama administration will work with any country that can help serve US's interests, by forging tactical alliances when necessary[13]. In turn, a strong EU will not always work with NATO in the future, including on security issues. "The EU's main partner outside NATO may sometimes be the US, but at other times it may be India or China, the African Union of Latin America, or even a large coalition of states legitimised by the UN"[14]. Even in this new context, NATO must remain the backbone of the relationship between the US and EU to address risks and threats to common security and shared interests.

Particular interests create conflict or affinity with other states. Thus, features such as power content, ideology, prestige, economy can create a set of affinities, giving states expectations that they will be supported by those with whom they share interests: for instance, the United States expects the support of Europe/EU in its fight against terrorism, because of NATO's military support during the Cold War, a shared ideology based on liberal democracy, economic interdependence and general normative agreement on international rules. Moreover, the internal political configuration of states, apart from general ideological preferences, is also

[12] On the evolution of European military capabilities in the last ten years, see Keohane, D, Blommestijn, Ch.: "Strength in numbers? Comparing EU military capabilities in 2009 with 1999", EUISS, *Policy Brief* nº 5 (December 2009).
[13] Shapiro and Witney, *op. cit.,* p. 13.
[14] Vasconcelos, Alvaro: "2020: defence beyond the transatlantic paradigm", in Vasconcelos, *op. cit.,* p. 18.

important for the continuity of the alliance. These alignments created a core of precedents and relationships, which conditioned the process of alliance bargaining, "predisposing the system toward certain alliances and against others": in this case, the experience of the US/European alliance during the Cold War created a predisposition to maintain the alliance. But conflicts and affinities reduce but do not eliminate indeterminacy in choosing allies or adversaries, due to overestimation or underestimation of conflicts with third parties by allies: for instance, the perception and assessment of terrorism, Iraq, or Iran is seen by the United States and European states differently[15].

The Allies have been moving between cooperation and weak commitment. NATO's European allies promoted the use of Article V of NATO after 9/11; the GWOT and *Enduring Freedom* Operation in Afghanistan were launched with full European support and commitment, and the new strategy of the Obama administration for the area has been positively received by the Allies. A great majority of Western European countries, especially the United Kingdom, Spain, Italy and Portugal, and all Central and Eastern European countries, supported the US invasion of Iraq, despite the opposition of two core European countries, France and Germany. However, a realignment of the United States with Germany/France and with Russia for different reasons has been produced: Iran's nuclear program, nuclear disarmament and Afghanistan in the first case, and energy and European balance in the latter.

A weak commitment and no support in specific conflicts have been the choices in other cases, with a number of different variations. For instance, re-alignment, de-alignment, failure on explicit commitments and failure in providing support in contingencies where it is expected. In the current situation of the US-European alliance, the latter two will be the only ones to be considered, since the alliance remains, although expectations of support are weakened. A strategy of weak commitment reduces the risk of entrapment and enhances bargaining leverage: there is EU support in the Afghan case, anti-terrorism, and Iran, but with ambiguous European military commitment in spite of NATO's military strategy.

Different U.S. administrations had been arguing unsuccessfully since the end of the Cold War that the main threats to the transatlantic alliance were terrorism and WMD. The lack of European interest in these issues was one of the parameters that contributed to the US tendency for unilateral solutions to global problems. Even the effects of 9/11 and the Iraq war on European threat perceptions have been ambiguous.[16] Some allies try to avoid burden-sharing, in the face of a rising threat, expecting not to bear unnecessary costs or/and improve their relative position vis-a-vis their allies in the future. In terms of Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan or the military aspects of the GWOT, European states see the costs of intervention as being high, and pass them on to the US. They believe that, due to the commitment to fighting these countries and US military superiority, this buck-passing and partial abandonment (in the GWOT's case) will not mean a dangerous reduction in either US security or European security. But it increases the risk of abandonment, reduces their reputation for resolve and encourages the adversary to stand firm[17]. A US strategy of deterrence (threat of force) is opposed by some European states through lack of willingness to use force in support of the United States, in order to restrain their ally. For instance, France and Germany's position

[15] See Sarotte, M.E.: "Transatlantic Tension and Threat Perception", *Naval War College Review*, vol. 58, no. 4 (Autumn 2005).
[16] This argument is developed in Gordon, Philip H. and Shapiro, Jeremy (2004): *Allies at War: America, Europe and the Crisis over Iraq,* New York, McGraw-Hill.
[17] Snyder, Glenn, "The Security Dilemma in Alliance Politics", *World Politics,* Vol. 36, no. 4 (July 1984), p. 471.

against the Iraq invasion, or withdrawal of Spanish and other countries' troops from Iraq. The Obama administration offers new opportunities for cooperation with European allies on a multilateral basis. This would mean the end of the much criticized US unilateralism, but it will require an increased European commitment to Obama's new multilateralism, assuming greater responsibilities. Afghanistan is probably the test case for how the U.S and Europe will manage their relationship. The challenge for Europe is to act as a credible partner.

4. The European Union, the United States and the Future of Transatlantic Relations

The progressive development of an EU foreign and security policy creates alternative visions and strategies for EU general and particular interests. On the one hand, the European Union has been defined in recent decades as a "civilian power" or a "normative/civilizing" power, that is, "The EU's strength and novelty as an international actor is based on its ability to extend its own model of ensuring stability and security through economic and political rather than military means"[18]. This strategy has been one of the main assets of European Union foreign policy, and can remain so. As Javier Solana (former NATO Secretary General and EU High Representative) often said, "the world demands Europe", its particular way of doing things. In this sense, it is very important that the EU is the largest trading power in the world, as well as a major donor of humanitarian help and development aid. However, the EU launched a Common Security and Defense Policy in 1998, in order to make available military capabilities that did not exist before. The achievement of these capabilities could weaken the argument that the EU is a "civilian" actor [19], but the ability to use some level of military force in certain situations (when "soft power" is not enough), would give credibility to the European Union as an international actor. No "normative power" without "real power"[20]. Some crisis management operations led by the EU, and the "Atalanta" mission against piracy off Somalia's coast, are examples of these situations where being a "civilian power" is not enough. The threat or use of force to meet international commitments or to defend the EU's interests is also a likely scenario in the future. Without the development of new military capabilities, the EU's role in the world could become irrelevant, not only because the United States will prefer to work individually with each allied country, but also because the European Union will not achieve its aspiration of being a major actor in a multipolar world.

On the other hand, the security interests of US and European allies are not in the same geographical area in many cases. The European Union Security Strategy (2003 + 2008) points out that "the European Union is inevitably a global player..."[21], and identifies a range of global challenges and key threats to European Security[22]. Nevertheless, in fact, EU foreign and security policy can not be global yet, mainly for its lack of diplomatic, political and military capacities. It is not a lack of ambition of the EU as an organization, but a lack of

[18] Sjursen, Helene, "What kind of Power?" *Journal of European Public Policy*, vol. 13, no. 2 (March 2006), pp 169-170.
[19] *Ibid.* Marquina, Antonio and Caballero-Anthony, Mely: Human Security: European and Asian Approaches" in Marquina Antonio (ed) (2008): *Energy Security. Visions form Asia and Europe*, Basingstoke, Palgrave MacMillan, pp.244-272.
[20] Vasconcelos: "2020: defence beyond the transatlantic paradigm…", *op cit*, p. 13.
[21] Solana, Javier: "A Secure Europe in a Better World, European Security Strategy", *North Atlantic Treaty Organisation* (NATO), Brussels, Belgium (12 December 2003), p. 1.
[22] "Report on the Implementation of the European Security Strategy, Providing Security in a Changing World", *North Atlantic Treaty Organisation* (NATO), *S407/08*, Brussels, Belgium (11 December 2008), p. 3.

resources and, frequently, a lack of political will of its member countries. The European Union will probably be an important actor for global security in the future, but it still does not have all the capabilities to fulfil this role.

There is a precondition in this approach. The EU should be able to speak with one voice in international institutions, NATO included. This is probably one of the most important challenges for EU Security Policy in the near future. The European Union must overcome existing divisions between its members on many issues of foreign, security and defence policy; This is not easy in an organization with 27 members, with very different security interests (in the Mediterranean or in Russia, for example), and various defence traditions (great powers, neutral countries, and former communist states). In this context, the emergence of a multi-speed Europe for security and defence matters is likely, with a first group of countries willing to make progress in the integration of their security and defence policies, which must include core countries of the Union. This probably would not be welcome in the United States, which has traditionally opposed the creation of a "European Union caucus" within NATO[23], but it would be an important step towards that "single European voice", and towards consolidating the European Security and Defense Policy. In this vein, the United States and the European Union need to avoid misperceptions and to ensure that the process of European integration strengthens, rather than weakens, transatlantic relations.

Coming back to the field of security threats, Europe's main concern in the near future will be security and stability in its neighbourhood. The European Union has launched military operations on an ad hoc basis in the Democratic Republic of Congo, in Darfur, Chad and Somalia, but their basic interests are not in sub-Saharan Africa or Southeast Asia. They are in the nearest neighbours with conflicts or political problems that can cross borders and directly affect the security or interests of EU countries: in North Africa and the Mediterranean (Middle East, Iraq and Iran included), in the Black Sea and the Caucasus, and in the eastern neighbours, mainly in Russia, which is a key player for European policy and security (military security and energy security). The risks and threats for the European Union are not only terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and rogue states, but also energy security (supply sources and transportation routes), uncontrolled migration, organized crime, the destabilization of neighbouring countries, the consequences of armed conflicts in nearby regions, or the consequences of climate change. The European Neighbourhood Policy shows the geographical priorities by offering the EU's immediate neighbours by land or sea (Mediterranean and Eastern countries) a privileged relationship, aimed at enhancing development and democratization as the best way to prevent conflicts and improve stability. European and United States interests with regard to these countries are often divergent and even opposed.

In fact, after the end of the Cold War, as was mentioned, Europe was not the priority of US Global Policy, although it was still a main element, but the vision of military superiority might create a tendency in the EU "to pass the buck" to the United States.[24] Although the allies committed themselves to fighting against terrorism, and undertook a number of common actions, they continued to maintain quite different views of how important the threat was, as well as how to combat it. Similar differences could be extended to other international issues like Iran or Afghanistan in the future.

[23] Larrabee, Stephen F.: "The United States and the evolution of ESPD", in Vasconcelos: "What ambitions…"*op. cit.,* p. 51.
[24] Christensen, T. and Snyder J.: "Chain Gangs and Passed Bucks: Predicting Alliance Patterns in Multipolarity", *International Organization*, vol. 44. no. 2 (Spring 1990), p. 139.

These different interests and perceptions feed strategies of weak or ambiguous commitment. The United States, while it led the transatlantic Alliance throughout the Cold War, maintains different attitudes toward EU security policy[25] and, in some cases, remains suspicious of allies because of the fear that NATO's alliance obligations might force the United States to act in operations not of its choosing. Moreover, a collective European military force gives the EU more options, allowing Europeans to be less bound to follow the U.S. lead in NATO, particularly if that involves operations such as Iraq.

There are European perceptions of a declining credibility in the US commitment to Alliance interests. The US focuses on global, rather than European, security concerns. For instance, the US Global Posture Review, the plans for troop withdrawals in Europe, the establishment of US bases at the periphery of Europe to address extra-European threats, and, now, from Central and Eastern European countries, the BMD withdrawal from Poland and the Czech Republic. Furthermore, this trend would reinforce European fears about entrapment: being dragged into a conflict over a US interest that they do not share or share only partially. In this sense, European allies valued preservation of the alliance more than the cost of supporting the United States in Iraq or military support of the GWOT. Moreover, they saw possibilities of extraregional entrapment in terms of further NATO enlargement to Ukraine and Georgia, an entanglement in Afghanistan or even beyond, supporting NATO Global Partners. Europeans thus try to escape or minimize risks of entrapment without serious risks of US abandonment, although accepting partial abandonment in the form of troop withdrawals and South Asia priority[26].

On the other hand, the lessons learned after the campaigns in Afghanistan, Iraq and the GWOT drove a remarkable change in US policy toward a more multilateral approach during the second George W. Bush administration and the Obama administration. It was implicit that it was necessary to de-emphasise unilateral solutions and coalitions of the willing, and to accept other powers' interests, seeking partnerships with regional powers to face problems and crises. In this sense, this means a better understanding in Washington of the limitations of military power and a greater appreciation of the European contribution.

5. Conclusions

Transatlantic Relations have to face a different International System from that of the past, and the development of a NATO's new Strategic Concept has to reflect this new scenario. The United States does not have the primacy it enjoyed during the Cold War (except for military power), and a much more multipolar world is arising. NATO is currently involved in a process of change that could not only affect its structure and missions, but also its definition as a regional organization.

Since the end of the Cold War, Transatlantic Relations have experienced important tensions. US Foreign Policy since 9/11 attacks has produced a perception of disengagement in US-Europe alliance. At the same time, European allies' behaviour in the last decade created in US government an image of lack of commitment related to issues as the fight

[25] Oudraat, Chantal de Jonge: "U.S. Attitudes evolve about EU Security Ambitions". *European Affairs*, (Summer/Fall 2007).

[26] But the Secretary of Defence decided to freeze the plans for further reducing the US Armed Forces. See: Shanker, Tom: "Gates halts cut in Army Force in Europe", *The New York Times*, November 21, 2007, at http://www.nytimes.com/2007/11/21/washington/21military.html .

against terrorism (GWOT), Iraq and Afghanistán. The election of Barack Obama to the Presidency of the United States has been perceived by the European allies as a window of opportunity to reinforce the Atlantic Alliance, but it will not be an easy task.

Obama's foreign policy strategy is to reposition the US for a post-American world, where Europe is no longer the US priority. The US focuses on global, rather than European, security concerns, and there are other priority regions such as East Asia, the Greater Middle East or the Pacific. Europe has been a key ally in the past, but cooperation with it in the future will depend on whether it has something to offer or not. The European allies need to convince the US that maintaining the Atlantic Alliance is necessary and beneficial for both parties, although EU countries are not willing to accept a global NATO, which would like the United States. An Alliance exclusively focused on European Security and collective defence probably is no longer interesting for the US, but a global NATO, with global reach and global partners, is not acceptable for European countries. The new Strategic Concept has to resolve this incompatibility, in a much more multipolar world, in which Europe declares its readiness to take a more active role. European and US interests are not always the same (even in the Euro-Atlantic area), but there are common security interests and shared values that make NATO essential for Europe and North America. An Alliance with regional focus (but open to discuss global risks and threats) would make easier the agreement on common threats and shared interests. The Alliance has been the best tool for effective transatlantic cooperation on defence issues, and must remain so. The Obama administration offers new opportunities for cooperation with European allies on multilateral basis, but this new policy will need a stronger European commitment. It is the time of a much more balance relationship between European allies and the United States. Otherwise the United States could lose interest in NATO. In any case, it will require tough negotiations to establish compromises that work for both parties.

The European contribution to the Alliance also has to change. Transatlantic Relations can not ignore the European Union integration process and the development of a Common Foreign, Security and Defence Policy. In this context, the EU needs to have something to say, collectively. Taking into account the EU's difficulties in reaching agreements by consensus on security and defence, it is likely the emergence of a multi-speed Europe for these issues. In the absence of a "single European voice", it would be an important step towards consolidating the European Security and Defense Policy. In this regard, the United States and the EU need to ensure that the process of European integration strengthens, rather than weakens, Transatlantic Relations.

The development of the ESDP should be useful in building credible military capabilities available to the EU, to defend the EU interests, but also available to make a more balanced contribution to NATO. The goal is not to create a rivalry between the European Unión and NATO, but rather to stablish a useful and credible alliance between American and European allies, an organization able to cope with common threats and shared interests. The challenge for Europe is to act as a credible partner. European "civilian" or "normative" power has to be consider as an important contribution to the Alliance policy (as it is for EU foreign policy), but the EU's role in the world could become irrelevant without the development of military capabilities to deploy abroad.

Europe's main concern in the near future will be security and stability in its neighbourhood. Although the Security Strategy refers to the EU as a global player, the EU foreign and security policy can not be global yet, mainly for its lack of resources and the political will of some of its member states. This is another reason not to support a global

NATO with global reach and global partners. The European Union will probably be in the future an important actor for the global security, but it still does not have all the capabilities to fulfil that role. Neither the EU nor its Member States probably can afford the political, economic, and military requirements of a global NATO.

GLOBAL CHALLENGES AND THREATS: EUROPEAN AND US APPROACHES

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Abstract:
This article presents the similarities and differences that there are between the European Union and the United States with regard to global security approaches, as well as their implications for NATO. The European Security Strategy emphasises challenges and global threats, leaving aside traditional security problems that are on the European periphery. The United States, on the other hand, which is a global military power, tends to consider European security problems in a more global context. The article covers the policies implemented by the European Union and the United States to tackle global challenges, and explains the similiarities and differences in order to understand the crucial problems that NATO Member States need to face to give consistency and permanence to the new NATO Strategic Concept that is being developed.

Keywords: NATO, European Security, European Security Strategy, Global challenges and Threats, National Security Strategy of the US.

Resumen:
Este artículo presenta las similitudes y diferencias que existen en las aproximaciones de seguridad entre la Unión Europea y los Estados Unidos, así como sus implicaciones para la OTAN. La Estrategia de Seguridad Europea enfatiza los desafíos y amenazas globales, dejando en un segundo plano los problemas de seguridad tradicional existentes en la periferia europea. Los Estados Unidos, por su parte, que es una potencia militar global tiende a considerar los problemas de seguridad europea en un contexto más global. El artículo hace un recorrido por las políticas puestas en pie por la Unión Europea y los Estados Unidos para hacer frente a los desafíos globales y explica las similitudes y diferencias en orden a entender los problemas cruciales que los estados miembros de la OTAN tienen que abordar para dar consistencia y permanencia al nuevo concepto estratégico de la OTAN que se está elaborando.

Palabras clave: *OTAN, seguridad europea, Estrategia de Seguridad Europea, desafíos globales y amenazas, Estrategia de Seguridad Nacional de los EEUU.*

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1. Introduction

One of the principal questions to be clarified for the renovation of the NATO Strategic Concept is undoubtedly if NATO is going to be an essentially regional organization or if the global challenges and threats already demand a deep transformation of NATO in order to become a more global organization.

Prior to this, a basic question needs to be clarified. What is the current international system?

The reality is that the international system has passed in one decade from being a unipolar system dominated by the United States, with a strong trend to unilateralism, to a more multipolar system. This sea change was induced by the US weakening in power and leadership as a consequence of bad decisions made by the President Bush administrations and the rise of global powers such as China, India or Russia, regional powers like Brazil, and the decline of the European Union, considered to be an international global player.

This redistribution of power is also induced by the world economic crisis, with large indebtedness and a huge budget deficit in the US, and weak economic growth in the EU and US, in contrast with the economic growth of Asian states, and the questioning of the dollar as the principal reserve currency.

In this context of the relative weakening of the US and the EU, the analysis of the global threats and challenges that can affect NATO are of major interest, as well as the role NATO, the US and EU have to play in the international system to confront and manage these threats and challenges.

2. NATO Enummeration of Global Challenges and Risks

The 1999 NATO Strategic Concept presented a description of security challenges and risks in the first part. Some of them could be recorded in and around the Euro-Atlantic area, including the possibility of regional crises at the periphery of the Alliance.

Others were more global in nature:

- Powerful nuclear forces outside the Alliance
- The proliferation of NBC weapons and their means of delivery
- The global spread of technology that can be of use in the production of weapons
- Information operations by State and non-state adversaries designed to disrupt information systems
- Terrorism, sabotage and organised crime
- The disruption of the flow of vital resources

- The uncontrolled movement of large numbers of people[2]

Some of these were real threats, not merely risks and challenges, and all the list is still relevant and valid more than ten years later. As we will see the majority of them are included in the European Security Strategy.

3. The European Union Definition of Challenges and Threats

Nevertheless, it is important to stress the different approaches that already exist between the European Union and NATO and the United States in some challenges and threats that are considered global in order to understand the difficulties and asymmetries that still exist, and the difficult consensus on NATO as a more global organization.

For the European Security Strategy, Europe still faces security threats and challenges but the approach was not very realistic and convincing. The document does not focus mainly on regional security problems existing on the EU periphery, something that was always considered a priority, although it mentioned the conflict in the Balkans in the beginning as a reminder that war has not disappeared from the continent and there is also a heading in the second part of the document entitled "Building Security in our Neighbourhood". In the document, Europe sees itself as a global player which should be ready to share in the responsibility for global security and in building a better world.

Thus, a clear asymmetry and contradiction exists. NATO is for the European member states mainly a regional security and defence organization, but the European Union sees itself as essentially a global player which has to focus on global challenges and threats given the context of security presented in the European Security Strategy. Regional security is apparently a secondary part in the three strategic objectives presented in the document that are centred on global threats and challenges "in a world of global threats, global markets and global media".

The challenges and threats, as defined in the European Security Strategy[3] and the Report on its implementation[4], are the following:

3.1. Challenges

- Challenges created by globalization: European dependence – and so vulnerability – on an interconnected infrastructure in transport, energy, information and other fields.

- Challenges coming from the developing world: poverty and disease cause untold suffering and give rise to pressing security concerns.

[2] "The Alliance's Strategic Concept", *North Atlantic Treaty Organisation* (NATO), *North Atlantic Council,* Washington DC, US (24 April 1999), at http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_27433.htm .
[3] "A Secure Europe in a Better World", European Security Strategy, *European Union* (EU), Brussels, Belgium (12 December 2003), http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/78367.pdf.
[4] "Providing Security in a Changing World", Report on the Implementation of the European Security Strategy, *European Union* (EU), *S407/08,* Brussels, Belgium (11 December 2008), at http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/reports/104630.pdf .

- Challenges coming from competition for natural resources: - notably water - which will be aggravated by global warming over the next decades, is likely to create further turbulence and migratory movements in various regions.

- Challenges coming from energy dependence: Europe is the world's largest importer of oil and gas. Imports will rise to 75% in 2030. Most energy imports come from the Gulf, Russia and North Africa[5].

3.2. Threats

- Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction: this is potentially the greatest threat
- Terrorism
- Regional Conflicts
- State failure
- Organised Crime including Piracy[6]
- Climate Change[7]
- Cybersecurity[8]

All these challenges and threats, including the approach to regional challenges, are considered global, not merely regional.

4. Addressing the Global Threats and Challenges: the EU and the US

For the European Union none of the new increasingly complex threats and challenges are purely military; nor can any be tackled by purely military means.

And in a world of "global threats, global markets and global media, the European security and prosperity increasingly depend on an effective multilateral system"[9].

But another important question to be underlined is that the European Union approach as a "global player" for addressing some threats and challenges is not always the approach

[5] In the Report on the Implementation of the European Security Strategy, "Providing Security in a Changing World" , it is stated that "concerns about energy dependence have increased over the last five years". Five years after the publication of the European Security Strategy, energy security was emphasized, taking into consideration that European imports came "from a limited number of countries, many of which face threats to stability".
[6] Piracy was not included in the 2003 European Security Strategy.
[7] Climate change was not included in the 2003 European Security Strategy.
[8] Cyber attacks were not included in the 2003 European Security Strategy.
[9] "A Secure Europe in a Better World, European Security Strategy", *op. cit.*

that the US maintains, nor have both maintained the same degree of commitment, the same priorities or used similar tools and policies.

4.1. Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD)

WMD have been developed depending on the growth and expansion of new technologies and the advances in knowledge. At present we have three big challenges in this field:

- The renaissance of nuclear power in developing countries, their technological development and the need to reduce Greenhouse gas emissions.
- The advances in the chemical industry in numerous emergent States[10].
- And finally the development of biotechnology. In this last case it is necessary to emphasize the notable development of biotechnology faculties and departments besides the development of the big pharmaceutical laboratories of different companies, and plant, food, medicine and environmental biotech[11].

Close to this it is necessary to underscore the trade of sensitive technologies for WMD's production that can allow its acquisition by non state actors and terrorist groups.

It is necessary to stress that in principle big discrepancies do not exist between the United States and the European Union in the consideration of WMD as a global challenge. Both the US and the EU have approved strategies against the proliferation of WMD. But in the European programme of action, the EU is committed to achieving universal adherence to multilateral treaty regimes, as well as to strengthening the treaties and their verification provisions, in particular the biological weapons convention. On this last point there were strong disagreements with the President Bush administrations.

However the EU as such did not sign any of the treaties prohibiting or limiting WMD, the Chemical weapons convention, the Biological weapons convention, or the NPT, because it

[10] "Western commodity chemical companies are shifting to growing opportunities with a focus on the Asia-Pacific region and other areas within the developing world. With a small but growing share, the Middle East has significant potential advantages in low-cost hydrocarbon feed stocks and therefore continues to attract significant new capacity. It is forecasted that China and the Middle East will contribute 78 percent of new capacity by 2013. Meanwhile, the chemical industry continues to play a key role in the economies of the United States and the European Union". See "Chemical Industry Needs New Strategies to Regain Profitable Growth", 17 December 2009, at http://www.chemicalprocessing.com/industrynews/2009/131.html .

[11] Regarding biotech industries and the biotech revolution that is already underway, Anthony F. Hillen proposes a divison of 4 categories of countries:
1. Countries with biotech industries considered to be cutting-edge like the US, Japan, Europe, China, and India. 2. Countries with differing levels of international engagement and commitment to biological weapons conventions. Countries in this category would include those with significant agricultural biotech development like Brazil and Argentina, but would also include states with advanced R&D operations like South Africa, Egypt, Cuba, Israel, and South Korea. 3. Countries with relatively undeveloped biotech industries that are unlikely to bridge the economic and technological expanse between themselves and countries previously mentioned in the foreseeable future. Countries like Dubai, UAE, Kenya, and Thailand act more like tax shelters, labor reserves, or junior partners to multinational biotech companies. 4. Failed-states like Somalia as well as countries with large and ungoverned territories that could potentially provide sanctuary for terrorist activity.
Anthony F. Hillen: "Biological Weapons. Amidst the Biotech Revolution", *Scribd Website,* 12 May 2007, at http://www.bibliotecapleyades.net/ciencia/ciencia_bioterrorism01.htm .

did not yet have its own juridical status. Neither has the EU any status in the control regimes, such as the NSG[12] or the Zangger Committee[13], though the EU Commission is a member of the Australia Group. Nor has it a defined status in initiatives like the proliferation security initiative and it has only an observer status in the global initiative to combat nuclear terrorism.

Important differences have existed in the US and the EU positions in multilateral forums, in particular regarding the implementation of the 1995 NPT Review Conference resolution[14] and decisions, and the positions maintained in the NPT review conferences, in particular the review conference of 2005.

The EU Strategy emphasises prevention, working through the UN and multilateral agreements, using political and financial instruments and working with third countries and regional organisations to enhance their capabilities to prevent proliferation[15].

But the effectiveness of counter proliferation policy (diplomatic, intelligence, and military efforts to combat the proliferation of weapons) goes beyond what the European Union and the US can carry out, as has been demonstrated in the cases of Iran[16] and North Korea[17]. Consensus and agreements in the UN Security Council are fundamental.

On the subject of nuclear disarmament the European position has been favourable to nuclear disarmament, seeing it from the perspective of the consensus and agreements adopted in the 1995 NPT Review Conference. But from the practical point of view, the European Union has had an irrelevant role in this field, in spite of having two nuclear states, France and the United Kingdom.

4.2. Terrorism

Regarding terrorism, EU and US cooperation is closer than ever and the EU is a key law enforcement partner. Both consider international terrorism as a global threat but they differed on how to fight terrorism. The EU responded after 11 September with measures that included the adoption of a European Arrest Warrant, steps to attack terrorist financing and an agreement on mutual legal assistance with the U.S.A. After the Madrid and London attacks the EU adopted the 2004 Hague Programme, and in 2005 a new Strategy for the External Dimension of Justice and Home Affairs. These measures adopted have made it easier to pursue investigations across borders, and co-ordinate prosecution. The European Union has incorporated the fight against terrorism into all aspects of the EU's external policy but has been reluctant to accept the US approaches on war on terror. The 2005 Counter-Terrorism Strategy is based on respect for human rights and international law. The appointment of the Counter-Terrorism Co-ordinator has been another step although an EU organization similar to

[12] The Commission of the EU is only an observer.
[13] The Commission of the EU is only an observer.
[14] The Resolution on the Middle East has significant consequences. The acceptance of *de facto* nuclear states in the Middle East is not possible. This also has implications for Iran.
[15] For the EU "more work is also needed on specific issues, including: EU support for a multilateral approach to the nuclear fuel cycle; countering financing of proliferation; measures on bio-safety and bio-security; containing proliferation of delivery systems, notably ballistic missiles. Negotiations should begin on a multilateral treaty banning production of fissile material for nuclear weapons". See "Report on the Implementation of the European Security Strategy", *op. cit.,* p.3.
[16] The EU approach towards the Iran nuclear program, once the program was disclosed in 2002, was more sophisticated and sound than the US approach. Nevertheless only North Korea was mentioned as a threat in the European Security Strategy of 2003. South Asia was mentioned as a nuclear risk.
[17] The European Union is not a member of the six party talks. That is a serious rectification to the EU pretension to be a global player.

the US Homeland Security, a strong coordinating center or a lead agency does not exist[18]. But the European Union never considered itself at war, even after the Madrid and London attacks. Differences in U.S. and European approaches become more salient as Washington broadened the war against terrorism beyond Al Qaeda and Afghanistan. Most EU members have considered terrorism primarily as a law enforcement issue, asking for political action, rather than as a problem to be solved by military means[19]. The European Security Strategy considers that addressing the terrorist threat "may require a mixture of intelligence, police, judicial, military and other means" demanding also inter-cultural dialogue, addressing extremist ideology and tackling discrimination.

The Obama Administration has stopped using the phrase war on terror[20], widely disliked in Europe, focusing on a war on Al Qaeda and Afghanistan, considered the "central front" in the war on terror, avoiding the accusations of waging a war on Islam. Another significant change is the displacement of military power as the pre-eminent response to terrorism, in favour of employing the full panoply of tools from law enforcement and the justice system to international intelligence networks and diplomacy[21]. Thus the confluence of approaches for addressing terrorism is now a reality, but other agreements on practical steps are needed[22].

4.3. Illicit Trafficking and Organised Crime

In fighting illicit trafficking and organised crime the common assessment is clear: "Organised crime poses an exceptionally high security risk threatening the stability of the global economic system and, in some states, the political system. Organised crime is characterised by the systematic perpetration of coordinated serious crime by criminal groups or organisations. It is considered by the EU and US as a common threat that requires the expansion and intensification of bilateral cooperation[23].

[18] See Marquina Antonio: "A Homeland Security for Europe", Presentation, International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research, S. *Rajaratnam School* of International Studies (25 September 2006).

[19] See Archick, Kristin: "U.S.-EU Cooperation Against Terrorism", CRS Report, US Congress (Updated October 16 2006) p.6, at http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/terror/RS22030.pdf .

[20] After the attempted act of terrorism on 25 of December 2009 aboard an Amsterdam to Detroit flight, President Obama, remembering the inaugural address, used the phrase "our nation is at war". He said: "…On that day I also made it very clear our nation is at war against a far-reaching network of violence and hatred, and that we will do whatever it takes to defeat them and defend our country, even as we uphold the values that have always distinguished America among nations". Obama, Barack: "President Obama Outlines Steps Taken to Protect the Safety and Security of the American People" Weekly Address, *White House* (02 January 2010), at http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/weekly-address-president-obama-outlines-steps-taken-protect-safety-and-security-ame.

[21] "Obama redefines war on terror", *The Christian Science and Monitor*, 29 January 2009, at http://www.csmonitor.com/USA/Politics/2009/0129/obama-redefines-war-on-terror.

[22] This is the case of the access to the data on European bank transfers. The European Parliament on 11 of February 2010 rejected the deal for allowing the US authorities access to European bank transfers. According to Kristin Archick, op. cit in note 14, other aspects of disagreement are the following: the United States expects intelligence from others, but does not readily share its own; the security and legal impediments to using intelligence information in courts of law; the European opposition to the U.S. death penalty or resistance to handing over their own nationals that slow or prevent the extradition of terrorist suspects; some differences in the U.S. and EU terrorist lists; and differences in the U.S.-EU data protection regimes that have complicated closer cooperation on border controls and travel security.

[23] In the last EU-US summit celebrated in Washington, it was stated that they seek to expand and intensify cooperation notably in the following areas: trafficking in human beings, smuggling of migrants, sexual exploitation of children, including depictions of such abuse of children on the Internet, drug trafficking, trafficking of other illicit goods, financial crime, cyber crime, corruption, tracing and confiscating the proceeds

But this common perception has been hampered by several problems.

In the first place, the lack of unity in action. The European member states cooperate against organised crime in many forums. But operational cooperation and common action are still difficult tasks. The organization of the different EU police services and criminal justice systems are not similar. Added to this is the difficulty of sharing criminal intelligence among the different police services.

Europol can not overcome these fundamental problems and asymmetries. Its mission is to support and strengthen action by the law enforcement authorities of member states in their fight against serious forms of organised crime. Progress on better coordination, transparency and flexibility across different agencies, at national and European level has been qualified as slow and incomplete[24].

The Lisbon treaty has tried to surmount some of these problems, establishing that the European Union shall share competence with the Member States in the area of freedom, security and justice[25], but guarantees that the fundamental principles of Member States' legal systems are respected and will allow "enhanced cooperations" to enable Member States to apply a specific measure if they so wish. The European Parliament and the Council of Ministers will have the power of co-decision, for adopting by qualified majority minimal rules defining the crimes and punishment for a certain number of cross-border crimes, such as terrorism, drugs and arms trafficking, money laundering, sexual exploitation of women, or cyber-crime.

The US would like to use the EU as the interlocutor but clearly sees the present limitations. The US does not take Europol, an incipient European police force, very seriously and prefers bilateral links with law enforcement agencies in almost every EU country, and has negotiated many separate instruments with EU member states on criminal justice cooperation and extradition[26].

On the other hand, the EU countries find it difficult to coordinate with over 50 US federal agencies dealing in criminal intelligence.

Another question is the question of priorities. For the US the largest international crime threats, in terms of their potential impact, include (1) smuggling of nuclear materials and technology; (2) drug trafficking; (3) trafficking in persons; (4) intellectual property crimes; and (5) money laundering[27]. For the EU, the priorities in the fight against organised crime for

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and instrumentalities of criminal activity. See on "Enhancing transatlantic cooperation in the area of Justice, Freedom and Security", EU-US Joint Statement (28 October 2009).

[24] "Report on the Implementation of the European Security Strategy", *op. cit.,* p.4.

[25] According to article 83, the European Parliament and the Council may, by means of directives adopted in accordance with the ordinary legislative procedure, establish minimum rules concerning the definition of criminal offences and sanctions in the areas of particularly serious crime: terrorism, trafficking in human beings and sexual exploitation of women and children, illicit drug trafficking, illicit arms trafficking, money laundering, corruption, counterfeiting of means of payment, computer crime and organised crime. Other areas can be added depending on the developments in crime, the Council may adopt a decision identifying other areas of crime. And directives may establish minimum rules with regard to the definition of criminal offences and sanctions in an area which has been subject to harmonisation measures.

[26] Brady, Hugo: "The EU and the fight against organised crime", *Center for European Reform* (April 2007), p. 32-34

[27] Wagley John R.: "Transnational Organized Crime:Principal Threats and U.S. Responses", CRS Report for Congress, *US Congress,* 20 March 2006, CRS-4, http://fas.org/sgp/crs/natsec/RL33335.pdf.

2009/2010 are: (1) drug trafficking; (2) trafficking in persons; (3) fraud, corruption and money laundering, as well as other activities related to the presence of organised crime in the economy[28].

Regarding Piracy, it is considered to be a new dimension of organised crime by the EU and it can also be a result of state failure[29]. The EU has responded, using different means: diplomatic, political, development assistance, humanitarian aid, reinforcing the security sector, including law enforcement, training of soldiers and launching an ESDP naval mission, Atalanta, off the Somali coast[30], alongside NATO, other countries affected and international actors. For the EU an integrated civilian/military approach is needed. For the U.S. it is also a question of bringing stability to Somalia, promoting reconciliation and economic opportunity, bolstering the TFG and its security sector, eliminating the terrorist threat[31], and addressing the humanitarian situation[32]. To do that a multinational and multidimensional approach is needed.

4.4. Climate Change

Climate change and its security implications arrived late on the US agenda. One of the main problems that the international community had when tackling environmental challenges in previous years was precisely that the United States, considered to be the world's biggest polluter, had neither signed the Kyoto protocol nor adopted policies to reduce its greenhouse gas emissions.

The EU, on the other hand, has consistently taken the lead in efforts to reduce the impact of climate change. But the linkage of climate change and security was made quite late at the official level. Climate change did not appear in the European Security Strategy of 2003, although the document recognised the link between global warming and competition for natural resources. It was included in the revision of 2008. In March of this year, the High Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy and Commission had presented a report to the European Council which described climate change as a "threat multiplier".

Natural disasters, environmental degradation and competition for resources were considered as important drivers for the exacerbation of conflicts in the Report on the Implementation of the European Security Strategy, especially in situations of poverty and population growth, with humanitarian, health, political and security consequences, including greater migration.

In the March report, under the heading of "threats", more detailed information on the forms of conflicts driven by climate change were presented:

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[28]: "Council conclusions on setting the EU's priorities for the fight against organised crime based on the OCTA 2009 and the ROCTA", *European Union* (EU), *2946th JUSTICE and HOME AFFAIRS Council,* Luxembourg (4 June 2009), at http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/jha/108308.pdf .

[29] "Providing Security in a Changing World", *op. cit.,* p.8.

[30] "EUNAVFOR Somalia", Fact Sheet, at http://www.consilium.europa.eu/showPage.aspx?id=1518&lang=Es .

[31] Although there is no clear nexus between piracy and terrorism, such a link remains possible. See John Rollins; Sun Wyler, Liana; Rosen, Seth: "International Terrorism and Transnational Crime: Security Threats, U.S. Policy, and Considerations for Congress", CRS Report for Congress, *US Congress* (5 January, 2010) at http://assets.opencrs.com/rpts/R41004_20100105.pdf .

[32] Carson, Johnie: "Developing a Coordinated and Sustainable U.S. Strategy toward Somalia", Testimony of Assistant Secretary, Bureau of African Affairs, U.S. Department of State, *US Senate, Senate Committee on Foreign Relations' Subcommittee on African Affairs* (May 20, 2009), at http://foreign.senate.gov/testimony/2009/CarsonTestimony090520a.pdf .

- Conflict over resources
- Economic damage and risk to coastal cities and critical infrastructure
- Loss of territory and border disputes
- Environmentally-induced migration
- Situations of fragility and radicalization
- Tension over energy supply
- Pressure on international governance

In the US, little by little a broad consensus emerged among security experts that global warming was a national security threat. I can quote the 2007 study by the Center for Naval Analysis[33] that concluded that "projected climate change poses a serious threat to America's national security", the joint report by the Center for a New American Security and the Center for Strategic and International Studies[34], which described conditions arising from global warming and underlined that "left unaddressed, climate change may come to represent as great or a greater foreign policy and national security challenge than any problem" among a list of challenges affecting national security, or the Global Trends 2025 report, which considered that global warming was one of three major threats that could destabilize the international system[35].

After years of denial, the election of Barack Obama as president of the United States is going to change this panorama.

During the presidential campaign, Barack Obama vowed to reduce carbon dioxide emissions by 80 percent below 1990 levels by 2050, and invest $150 billion over 10 years in new energy-saving technologies. He committed the US to start reducing emissions immediately by establishing strong annual reduction targets and promised to implement a mandate of reducing emissions to 1990 levels by 2020. He also promised to make the US a leader in combating climate change around the world, re-engaging with the UNFCCC and working constructively within it, creating a new forum of largest greenhouse gas emitters, based on the G-8 plus Brazil, China, India, Mexico and South Africa, the largest energy-consuming countries. For non-developing countries Barack Obama pledged the creation of a technology transfer program that will export climate-friendly technologies, including green buildings, clean coal and advanced automobiles, to developing countries to help them combat climate change. This last point was considered critical for cutting the emissions of developing countries like China.

[33] "National Security and the Treat of Climate Change", Center for Naval Analysis (2007), at http://securityandclimate.cna.org/report/SecurityandClimate_Final.pdf .

[34] Campbell, Kurt M.; Gulledge, Jay; McNeill, J.R.; Podesta, John; Peter, Ogden; Leon, Fuerth; R. James, Woolsey; Alexander T.J., Lennon; Julianne, Smith; Richard, Weitz and Derek, Mix: "The Age of Consequences: The Foreign Policy and National Security Implications of Global Climate Change" *Center for Strategic and International Studies* (CSIS) and *Center for a New American Century*, (November, 2007) at http://cas.bellarmine.edu/tietjen/DownLoads/The%20Age%20of%20Consequences.pdf .

[35] "Global Trends 2025. A Transformed World", *National Intelligence Council, NIC 2008-003* (November, 2008). http://www.dni.gov/nic/PDF_2025/2025_Global_Trends_Final_Report.pdf .

The first concrete step was taken in March 2009 when the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) declared that greenhouse gas emissions posed a danger to the public´s health and welfare, thus ending an era of denial on global warming and allowing federal regulation of motor vehicle emissions. And on 26 of June the House passed the American Clean Energy and Security Act. The Act will set a cap on greenhouse gas emissions. They must decline 17 percent by 2020 and more than 80 percent from 2005 levels by 2050.

It was an important and quite pragmatic step, having had to satisfy diverse sectors with opposing interests, but it was not a completely satisfactory step. Various European states, in particular France and Germany, expressed their frustration that the United States had not committed itself to deeper emissions cuts by 2020. Although the Act still has to go through the Senate, this first approval has allowed the United States to show a new face in international discussion forums regarding emissions control and climate change.

Simultaneously, the United States maintained a dialogue with China about emissions reduction that European states have been worried about, fearing a bilateral deal that could circumvent the UN process in Copenhagen, thus causing it to achieve less ambitious targets. Although John Holdren, Director of the White House Office of Science and Technology Policy, played down this perception on several occasions, that is what really happened in Copenhagen.

What it is important to underline here is that the EU and the US positions were too far apart to be able to reach a satisfactory agreement in Copenhagen. European Union objectives as regards greenhouse gas emissions cuts and their timing are still a long way off.

The EU is committed to reducing its overall emissions to at least 20% below 1990 levels by 2020, and it has committed itself to scale up its emission cut to 30% on condition that other industrialised countries agree to make comparable reductions and developing countries contribute adequately to a global deal. It has also set itself the target of increasing the share of renewables in energy use to 20% by 2020. It supported a binding agreement not a political agreement and pledged to pay 7.2 billion euros over the next three years following the agreement to help developing nations adapt to climate change. Plus a fair share of the estimated additional funding that developing countries would need annually by 2020[36].

The US position, taking also into consideration the difficulties in passing new cap and trade legislation in the Senate, is that it has pledged to reduce emissions in the range of 17 percent by 2020, and by more than 80 percent by 2050 below 2005 levels. A mechanism to review the commitments, and exchange information in a transparent manner, has been proposed. And finally it has pledged to finance part of the financial resources to be provided by developed countries for adaptation and mitigation in developing countries, a fast-start funding that would reach $10 billion by 2012, and to engage in mobilizing $100 billion annually in financing by 2020[37].

[36] "Council Conclusions on EU position for the Copenhagen Climate Conference" (7-18 December 2009)", *European Union* (EU), *Council of the European Union,* Luxembourg (21 October 2009), at http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/en/envir/110634.pdf ,
"European Council Conclusions", *European Union* (EU), *Council of the European Union,* Brussels, Belgium (10/11 December 2009), at http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=DOC/09/6&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en .

[37] Obama, Barack: "Remarks by the President at the Morning Plenary Session of the United Nations Climate Change Conference", *Bella Center*, Copenhagen, Denmark (18 December 2009), at

Taking into consideration the negotiations and results in Copenhagen, the EU pretension to be a leader in the process and a normative power suffered a severe correction. The US finally made an agreement with China, India, South Africa and Brazil, putting aside the EU.

Other important difficulties for common agreement will be the establishment of common priorities, taking into account the different consequences of climate change and the proximity to Europe of the most probable impacted regions: Africa, the Mediterranean and the Middle East. The increasing desertification, lack of fresh water resources, diminution in crops, natural disasters and sea level rise, in a context of population growth, apart from possible inter-state conflicts, will impoverish many countries surrounding Europe and induce the implosion of political regimes and the increasing of environmentally-induced migration flows. All this will have many security implications, in particular for Europe[38]. Conflict prevention, "civilian" and military crisis management and contingency planning will become more important in a context of problems that can not be characterized as a simple matter of human security or soft security. The probability of failed states surrounding Europe is high in the medium term if the projections on climate change are finally realized.

The asymmetry with the implications of global warming and climate change for US regional security is clear.

4.5. Energy Security

For the European Union, energy dependence is a global challenge. There is concern about the EU's increasing energy dependence on outside countries, many of which are unstable.

In the report on the implementation of the European Security Strategy two questions were also emphasized:

- The need for a more unified energy market, with greater inter-connection.
- Greater diversification, of fuels, sources of supply, and transit routes[39].

Previously, in the 2006 Paper from the Commission and the High Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy to the European Council, two other questions were underlined:

- Some major producers and consumers use energy as a political lever.
- The effects on the internal EU market of external actors not playing by the same market rules because of not being subject to the same competitive pressures domestically[40].

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http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/remarks-president-morning-plenary-session-united-nations-climate-change-conference .
In parallel EPA declared carbon dioxide and five other compounds a public danger to public health and safety. The "endangerment" finding cleared the way for capping emissions from major sources such as coal power plants, as well as cars, under the Clean Air Act. The reaction of the Senate was strong and they will try to block this initiative.

[38] See for instance Marquina, Antonio (ed) (2010): *Global Warming and Climate Change. Prospects and policies in Asia and Europe*, Basingstoke; New York, Palgrave MacMillan, Chapter 11.

[39] "Providing Security in a Changing World", *op, cit.,* p.5.

In fact the European Union had acted on the fashionable belief since the nineties that energy is all an issue of the market and companies, not of states. Russia happily agreed with this ultraliberal approach and thus Russian state-owned companies simply bought the gas from Central Asia and dominated the supply, through control of pipelines and export routes from Russia and Central Asia. This lack of vision has permitted the desegregation of European companies and EU countries by Russia through bilateral deals. The EU was late and reactive in the face of the thrust of Russia´s policy of divide and rule, even attracting the European state companies. The result is the present chaos in the EU. The geopolitical power Russia can now project is immense[41].

The measures needed for correcting this situation are not yet implemented, given the strong division of the EU countries on the policies to be developed for dealing with Russia, and also the division of tasks among several EU Commissioners and the High Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy. The situation in the EU can be described as really chaotic.

In addition to this and given the competition for energy suppliers, some European countries have tried to court favour with countries in the Middle East that are unfriendly to the United States. This situation will also be aggravated in the future given the high dependence of the UE on outside sources, and the need for diversification to avoid increasingly scarce energy supplies being shipped to Asia.

The US has maintained a more consistent position regarding energy security. However the US national strategy of 2002 did not mention energy security and the US national strategy of 2006 only included a small paragraph on energy security, explaining that "many countries are too dependent upon foreign oil, which is often imported from unstable parts of the world".

What has differentiated the US position with regard to the EU position has been the role of the US government and its geopolitical approaches with respect to pipelines and energy supplies. This was clear in the case of the Caspian oil and gas and US rivalry with Russia. However the US did not pass any serious warning to the European allies on the suicidal policies they were implementing with regard to Russia. The main interest was twofold, of course the diversification from the Russian supplies, supporting the interests of the US energy companies, and avoiding the integration of Iranian gas reserves in the European Nabucco pipeline. In 2009 the US nominated Richard Morningstar as a special envoy for Eurasian energy to watch the situation in the region.

Apart from a strategic approach to energy, the US position has focused on:

- The economic consequences of energy imports.
- US vulnerability given that a large percentage of oil and gas is controlled by hostile or unstable regimes in the Middle East.

[40] "An External Policy to Serve Europe's Energy Interests", Paper from Commission/SG/HR for the European Council, *European Union* (EU), *Council of the European Union, S160/06,* Brussels, Belgium (15 June 2006), p 1, at http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/reports/90082.pdf .

[41] See in this regard Marquina Antonio (ed.) (2008) *Energy Security. Visions from Asia and Europe*, Basingstoke; New York, Palgrave MacMillan.

- The manipulation of oil and natural gas supplies by producers seeking political leverage.
- The increased competition for limited resources, most notably, oil.
- The vulnerability of the energy infrastructure to terrorist attack.

In order to manage these challenges the US is trying to break the dependence on oil, producing more energy at home, developing renewables, fuels, carbon capture, storage, and recycling technologies, promoting energy efficiency, reinforcing bilateral relations with key energy producers and improving multilateral cooperation.

The crucial differentiation between the US and UE is in geopolitical approaches. The main sources of European supplies are on its regional periphery, which is not the US case. Thus the geopolitical approaches of the US and Europe will tend to be heterogenous and in some cases contradictory given the incentives existing for a differentiation.

4.6. Regional Conflicts

The rationale for the inclusion of regional conflicts as global threats is clear in EU security strategy. Conflicts had an impact on European interests, directly or indirectly. In particular, violent or frozen conflicts, which persisted on European borders, threatened European regional stability. The experience of the years following the end of the cold war showed that conflict might lead to extremism, terrorism and state failure and it provided opportunities for organised crime. On the other hand it was estimated that regional insecurity could fuel the demand for WMD[42].

In this regard the approach of the US established in the US security strategy of 2006 was not very different. It stated that "Regional conflicts do not stay isolated for long and often spread or devolve into humanitarian tragedy or anarchy. Outside parties can exploit them to further other ends, much as al-Qaida exploited the civil war in Afghanistan. This means that even if the United States does not have a direct stake in a particular conflict, our interests are likely to be affected over time".[43]

The EU strategy for addressing this "global threat" has focused on development and measures to ensure better security. The rationale was that there cannot be sustainable development without peace and security, and without development and poverty eradication there will be no sustainable peace. Conflict prevention and post-conflict stabilization and reconstruction were emphasized by the EU[44]. The US for its part has included three levels of engagement: conflict prevention and resolution; conflict intervention; and post-conflict stabilization and reconstruction[45]. The EU has avoided conflict intervention.

[42] "A Secure Europe in a Better World",*op. cit.,* p. 4.
[43] "The National Security Strategy of the United States of America", *The White House* (March 2006), p.14, http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pdffiles/nss.pdf .
[44] "Providing Security in a Changing World", *op. cit.,* p.8.
[45] *Ibid.*, p.15.

4.7. Failed States and Rogue States

The term "failed state" is a debated term in international relations. There are several attempts to define the term.[46] I can accept the characterization presented by Susan E. Rice as "countries in which the central government does not exert effective control over, nor is it able to deliver vital services to significant parts of its own territory due to conflict, ineffective governance, or state collapse"[47].

The National Security of the US, in 2002, identified failed states as a source of threats to US national security[48] but did not offer any significant analysis or policies to counter the threat. Later, it was presented by USAID as a source of the most significant security threats: international terrorism and proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, an urgent matter for US aid, humanitarian assistance and development efforts, requiring close cooperation between US agencies and the non-profit sector[49].

For the European Security Strategy "Collapse of the State" was initially associated with organised crime or terrorism. Five years later terrorism was dropped. The Report on the Implementation of the European Security Strategy changed the approach stating that "State failure affects our security through crime, illegal immigration and, most recently, piracy"[50].

Failed States are considered an alarming phenomenon that undermines global governance, and adds to regional instability. In this regard, the European policies for confronting this source of threats emphasize development assistance and measures to ensure better security, including policies to address conflicts and regional instability.

The strategies of both the US and the EU are multi-dimensional. But they were not similar, taking into consideration the different approaches to terrorism in the US and EU.

With the new President Obama administration strategy regarding Afghanistan and the EU dropping terrorism as one of the consequences for security of failed States, the approaches might tend to be more homogeneous. They will try to treat the underlying as well as the immediate drivers of instability and state weakness. However, given the fact that there are thorny issues in these approaches, such as the question of intervention, the deployment of civilians and military forces over long periods of time and the enormous cost of the operations, the dropping of terrorism is understandable.

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[46] Justin,Logan and Christopher, Preble: "Fixing Failed States. A Cure Worse than the Desease?", *Harvard International Review*, vol. 29, no. 4 (Winter 2008), p. 1, at http://hir.harvard.edu/index.php?page=article&id=1710 .

[47] Susan E., Rice.: "The New National Security Strategy: Focus on Failed States", Brookings Institution, *Policy Brief,* no.116 (February 2003), p.2, at http://www.brookings.edu/comm/policybriefs/pb116.pdf .
Other approaches underline the difficulties for defining a failed state. See for instance Logan Justin and Preble, *op. cit.,* p. 62-66.

[48] "The National Security Strategy of the United States of America", *The White House* (September 2002), p.1, at http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/policy/national/nss-020920.pdf.
According to Susan E. Rice, the Bush administration showed some continuity with President Clinton's last National Security Strategy, issued in December 1999, which identified failed states as among the threats to U.S. "interests" not to national security. See Susan E., Rice, *op. cit.*

[49] "Aligning Diplomacy and Development Assistance", Strategic Plan, Fiscal Years 2004-2009,*U.S. Department of State and U.S. Agency for International Development*, at http://www.usaid.gov/policy/budget/state_usaid_strat_plan.pdf .

[50] "Providing Security in a Changing World", *op. cit.,* p.1.

The European Union does not deal with rogue States as the US does *in extenso* in the National Security Strategies of 2002 and 2006.

4.8. Cyber Attacks

The European Security Strategy did not mention cyber attacks as a global threat. However, five years later, the Report on the Implementation of the European Security Strategy mentioned Cyber Security, explaining that attacks against private or government IT systems in EU Member States have given a new dimension to the problem, already contemplated, of internet-based crime. It was necessary to consider the attacks as a potential new economic, political and military weapon. For dealing with this threat the EU demanded a comprehensive approach, the raising of awareness and to enhance international cooperation.

Five pillars were proposed to tackle these challenges in an action plan[51].

The problem is dispersion and lack of sufficient coordination in the European Union. The action plan was prepared by Viviane Reding, the European Union's Commissioner for Information Society and Media, rather than by Javier Solana or the Vice-President of the European Commission responsible for Justice, Freedom and Security[52].

In the US, cyber security has been considered a major administration priority during the Obama Presidency. During the Bush administration, no single agency was charged with ensuring government cyber security, but the NSA was the principal agency in cyber protection efforts, bypassing and sidelining the Department of Homeland Security. A bipartisan commission of computer security experts urged the President-elect Barack Obama to set up a powerful national cyber security coordinator reporting directly to the president.

In the first months of his presidency a review of US cyber security was made by a team led by Melissa Hathaway, a former Bush administration official who has been serving as the interim White House cyber security adviser. And the document, Cyber Space Policy Review, was published on the 29th of May 2009. The review team recommended a short-term and a mid-term action plan[53].

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[51] **1**.Preparedness and prevention: to ensure preparedness at all levels. **2**.Detection and response: to provide adequate early warning mechanisms. **3**.Mitigation and recovery: to reinforce EU defence mechanisms for CII. **4**.International cooperation: to promote EU priorities internationally. **5**.Criteria for the ICT sector: to support the implementation of the Directive on the Identification and Designation of European Critical Infrastructures.
Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions on Critical Information Infrastructure Protection, "Protecting Europe from large scale cyber-attacks and disruptions: enhancing preparedness, security and resilience", COM(2009) 149 final, Brussels, 30 March 2009.

[52] In the Communication *COM(2009) 149 final*, Brussels, Belgium (30 March, 2009), it was stated that the actions proposed "complement existing and prospective measures in the area of police and judicial cooperation to prevent, fight and prosecute criminal and terrorist activities targeting ICT infrastructures, as envisaged *inter alia* by the Council Framework Decision on attacks against information systems13 2005/222/JHA and its planned update,14 COM(2008) 712. This initiative takes into account NATO activities on common policy on cyber defence, i.e. the Cyber Defence Management Authority and the Cooperative Cyber Defence Centre of Excellence".

[53] "Cyber Space Policy Review, Assuring a Trusted and Resilient Information and Communications Infrastructure", *White House* (29 May 2009) at http://www.whitehouse.gov/assets/documents/Cyberspace_Policy_Review_final.pdf.

To coincide with the release of the findings of the comprehensive review, President Obama made a speech presenting the review[54]. But the nomination of the cyber security coordinator, in the person of Howard Schmidt, was made late, on the 22nd of December 2009.

Apparently the US and EU approaches are not substantially different. The main reason is that NATO's policy on cyber defence was approved in January 2008 and was endorsed by heads of state and government at the Bucharest summit in April 2008. It provides direction to NATO's civil and military bodies in order to ensure a common and coordinated approach to cyber defence and any response to cyber attacks. It also contains recommendations for individual NATO countries on the protection of their national systems[55].

However the new High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy will need to clarify her responsibilities in this matter.

5. Conclusion

After this presentation of the global challenges and risks as defined by the European Security strategy I can explain what are, in my view, the crucial points for improving collaboration between NATO and the EU.

The first question to be underlined is that the European Security Strategy does not focus on illegal migration flows, considered by NATO to be a very pressing problem and increasingly securitized in the EU Justice and Home Affairs meetings and documents with important external consequences[56].

The second is the difficulties in achieving a single policy in the EU. The distribution of responsibilities among the EU Commissioners, the High Representative of the Union for

[54] Barack Obama said his administration will pursue a comprehensive new approach to securing America's digital infrastructure and that he planned to: **1.** create a new office at the White House that will be led by the Cybersecurity Coordinator to coordinate interagency development of cyber security-related strategy and policy; he will be a member of the National Security Staff as well as the staff of the National Economic Council. The office should also include an official with a portfolio specifically dedicated to safeguarding the privacy and civil liberties of the American people. **2.** develop a new comprehensive strategy to secure America's information and communications networks. **3.** designate cyber security as one of his key management priorities and establish performance metrics. **4.** work with all the key players -- including state and local governments and the private sector -- to ensure an organized and unified response to future cyber incidents and to have plans and resources in place beforehand -- sharing information, issuing warnings and ensuring a coordinated response. **5.** collaborate with industry to find technology solutions that ensure our security and promote prosperity. **6.** continue to invest in the cutting-edge research and development necessary for the innovation and discovery needed to meet the digital challenges of our time. **7.** initiate a national campaign to promote cyber security awareness and digital literacy and a new commitment to education in math and science, and historic investments in science and research and development.
"Remarks by the President on Securing our Nation's Cyber Infrastructure", *White House* (29 May 2009), at http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/Remarks-by-the-President-on-Securing-Our-Nations-Cyber-Infrastructure .
The Cyber Space Policy Review also stressed the development of positions for an international cyber security policy framework and the strengthening of international partnerships to create initiatives that could address the full range of activities, policies, and opportunities associated with cyber security.

[55] "Defending against cyber attacks", *North Atlantic Treaty Alliance* (NATO), at http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_49193.htm.

[56] See for instance, Marquina Antonio (ed) (2008): *Flujos Migratorios Subsaharianos hacia Canarias-Madrid*, Madrid, UNISCI, in particular Introduction, chapter 4 and chapter 5.

Foreign Affairs and Security Policy and the EU States prevents the appearance of a single international agent with a consistent policy to manage these global problems. All this creates incentives for the US to deal bilaterally with the EU states.

Third, in none of the global challenges and threats presented in this article is the European Union a decisive actor in their management.

The EU pretension of leadership and of being a normative power in challenges like climate change has been shown to be an illusion. On the contrary in energy security issues neither leadership nor normative power can be projected by the Union. The EU is plunged into an authentically chaotic situation.

Fourth, the European Security Strategy considers that "none of the new threats is purely military; nor can any be tackled by purely military means. Each requires a mixture of instruments". The question is that hard power is in the hands of the EU states and the soft power is in the hands of the EU. Even the Petersberg tasks, included in the Lisbon treaty, are considered *soft security* by very significant European States. This limits very substantially the scope of the European Security Strategy.

Fifth, probably the most important question is the following one. Provided that the European Union has at its disposal a set of civil and military tools to face these global challenges and threats, even counting on the weakness of its expeditionary forces and the need for intergovernmental decision-making, apparently the EU, as a global player, is going to be the most adequate actor for dealing with these challenges and threats.

Here lies the problem. The principal questions for EU regional security that in principle constitute its priority, are managing the conflicts and possible conflicts on its periphery or relations with Russia. These topics surpass the civil and military capabilities of the EU. However, according to the European Security Strategy, where it can make an important contribution is in tackling global challenges and threats.

NATO as a political-military organization does not have the civilian instruments the EU has for dealing with all these global challenges and threats and in consequence can not deal properly with many global security issues. Military (and political) tools are important and crucial tools but are considered complementary measures in most of the global challenges presented, such as terrorism, WMD or organised crime. Even for regional conflicts and failed states, where the role of the military can become paramount, the approach tends to be multidimensional and the EU prefers to speak about conflict prevention, not conflict intervention as the US does.

This general approach can imply that all these threats and challenges being global are not a clear responsibility of NATO as a priority agent. But, given the importance of the regional conflicts affecting the European periphery and the weakness in the EU approach to them, NATO has to deal mainly with these regional defence problems. Thus NATO is condemned to be mainly a regional organization with some global roles.

This division of functions turns out to be a little bit aberrant for the US.

The reason for this apparent contradiction is, in the first place, the Washington treaty. NATO is defined in the treaty as a political and military organization.

To this, it is necessary to add the theoretical approaches underlying EU common foreign and security policy in this decade.

- A post-modern approach to security, where the competition among states and the reconfiguration of the international system with the raising of new global and regional players were not considered. These problems had become old fashioned and nineteenth century style questions.

- The emphasis on human security.

- A vision of the EU as a civil or normative power.

- Kantian and idealist approaches much nearer to the traditionally neutral European States than to the approaches of the "Old Europe" or the Eastern European Member States of the Union[57].

And finally, different EU and US approaches on how to deal with Russia, the Mediterranean and the Middle East.

I can say that important differences still exist between the European Union and the United States in perceptions, approaches, priorities, incentives and possibilities in regional security problems and in the instruments and tools to face global challenges and threats. The European Union has to define not only its values but in particular its interests and what are the necessary means to be developed for shaping, according to its values and interests, the international system that is in the process of creation.

NATO needs to clarify some of these apparent asymmetries in the Strategic Concept.

[57] See in this regard, Marquina Antonio: "La seguridad y defensa europea. Retos para la Presidencia española" in Marquina Antonio (ed) (2010*): La política Exterior de Seguridad y Defensa común de la Unión Europea,* Madrid, UNISCI, pp.157-169.

THE NEW NATO STRATEGIC CONCEPT: A VISION FROM SPAIN

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Abstract:
The paper begins with a description of the evolution of the NATO Strategic Concept (SC). Then, a two-fold analysis is made: firstly, the content of the presently in force 1999 Strategic Concept and the Comprehensive Political Guidance, and secondly, the position of Spain in relation with the NATO SC, both before and after joining the Alliance in 1982. Finally, the present process of developing a new Strategic Concept is studied, including an assessment of the inadequacies present in some elements of the 1999 SC and an estimation of alternative ways to address these elements in the new Strategic Concept, leading to some concrete conclusions.

Keywords: Strategic Concept, Comprehensive Political Guidance, Declaration on Allied Security, collective defence, article 5, crisis management, conflict prevention, partnership, comprehensive approach, enlargement, coalitions, Euro-Atlantic area.

Resumen:
El artículo comienza con una descripción de la evolución del Concepto Estratégico de la OTAN (CE). A continuación se realiza un doble análisis: Primero del contenido del Concepto Estratégico de 1999 y de la Guía Política General, ambos vigentes actualmente, y en segundo lugar de la posición de España en relación con el Concepto Estratégico de la OTAN, tanto antes como después de la incorporación a la Alianza en 1982. Finalmente se estudia el actual proceso de desarrollo de un nuevo Concepto Estratégico incluyendo una valoración de las insuficiencias que presentan algunos elementos del CE 1999 y una estimación de vías alternativas para tratar estos elementos en el nuevo Concepto Estratégico, llegándose a unas conclusiones concretas.

Palabras clave: *Concepto Estratégico, Guía Política General, Declaración sobre la Seguridad Aliada, defensa colectiva, artículo 5, gestión de crisis, prevención de conflictos, asociación, enfoque global, ampliación, coaliciones, área Euroatlántica.*

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1. Introduction

In 2008, at the Bucharest Summit, NATO's Heads of State and Government asked the Council in Permanent Session to prepare a "Declaration on Alliance Security", for adoption at the following Summit, as a first step for the development of a new Strategic Concept.

The Declaration was approved by the Heads of State and Government at the Strasbourg / Kehl Summit on the 4th of April 2009 and in it, the Secretary General (SECGEN) was tasked to *"convene and lead a broad-based group of qualified experts, who in close consultation with all Allies will lay the ground for the Secretary General to develop a new Strategic Concept and submit proposals for its implementation for approval at our next summit"*.

Former SECGEN Jaap de Hoop Scheffer initiated the work and designed a phased program including a series of seminars with wide participation of non-specialist people from media, NGOs, industries, etc. In fact, one of his last public interventions was to present the first of these seminars. It took place in Brussels on the 7th of July and led to some conclusions, among which we should select the following: the process should be transparent, inclusive and open. It should also be political, and not a public diplomacy or an academic exercise. This requires an appropriate balance between NATO and outside participation. And, finally, the Strategic Concept should keep its military planning dimension, which requires a senior military contribution throughout the entire process.

Immediately after SECGEN, Anders Fogh Rasmussen took office. He designated the group of 12 experts and made public a document establishing the roadmap for the drafting process of the new Strategic Concept.

The group of experts or eminent persons, chaired by former Secretary of State Madeleine Allbright, includes former ministers, high ranking officials, and personalities from industry, universities, etc, one of them being the Spanish Ambassador Fernando Perpiñá-Robert.

The road map consists of three phases: firstly, a reflection phase, including a series of four seminars to be developed during the second half of 2009 and the beginning of 2010; a second phase of consultations (consensus-building phase) with the NAC and Allied Capitals; and a third one for drafting and final negotiations of the New Strategic Concept, which will be presented for approval to the next Summit by the end of 2010.

Taking this program into consideration, it is easy to see that this is the right moment to present a vision from Spain on this new NATO Strategic Concept. But, before we go into this vision, we need to clarify some concepts and ideas on the nature of the Strategic Concept, the need to revise it, and also to review what has been done in former revisions of the Strategic Concept.

2. NATO Strategic Concept

2.1. Some Definitions and Previous Ideas

Let me begin with some ideas on collective action, coalitions and defence organizations.

Throughout history, nations have very frequently joined together to face common threats or to combat common enemies. These coalitions were always limited in time, as some of their members would quickly turn into enemies and vice versa. Three whole centuries of European history are full of these coalitions and confrontations which modelled the classical doctrine of "Equilibrium of Power".

A different and more advanced kind of defence agreement is materialized by defence organizations. These organizations are like permanent coalitions, in which their members agree to defend themselves collectively even if there is no immediate or permanent threat, or no definite enemy.

It may seem foolish to establish these permanent coalitions, but it is by no means neither foolish nor useless. On the contrary, it may be extremely efficient and cost-effective.

But working together in a highly efficient way requires a high degree of commonality both in materials (weapons, sensors, command and control systems, etc.) and in doctrine and procedures among member states. This is an enduring and progressive process that cannot be achieved in the short life span of a coalition created to confront a precise threat.

In addition, member states should necessarily define what they have decided to defend through a defence organization. And they need to envisage which could be their future threats, thus making it possible to prepare to confront them.

In the case of NATO we, the allies, want to defend our common values of democracy, freedom and the rule of law. And we have analyzed and agreed which are our present and foreseeable threats and risks. And we have also agreed how we are to counter these threats and risks, that is, our strategy.

The document which includes these agreements is the Strategic Concept. It is clear that the Strategic Concept should be revised when some of these agreed elements vary, as for instance when we decide to enlarge the set of elements to defend or when the threats evolve in a way that current arrangements are no longer useful.

This is not the first occasion on which NATO has revised this basic document, the reasons for the change not always being the same, as we will see in the next pages.

2.2. NATO Strategic Concepts

The original Atlantic Alliance was quite different from the present one. Article 9 of the Washington Treaty only establishes a North Atlantic Council (NAC) as the highest body *"to consider matters concerning the implementation of this Treaty"*. This Council *"shall set up such subsidiary bodies as may be necessary; in particular shall establish immediately a defence committee which shall recommend measures for the implementation of Articles 3 and 5"*.

Article 3 states that the Parties *will maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack"* and Article 5, surely the most widely cited, states that *"an armed attack against one or more of them* [the Parties] *in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all"*. These two articles establish NATO collective defence.

At that time, NATO had a single threat: A massive attack by the Soviet Union on Western Europe. NATO had to defend itself from such an attack, and the way to do so was to employ massively all available forces, including US nuclear power.

Throughout 1949, the Council[2] set up NATO's general organization. A new high-level body called the Defence Committee, composed of the Ministers of Defence, was created, as well as a Military Committee made up of the Chiefs of Defence Staff, along with a three-nation executive body called the Standing Group[3].

The first strategic document elaborated by the Standing Group was a draft of *"The Strategic Concept for the Defence of the North Atlantic Area"* which was finally approved by the NAC as DC 6/1, on 6 January 1950, in fact constituting the first NATO Strategic Concept (SC) approved by the North Atlantic Council (NAC).

DC 6/1 strategy was based on the co-ordination of efforts by NATO nations, given that no Military Structure was in place. Each nation should *"contribute in the most effective form, consistent with its situation, responsibilities and resources"*[4]. This contribution included US nuclear weapons.

Based on the recent experience of the beginning of the Korean War in June 1950, three months later, in September 1950, the creation of a NATO Integrated Command Structure was approved by the NAC. In 1952, Greece and Turkey joined the Alliance, and a council of Permanent Representatives as well as an International Secretariat headed by a Secretary General were established.

All these relevant changes needed to be reflected in the Strategic Concept, and DC 6/1 was modified. The Military Representatives developed a new text called MC 3/5, "The Strategic Concept for the defence of the North Atlantic area", which was approved by the NAC on 3 December 1952.

MC 3/5 strategy required an enormous force. This same year 1952, the NAC met in Lisbon and agreed to field almost 100 divisions within two years[5].

General Eisenhower took office as President of the United States early in 1953, just when the Korean War was coming to an end. Eisenhower pushed the US defence policy to the "New Look", which had a heavy reliance on the use of nuclear weapons with the aim of deterring war at minimum cost. The US strategic document NSC 162/2 in fact established that *"The major deterrent to aggression against Western Europe is the manifest determination of the United States to use its atomic capability and massive retaliatory power if the area is attacked"*[6].

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[2] At that moment, the Council was constituted only by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, there was not a Secretary General, and the Chairmanship was held in turn by the Parties according to alphabetical order in English language.

[3] *Pedlow, Gregory W., Chief Historical Office SHAPE (ed): "The evolution of NATO Strategy 1949-1969",* North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO*), in* http://www.nato.int/docu/stratdoc/eng/intro.pdf .

[4] Donelly, C. H.: "The Strategic Concept for the Defense of the North Atlantic Area", note by the Secretary for the North Atlantic Defene Committee, *North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), NATO Strategy Documents 1949 – 1969, DC 6/1* (01 December 1949), in http://www.nato.int/docu/stratdoc/eng/a491201a.pdf .

[5] "NATO'S Strategy of Flexible Response and the Twenty-First Century", *Global Security,* NATO document , CSC 1986, Strategic Issues, in http://www.globalsecurity.org/wmd/library/report/1986/LLE.htm .

[6] Pedlow, *op. cit*, p. XVII .

This change in US strategy provoked new NATO strategic studies, resulting in the document: *"The most effective pattern of NATO military strength for the next five years"* (MC 48), being the first official NATO document to discuss the use of nuclear weapons. Additional studies followed MC 48.

This study and the efforts made by some Allies, mainly the UK, to reduce defence expenditure, drove NATO to reconsider its strategy.

The result was a new Strategic Concept, MC 14/2 "Overall Strategic Concept for the Defence of the NATO area", which was issued on 23 May 1957.

This Concept was much more complex than both the previous DC 6/1 and MC 3/5. MC 14/2 called for accurate and complete intelligence to bring NATO's defensive posture to its maximum efficiency, analysed the probable nature of a future general war involving NATO (a total nuclear war), exposed threats to NATO security (asking for the need to take into account the dangers that might arise for NATO because of developments outside NATO's area), stated the strategic concept, and gave guidance to develop force planning. In summary, "massive retaliation" was the key element of NATO's new strategy. Under this policy, an aggression against any ally would automatically be followed by large-scale military retaliation, including nuclear weapons.

One remarkable decision in NATO's defence public diplomacy took place at the meeting of the Heads of State and Government held in Paris from 16 to 19 December 1957. In the final communiqué, the HoSG stated: *"...To this end, NATO has decided to establish stocks of nuclear warheads, which will be readily available for the defence of the Alliance in case of need. In view of the present Soviet policies in the field of new weapons, the Council has also decided that intermediate range ballistic missiles (IRBM) will have to be put at the disposal of the SACEUR."*

When Kennedy became the US President in 1961, and after the lessons learned from the Cuban Missile and the Second Berlin Crises, which were addressed without the recourse to nuclear weapons, the White House started to advocate a stronger non-nuclear posture and the need for a strategy of "flexible response", which meant deterrence at intercontinental and theatre levels, with a mix of both nuclear and conventional arms.

The US tried immediately to convince NATO Allies to adopt a similar strategy in NATO, but the response was not favourable. From the European side, a return to a scenario of conventional confrontation on European soil was difficult to accept.

The most belligerent country against this flexible response strategy was France. The situation became so difficult to maintain that, in March 1966, France decided to withdraw from the NATO Integrated Military Structure.

In view of this situation, the Council decided in 1966 to task a group of independent experts to elaborate a document to "study the future tasks which face the Alliance and its procedures for fulfilling them in order to strengthen the Alliance as a factor for durable peace". This document is known as The Harmel Report and was presented to the Council in December 1967. It is only four pages long but it sowed the seeds of the biggest change in NATO strategy up to that date. It added a second function for the Alliance in addition of the traditional one of "deter aggression and defend the territory of member countries", which was to "pursue the search for progress towards a more stable relationship in which the underlying

political issues can be solved". For the first time, a strictly military way of thinking is substituted by a political argument. In fact, the document states that "the ultimate political purpose of the Alliance is to achieve a just and lasting peaceful order in Europe accompanied by appropriate security guarantees".

The recommendations of the Harmel Report were taken into account in the new version of the NATO Strategic Concept, MC 14/3, which continued to be a classified military document.

NATO strategy followed very closely that of the US, as most of the elements were common. MC 14/3 "Overall Strategic Concept for the defence of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization area" was adopted by the Defence Planning Committee on 12 December 1967, and, finally, issued on 16 January 1968. The Defence Planning Committee became a body in charge of all defence matters, and consisted of the North Atlantic Council without France. NATO strategy was consistent with that of the US, and was known as "Flexible Response Strategy".

The new strategy allowed the Alliance to choose different options, nuclear or conventional, to face specific threats; one of the key differences from "massive retaliation" was that no automatic reaction was contemplated. This flexibility helped to make NATO's response to any threat or attack unpredictable for any possible aggressor.

MC 14/3 was unchanged as NATO strategy until the end of the Cold War having only slight innovations, the most important of which was the "forward presence" strategy developed in 1984. It was not a change in MC 14/3[7], but simply an adaptation to reduce the unbalance of conventional forces with respect to the USSR.

2.3. The End of the Cold War and the 1991 Strategic Concept (SC 91)

In May 1989, the Heads of State and Government met in Brussels and agreed that *"based on today's momentum of increased co-operation and tomorrow's common challenges, we seek to shape a new political order of peace in Europe"*. A few months later, in October 1989, the Berlin Wall was demolished.

At that moment, NATO strategy was the flexible response stated in 1967 at MC 14/3. It was necessary to react quickly, and at the London Summit in July 1990, the Allies decided to elaborate a new strategy: *"...NATO will prepare a new Allied military strategy moving away from "forward defence" where appropriate, towards a reduced forward presence and modifying "flexible response" to reflect a reduced reliance on nuclear weapons."*

[7] "NATO Military Strategy and Forces", *Global Security,* CSC 1985. Strategic Issues, in http://www.globalsecurity.org/wmd/library/report/1985/DRL.htm.
Last year NATO defense ministers adopted a new, high-tech strategy for the early 1990's called FOFA, for "follow-on forces attack." It envisions a heavy dependence on "smart" munitions still in a costly development program; long-range airborne radar, and target selection by computer. It also calls for attacks across the border into Eastern Europe. The goal of FOFA will be to prevent enemy "follow-on" forces from reaching the front line after an initial attack. FOFA will give the alliance an alternative to nuclear weapons by reducing its numerical disadvantage against the Warsaw Pact in tanks, artillery and men. General Rogers, NATO's Supreme Allied Commander, said: "We must let the Warsaw Pact know that if they initiate an attack, their forces will not enjoy sanctuary in their own territory".

In November 1990, NATO and the Warsaw Pact signed a non-aggression joint declaration. Eight months later, the Warsaw Pact was officially dissolved. Finally, on the 21st December 1991, the Soviet Union came to an end.

The new strategy was approved as the 1991 Strategic Concept. This Strategic Concept was a completely innovative one. For the first time it was an unclassified document. For the first time it went further than a military strategy. And for the first time it was not oriented exclusively to counter the Soviet Union.

The 1991 NATO Strategic Concept (SC 91) explicitly recognizes that *"the monolithic, massive, and potentially immediate threat which was the principal concern of the Alliance in its first forty years has disappeared"*. It also recognizes *"the historic changes that have occurred in Europe, which have led to the fulfilment of a number of objectives set out in the Harmel Report"*.

Thus, the *raison d'être* of the Alliance had been deflated. It is true that there was still much to do, namely to control *"both the completion of the planned withdrawal of Soviet military forces from Central and Eastern Europe and the full implementation by all parties of the 1990 CFE Treaty"*[8]. But a reversal of the process was not discarded. This is why the 1991 SC states that *"Soviet military capability and build-up potential, including its nuclear dimension, still constitute the most significant factor of which the Alliance has to take account"*.

In addition to this main focus, the 1991 SC describes other risks (not threats) mainly derived from instabilities that may arise in Eastern Europe, the Southern Mediterranean and the Middle East. There is also a reference to *"other risks of a wider nature, including proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, disruption of the flow of vital resources and actions of terrorism and sabotage"*.

From the analysis of the strategic context, SC 91 derives two conclusions: firstly, that the purpose of the security functions of the Alliance remains unchanged, and secondly that *"the changed environment offers new opportunities for the Alliance to frame its strategy within a broad approach to security"*.

And this is the point: The new NATO will develop a broader approach to security. But the elements described to implement this new approach are very limited: dialogue, co-operation and the maintenance of a collective defence capability. Dialogue and co-operation are specifically directed at Russia and other Eastern European nations and collective defence refers to *"military aggression directed against the Alliance"*. The paragraphs dedicated to crises management and conflict prevention describe in a very general way the need to co-ordinate appropriate measures *"from a range of political and other measures, including those in the military field"*. The comprehensive approach is described as the employment of both political and military means[9].

There is no intention to deploy NATO forces out of the Alliance's territory: *"The peacetime geographical distribution of forces will ensure a sufficient military presence throughout the territory of the Alliance, including where necessary forward deployment of*

[8] SC 91 para. 6.

[9] SC 91 para. 23: *The Alliance has always sought to achieve its objectives of safeguarding the security and territorial integrity of its members, and establishing a just and lasting peaceful order in Europe, through both political and military means. This comprehensive approach remains the basis of the Alliance's security policy.*

appropriate forces"[10]. However, an important mission is added: *"Allies could further be called upon to contribute to global stability and peace by providing forces for United Nations missions"*[11]. This new mission was for the first time executed in September 1992 when the NAC approved making Alliance resources available to support efforts of the UN, CSCE and EU to bring about peace in the Former Yugoslavia, including protection of humanitarian relief and support for the UN monitoring of heavy weapons.

From our present perspective, SC 91 made an accurate analysis of the new threats and risks but, looking almost exclusively to Eastern Europe, was unable to design the new tools required to cope with those new threats and risks in their whole extension.

New tools tailored for Central and East European countries were immediately developed. In December 1991 the first meeting of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC)[12] took place. In January 1994, the Heads of State and Government launched the fundamental initiative "Partnership for Peace" (PfP)[13] in Brussels, which later on came to be considered the most successful endeavour in NATO's history. It was the key element in providing security and stability in Central and Eastern Europe after the collapse of the Soviet empire.

2.4. The 1999 Strategic Concept (SC99)

After the recognition in 1996 that a European Security and Defence Initiative (ESDI) would be accommodated inside NATO, the creation of Combined Joint Task Forces (CJTF) in 1997, the first enlargement agreed in the Madrid Summit in 1998, the signing of the *"Founding Act on Mutual Relations, Cooperation and Security Between NATO and the Russian Federation"* the same year and NATO involvement in peace support operations in the Balkans, it was clear that a revision of different aspects of NATO strategy was needed.

SC 99 was approved by the Heads of State and Government at the Washington Summit which was convened the 23rd and 24th April 1999 on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the Alliance.

SC 99 states that the aim of the Alliance is *"to guarantee a pacific, just and lasting order in Europe"*, and adds *"As crisis and conflicts affecting the security of the Euroatlantic region could impede such a guarantee, NATO not only cares for the defence of its members but contributes to peace and stability in this region"*.

While SC 91 was limited to Europe, SC 99 refers to a much broader Euro-Atlantic region without establishing the limits of this area.

SC 99 NATO's security tasks are *security, consultations, deterrence and defence, crisis management and partnership*. The task of preserving the strategic balance within Europe, which was a permanent one during the Cold War and even in SC 91, has disappeared, but a new fundamental one has emerged: crisis management.

[10] SC 91 para. 45.b.
[11] SC 91 para. 41.
[12] NACC: A forum for consultations between NATO and non-NATO European countries, including initially 9 Central and Eastern European countries.
[13] PfP: All NACC partner countries and CSCE states capable and willing to participate, were invited.

The new risks identified in SC 91 required a deep change in order to make NATO useful. SC 99 refined their definition avoiding again the term "threat" and speaking only of risks and challenges. Risks include uncertainty and instability in the Euro-Atlantic area and its neighbourhood, and the possibility of regional crises around the Alliance's area which could affect to the security of the Alliance. Other challenges include nuclear powers out of the Alliance, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and the worldwide distribution of technologies able to be employed for weapons production. Finally, it identifies other risks of a more general character, in particular acts of terrorism, sabotage or organized crime, disturbances in the flow of vital resources and important uncontrolled movements of large numbers of people.

This last group constitutes what are now called "global threats" and has had a great influence in subsequent discrepancies among the Allies concerning the role of NATO in the present security scenario.

To cope with these risks and challenges, SC 99 develops a new strategy which includes two very important changes: The first one is the possibility of developing non-article 5 operations for crisis response. The second is the possibility of operating out of allied territory.

With regard to this last possibility, it is interesting to note that the whole text of SC 99 is full of expressions like *"the Euroatlantic area", "Europe and their surrounding countries",* etc, and at any moment the requirement or even the possibility of worldwide action is established. All references to out-of-area activities seem to be limited to that undefined Euro-Atlantic area.

The SC 99 goes much further than simply establishing these new possibilities of non-article 5 and out-of-area operations. It develops in great detail what is required for this to become a reality. For instance, speaking of force posture it is established that the Alliance, in order to be able to comply with all its missions *"will dispose of essential operating capabilities such an efficient intervention potential, the faculty of deployment and mobility, capacity of survival of forces and infrastructure, and sustainability, which includes logistics and forces rotation"*, or *"Alliance forces and infrastructures should be protected against terrorist attacks"*.

Concerning the so-called "comprehensive approach", SC 99 states that "*the Alliance is committed to a broad approach to security, which recognises the importance of political, economic, social and environmental factors in addition to the indispensable defence dimension"*. To develop this broad approach to security, NATO should count on other countries and organizations[14]. This cooperation with others is specifically indicated as the way to deal with crisis management: "*In pursuit of its policy of preserving peace, preventing war, and enhancing security and stability and as set out in the fundamental security tasks, NATO will seek, in cooperation with other organisations, to prevent conflict, or, should a crisis arise, to contribute to its effective management, consistent with international law, including*

[14] SC 99 para 25: *This broad approach forms the basis for the Alliance to accomplish its fundamental security tasks effectively, and its increasing effort to develop effective cooperation with other European and Euro-Atlantic organisations as well as the United Nations.*
SC 99 para 26: *The Alliance seeks to preserve peace and to reinforce Euro-Atlantic security and stability by: [...] the continued pursuit of partnership, cooperation, and dialogue with other nations as part of its co-operative approach to Euro-Atlantic security, including in the field of arms control and disarmament.*

through the possibility of conducting non-Article 5 crisis response operations"[15]. There is no reference in the whole text to civilian capabilities in NATO.

The importance of partnerships in SC 99 is so fundamental that it is included as one of the NATO fundamental tasks[16]. To implement this task, it does not only refer to PfP and the Mediterranean Dialogue, but indicates the intention to establish a partnership with all democratic Euro-Atlantic partners[17].

2.5. The Comprehensive Political Guidance (CPG)

The SC 99 had introduced very important and far reaching concepts and ideas. Issues like the political role of the Alliance, its relationships with other organizations, especially the EU, and its role in the International Community were at the centre of the debates announcing new changes.

However, the real trigger of the changes was the unexpected 9-11 terrorist attacks in Washington and New York. Later on, Casablanca, Madrid, London, Casablanca, Bali, Mumbai and Islamabad confirmed the need for changes.

But not only terrorism had to be considered a threat to the Alliance, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery was also of great concern.

However, the Alliance decided to maintain the Strategic Concept 99 as it was, taking account of the risk of confronting such different positions among the Allies as to impede the approval of a new Concept, with the consequence of an undesirable loss of credibility.

Looking for a solution, a seminar was held in Riga to analyze possible ways of acting, and the idea of a new document called Comprehensive Political Guidance (CPG) was launched. Finally, at the Istanbul Summit in 2004, NATO's Heads of State and Government agreed to mandate the Council in Permanent Session to elaborate the CPG. This document should reflect, on the one hand, a method to co-ordinate the different planning processes in NATO and, on the other, to introduce new complementary or explanatory strategic elements to the Strategic Concept.

The CPG was finally endorsed by the Heads of State and Government in Riga in November 2006. It reaffirms the validity of the evolving security environment described in SC 99. It identifies terrorism and the spread of weapons of mass destruction as the main threats, and instability due to regional crises and failed states, availability of sophisticated conventional weaponry, the possibility of misuse of modern emerging technologies and disruption of the flow of vital resources, as the main risks. The most dangerous mix of these threats and risks is the one posed by terrorists using weapons of mass destruction.

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[15] SC 99 para 31.

[16] SC 99 para 10: "*Partnership: To promote wide-ranging partnership, cooperation, and dialogue with other countries in the Euro-Atlantic area, with the aim of increasing transparency, mutual confidence and the capacity for joint action with the Alliance*".

[17] SC 99 para 33: *"Through its active pursuit of partnership, cooperation, and dialogue, the Alliance is a positive force in promoting security and stability throughout the Euro-Atlantic area. Through outreach and openness, the Alliance seeks to preserve peace, support and promote democracy, contribute to prosperity and progress, and foster genuine partnership with and among all democratic Euro-Atlantic countries. This aims at enhancing the security of all, excludes nobody, and helps to overcome divisions and disagreements that could lead to instability and conflict".*

It is interesting to note that in both 1991 and 1999 SCs, the term "threat" had been avoided, stating only "challenges and risks". The CPG sensibly recovers the reference to threats, which are in the foundation of collective defence.

It is also important to note that there is no indication of the geographical area in which NATO is expected to operate. There is not a single reference to the Euro-Atlantic area. On the contrary, it is stated that *"the Alliance must have the capability to launch and sustain concurrent major joint operations and smaller operations for collective defence and crisis response on and beyond Alliance territory, on its periphery, and at strategic distance"*. And even *"defence against terrorism and the ability to respond to challenges from wherever they may come have assumed and will retain an increased importance"*.

To make it possible, NATO *"requires forces that are structured, equipped, manned and trained for expeditionary operations"* and *"sufficient fully deployable and sustainable land forces, and appropriate air and maritime components"*.

The spectrum of missions has also been increased, now including *"the ability to support security sector reform, including demobilisation, disarmament and reintegration, and to bring military support, within available means and capabilities, to humanitarian relief operations"*. We can read also that *"Experience has shown the increasing significance of stabilisation operations and of military support to post-conflict reconstruction efforts"*.

This continuous trend to expand both the area and the nature of operations to be carried out by NATO is the logical result of the process followed to find a sound basis for NATO, beyond collective defence. The immediate post-Cold War years were dedicated to stabilize Central and Eastern Europe. But after the splendid success of PfP and the beginning of enlargement, this was not enough. And the response was first to support UN peace support operations and, subsequently, to participate in crisis response operations.

The problem is that some NATO Allies have neither the will nor the means to cope with these enormous new challenges. The Allies' cohesion comes directly from the feeling of a common threat and the decision to cope with it collectively. Wider risks are assessed in very different ways by different Allies, sometimes in completely different ways. This situation has become more difficult after the successive enlargements.

With respect to the means, military capabilities required to operate "at strategic distances" are disproportionately expensive, and smaller countries are in a difficult position to dedicate their limited budget to their development, thus resulting, as expected, in a higher involvement of the bigger powers in those operations at strategic distances.

Civilian capabilities have followed a different track. Lessons learned from previous crises response operations, and especially from Afghanistan, have led to the development of the concept called "comprehensive approach". The CPG incorporates this concept when it admits that peace, security, and development are more interconnected than ever. But specifically it indicates that *"While NATO has no requirement to develop capabilities strictly for civilian purposes, it needs to improve its practical cooperation, taking into account existing arrangements, with partners, relevant international organisations and, as appropriate, non-governmental organisations in order to collaborate more effectively in planning and conducting operations"*.

Consequently, close cooperation and coordination among International Organizations in crisis prevention and management is needed. Among these organizations, the United Nations and the European Union occupy the most relevant places. In particular, "*the European Union, which is able to mobilise a wide range of military and civilian instruments, is assuming a growing role in support of international stability"*.

The CPG establishes that NATO should have *"the ability and flexibility to conduct operations in circumstances where the various efforts of several authorities, institutions and nations need to be coordinated in a comprehensive manner to achieve the desired results, and where these various actors may be undertaking combat, stabilisation, reconstruction, reconciliation and humanitarian activities simultaneously"*.

2.6. The Bucharest Summit 2008 and the Declaration on Alliance Security

After the release of the CPG, the problems with the availability of key capabilities in operations, especially in Afghanistan, and in the rotations of the NRF[18], began to grow. In fact, the NRF lost its full operational capability in July 2007. Continuous calls from ISAF Commanders fell on deaf ears. It was progressively clear that in the origin of these shortages there was something fundamental, such as the different vision of the Allies on the role of the Alliance.

This situation led to the forgetting of the concerns to accomplish a revision of the Strategic Concept that ended up with the CPG in 2006, and in April 2006 the Heads of State and Government agreed to initiate this revision. The final Communiqué of the Summit indicates *"The Summit will provide an opportunity to further articulate and strengthen the Alliance's vision of its role in meeting the evolving challenges of the 21st century and maintaining the ability to perform the full range of its missions, collectively defending our security at home and contributing to stability abroad. Accordingly, we request the Council in Permanent Session to prepare a Declaration on Alliance Security for adoption at the Summit to further set the scene for this important task"*.

In compliance with this mandate, the Declaration on Alliance Security was issued at the following Summit, which took place in Strasbourg and Kehl in April 2009.

The Declaration is a very short document, scarcely two pages long, which insists on the increasingly global nature of new threats, such as terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, cyber attacks, energy security, climate change, as well as instability emanating from fragile and failed states, concluding that *"our security is increasingly tied to that of other regions"*.

To confront this situation, the Declaration requires that *"we will improve our ability to meet the security challenges we face [...], emerge at strategic distance or closer to home"*, so that *"we can respond quickly and effectively, wherever needed, as new crises emerge"*.

Additionally, the Declaration refers to the strengthening of the *"cooperation with other international actors [...] in order to improve our ability to deliver a comprehensive approach"*. Among these other actors it is necessary to single out the European Union, given

[18] NATO Response Force: Joint Combined Reaction force created in the Prague Summit in 2002. The NRF is a high availability, technologically advanced, flexible, deployable, interoperable and sustainable force, able to be used as an Initial Entry Force and also as a catalyst for Allied capabilities.

that *"we are determined to ensure that the NATO-EU relationship is a truly functioning strategic partnership"*.

But the most important part of the Declaration is its last paragraph, in which the Heads of State and Government *"task the Secretary General to convene and lead a broad-based group of qualified experts, who in close consultation with all Allies will lay the ground for the Secretary General to develop a new Strategic Concept and submit proposals for its implementation for approval at our next summit"*.

2.7. The 2010 Strategic Concept

The Secretary General established the three-phase program described in the Introduction. The first two seminars have already taken place in Luxembourg on October the 16th and in Brdo (Slovenia) on November the 13th.

In Luxembourg, the seminar's participants discussed the changing security environment, NATO's core tasks, the Alliance's political role and its strategy in the 21st century.

Among the main results we may highlight[19] that NATO is a collective defence arrangement involved in cooperative security activities and a values-based political-military alliance. The most likely future threats to member states are hybrid and asymmetrical, rather than classical armed attack. Geopolitics is back. Article 5 remains at the core. There is a need to preserve a strong link between Article 5 and non-Article 5 tasks.

Concerning tasks, the seminar concluded that NATO's core purpose remains the defence of its members. Other tasks are likely to include: stabilization of weak and fragile states; prevention of genocide; strengthening governance and stability along NATO's periphery; mitigating the effects of natural or man-made disasters; combating piracy; and safeguarding energy flows. To deal with these challenges, the Alliance needs to develop partnerships and cooperative security arrangements.

In Brdo, discussions centered on five points: lessons of current operations and their implications for future strategy; dealing with evolving threats; facing the Arc of instability; NATO spectrum for engagement; and new steps for a comprehensive approach.

The need for a comprehensive approach in crisis response operations was highlighted. The possibility of acting against new threats like terrorism or piracy when such threats are at an embryonic stage was discussed. There was broad agreement that NATO should pursue a more active engagement in the Middle East. Several speakers said that Allies have yet to develop the full potential of the Mediterranean Dialogue and the Istanbul Cooperation Initiative. Concerning NATO relations with other organizations, it was considered that NATO will need to accept limits to its vision and that the European Security and Defence Policy after the Lisbon Treaty has become a major element to consider.

In addition to the work of the Secretary General and the Experts Group, many other organisms and institutions are working on NATO strategy.

[19] Highlights from the first Strategic Concept seminar in Luxembourg, accessed from *http:*//www.andinia.com/.../highlights-from-the-first-strategic-conc .

Firstly we should note the important report by the Allied Command Transformation (SACT) "The Multiple Futures Project", issued in April 2009[20]. It describes four plausible worlds in 2030 which provide common grounds for an analysis of the risks and vulnerabilities that will potentially endanger Alliance populations, territorial integrity, values and ideas. The analysis is directed at four broad insights centred on the evolving nature of the threat, the need to act outside NATO's traditional areas of engagement, the available advanced technology and the improvement of communications with international partners and populations. The security and military implications derived from these insights form the basis for a set of recommendations grouped in seven broad focus areas: Adapting to the demands of hybrid threats, operating with others and building institutions, counter proliferation, expeditionary and combat capability in austere environments, strategic communications and winning the battle of the narrative and organizational and force development issues.

The UK Parliament published, in March 2008, "The future of NATO and European defense"[21]. In this report we can read: *"Given the global nature of the threats facing the Allies, there is no alternative to NATO playing a global role. Its willingness to act to counter threats to its members wherever they arise is fundamental to the Alliance's continuing relevance. If NATO limits itself to a regional role, it risks becoming marginalized. NATO's willingness to fulfill a global role is critical to the continued support of the United States. Without US support, NATO has no future. But US support depends on NATO becoming more capable, deployable and flexible and on the European allies contributing more".*

In the US, a "NATO Compact for the 21st century" has been developed by some universities and think tanks[22]. It concludes that *"To succeed in this new world, Europeans and Americans must define their partnership in terms of common security rather than just in common defence, at home and away. This will require the Alliance to stretch. Depending on the contingency at hand NATO may be called to play the leading role, be a supporting actor or simply join a broader ensemble. Even so, NATO alone –no matter how resilient- simply cannot stretch far enough to tackle the full range of challenges facing the Euro-Atlantic community. It must also be able to connect and work better with others, whether they are nations or international, governmental or non-governmental organizations. And, if NATO is to both stretch and connect, it will need to generate better expeditionary capabilities and change the way it does business".*

The Rand Corporation report "Revitalizing the Transatlantic Security Partnership"[23] proposes measures to be applied in present conflicts such as Afghanistan, Iran, etc, and

[20] "The Multiple Futures Project – Navigating Towards 2030, Findings and Recommendations", *North Atlantic Treaty Organisation* (NATO) (April 2009), in http://www.act.nato.int/media/Multiple_Futures/20090503_MFP_finalrep.pdf . It was developed by a multi-national, cross-functional team comprising military and civilian staff from HQ SACT to lead the exploration of the question "What are the future threats and challenges that could pose risk to the interests, values and populations of the Alliance?".

[21] House of Commons Defence Committee, Ninth Report of session 2007-08, ordered by the House of Commons.

[22] Hamilton, Daniel; Barry, Charles; Binnedijk, Hans; Flanagan, Stephen; Smith, Julianne and Townsend, James "NATO Compact for the 21st Century", *Atlantic Council of the United States, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Center for Technology and National Security Policy, National Defence University, Center for Transatlantic Relations, and Johns Hopkins University (SAIS: School of Advanced International Studies),* February 2009; with the support of the, in http://transatlantic.sais-jhu.edu/bin/i/y/nato_reportfinal.pdf .

[23] Larrabee, F. Stephen and Lindley-French, Julian: "Revitalizing the Transatlantic Security Partnership, An Agenda for Action", RAND Corporation, *A Venusberg Group and Rand Corporation project* (5 December 2008), in http://www.rand.org/pubs/reprints/RP1382 .

addresses some important strategic issues such as the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, terrorism, enlargement or energy security. In the chapter devoted to the reform of international institutions it states that *"The Alliance must forge a New Strategic Concept aimed at modernizing the strategic defense architecture of the Euro-Atlantic community so that an effective layered defense can be established against all threats to territorial integrity"*.

The main findings of the Wilton Park Conference WP952[24], are summarized in its report as follows: *"A new 'Harmel report' is needed, based on the Helsinki principles; NATO transformation has not worked well (failure of members to adapt); Afghanistan requires a Dayton-style agreement involving its neighbours; Europeans will pay a higher price to keep the US engaged in Europe; France's reintegration in NATO is good news; NATO's comprehensive approach is proving ineffective in practice; harmonize NATO's Strategic Concept with the EU Security Strategy; demographics will sharply reduce future available military manpower; and most NATO members need to spend more and better in defence."*

In April 2009, a Citizens Declaration of Alliance Security was launched at a "Shadow NATO Summit"[25] organized in conjunction with the 60th anniversary NATO Summit held in Strasbourg and Kehl. The Declaration includes a set of recommendations to be considered in the new Strategic Concept, which are to develop a wider and more inclusive network of partners, to explore the principles of 'Non-Offensive Defence', parliamentary accountability within NATO, to use force only when it is authorized by the UN Security Council or in self defence, to uphold the highest standards of international law, to develop a comprehensive approach to genocide prevention, etc.

Finally, we should make reference to the numerous documents issued by different Allies on the new Strategic Concept or on some of their specific elements that they consider necessary to include. These documents address all aspects of the Strategic Concepts, from the evolving strategic environment, through the nature and the core tasks of the Alliance, the meaning of Article 5 and the transatlantic link, to enlargement, internal reforms, etc., and are being considered by the Group of Experts and the North Atlantic Council.

3. Spain and NATO Strategic Concept

3.1. The Previous Years

After the Spanish Civil War in 1939, General Franco established a political regime similar to those of Germany and Italy. However, Spain did not participate in WWII. Franco limited himself to sending a division to fight beside the Germans on the Russian front. Once the war finished, the non-democratic Government of Spain became economically and politically isolated. Western countries withdrew their ambassadors from Madrid in 1951 while the Marshall Plan began to help the reconstruction of the rest of Europe.

[24] "NATO at 60: Towards a new Strategic Concept", *Wilson Park,* (15-17 January 2009), in http://www.wiltonpark.org.uk/highlights/viewstory.aspk?url=/.

[25] Davis, Ian (ed.): "The Shadow NATO Summit: Options for NATO – pressing the reset button on the Strategic Concept", *The British American Security Information Council (BASIC), Bertelsmann Stiftung, International Security Information Service (ISIS) Europe and NATO Watch*, Brussels (31 March - 1 April 2009) in http://www.basicint.org/pubs/natoshadow.pdf .

At the same time, the United States had launched NATO and was building a ring of US bases all around the USSR to deploy its nuclear weapons and the vectors to launch them: Polaris submarines and B-29 strategic bombers with their logistic support.

Spain was selected by US analysts as a superb location for these bases in Europe, with an almost permanent capacity for air operations due to her excellent climate.

Cold War strategy was the US top priority and as a consequence, in 1953, the United States and Spain established a set of Agreements on Defence Cooperation, which allowed the US to use a naval-air base and three other air bases in Spain.

From the Spanish side, it meant the end of the isolation and the beginning of the reconstruction of an absolutely ruined country.

The results were so good, that the following year Spain was admitted in the United Nations Organization, thus accepting the Franco regime, which finally became accepted by the international community.

If Western countries were preparing to contain a possible USSR invasion, it was also a central preoccupation for the Government of Spain. The possibility of a Soviet attack on Spain was seen by its Government as a real threat. Spain could not contain such a threat individually, so an alliance was necessary and urgent.

The Agreements with the United States never contained a clause on mutual defence in case of an attack, which Franco tried again and again to obtain in every revision of the Agreements.

As this was demonstrably unachievable, an attempt was made to get US support to join NATO. This second approach was also a failure.

Including Spain in a collective defence system was not possible on a bilateral basis with the US, as Franco did not wish it, nor on a multilateral basis through NATO, which no one desired, so it was necessary to delay the solution until the death of Franco in 1975.

3.2. NATO Membership

Beginning in 1975, the transition to democracy was carried out in Spain in an incredibly ordered and rapid manner.

After a new Constitution was proclaimed in November 1978, one of the first organic laws approved was the National Defence Constitutional Law, in July 1980. There was no mention of collective defence, of the United Nations, of peace support operations or even of security in general. It was entirely devoted to national defence, including territorial integrity, protection of the population and defence of national interests, by strictly national means.

In 1982, the right wing and centre parties considered that the moment had come to join NATO and address the common defence issue. On the contrary, left wing parties were against this participation and organized a strong campaign with this objective. The UCD Government[26] initiated negotiations with NATO in 1979, and on 30 May 1982, a few months

[26] UCD: Democratic Center Union was a coalition of right and center parties.

before the general elections, Spain became the 16th member of the Alliance and sent a Permanent Representative and a Military Representative to Brussels.

As expected, in February 1982 the Socialist Party won the elections and, immediately, froze the integration process.

It was necessary to wait until 1986 for a reconsideration of this anomalous situation. Spain had joined the European Union the 1st of January that year, and the Government organized a referendum on the permanence of Spain in NATO on 24th March.

The referendum proposed staying in the Alliance with some conditions, among which was the non-participation in the Integrated Military Structure and the declaration of Spain as a non-nuclear country.

One of the reasons for including this non-participation condition was the existence of a NATO Command in Gibraltar. The political position of the Spanish Government with respect to this British colony, made it difficult to put Spanish forces under this Command. Another important reason was that Spain was not to be the only Ally outside of the Integrated Military Structure. France had abandoned this Structure in 1966 while maintaining its political and military influence in the Alliance.

The referendum was won and the integration process was restarted, but it was necessary to negotiate a set of six Agreements between the Supreme Allied Commanders and Spain to organize the participation of Spanish forces in NATO operations without participation in the Integrated Military Structure[27]. These Agreements provided for some responsibilities for Spanish Commanders in NATO operations in and around Spanish territory.

In 1998, a full revision of the Integrated Military Structure, the Long Term Study, was developed. The fourth level of Command disappeared, and with it, the Gibraltar Command. This was the moment to raise the issue of full integration.

After a short parliamentary discussion, full participation in the Integrated Military Structure was approved[28] and it was effective on 1 January 1999, at the same time as the new Command Structure.

This was the end of the peculiar Spanish participation in the Alliance.

3.3. Spanish Defence Policy and NATO

The same year the Constitutional Act on National Defence was approved, 1980, the Prime Minister promulgated a policy document called the National Defence Directive (NDD). These two documents comprised the basic principles, the organization and the strategy for Spanish defence.

The evolution of the situation obliged the revision of the National Defence Policy several times. These revisions were done in 1984[29], in 1986 after the referendum on NATO

[27] Air Defense of Spanish Territory and Adjacent Areas, and Air and Naval Operations in Eastern Atlantic, both signed 21 May 1990, Air and Naval Operations in Western Mediterranean 22 Mar 1991, Preservation of the Integrity of the Spanish Territory 5 Apr 1991, Use of the Spanish Territory and Installations for Transit and Support as Logistic Base 1992 and Defense and Control of the Straight of Gibraltar 1992.

[28] The Spanish Congress authorized the Government to negotiate the full participation of Spain in the renewed Atlantic Alliance on 14 Nov 1996 with 293 votes in favor, 23 against and 4 abstentions.

and integration into the European Economic Community, in 1992 after the creation of the European Union in Maastricht, in 1996 with the entry into government of the Popular Party, in 2000 with the new legislative period, in 2004 with the new Socialist Government and finally in 2008 with the new legislative period.

In NDD 1984, in spite of our NATO membership since 1982, there is no reference to common defence, and the only reference to a multinational activity is an "action" that prescribes the definition of the model of commitment that Spain should attain with respect to security in the Western World, to which we are able to contribute in accordance with our objectives.

After the referendum held on March 1986, which resulted in Spain staying in NATO, a new NDD was issued in October. NDD 86 ranges much wider than the previous ones, develops detailed directions to negotiate Spanish participation in NATO outside the Integrated Military Structure, and depicts a two-fold strategy concerning both shared and non-shared threats, the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact being the origin of the shared threat. All other non-shared threats should be countered by national means only

There was no revision of the National Defence Policy immediately after the end of the Cold War in 1989, and the 1992 document did not include any change with respect to NATO. It simply stated that Spain will continue *"its participation in the Atlantic Alliance, in accordance with her model, in its adaptation to the new circumstances"*.

Spain went on with its "Spanish Model" based on the six Coordination Agreements, two of them still in the process of negotiation, and not much attention was paid to the new NATO Strategic Concept approved in November 1991.

The 1996 National Defence Directive, the first one of the Popular Party Government, was a very generic document, four pages long only. It establishes as one of its basic objectives *"to consolidate the presence of Spain in the international security and defence organizations"*. The main direction to implement this objective in relation with NATO is that *"The contribution to collective defence inside the Atlantic Alliance will include the full participation in its decision bodies, it will be balanced with that of the other Allies in the Staffs and the Command Structure and proportional to the national possibilities in the forces structures"*. The negotiations began immediately and the 1st of January 1999, in conjunction with the new Command Structure coming into operation, Spain began to fully participate in it.

Again in 2000, after full entry into the NATO Integrated Military Structure, the NDD was revised, and for the first time it indicates that the basic lines for the defence policy included in the document refer only to the current legislative period. In its three pages, it totally assumes membership to multinational security and defence organizations. It establishes three basic lines for Spanish defence policy. The first two are devoted to the defence of Spain and to the contribution to peace support and crisis management operations. In both cases it should be done exclusively in a collective way[30]. The distinction between shared and non-shared threats has completely disappeared.

[29] The same year, the National Defence Act was also revised and the figure of the Chief of Defence Staff was established for the first time.

[30] Priority objectives: 1) to guarantee the security and defence of Spain and of the Spaniards in the frame of shared security and common defence with our partners and allies. 2) to contribute to humanitarian aid missions and peace support and crisis response operations carried out by the European and international organizations to

In December 2004, the new Socialist Government issued a new NDD. It is a longer document (9 pages) which recovers the duality between the maintenance of an autonomous defence capability and a simultaneous participation in collective defence and shared security. Concerning the Alliance, it states that Spain should *"actively participate in the initiatives of an enlarged and transformed NATO"*; one of the main lines of action being *"The assumption, jointly with our partners and allies, of our compromises in the fields of shared security and collective defence"*.

In December 2008, a new and still longer (14 pages) NDD was approved and remains today in force. It maintains exactly the same philosophy as NDD 04 in relation to NATO.

3.4. Spain and the 1999 Strategic Concept

When the first draft of SC 99 was issued in September 1998, Spain was finalizing the process of integration into the NATO Military Structure, and full participation in all NATO issues, in accordance with the current National Defence Directive. So the complete involvement of Spain in the drafting of SC 99, in contrast with the indifference observed in 1991, is not surprising.

The Spanish position could be summarized in the convenience of disposing of a UN Security Council Resolution to launch non-Art 5 operations, the acceptance of the "new missions", especially Peace Support Operations, with two limitations (a functional one to avoid making the Alliance the only instrument to confront the risks, and a geographical one to limit the out-of-area operations to the Euro-Atlantic Area and its surroundings), the importance of Cooperation in the Mediterranean and the consideration of the Mediterranean Dialogue as an element of the European Security architecture, the limitation of the emphasis on non-proliferation (there are other organizations dealing specifically with this issue), the need to accept that ESDI could be developed also outside NATO, and the functional definition of threats, avoiding references to concrete countries.

4. Spain and the 2010 Strategic Concept. A Personal Vision

When in the Prague Summit, the Heads of State and Government discussed the need to revise the Strategic Concept, Spain was ready to analyze the implications of this revision for both the Alliance and Spain, and to actively participate in all and every aspect of the discussions.

A mixed Foreign Affairs/Defence Working Group was established to deal with all aspects of the new Strategic Concept, a document on the Spanish Position was developed and a Spanish diplomat was selected as one of the members of the Experts Group which will prepare the Report to the Secretary General.

But the ideas that follow, are not those developed in this Working Group, but my personal vision.

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which Spain is a member... 3) to promote the conscience of national defence in Spanish society through defence culture.

4.1. NATO Security Tasks

It should not be forgotten that the main reason for the Allies to be members of NATO is to ensure their national defence. It is easier, better and cheaper to afford this defence in a collective way than by national means only, which in most cases would prove impossible. And this is the core of the Washington Treaty and what ensures the cohesion of the Allies.

The Washington Treaty addresses common defence only inside the NATO area, as defined in Article 6[31]. SC 99 considers that crises in and around the Euro-Atlantic area could spill over into neighbouring countries, including NATO countries, thus affecting the security of the Allies, and even considers other risks of a wider nature, including acts of terrorism, sabotage and organised crime, and the disruption of the flow of vital resources. This reasoning is what justifies the inclusion of crisis response out-of-area operations as a fundamental security task of the Alliance[32]. It seems clear that these operations should simply be a way to prevent subsequent Article-5 situations to occur. "Conflict prevention" and "crisis management including crisis response operations", as stated in SC 99, should thus be simply considered as an extension of collective defence. But if there is no expectation or even possibility that the crisis could evolve into an armed attack on the NATO area, the cohesion provided by the Washington Treaty is notably diminished, being Article 7 of the Treaty insufficient for this purpose[33]. Logically, measures taken by NATO for conflict prevention and crisis management out of the NATO area (article 6 of the Washington Treaty) should have the support of a United Nations Security Council Resolution if they imply the deployment of military forces.

It is not clear that NATO should support the United Nations in peace support operations world-wide. This should only be accepted if clear political support and an effective provision of forces and capabilities by the Allies ensure full coverage of the military requirements in the corresponding force generation conferences. In other cases, a coalition including the interested Allies should instead be considered. It is necessary to avoid any intention of involving NATO as a whole in operations different from the described "extended collective defence" although convenient to implement the national strategy of some Allies. We should avoid the controlled ambiguity in the use of the word "security" in SC 99. If we persist in this practice in SC 2010, we will not solve the present problems, and it will have been better to have issued a new Comprehensive Political Guidance, maintaining the Strategic Concept unchanged, as it was made in 2006.

One way of avoiding ambiguities and clarifying concepts is to reduce emphasis on a very military concept, such as *deterrence,* and replace it with a more "comprehensive" or "civil-military" term, such as *conflict prevention*. The fundamental tasks of the Alliance should be conflict prevention, crisis management and collective defence, in this order. All three of them have the same purpose of ensuring the defence of its members and contributing

[31] For the purpose of Article 5 an armed attack on one or more of the Parties is deemed to include an armed attack on the territory of any of the Parties in Europe or North America, on the Algerian departments of France [eliminated in 1963], on the occupation forces of any Party in Europe, on the islands under the jurisdiction of any Party in the North Atlantic area north of the Tropic of Cancer or on the vessels or aircraft in this area of any of the Parties.

[32] Crisis Management**:** To stand ready, case-by-case and by consensus, in conformity with Article 7 of the Washington Treaty, to contribute to effective conflict prevention and to engage actively in crisis management, including crisis response operations.

[33] "North Atlantic Treaty", Article 7: This Treaty does not affect, and shall not be interpreted as affecting, in any way the rights and obligations under the Charter of the Parties which are members of the United Nations, …"

to the peace and stability in the Euro-Atlantic area, as it is defined in the SC 99[34]. Conflict prevention includes military elements such as deterrence and other more political or civil-military elements, such as defence diplomacy. If defence diplomacy fails and we need to face a crisis situation affecting the security of the Allies, NATO should be able to manage this crisis. Finally, if deterrence also fails and the crisis ends in an armed attack against an Ally or a group of Allies, the Alliance should defend itself collectively.

In short, the new SC should address both collective defence as described in article 5 of the Treaty, and preventive measures so that article 5 situations don't develop. It should also permit the participation in other peace support and crisis management operations under the auspices of the United Nations, if enough support by the Allies is assured.

What happens with the security tasks included in SC 99? The first one is ***security***, and the description given[35] is practically that of conflict prevention if we refer only to the security of the Alliance. The SC 99 considers two tasks *in order to enhance the security and stability of the Euro-Atlantic* area: ***crisis management*** and ***partnership***. It is easier to understand crisis management as a specific security task, because its performance is quite different from other preventive tasks such as defence diplomacy. ***Partnership*** is a tool more than a task. We will develop it in more detail later on. The second security task in SC 99 is ***consultation***. It seems clear to me that, again, it is not strictly a task. We may better consider that NATO performance is carried out in two complementary ways: consultation and collective action. The tasks refer to the actions. The third security task in SC 99 is ***deterrence and defence***. They are different both conceptually and factually. The reason for putting them together is that they are the only strictly military tasks. As we have seen before, we should avoid too much military language in the SC 2010.

4.2. Treats and Risks

One of the most important problems with SC 99, if not the most important one, is the lack of specificity in defining threats and risks, employing expressions like *uncertain*, *unpredictable*, etc.

This fact, also present in SC 91, was not so important on that occasion because the main effort of the Alliance was directed at the former Warsaw Pact nations in Eastern Europe. But SC 99, which introduced out of area and non-article five operations, should definitely have corrected this dysfunction and it did not.

Without a clear definition and full agreement on the threats and risks we need to face together, it is very difficult to reach consensus on crises response operations, deployments, the NATO Response Force, and so on. This fact has been highlighted by some Allies in different meetings and declarations.

[34] SC 99 para 6: NATO's essential and enduring purpose, set out in the Washington Treaty, is to safeguard the freedom and security of all its members by political and military means. Based on common values of democracy, human rights and the rule of law, the Alliance has striven since its inception to secure a just and lasting peaceful order in Europe. It will continue to do so. The achievement of this aim can be put at risk by crisis and conflict affecting the security of the Euro-Atlantic area. The Alliance therefore not only ensures the defence of its members but contributes to peace and stability in this region.

[35] SC 99 para 10. **Security:** To provide one of the indispensable foundations for a stable Euro-Atlantic security environment, based on the growth of democratic institutions and commitment to the peaceful resolution of disputes, in which no country would be able to intimidate or coerce any other through the threat or use of force.

We have seen that NATO should address both threats and risks that could evolve into threats to the Alliance. The 2006 Comprehensive Political Guidance (CPG) could serve as the basis to analyze these threats and risks, but we may easily note that not all threats and risks included in CPG correspond to the "extended collective defence" as described above.

There seems to be a clear consensus on the consideration of terrorism as a threat to the Alliance, after the terrorist attacks in Washington and New York in 2001, in Madrid in 2004 and in London in 2005 among others, and the numerous declarations of Bin Laden and other terrorists in the media against the Western World.

It is not so clear that "the spread of weapons of mass destruction", without further elaboration, could be considered a threat to the Alliance. Chemical weapons have been employed in internal conflicts without supposing a threat to the Alliance, and it is arguable whether the disposal of short or medium range nuclear weapons is always a threat to the Alliance.

The new Strategic Concept should be more precise in establishing the present threats and also the risks that could evolve into threats in the future. Without such precision, we could again suffer undesirable fractures as well as new attempts to convert NATO into a global police force, which for the time being is not supported by all Allies.

4.3. Area of Interest

Closely related to the common perception of threats and risks is the issue of where NATO is expected to carry out operations. The position of some great powers is "everywhere as needed", but some considerations should be taken into account.

Concerning the risks "of a wider nature", which are normally identified with the so-called global threats, it is necessary to distinguish two different types: the first one is such an action or situation which takes place anywhere in the world and represents a risk for the Alliance because it may evolve and pose a direct threat to the Alliance, as may be the capacity to launch cyber attacks. The second one is that action or situation which takes place anywhere in the world and represents a risk only for that neighbourhood but, as it spreads world-wide, we consider it to be global, as is the case of failed states, the proliferation of short and middle range weapons of mass destruction[36] or the disruption of energy supplies. This last situation clearly represents a risk for the Alliance in the case of Russian gas passing through Ukraine into Western Europe, but a similar case in Latin America cannot be considered a risk for the Alliance. Most conflicts in the world, including those related to failed states, have a regional influence. Only a few of them have global influence.

This analysis leads to the conviction that the Alliance should mainly consider risks originating in and around the NATO area, that is, in the undefined Euro-Atlantic area, and only in very few and specific cases, which need to be clearly specified in the Strategic Concept, anywhere in the world outside the Euro-Atlantic area. This means that NATO should continue to be a regional Organization, with enough flexibility to cope with some situations "at strategic distance", only to prevent future direct threats of article-5 type to the Alliance.

The inclusion in SC 2010 of the need to cope with operations at strategic distance, without further elaboration, will inevitably lead to an unacceptable determination of needed

[36] Most nations pursuing access to WMD have only regional interests. North Korea may be the only exception.

capabilities. The practical consequences of such a decision will only be lack of cohesion and insurmountable problems in the force planning process of the Alliance.

4.4. Comprehensive Approach

Another element that needs to be addressed in a better way than it is in the SC 99 is the way to achieve a comprehensive approach to crisis management.

For a long time, different positions have been adopted on the need, the appropriacy or the possibilities for NATO to have or not to have, civilian capabilities. After endless discussions the Comprehensive Political Guidance of 2006 (CPG) stated that *"While NATO has no requirement to develop capabilities strictly for civilian purposes, it needs to improve its practical cooperation, taking into account existing arrangements, with partners, relevant international organisations and, as appropriate, non-governmental organisations in order to collaborate more effectively in planning and conducting operations"*.

This decision has a similar foundation as that of avoiding a Military Command Structure in the European Union: The principle of no-duplication. The European Union has very important economic and civilian capabilities for crisis management which, through adequate agreements between both organizations, makes it unnecessary for NATO to acquire those types of expensive capabilities.

It seems reasonable to maintain in general terms the CPG prescription, but it implies that a comprehensive approach could only be achieved by working with others or, more technically, through partnerships. And there is general agreement on the need to apply this comprehensive approach concept to all processes of crisis management we may need to face in the future, although, as has been indicated by Peter Viggo Jakobsen[37], "*translating it into practical policy require a lot of hard work*".

4.5. Partnerships

As a consequence, partnerships should play a key role in the new SC. NATO should, as a rule, operate side by side with its partners in both conflict prevention and, if it fails, in crisis management. But this can be done only if both NATO and its partners have enough common interests in order to act together.

Most of the common interests between NATO and its partner countries can be located in or around the NATO area, in the so-called Euro-Atlantic Area, never precisely defined, but clearly not including important geostrategic areas such as Latin America, East and South-East Asia and the Pacific Ocean.

It may be difficult to find things to do together with partners, in regions perceived as remote by the partners, most of which cannot be considered, and they do not consider themselves, as global players.

This idea has some correlations with and a similar philosophy to, the EU Neighbourhood Policy. Even being a global player, as the EU self-declares itself to be, to achieve stability and prosperity in its neighbourhood to grant security to Member States is considered fundamental for this organization.

[37] Jakobsen, Peter Viggo: *NATO's comprehensive approach to crisis response operations. A work in slow progress*. Danish Institute for International Studies, *DIIS Report* vol. 15 (2008).

On the other hand, things that can be done together with some partners are not suitable with others. As a consequence, we need different types of partnerships. Existing partnerships are, in fact, different. Partnership for Peace (PfP) is different in nature from Mediterranean Dialogue (MD) and Istanbul Cooperation Initiative (ICI). And both types are different from the strategic partnership with the European Union and the special relations with Russia, Ukraine and Georgia. Even more, one of the problems in benefiting from the EAPC[38] is that PfP countries are not homogeneous, making it difficult to reach consensus in practical decisions.

The new SC should thus consider various types of partnerships: The first one is what we could designate as the "Eligible for Accession Partnership", open to the countries which comply with Article 10 requisites to be a member of the Alliance, that is to be *"European states in a position to further the principles of this Treaty and to contribute to the security of the North Atlantic area"*. These countries would have a relation with the Alliance as extensive as they wish, even apply for accession, and they could share doctrine, procedures, standards, armaments programs, etc. The model for this partnership would be PfP, although it is not identical.

The new SC should also promote a set of Partnerships with all countries in the Euro-Atlantic Area, oriented to conflict prevention in this area, through co-operation and confidence-building measures. The Mediterranean Dialogue is a key element to prevent crises in North Africa, and could be a reference for establishing similar "Security Co-operation Partnerships" in the Middle East and Central Asia, not necessarily a single one. "Security Co-operation Partnerships" with North Africa, Middle East and Central Asia countries should be different from the described "Eligible for Accession Partnership", should not be related to accession and should avoid the present confusion with PfP, which covers simultaneously these two different types of partnerships.

Partnerships with other security organizations such as the UN and the EU or with global powers such as Russia, should also be different. We may call them "Strategic Partnerships" and they should be oriented to cooperate and to address the common threats, regional or global, through a cooperative approach. These "Strategic Partnerships" are essential to address regional crises like those in the Middle East, and global ones like terrorism. But not all global threats are common. They affect differently to nations and organizations, and in many cases there may be a group of nations more involved than others. In the case of non-common threats, coalitions of interested states, and not NATO, should be considered.

The last type is the "Common Values Partnership", open to far away countries which share values and principles with the Alliance, and for this reason usually cooperate with NATO and participate in NATO operations. This cooperation should always be agreed on a case by case basis and it should not require specific treaties or a permanent organization, so that the term "partnership" could not be properly employed, as we do when we speak of "global partnership". When we refer to these "common values partners" we could include not only Australia, Japan or South Korea, but other like-minded countries, even if they are not contributors to NATO operations.

The Alliance should dedicate most of its conflict prevention capacity to the area of the "Eligible for Accession Partnership" (Balkans, Cyprus, Moldova …) and to that of the

[38] The Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council EAPC is composed of all NATO allies and PfP partners, which total 50 countries in America, Europe and Central Asia.

"Security Co-operation Partnerships" (Israel, Afghanistan-Pakistan, Iraq, Iran …). In both cases it should be done with the participation of "strategic partners".

"Common values partners" could be invited to participate in all NATO crisis management operations.

As a final comment, it should be clear that partnerships should not be specific tools for crisis management but fundamentally for conflict prevention.

4.6. Enlargement

Partnership for Peace has been the first step in the process of integration in NATO for all post-Cold War new allies. But it is necessary to note that this is not a general rule and it will not be advisable to force Article 10 of the Treaty and open NATO to non-European PfP countries.

Consensus is more and more difficult to achieve as the number of Allies increases. Once Balkan countries have completed their integration process, further enlargements should be seriously considered and perhaps limited only to non-NATO EU countries.

4.7. Coalitions

The existence of permanent organizations dedicated to security and defence does not impede the establishment of occasional coalitions. Global powers, be they nations or organizations, are frequently involved in conflicts that do not affect most of their allies and partners. In this case, the establishment of a coalition led by this global power is to be considered the preferred option. In these coalitions, both nations and organizations could participate. We may even consider the possibility that an organization of which the leading coalition nation is a member could participate in the coalition or operate in coordination with it. Afghanistan is an example of a crisis situation involving a coalition led by the United States, coordinated with an organization of which the United States is a member.

5. Conclusions

The decision to develop a new Strategic Concept implies the recognition of inadequacies in the present one. Therefore, the first thing to do should be to identify these inadequacies both in SC 99 and subsequent strategic documents to be able to correct them in the new Concept.

The first inadequacy is a lack of precision in the definition of the threats and, as a consequence, an imprecise set of tasks. The main task, the one which is at the core and provides cohesion to the Alliance, is collective defence as established in Article 5 of the Washington Treaty. All other tasks should be connected with this one, comprising only those which prevent Article 5 situations, namely conflict prevention and crisis management. This means considering a wider interpretation of Article 5, which is the only justification of non-article 5 operations.

A second inadequacy is a lack of precision in the area of interest. The Alliance should be maintained as a regional one and should consider global threats only through a very careful analysis and on a case by case basis. Coalitions with other organizations or with single nations should be seriously considered as an alternate way to cope with these global threats.

The next refers to the lack of development of the comprehensive approach. NATO should avoid duplicating capabilities with other organizations, especially the European Union, and should address the comprehensive approach through a cooperative strategy with the UN, the EU and others.

We then have partnerships. This is the moment to develop a thorough analysis of this fundamental tool, avoiding the employment of a single partnership to address all the different things that NATO needs to do with others.

Enlargement has been demonstrated to be one of the best elements in providing security to the Euro-Atlantic area. However, it is almost reaching its limits and no attempt should be made to go further than Article 10 of the Washington Treaty.

Summing up, this is our challenge: to develop a new Strategic Concept which addresses the threats and risks of the 21st century while avoiding the inadequacies of SC 99.

NATO'S MILITARY TRANSFORMATION: A VISION FROM SPAIN

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Abstract:
The end of the Cold War gave rise to a new strategic environment very different from the one that existed when the Atlantic Alliance was formed in 1949. The Alliance began a process of adaptation to the new era and transformation of its military forces to fight and manage new risks and threats. Although this process was initially articulated in a similar way to the American one for dealing with the Revolution in Military Affairs, at present, the allied military transformation is at a turning point since its pillars have been abandoned and new challenges have been identified. This article provides an overview of the history, evolution and current situation of the process of military transformation in the Atlantic Alliance.

Keywords: Atlantic Alliance, Transformation, Post-cold War, XXIst Century, Strategic Planning, Armed Forces.

Resumen:
El fin de la Guerra Fría dio lugar a un nuevo entorno estratégico muy distinto del que existía cuando se constituyó la Alianza Atlántica en 1949 para combatir la amenaza del Pacto de Varsovia. Ello exigió que esta organización iniciara un proceso de adaptación al nuevo ambiente y transformara su músculo militar para combatir los nuevos riesgos y amenazas. Aunque este proceso empezó a articularse de forma similar al estadounidense y relacionado con la conquista de la Revolución en los Asuntos Militares, hoy en día la transformación militar aliada se halla en un punto de inflexión después de que sus principios definidores hayan sido abandonados y nuevos retos y necesidades hayan sido identificados. Este artículo ofrece una visión panorámica de los antecedentes, evolución y situación actual del proceso de transformación militar aliado.

Palabras clave: *Alianza Atlántica, transformación, posguerra fría, siglo XXI, planeamiento estratégico, fuerzas armadas.*

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1. Introduction

It is well known that from 1989 to nowadays, the world has experienced profound changes: the bipolar politics that characterized the Cold War period have disappeared, the globalization process has been completed and a new structure of international relations has emerged. At the same time, the traditional threats to the world's peace, security and stability have merged with new risks of a very different nature, reach and intensity, coming from states and non-state actors.

Hence, while during the Cold War the main threat against the West was a war, either conventional or nuclear, against the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact, today a number of conflicts of very different natures, scope and implications, which receive the attention of the mass media and concern our societies, proliferate around the world and require an appropriate response. This situation has shaped an uncertain and complex security environment that demands continuous and permanent effort from the armed forces in order to respond to those conflicts and perform a wide range of operations, from peacekeeping to high-intensity operations[3].

In the same vein, the 9-11 attacks in New York and Washington, and their various sequels all around the world, have demonstrated that the use of terror is now a global risk which not only transcends the classical border between internal and external threats but also needs to be fought by all the means states can use: diplomatic, economic, political, cultural, informational or military. Those attacks have also demonstrated that this *new* adversary can acquire several forms and is very different from the traditional state actors. This opponent to our societies and our way of living will use all the means it has at hand to achieve its political objectives[4].

For those reasons, the armed forces of all advanced countries have initiated a process of *Transformation* to adapt their capabilities and forces to present and future threats. Broadly speaking, the transformation was initiated in 2001 as a means to achieve the desired *Revolution in Military Affairs* (RMA), defined as a profound change in the way of waging war which results from the integration of new technologies, doctrines, tactics, organizations or procedures in the armed forces. This change renders irrelevant or obsolete the pre-revolutionary way of fighting and gives a great amount of importance to the military in exploiting these new capabilities. Consequently, any potential adversary should attain this new set of capabilities, either by joining the revolution or developing a response capable of preventing this advantage. The latest elements of the RMA resulted from the advent of the Information Age and centred the interest of the world's defence community during the nineties[5].

The origins of this RMA can be found during the Vietnam War, a conflict which revealed the limitations of the traditional *American Way of War*[6] and whose outcome caused a

[3] Richard, Kugler & Ellen, Frost (eds.) (2001): *The Global Century: Globalization and National Security*, Washington DC, National Defense University, pp. 423-442.
[4] Anonymous (2004): *Imperial Hubris: Why the West is Losing the War on Terror*, Washington DC, Brassey's INC or Peters, Ralph (2002): *Beyond Terror: Strategy in a Changing World*, Mechanicsburg, Stackpole Books.
[5] Knox, MacGregor & Murray, Williamson (eds.) (2001): *The Dynamics of Military Revolution, 1300-2050*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press; Gray, Colin S. (2002): *Strategy for Chaos: Revolutions in Military Affairs and the Evidence of History*, Portland, Frank Cass or Colom, Guillem (2008): *Entre Ares y Atenea: el debate sobre la Revolución en los Asuntos Militares*, Madrid, Instituto Universitario General Gutiérrez Mellado.
[6] Broadly speaking, the traditional *American Way of War* was based on an overwhelming material superiority thanks to the American industrial, demographic, material, logistic and economic power. A more detailed analysis

series of profound changes in the structure, doctrine, organization and material of the U.S. military as a means to successfully confront the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact[7].

It evolved in the European Central Front when, in order to overcome the erosion of the nuclear balance between both superpowers and the profound changes in Soviet strategic thought, the United States planned to improve its conventional capabilities by embracing an ambitious strategy which included both the development of new operational concepts, such as the *Air-Land Battle,* and the use of the initial products of the Information Revolution in new platforms, sensors and weapons. The impact of this manoeuvre was so vast that Soviet strategists deemed it a *Military-Technical Revolution* which, due to the impact of the new "automatised attack complexes" (a name given to the integration of C^3I systems and precision-guided munitions), could erode the precarious strategic balance that still existed between the United States and the Soviet Union in Europe.

That idea got the attention of the American defence analyst Andrew Marshall, who articulated it theoretically (he deemed that those technologies should be combined with organizational, doctrinal, tactical, human and conceptual changes), identified the revolutionary technologies (precision-guided weapons, C^4ISR systems and standardized and stealth platforms) and proposed the definitive term (*Revolution in Military Affairs*). Moreover, by using his influential position inside the DoD, he attempted to promote it among the American political, academic and military elites. However, he failed in the attempt since the Pentagon was more focused on adapting the American defence posture to the nineties than in thinking about the existence of a military revolution capable of transforming war[8].

The first effects of the changes were revealed during the 1991 Gulf War, a conflict in which the coalition led by the United States achieved an impressive victory against Iraq. Although this achievement put the ideas at the heart of all strategic debates, the DoD showed a limited interest, since in those moments of euphoria the main priority of the U.S. defence community was to articulate American strategic pillars for the post Cold War era[9]. Only its armed forces joined the discussions, attracted to both the effects this revolution might have on their way of fighting and because they could use the RMA as leverage in their internal struggles against a decreasing budget, due to the collapse of the Warsaw Pact and the need to control American public expenditure[10].

In the midst of the decade, coinciding with the spread of the revolution among the U.S. political and military elites, Admiral William Owens, Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff from 1994 to 1996, identified the essence of the revolution: the *system of systems* or the capability of each sensor, platform, combatant or weapon to interact with the rest due to its

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of its characteristics and evolution can be found in Weigley, Russell F. (1977): *The American Way of War*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press; while Boot, Max: "The New American Way of War", *Foreign Affairs,* vol. 82, no. 4 (July-August 2003), pp. 41-58 studies the way of fighting produced by the RMA.

[7] Kagan, Frederick W. (2006): *Finding the Target, the transformation of U.S. American military policy*, New York, Encounter Books, 2006, pp. 3-73 or Colom, *op. cit*., pp. 111-137.

[8] Larson, Eric V.; Orletsky, David T. & Leuschner, Kristin J. (2001): *Defense Planning in a Decade of Change: Lessons from the Base Force, Bottom-Up Review, and Quadrennial Defense Review*, Santa Monica, RAND Corporation, pp. 5-39.

[9] *Ibid.,* pp. 18-23 and O'Hanlon, Michael (1995): *Defense Planning for the Late 1990s. Beyond the Desert Storm Framework*, Washington DC, The Brookings Institution Press.

[10] Colom, Guillem: "La Revolución estadounidense en los Asuntos Militares", *Revista Ejército,* no. 816 (April 2009), pp, 16-22.

integration in a common network[11]. Owens argued that the technological basis of the revolution already existed…it was the result of decades of investment to help fight the Soviet Union. However, the revolutionary feature was the integration of every component of the joint force in a system of systems capable of providing timely information about the battlespace and immediately destroying all targets from far away. That possibility, in Owens' words, could revolutionize the way of waging war because for the first time in History the Clausewitzian *fog-of-war* could be lifted[12].

It was also then when the DoD, which was building the nation's strategic pillars for the post-cold war era, not only considered employing some of the possibilities the RMA offered to solve some of the strategic dilemmas the United States would now face (such as maintaining the strategy of fighting in two simultaneous regional conflicts with a smaller force structure than the one maintained during the Cold War), but also began to seriously analyse the existence of this revolution they deemed essential to maintain both America's military supremacy and political hegemony in the new millennium[13].

In 1996 the American military elite formally adopted the RMA with the publication of the *Joint Vision 2010*, a joint roadmap which not only recognized its existence, but also fixed the pillars and defining elements of this revolution for the United States. This stated that the dominant manoeuvre, precision engagement, multidimensional protection and focused logistics, amalgamated by information superiority, were essential to win all conflicts, and defined the future capabilities for its armed forces and the path to follow to achieve this revolution, which promised to transform the American Way of War[14].

This paper established a joint approach to the pillars and objectives of the American RMA, provided the services with common but vague guidelines that allowed them to continue developing and implementing their specific plans and facilitated the political acceptance of the revolution a year later.

The 1997 *Quadrennial Defense Review* (QDR) marked the political acceptance of the RMA. This document, which served as the basis of U.S. defence and military policies for President Clinton's second mandate, not only acknowledged the existence of this revolution and accepted the pillars acknowledged by the military elite, but also recognized that its exploitation would be essential for confronting any future threat[15]. As a result, the Pentagon proposed to take advantage of apparent global stability to develop and implement the revolutionary capabilities, adapt the force structure to future risks and modernize Cold War weaponry (legacy systems such as mechanized vehicles, combat aircraft or naval platforms) with revolutionary technologies as a means to maintain enough forces to fight in any present conflict while the 21st Century military was being crafted.

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[11] Owens, William A.: "The Emerging System-of-Systems", *U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings*, vol. 121 no. 1105 (May 1995), pp. 35-39.
[12] Owens, William A. (2000): *Lifting the Fog of War*, New York, Farrar Straus & Giroux.
[13] A deeper analysis of the centrality of the RMA in U.S. defence and military policies during the nineties (and the transformation from 2001 to nowadays) can be found in Colom, Guillem: *Entre la Revolución y la Transformación: la Revolución en los Asuntos Militares y la Configuración de los pilares estratégicos de Estados Unidos para el siglo XXI*, Colección Tesis Doctorales, Madrid, Secretaría General Técnica – Ministerio de Defensa (*forthcoming*).
[14] Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (1996): *Joint Vision 2010*, Washington DC, U.S. Government Printing Office.
[15] "Quadrennial Defense Review, 1997", *Department of Defense* (DoD), *U.S. Government Printing Office,* Washington DC.

This process, which meant to carry out the revolution while preparing American defence architecture for the risks and threats that would arise in the first years of the 21st Century, as a means of maintaining U.S. military supremacy against any present and future adversary, was designated *Transformation*[16].

Although the 1997 QDR called for a comprehensive transformation of the U.S. defence posture and military structure, as a means of carrying out the revolution and preparing its security and defence architecture for an uncertain future, the scarce funds for the development and acquisition of new capabilities (the planned expenditure proposed by the QDR was never provided) and the growing involvement in military operations (they were financed by funds originally intended for modernization of equipment and training of units since Congress and Senate were reluctant to approve additional funds for operations) paralysed the process[17].

However, with the election of George W. Bush the RMA had its final and definitive boost. Captivated by these ideas and aware of the central role this revolution might have in the foundation of the 21st Century global order, President Bush and his Defence Secretary, Donald Rumsfeld, planned a comprehensive transformation process which, formally presented in the 2001 QDR, intended to carry out the revolution and prepare American defence architecture for the challenges it would face in 2020. To that end, the QDR not only projected suitable security, defence and military strategies for the new strategic environment, but it also placed the transformation of the defence establishment (from the structure, size, equipment and capabilities of the American military to the organization, functions, administration and budgeting of the DoD) as one of the main priorities of the new government[18].

Although initially deemed as a means for aiding the revolution, promptly the concept of *Transformation* replaced the *Revolution in Military Affairs* as the axis of the political, military and academic debate in the United States and all around the globe. Specifically, the fascination of Donald Rumsfeld with this idea and the tragic events of 9-11 terminated the strategic pause initiated with the end of the Cold War and confirmed the need to adjust American military might to the post 9-11 strategic environment[19].

Conversely, the Afghan and Iraqi experiences revealed the changing face of war and exposed the limits of the revolution, the flaws of technocentric transformation and the inadequacy of Western militaries when operating in non-conventional environments, fighting against irregular or hybrid enemies and conducting stabilization, reconstruction, nation-building or counterinsurgency operations[20]. These issues are currently focusing the interest of

[16] Roxborough, Ian: "From Revolution to Transformation, the State of the Field", *Joint Forces Quarterly*, no. 32 (Autumn 2002), pp. 68-76.
[17] Kagan, *op. cit.*, pp. 199-234.
[18] "Quadrennial Defense Review, 2001", *Department of Defense* (DoD), Washington DC, U.S. Government Printing Office or Rumsfeld, Donald H.: "Transforming the Military", *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 81 no. 3 (May-June 2002), pp. 20-32.
[19] An analysis of the characteristics and implications of the current strategic environment can be found at Fojón, Enrique: "El análisis estratégico: la vuelta al pragmatism", Real Instituto Elcano de Estudios Internacionales y Estratégicos, *Working Paper,* no. 15 (2009).
[20] Examples of the current reality can be found in McIvor, Anthony D. (ed.) (2005).: *Rethinking the Principles of War*, Annapolis, U.S. Naval Institute Press; Hoffman, Frank G. (2007): *Conflict in the 21st Century: the Rise of Hybrid Wars*, Arlington, Potomac Institute for Policy Studies or Biddle, Stephen (2004): *Afghanistan and the Future of Warfare: Implications for Army and Defense Policy*, Carlisle Barracks, U.S. Army Strategic Studies Institute.

the world's strategic community and guiding the transformation processes of Western militaries, including the Atlantic Alliance.

2. The Allied Military Transformation

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is a political organization originally intended for protecting the liberty and security of all its members under the principles of the United Nations Charter. To that end, the Alliance has political and military means to be used against any threat that might arise against the security of its members.

Although NATO was originally created in 1949 to defend Western Europe from a hypothetical aggression from the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact, the profound transformations the world has experienced since the fall of the Berlin Wall have entailed profound changes in its structure, organization, capabilities and strategic objectives. In the institutional and political arena, NATO launched a new framework of relationships with its former adversaries, developed new initiatives, assumed new tasks and agreed to operate worldwide to fight against any threat to Euro-Atlantic stability[21]. Conversely, since the demise of the Warsaw Pact, the Alliance has been improving, homogenizing and transforming its military capabilities to successfully meet new requirements. To this end, NATO has renewed its command structure and force catalogue, it is defining a new planning process and also developing new military capabilities to successfully face 21st Century challenges[22].

In other words, since the end of the Cold War the Alliance has been transforming its political structures and military capabilities to successfully confront the challenges of the current and future strategic environments.

Although NATO's transformation was formally launched in 2003, its foundations were established four years before, during the Washington Summit, with the approval of the 1999 Strategic Concept. In general terms, this document, which will be replaced in 2010 by a new Strategic Concept tailored to the current strategic environment, states that the risks the Alliance is facing are multidirectional and difficult to predict. In other words, while the chance of a generalized conflict in Europe (which was the *raison d'être* of the Alliance from its constitution to the fall of the Soviet Union) is almost nonexistent, NATO must confront new risks and threats of a military and non-military nature, such as ethnic cleansing, violation of human rights or political, social and economic instabilities. Dangerous threats are the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery, or the flow of dual-use technologies capable of providing NATO's adversaries with advanced military capabilities.

At the same time, the Concept states that NATO has also to take into account global issues since the allies could be threatened (as occurred in the United States, Spain and Great Britain) by terrorist attacks, sabotage, organized crime or the disruption of flows of essential resources and so on.

[21] A general view of the evolution of NATO since the dawn of the Warsaw Pact can be found at Caracuel, María Angustias (2004): *Los cambios de la OTAN tras el fin de la Guerra Fría*, Madrid, Tecnos.

[22] In the context of NATO, a *military capability* is defined as the combination of Doctrine, Organization, Training, Material, Leadership, Personnel, Facilities and Interoperability (DOTMLPFI).

In order to face 21st Century challenges, the 1999 Strategic Concept asserts that the Alliance must maintain Euro-Atlantic stability, serve as a consultation forum on regional and global security issues, dissuade and neutralize any attempt at aggression against any member[23], progress in cooperation, dialogue and partnership with neighbouring countries, while actively participating in conflict prevention and crisis management. Accordingly, the 1999 Strategic Concept reasserts NATO's compromise to act under the principles of international law and the Charter of the United Nations[24] and confirms its willingness to perform crisis management operations and peacekeeping missions all around the world[25].

These requirements also call for an improvement in NATO's military capabilities[26]. The shortfalls of allied military means were revealed during the Kosovo War (1999), a conflict in which only U.S. military capabilities, especially the force enablers such as C4ISR and precision-guided munitions, made the operations possible and revealed once more the growing capability gap between the American and European allied militaries[27]. However, the strategic environment following the 9-11 attacks was the enabler of NATO's military transformation since it demonstrated the urgency to develop new military capabilities, streamline the command structures and perform new missions…in other words, to adapt NATO's forces to current and future threats.

The 2002 Prague Summit entailed the formal termination of Cold War strategy, rooted in the defence of the Atlantic Ocean lines of communication, the forward defence of the European Central Front and the maintenance of a flexible nuclear response, and its substitution by a new strategy based on the defence of Allied populations against a broad range of present and future threats and the rapid projection of forces ready to fight against any menace to Euro-Atlantic stability.

That is why Prague marked the starting point of Allied military transformation, a process that should provide NATO with the required capabilities to confront present and future strategic challenges. In this summit a new command and force structure was agreed, a joint crisis response force was defined, a new catalogue of military capabilities was discussed and several initiatives aimed at the fulfilment of these objectives were launched[28].

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[23] It must be borne in mind that Article 5 of the Washington Treaty – the real *raison d'être* of NATO – establishes that any attack against one ally will be regarded as an attack against all of them. The first time Article 5 was invoked was after the 9-11 attacks against New York and Washington.

[24] Although the Concept bonds any Allied intervention with international law and the principles of the United Nations Charter, this does not indicate that all actions will require prior approval of the UN Security Council. This decision responds to the necessity that NATO must maintain a certain degree of autonomy to confront exceptional situations.

[25] Although the missions contemplated in Article 5 of the Washington Treaty related to collective defence are restricted to the traditional area, the Non-Article 5 interventions are not limited to any given geographical area. This should allow the Alliance to flexibly respond to any future threat that could arise.

[26] That situation led to the definition of the Defence Capabilities Initiative (DCI), predecessor of the Prague Capabilities Commitment (PCC); and the empowerment of the European Security and Defence Identity (ESDI), which should allow the European members to make a more coherent and effective contribution to the missions and activities of the Alliance while helping them to act alone depending on the situation. In this way, NATO could provide military capabilities for carrying out operations under European command following the idea of "separable but not separated capabilities".

[27] An interesting discussion on the growing gap between the European and American allies due to the RMA can be found at Grant, Robert P. (2000): *The RMA – Europe can keep in step,* Occasional Paper No. 15, Paris, Institute for Security Studies – Western European Union.

[28] "The Prague Summit and NATO's Transformation", *North Atlantic Treaty Organisation* (NATO), *NATO Public Diplomacy Division,* Brussels, Belgium (2003).

First, the Cold War command structure, composed of Allied Command Europe and Allied Command Atlantic with responsibility for planning and conducting military operations in the European and Atlantic area[29], was replaced by a new one divided into Allied Command Operations (ACO), a strategic command in charge of planning and conducting all NATO operations[30], and Allied Command Transformation (ACT), a functional command responsible for adapting Allied forces to meet current and future challenges.

To that end, ACT harmonizes, oversees and promotes the transformational efforts of the allied nations, acting as a *think tank* by providing the conceptual framework for NATO's military transformation, exploring the future strategic environment, defining how operations will be conducted and which military capabilities will be needed, and finally developing and implementing new capabilities, procedures and concepts for the employment of NATO forces.

Second, to develop new military capabilities while improving and harmonizing the existing ones, the Prague Capabilities Commitment (PCC) was launched. Although the member states agreed to enhance their competence in critical areas (such as strategic lift, air refuelling, combat support, C^{4}ISTAR, tactical and strategic surveillance, precision-guided munitions, suppression of enemy air defences, CBRN defences or theatre missile defences[31]) the enduring *peace dividend*, the reluctance of some European partners to take responsibility for their commitments[32] and the current economic turndown have compelled NATO to reconsider the PCC and rely on other methods to overcome these shortages (national specialization, joint procurement, multinational development or pooling of specific capabilities).

Finally, to provide the Alliance with the ability to rapidly project its power anywhere in the world while implementing the transformational capabilities provided by ACT, the *NATO Response Force* (NRF) was created. This joint, multinational, highly deployable and technologically advanced force, whose full operational capability was announced in the Riga Summit (2006), is composed of 25.000 troops and is capable of deploying globally and sustaining itself autonomously, for not less than thirty days, an army brigade, a naval task

[29] Originally, NATO's command structure was composed by three strategic commands (Europe, Atlantic and the English Channel) and a joint planning group for Canada and the United States.

[30] The ACO – which is led by the Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR) – is located in Mons (Belgium) and it is composed by a strategic headquarters and two joint forces commands capable of planning and conducting operations from their HQs or deploying a Combined Joint Task Force (CJTF).

[31] It is important to note that similar critical capabilities and force enablers – such as attack and support helicopters, CBRN defences, unmanned aerial vehicles, medical protection, special operations forces, suppression of enemy air defences, in-flight air refuelling, combat search and rescue, precision-guided munitions, cruise missiles, theatre missile defences, deployable communications, tactical and strategic surveillance, early warning and target acquisition or strategic lift – were identified by the European Union in both the *Helsinki Headline Goal* (1999) and the *Headline Goal 2010* (2004). A more detailed analysis of these initiatives can be found in Lindstrom, Gustav (2004): *The Headline Goal*, Paris, Institute for Security Studies – European Union.

[32] Although formal commitments within the Atlantic Alliance (*Prague Capabilities Commitment*) and the European Union (*Headline Goal*) and between both organizations (*NATO-EU Capability Group*) have been taken to bridge the military gap between Europe and the United States, the *American Revolution in Military Affairs* and the unwillingness of several European partners to commit more resources to their security is widening this gap, in particular in the field of advanced weaponry and force multipliers. A more detailed analysis of this military breach and its possible implications for collective defence can be found in Lindley-French, Julian (2006): *Military convergence between NATO and the EU*, The Hague, Clingendael Center for Strategic Studies.

force and the required air support for the fulfilment of the mission[33]. The NRF, which can be employed independently, as a component of a larger force or as an initial entry force, is also the catalyst of NATO's military transformation since it constitutes the force in which sophisticated weapon systems, the newest operational concepts, the latest doctrines and the newest training procedures developed by ACT are being tested[34].

3. How the Allied Military Transformation is Being Carried Out

In November 2002, the four-star U.S. Admiral Edmund Giambastiani was appointed as the first Supreme Allied Commander Transformation (SACT), a position which also entailed the chair of the United States Joint Forces Command (JFCOM), the Combatant Command in charge of the transformation of the American military. Close to Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, Giambastiani was an enthusiast of the RMA and he tried to impose the U.S. approach to transformation, founded in the technological dominance needed to conduct *Network-Centric* (NCW/O) and *Effects-Based Operations* (EBO)[35] as the guiding principle of NATO's military transformation.

These ideas were formalized in the *Bi-SC Strategic Vision: the Military Challenge* (2004) a document written by ACO and ACT to examine the current and future strategic environment, identify their implications for NATO and define the required capabilities to successfully confront the new challenges[36]. Among other findings, the paper asserted that the management of any present and future conflict would not only require the use of a broad range of instruments (diplomatic, informative, military or economic) but also the effective cooperation of all actors[37]. That assertion settled the ground for both the *Effects-Based Approach to Operations* (EBAO), a controversial concept which guided NATO's military transformation until recently, and the *Comprehensive Approach* (CA), a concept in development which is becoming the pillar for crisis management, stabilization and reconstruction efforts all around the world.

At the Istanbul Summit, the heads of State and Government endorsed this white paper and urged ACT to proceed on the Alliance's military transformation by improving its military capabilities, the deployability and sustainability of its forces and developing a transformation roadmap. That led to the development of the *Concept for Alliance Future Joint Operations* (CAFJO), a wide-ranging document which established the pillars of the Allied military transformation, the concepts of employment of NATO forces and the capabilities required to successfully conduct all the spectrum of operations.

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[33] Kugler, Richard D. (2007): *The NATO Response Force 2002–2006: Innovation by the Atlantic Alliance*, Washington DC, National Defense University.

[34] Rynning, Sten: *NATO's Response Force: does it have the capacity to transform NATO's force structure?*, Paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Studies Association (5 March 2005).

[35] "Military Transformation: a Strategic Approach", *Department of Defense* (DoD), *Office of the Secretary of Defense,* Washington DC (2003).. On the other hand, a deeper analysis of both concepts can be found in Smith, Edward (2002): *Effects-Based Operations: Applying Network-Centric Warfare in Peace, Crisis and War*, Washington DC, CCRP Press.

[36] "Strategic Vision, the Military Challenge", NATO Strategic Commanders *North Atlantic Treaty Organisation* (NATO)*, NATO Public Information Office,* Brussels, Belgium (2004).

[37] Pareja, Iñigo & Colom, Guillem: "El Enfoque Integral (Comprehensive Approach) a la gestión de crisis internacionales", Real Instituto Elcano, *Análisis,* no. 115/2008 (25 September 2008).

The CAFJO (jointly written by ACT and ACO but never approved by the political authorities) was built around the EBAO, considered by the Strategic Commanders – and in particular, by the U.S. Air Force General Lance Smith, the SACT from 2005 to 2007 – as the basis of NATO's military transformation[38]. That document stated that although the *Comprehensive Political Guidance*, approved by the North Atlantic Council in 2005 and endorsed by the heads of State and Government at the Riga Summit one year later, establishes that NATO will not develop any specific capability for civilian purposes, the Alliance should use all its available instruments and actively engage with other relevant international actors, in particular the United Nations and the European Union. That assertion settled the ground for the EBAO, defined as *"...the coherent and comprehensive application of the various instruments of the Alliance, combined with the practical cooperation along with involved non-NATO actors, to create effects necessary to achieve planned objectives and ultimately the NATO end state."*[39]

According to the CAFJO, the Allied instruments of power were defined as follows: *political* (NATO's political and diplomatic means cooperating with other actors such as international organizations and NGOs); *economic* (the use of member states' economic incentives and disincentives); *civilian* (legal, constabulary, training, informational, infrastructural or civilian administration); and *military* (both the threat to use force or its actual use).

To allow the Alliance to conduct this revolutionary *Effects Based Approach to Operations*, it should be able to rapidly project its forces and effectively sustain them with integrated logistical support and suitable reinforcements. Once deployed, it should be able to decide better and faster than its adversaries, so it should achieve information superiority (the capability to obtain, manage and disseminate information faster and more effectively than the adversary) and convert it in knowledge superiority. Finally, the effects produced by military operations should be coherent with the ones produced by the rest of instruments of Allied power. As a result, the *Coherence of Effects* (allowed by the effective employment of forces, the joint manoeuvre and the enhanced CIMIC), *Decision Superiority* (thanks to information superiority and the Network-Enabled Capability) and *Joint Deployment and Sustainment* (permitted by the expeditionary capability and integrated logistics) were not only the key elements for effectively conducting the EBAO, but they were also the Alliance's military transformation areas.

Although the CAFJO was never accepted by the Alliance's political authorities as the roadmap for NATO's military transformation, the EBAO was informally launched as its basis. Paradoxically, at the Riga Summit the heads of State and Government approved and launched the *Comprehensive Approach* (CA), which was originally defined either as the civilian part of the EBAO or the context in which crisis management operations would take place[40]. This proposal, originally presented by seven allied countries under the name of *Concerted Planning & Action* and coinciding with the debates on the EBAO, is aimed at establishing mechanisms oriented towards the improvement of internal coordination within NATO and its relationships with other relevant international organizations (in particular the United Nations and the European Union) in crisis management operations. This is under the

[38] Colom, Guillem: "EBAO: el principio fundamental de la transformación militar aliada" *Revista Ejército,* no. 808 (July-August 2008), pp. 6-12.
[39] "MC Position on Effects Based Approach to Operations", *North Atlantic Treaty Organisation* (NATO), *MCM-0052-2006* (6 June 2006).
[40] "Joint Discussion Note 4/05 : the Comprehensive Approach", *UK Ministry of Defence, Joint Doctrine & Concepts Centre,* Shrivenham (2006).

limits marked by the *Comprehensive Political Guidance,* which establishes that NATO will not develop specific capabilities for civilian purposes[41].

Although politically the CA was warmly welcomed and, since it might be one of the pillars of the forthcoming 2010 Strategic Concept, is generating fruitful debates on its nature, reach and implications for the Alliance the EBAO was deemed as a purely military issue and received neither any attention nor formal support by the political authorities. That let ACT, with the active support of ACO, autonomously develop the concept without political supervision while improving the other desired transformational capabilities (effective employment of forces, joint manoeuvre, enhanced CIMIC, information superiority, NEC, expeditionary capability and integrated logistics).

However, when the U.S. Marine Corps General James N. Mattis was appointed as the third SACT, Allied military transformation started to change. As USJCOM Commander, he wrote a memorandum criticizing the EBO, one of the pillars of American military transformation heavily based on the RMA, and urging the services to throw out this concept[42]. General Mattis asserted that the Afghan, Iraqi and Lebanese experiences not only demonstrated the changing face of war but also the inherent limitations of the *Effects-Based Approach* to warfare, which considers war as a matter of science but not an art. That decision paused *de facto* the Allied EBAO and halted NATO's military transformation[43].

Meanwhile, ACT, which was analysing the lessons learned from the latest military campaigns while also analysing future risks and threats, came with some conclusions and with a document, the *Multiple Futures Project* (MPF) which, published in May 2009, seems to be the first step in the new allied military transformation. This document has shown that NATO will have to face a wide range of threats, either conventional, irregular or hybrid, coming from both states and non-state actors. That situation will compel the Alliance to continue improving its deployability and sustainability while developing new capabilities to operate effectively in this new environment. Among the required capabilities there is strategic communication, security force assistance, stabilization operations, deterring non-state actors while improving traditional deterrence methods or countering hybrid threats[44].

The appointment of a French General as the SACT, a decision which resulted from France's full integration to NATO's military structure, has reinforced this attitude started by General Mattis, so we will possibly see that the findings of the MPF will be used as the basis of current and future Allied military transformation, a more realistic, human-oriented and flexible process aimed at adapting NATO's military instruments to current and future threats.

[41] Smith-Windsor, Brooke: "Hasten Slowly: NATO's Effects Based and Comprehensive Approach to Operations: making sense of past and future prospects", NATO Defense College *Research Paper,* no. 38, Rome (2008).

[42] Mattis, James N.: *Assessment of Effects Based Operations*, Memorandum for U.S. Joint Forces Command (14 August 2008)

[43] It is paradoxical that, from the perspective of the JFCOM Commander, EBAO is invalidated for being heavily technically-oriented, and, from the perspective of SACT, because it had to adapt to NATO complexities.

[44] Hoffman, Frank G. (2007): *Conflict in the 21st Century: the rise of Hybrid Wars*, Arlington, Potomac Institute for Policy Studies.

4. Conclusions

Lacking a proper military strategy, the basis of the original Allied transformation was the EBAO. This RMA-based concept was just theoretical and real life experiments have proven the *Effects-Based Approach* to warfare to be unsuccessful, but the Alliance still has no substitute for it as its guiding principle.

Currently, the EBAO tends to be regarded as the military part of a *Comprehensive Approach*, but its limitations are obvious since it is just a theoretical construct and has no practical use at all. The EBAO and its related theory were put into practice without acknowledging the operating environment in which it would have to develop. The publication, in May 2009, of the *Multiple Futures Project* (MPF) should be the first step in allied military transformation.

The MPF has shown other challenges such as the hybrid threat. However, this document is still not endorsed by the Alliance, and without this requisite, any action taken will not be more than a mere investigation task. The concept of hybrid threat must be accepted before starting its development, determining its scope and, if it is deemed valid, it should be included in the 2010 NATO Strategic Concept. The arrival of a French SACT may not only come with new ideas but also may reach new agreements on the fundamentals, and in this sense contribute to the attainment of the necessary political support for the new transformational concepts.

Another important aspect that should be taken into account is that Allied defence planning should have a solid concept for the employment of forces as a reference, comprising from deterrence to humanitarian assistance. On the contrary, planning should not be made in a vacuum because it will lack any intellectual and strategic basis.

It seems evident that the development of the Afghan war will decisively affect NATO's future and will determine its transformation. NATO should adopt a comprehensive approach for the future. The concept for the employment of forces should be comprehensive and cannot be the result of a sum of partial approaches. In this context the task of Allied transformation is to serve as a guide, a guide for the future.

NATO'S IMPACT ON THE SPANISH ARMY & FUTURE PERSPECTIVES

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Abstract:
The crucial influence, both direct as well as indirect, that NATO has had on all the Spanish Army's activities needs to be recognised, especially in terms of the change in mentality of its members; organisation, transformation and planning; doctrine, operations and intelligence; preparation and training, along with its leadership and logistic support. The important change in mentality that the Army has undergone as a consequence of entering the Alliance has fundamentally been in the field of operational structures, force projection, knowledge of languages, leadership, joint and combined spirit and multinationality. Some of the permanent references for the Army, with the horizon of 2025 in sight, include: the human factor (of the combat soldier), professionalism, the command structure, joint action, a Comprehensive Approach to conflicts, a continuous and dynamic need to evolve, constant improvement and an intelligent dissemination of the institution's values. Definitively, the Army in the first quarter of the 21st century is a tool of the State, one that is modern, agile, flexible, perfectly represented in NATO and the international environment, which is prepared in its mentality, and in staff and material terms, to respond with the greatest solidity, credibility and efficiency to safeguard and defend Spanish interests.

Keywords: NATO, Spanish Army.

Resumen:
Es preciso reconocer la importantísima influencia, tanto directa como indirecta, que la OTAN ha tenido en el Ejército de Tierra en todas sus actividades, especialmente en el cambio de mentalidad de sus integrantes, la organización, transformación y planeamiento, la doctrina, operaciones e inteligencia, preparación y adiestramiento junto con su liderazgo y apoyo logístico. El importante cambio de mentalidad que ha sufrido el Ejército de Tierra como consecuencia de su entrada en la Alianza, se ha manifestado, fundamentalmente, en el terreno de estructuras operativas, proyección de fuerzas, conocimiento de idiomas, liderazgo, espíritu conjunto y combinado y multinacionalidad. Algunas de las referencias permanentes del Ejército de Tierra en el horizonte del 2025 incluyen al factor humano - el soldado combatiente -, el profesionalismo, la estructura de mando, la acción conjunta, el enfoque integral de los conflictos, una continua y dinámica necesidad de evolucionar, una mejora permanente y una inteligente difusión de los valores de la institución. En definitiva, el Ejército de Tierra del primer cuarto del siglo XXI se constituye como un instrumento del Estado, moderno, ágil, flexible, perfectamente incardinado en el entorno OTAN e internacional, mental, personal y materialmente preparado para responder con la mayor solidez, credibilidad y eficiencia a la salvaguarda y defensa de nuestros intereses nacionales.

Palabras clave: *OTAN, Ejército Español.*

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1. Introduction

Spain's entry into NATO took place when the Spanish flag was raised at the headquarters of the Alliance, in Brussels, on 5 June 1982, notwithstanding a referendum later held in 1986 with the subtle formula of "Yes, but no", arguing that Spain belonged to the Alliance, but not to its military structure.

That situation forced the drafting of Co-ordination Agreements to implement participation by the Spanish Armed Forces in the Alliance. Six Agreements were drawn up: three for air and naval operations arising from the former Co-operation Agreements, within the framework of U.S.-Spanish relations and on the use of the joint bases; another was added for operations in the Strait of Gibraltar and its accesses; a logistic agreement, the Foxtrot; and the Alfa, that referred to the Army's employment.

The Treaty of Washington required subordination of military structures to civil power as an indispensable condition for membership. This implied the opening of the military to missions abroad and collective defence, whereas previously it had been concentrated largely on defending national territory, this implicitly boosted its modernisation as it had to adopt the standards of the allied Armed Forces[2].

In particular, this new external orientation, both with regard to missions in general as well as to collective defence, amounted to a new, modern field of action for the majority of the members of the Spanish Army, which was surprising as well as attractive.

It was surprising, due to the change the new doctrines, rules and procedures involved, and attractive, because it allowed the Spanish military to establish contact with professionals in other countries with whom they could exchange opinions, knowledge and experiences. This, in turn, permitted verifying the state of our Army, with regard to efficiency, structure and operation, both in the European and international context.

It is true that by the year 1982, NATO had already gathered more than thirty years of experience and most of the military forces in the member countries enjoyed a high level of effectiveness and efficiency. Nevertheless, it is also true that the Spanish military was involved in a permanent process of evolution and adaptation driven by an exemplary determination to improve professional standards.

The entry into the Atlantic Alliance came about during this process of improvement and adaptation at our barracks, facilitating prompt assimilation of the new currents in the fields of planning, organisation, operations, doctrine, logistics or intelligence that existed within NATO.

The moment we joined NATO thus coincided with a good professional situation among our soldiers, while our training, preparation and spirit of initiative and innovation were really positive factors in that integration.

From the Co-ordination Agreements in 1983 until full integration in NATO in 1999, other events took place that also contributed, in parallel with the process of full integration in the Alliance, to opening up all kinds of new trends in the fields of security and defence, in the context of our Armed Forces and, thus, within the Spanish Army.

[2] Gen. Narro Romero, Juan: "Los 27 años de España en la OTAN", *Atenea Journal,* no. 7 (May 2009), pp 40-41.

Among them, there was commencement of participation in multinational operations under the UN mandate, in the late 1980s and early 1990s. These activities powerfully changed the outlook and the national concept of security and defence.

One went from being a mere spectator in the field of contribution to international peace and security to being a player with an important qualitative specific role due to the major achievements made by Spain and, in particular, by the Army, in that field, especially in Africa, in Latin America and in the Balkans.

Thus, when Spain fully joined the integrated military structure of NATO in 1999, achieving full membership status, it fully took on board the concepts of shared security and collective defence, beyond any doubt. That is, it became yet another partner among equals, which gave rise to full participation in all the Alliance's bodies, decisions and activities.

Thus, this logical process of exposure ranges from the first steps of Spain's entry into NATO, at the beginning of the 1980s, up to the present day, emphasising the many aspects of the impact that the Alliance had on the Army and that had an intense influence on the latter's adaptation, evolution and modernisation.

In this line of analysis, starting with the situation of the Army in the early 1980s, we emphasise the most significant evidence in the change in mentality of its members; organisation, transformation and planning; doctrine, operations and intelligence; preparation and training, along with its leadership and logistic support.

The author has selected these aspects since he considers them to be the most remarkable ones since, on the one hand, they form part of the very essence of the Army as an institution and, on the other, they constitute essential elements of the evolution of modern Armies, such as the change in mentality, operations, leadership and transformation in general.

2. The Army´s Situation in the 1980´s

In this context, it is necessary to refer to milestones that had a strong effect on the Spanish security and defence model before and in the first half of the 1980s.

Firstly, establishment of bilateral relations with the United States in the mid 1950s amounted to the first step within the framework of international defence relations, thus going beyond a mere national conception of these. Contact with the U.S. Army was an opportunity for opening up the Army to the outside world, towards the worldwide military community, involving awareness of the doctrines, practices and organisation of other Armed Forces.

From then on, defence began to be considered from a double viewpoint, the national one, related exclusively to our sovereignty, and the international one, as members of a worldwide defence community responsible for guaranteeing international peace and security.

In order to prepare and adapt the Armed Forces for entry into NATO, the Organic Law 6/1980 was approved. Later it was amended by Organic Law 1/1986, regulating the basic criteria for National Defence. The military organisation clearly established the appropriate concepts and definitions, as well as the powers and responsibilities of the different authorities and services, the Army, the Navy and the Air Force. Those laws permitted Spain to join International Security and Defence Organisations, especially NATO.

The referendum on NATO, in 1986, allowed the introduction of a new security and defence model in which collective defence was considered as one of the most important Euro-Atlantic reference frameworks, which had to be progressively adapted. As we shall see, the Spanish Army began to act within that new scenario, based on the international experience it already had, through co-operation with other Armies in our area, mainly the United States army, as already mentioned.

As an example, we shall see what the situation of the Army was in the early 1980s, especially for the purposes of planning, through the Army Modernisation Plan (META), while the Spanish Armed Forces started their experience in the Atlantic Alliance.

Indeed, in the 1970s, during the transition to the democratic regime, Spain had a very large conscript Army, with territorial organisation, aimed at defending the country, with very small overseas involvement and very old equipment.

In order to undertake the two main objectives of adjusting the Army as an institution to the limited financial possibilities and recruitment capacity, and to rationalise the existing structures inherited following the Spanish Civil War, at the end of the decade the Army Modernisation Plan (called the META Plan) was adopted. The most important measures of this Plan were as follows:

Reduction of the number of Military Regions, from nine to six. It is important to emphasise that the Field Marshals who headed the Military Regions had, at that time, operational powers.

Secondly, the number of units was reduced, going from 24 to 15 Brigades. That reduction was fundamentally performed to the detriment of the Brigades of the General Reserve, as the 5 Operational Divisions were maintained. With regard to personnel, 9,000 commissioned and non-commissioned officers were lost (22%) and 74,500 enlisted soldiers (30%)[3].

Grouping support units in specific commands also began, to reduce the scope of control of the General Chief of Staff. The Coastal Artillery and Engineers Commands were created.

Lastly, an important landmark during this period was the transformation of logistics, from services logistics to functional logistics, with the implementation of the Logistics Support System. This system brought about the beginning of the systematic reorganisation of the Army that was subsequently carried out.

On the other hand, in 1986, reduction of Compulsory Military Service from 18 to 12 months was decreed, that led, for the purposes of structural design, to a decrease in available human resources. [i]

3. Change in Mentality

Spain's entry into NATO led to a major change in mentality for the Army, fundamentally departing from territorial defence of Spain to collective defence in a context of shared

[3] Tnte. Gral. Ortega Martín Juan: "La Transformación de los Ejércitos", *Revista Ejército,* no. 806 (May 2009), p. 97.

security, from being a territorial Army to an expeditionary Army and projection of forces – recovering an old, yearned-for capacity of our Army – in parallel with the evolution of NATO.

Based on the conviction that our security is inseparably bound to that of our neighbouring countries, to those which share the same model of society and to others located in areas of our strategic interest, Spain and its Army are fully committed to achieving a more stable and secure international order, based on pacific coexistence, on defence of democracy and human rights, and respect for the rules of International Law.

This commitment is materialised by belonging to international organisations, especially NATO, and this was made apparent by our presence and determined participation in Peacekeeping Support Operations. In this context, the ethical code has constituted and continues to constitute a permanent reference guide for actions by the Army in the new times, in which the values of freedom, justice and solidarity are fundamental.

The 3 Spanish Armed Forces in the 90s were characterised by widespread participation in Peacekeeping Support Operations, which gradually came to condition the organisation of the Armed Forces, in general, and the Army, in particular. Such intervention, which coincided with the first years after we joined NATO, has also had a considerable repercussion in the change of mentality of our soldiers, as stated above, who share experiences with professionals from other nations, establish relations of close collaboration with them and obtain a closer knowledge of their way of working.

In this period, Spanish opinion increasingly questioned Compulsory Military Service, which led to widespread conscientious objection and to shortening military service to 9 months, bringing further reductions in Army numbers and thus making the staffing of units more difficult.

Because of the new concept of national strategy in the context of collective security and international defence organisations, a possible stand-alone situation for the Army was inconceivable, rather it was necessary to set it within a joint scope or, fundamentally, joint-combined.

In this sense, due to the dynamic and evolutionary nature of crises and conflicts, only at the first moments of these is a purely national response expected, then it proceeds, without possible alternatives, to the international – multinational scope.

Furthermore, it has been necessary to undertake defence of allied territory on the basis that defence of our national security interests are perfectly in keeping with defence of the collective interests of the Alliance, all within the scope of an international framework that embodies the principles and universal criteria of the United Nations.

Moreover, joining NATO has facilitated definition of a joint military strategy; on the understanding that the joint nature does not mean that the internal or external features inherent to each one of the Armies will disappear. Quite to the contrary, their diversity and even competition among them is necessary, although not rivalry, because only efficiency in the capacity inherent to each one may provide the trust and mutual comprehension that are required.

As an obvious sign of this evolution, Organic Law 5/2005, dated 17 November, on National Defence, states that *the Armed Forces are the essential defence element and constitute a unique entity that is conceived as an integrating compound for the specific types of action of each one of the components thereof, namely: the Army, the Navy and the Air Force.*

Faced with the need to be prepared and to be able to react to any event, Spanish strategic conception was based, on one hand, on maintenance of its own defensive capacity, which constitutes the ability to provide a truly national response and a deterrence factor; on the other, on collective defence and shared security with our partners and allies.

In such a line, within the joint military strategy, the uniqueness of land forces participation as the support and main element of the scope determined by the Army's resources and way of acting, takes on special importance when one considers the aspects listed below:

- Land space is settled by the different human societies that reside there, forming the international community;

- Most future military operations will take place at the lowest levels of conflict, at those called "non-warfare", where one has to deploy in the field, contact the population and provide for elementary needs. In a word, actions will be carried out especially on land;

- All this is quite independent of the scenario envisaged, whether asymmetrical, conventional or criminal, which requires an integral approach with a modern, effective and forward-looking doctrine for the actions of the Armed Forces in forthcoming years;

- The present military operations carried out on land space have great credibility due to their decisive nature. Until land forces were able to reach the Persian Gulf or Kosovo, a definitive solution to the conflicts did not begin.

- It is highly probable, in the near future, that the majority of conflicts will arise and be resolved, due to their inherent nature, within land spaces, as has already been happening in the last 40 years, with highly occasional exceptions, such as Granada or the Malvinas/Falklands.

The performance of real missions under the NATO umbrella, quite different from that of the UN, particularly with modern rules, doctrines and procedures whose effectiveness has been verified, meant a really substantial leap forward for the Army, which involved not only operating with other Armies in the multilateral field, thus showing our own effectiveness, but also verifying our operational efficiency along with our possibilities for interoperability.

Joint, combined work along with bilateral and multilateral actions, common activities in the Alliance, also led to opening up to all kinds of trends, sharing concerns and advances in different fields, mainly the doctrinal, operational and logistics ones, through the lessons learned and their application once their feasibility and efficiency were proven.

Undoubtedly, the use of English as a usual tool in any of the Alliance activities, from the most simple contacts and co-ordination relations to the establishing of agreements or internal operating criteria between the allies, even the most complex ones in the operational field, led to great progress. This was both in the intellectual arena as well as in technical

terms, particularly in its use as a Command and Control (C2) tool in activities by the Army, both beyond the national level and internationally.

One of the strongest or most important impacts arose in the field of leadership. Indeed, due to the continual contact and exchange of ideas between the different Armies that led to joining the Alliance, *inter alia* new military leadership was emphasized. In this field, the Army designed the principles of the New Command Style in 1997[4] that constituted a true and brilliant novelty in its time.

4. Reorganisation

As previously stated, the META Plan had already begun its implementation in the late 70s and early 80s, before Spanish entry into NATO.

In the late 80s, the Army Restructuring Plan, RETO Plan, was prepared to adjust the Army's staff, and thus increase the degree of coverage and availability of units. Among the objectives of this Plan, there was also that of lightening units, modernising their material and making them more interoperable with the countries in our area.

Between 1993 and 1994 a new Plan was conceived, the New Army Organisation Plan, known as NORTE Plan, which strongly boosted modernisation. The aim was to improve the projection capacity of the Army, for its use in operations abroad, making it more flexible and efficient so a systematic organisation was designed, combining the traditional pyramidal organic structure with a functional structure that allowed the working procedures to be expedited.

The NORTE Plan also aimed to adapt the Army to the increasing joint vocation of our Armed Forces and systematisation of the planning process with a design of a stepped set of annual objectives to be fulfilled.

Among the measures recorded in this Plan, one could emphasise a new reduction of units, with a decrease in the number of Brigades to 12, among which 4 were in the Mobilisable Reserve, with a low level of coverage, some of which were subsequently dissolved.

The Plan also led to the creation of the Training and Doctrine Command, with duties related to such important areas as Doctrine, Organics, Material, Teaching, Instruction and Training, Evaluation and Research.

The territorial structure was reduced again, going from 6 to 4 Military Regions. The Heads of the Military Regions also lost their operative powers, maintaining only their duties of a logistic, administrative and territorial nature.

Lastly, a functional structure was designed based on a set of co-ordinated systems that regulated the relations between the different bodies that performed commitments related to the same functional areas, regardless of their status within the organic structure.

[4] See Addendum 1.

At that moment, we had a mixed troop model, with both conscript and professional soldiers, a model designed to make use of professional troop resources for the Armed Forces overall, ranging from 102,000 to 120,000. The Army would have about 84,000. In this situation, suspension of Compulsory Military Service was decreed, bringing the number down to just 48,000 soldiers, all of them professional.

In 2002, the Ministry of Defence ordered the definitive elimination of the territorial structure, with the exception of the non-mainland territories (the Canary and Balearic Isles, and the cities of Ceuta and Melilla). This meant the last Regional Commands disappeared, the administrative duties they carried out being taken over fundamentally by the new Inspectorate General of the Army.

In this ongoing process of reorganisation of the Army in order to adapt to the new challenges, the impact of NATO was especially noted in the preparation of the Instruction for Organisation and Operation of the Army (IOFET)[5], at the end of the 90s, with its continual subsequent adaptation. The Army introduced new structures in its organisation such as the High Readiness Forces Headquarters (HQ HRF), as well as that of a national nature made available to NATO. In addition, a permanent assignment of Army personnel, either through the command structure, or through the structure of its forces, was contemplated.

In addition to this, regardless of the conception of the systemic Army considered in the IOFET that was one of the most original initiatives made by the Army, the introduction of organic elements belonging to the Army, both at national as well as allied level, was considered. In this context NATO was to be used when necessary once prior appropriate approval at governmental level was given, and this has given rise to total integration and symbiosis with the Atlantic Alliance, facilitating an approach to the community of interests and doctrine considered fundamental to attain greater allied cohesion.

Thus, the Spanish Army forms an essential instrument for that cohesion, considered of vital importance for the existence, credibility and operation of the Alliance.

Within the NATO Command Structure (NCS), which is a structure belonging to the organisation itself, with its own chain of command, on the Spanish mainland at Pozuelo (Madrid), the SubRegional Southwest Headquarters of NATO was set up, whose name and functions were quickly changed to NATO's Land Component Command (LCC) HQ (Madrid). The Alliance's continuous transformation has yet again changed its name to Force Command HQ Madrid. Its staff members exceed 450, of which a quarter are Spaniards, mainly from the Army, and the others from 15 allied countries.

The HQ of the Southern Land Component Commando of NATO was, until 2009, a land HQ that was intrinsically capable of projection and operation anywhere in the world. It was one of the Land Component Commands of the NATO Command Structure – the other, with the same size and design, is deployed in Heidelberg, Germany – with a capacity to command 3 Army Corps. It is under the permanent command of a Lieutenant General of the Spanish Army.

Its general mission is to constitute a Land Component Command of a Joint Principal Operation with a land component size of up to 3 Army Corps, as well as being able to

[5] "Sobre las normas de organización y operación en el ejército", Instrucción, *Ministerio de Defensa, Boletín de Defensa 215, 302/1998* (18 November 1998). A new IOFET will be made in 2010.

establish two deployable elements at the Operational Headquarters located in Brunssum, Naples and Lisbon.

As Force Command HQ Madrid, its function is to provide command and control capacity at the operational level, projectable in a Theatre of Operations. This is achieved via the two Deployable Joint Chief of Staff Elements (DJSE) that constitute it.

At the level of the NATO Force Structure (NFS), which is a structure whose elements belong to the nations integrating the HQs and the forces available to the command structure by means of specific agreements of command and control, the High Readiness Force HQ (HQ HRF), deployed in Bétera (Valencia), is a national organisation that will be made available to NATO according to the relevant agreements and memoranda. It is open to voluntary participation by the personnel of the Armed Forces of other States who are party to the North Atlantic Treaty.

The HQ HRF may be used as a command structure in specific or joint land operations with a purely national scope, or with the scope of collective Security and Defence organisations, without any further limitation than the provisions in that regard considered in the relevant agreements and memoranda.

It is a body at Army Corps level with capacity to lead multinational land operations and, when appropriate, the Land Component of a joint organisation within an allied context.

The HQ HRF, with the presence of allied personnel, and when available to the Atlantic Alliance, constitutes the Headquarters of the Rapid Deployment Corps of the Atlantic Alliance, with the official name, within it, of "Headquarters NATO Rapid Deployable Corps-Spain" (HQ NRDC-SP) and while that situation remains, it will have International Headquarters status.

As HQ NRDC-SP, it must be able to operate through an ample spectrum of NATO missions, from low intensity, such as HQ of the Army Corps (AC) at the orders of a Land Component Command, designated by the Command Structure of the Alliance in an operation of one or several Army Corps, or as a Land Component Command of a Joint Combined Force in an operation up to AC, under the authority of the HQ of a previously designated Combined Joint Force or Joint Force.

It is a multinational HQ with an approximate staff size of 400, somewhat more than 320 of whom are Spaniards, the rest belonging to 9 allied nations. This HQ has the following "affiliates": a Division HQ and 8 Spanish Brigades, 1 Portuguese Brigade and a Greek brigade. If one adds the "dedicated" Spanish units, the maximum contribution of forces to the HQ NRDC-SP may amount to somewhat more than 50,000 service staff.

On the other hand, also within the NATO Force Structure, the Army contributes somewhat less than a quarter (about 21%) of the staff of the Headquarters of the EUROCORPS (HQ NRDC-EC) deployed in Strasbourg, (France), along with France, Germany, Belgium and Luxembourg. With a similar entity and design to the HQ NRDC-SP, the Army has about 180 service persons assigned to the HQ NRDC-EC, of all ranks.

In addition to the participation by the Army in the three Headquarters mentioned, one set within the NATO Command Structure and the other two in the NATO Force Structure, the Excellence Centre Counter IED (Improvised Explosive Devices) is being created in Spain,

near the Engineers' Academy in Hoyo de Manzanares, the NATO name of which is C-IED (Counter Improvised Explosive Device).

Its mission consists of contributing to improving the security of the allied nations and the security of the soldiers deployed in the field, reducing or eliminating the threat of attacks using IEDs. It will lie within the Command Structure of the Alliance, in the Allied Command Transformation (ACT), deployed in Norfolk (United States). This contributes an important element to transformation of the Alliance.

It shall report directly to the Chief of Defence (CHOD) as it is a joint command, with the participation of other bodies pertaining to the General State Administration. It will be under the command of an Army Colonel. Of the 50 staff foreseen, both civil and military and both Spanish and from the Alliance, about fifteen will be from the Army. NATO accreditation is foreseen at the end of 2010 and it is expected to obtain its Final Operative Capacity (FOC) in 2010.

The total Spanish commitment of staff assigned to the different Headquarters and Bodies of the NATO Command Structure and NATO Force Structure of the Alliance now amounts to a figure close to 800 members, half in Spain and the other half in the rest of Europe and the USA.

5. Transformation

The Army started a continual, profound transformation, which consists of adapting to the new strategic scenario.

The organic structure of the Force has been modified to deal with that scenario and studies have commenced to transform the Headquarters and Force Support.

The main criteria on which the present transformation process is based are as follows[6]:

- Establishment of an organisation of the Force that facilitates partial or total assignment to the CHOD for execution of operations;

- Increasing the flexibility of generation of operative organisations and facilitating joint action;

- Increasing the availability of the units, with complete personnel and material, adapting the operational capacities that provide for the new international environment;

- Assuring rapid response to international commitments with compositions of forces that provide visibility and specific weight, that are interoperational with our allies; well prepared, cohesive and capable of easy integration in higher military or civil organisations; and of integration with new players of increasing relevance within the theatre of operations;

- Within the more ample framework of transformation of the Armed Forces, to undertake reform of Force Support, adapting an organisation that may be sustained by the

[6] "8ª Legislatura (2004-2008)", Memorandum, *Ministerio de Defensa Español, Secretaría Técnica General,* (01 May 2008), at http://www.060.es.

national and European industrial and corporate fabric, maintaining indispensable services to guarantee security for the support.

The transformation process has supposed, up to the month of May 2008, a change in organic dependence of approximately 15,500 military staff and 650 civilians, the dissolution of the Headquarters of the Manoeuvre Force and the reorganisation of eight Headquarters at the General and Lieutenant General level. This is in order to achieve a specialization in their duties of preparation and generation of forces, and, on the other hand, in NRF HQ operation and deployment.

Simultaneously, the Troop Headquarters in the Canary Islands have been transformed into a Light Infantry Brigade, the Mountain Troops Brigade to the Mountain Troops Headquarters, and four commands have been reorganised at Brigade level, which are the Air-transported Forces, the Campaign Artillery, Anti-aerial and Engineers Commands.

With regard to the organisation and deployment of the Force, the implementation of Royal Decree 416/2006 and of Ministerial Order 3771/2008 continues, to subsequently undertake the terms relevant to the Force Support and the Headquarters, in order to achieve fully operational units for immediate deployment, adapted to the strategic scenario[7].

According to the consideration of the Army as a future key instrument in national strategy and the presence of Spain overseas, it must be able to effectively carry out all the missions entrusted from combat to humanitarian aid. That Army, based on capacities, establishes different types of forces: Armoured and Mechanised Forces, without alternatives in the forthcoming 20 years; Light Forces, which are fit for combat on foot; and Medium Forces to carry out swift, decisive action[8].

From the lessons learned in recent conflicts, medium capacity units need to be made available that may act in crises in their initial moments, thus avoiding deployment of a larger number of forces and stripping the adversary of initiative by controlling the crisis through the **swift effect.** This effect states that one must not only arrive earlier, with air transportation, but with sufficient combat power.

In the event of the crisis control not being effective, these units will constitute the force to provide protection on entry to the Theatre of Operations for other more resolutive units, to achieve the **decisive effect**. The Medium Forces are, in terms of combat power and protection, a bridge between the heavy and the light units.

Definition of these Forces is intimately linked to development of platforms and vehicles, which adequately harmonise reduction of weight and dimensions with the required combat power and protection.

The general catalogue of contributions by the Army to International Organisations and Multinational Forces has been affected by the evolution of International Organisations, which are immersed in their own restructuring, and by the development and consolidation of such concepts as the NATO Response Force (NRF)

[7] "Army Brochure", *Army Staff Cabinet*, Madrid, Spain (October 2009).
[8] "Composición del GU. Modularidad. BRIPES/BRIL/BRIMED Orgánico", Document in *Revista Ejército*, no. 772 (July/August 2005), pp 46-47.

or the Battle Group (BG) of the European Union (EU). The contribution by the Army, that is permanent in nature, to the different NATO structures, globally, is as follows:

6. Response to the NATO Forces Planning System

Within the NATO Forces Planning System and the framework established by its planning cycles, the Army maintains, as part of the general contribution of the Spanish Armed Forces, the commitment defined by the capacities made available to the Alliance as a response to the Forces Planning and the Defence Planning Questionnaires (DPQs).

This commitment is materialised through undertaking the derivatives of the NATO Force Goal and the relevant designation of capacities in those DPQs, within the relevant requisites of Readiness Categories (RC) required in each case.

The assignment of the relevant units to the commitments arising from the DPQs as a consequence of the response to crisis situations is subject to processes of Force Generation and is thus regulated according to the criteria established in the Army availability plans.

In this process, one must bear in mind that fulfilment of the objects assigned does not act solely in the benefit of the Alliance, with which Spain maintains a collective defence commitment, but it also constitutes a reference with regard to identification of needs and availability of capacity to fulfil the Ambition Levels established in our own National Planning System.

At present, practically all the capacities of the Armies (HQs and units) are assigned to NATO in different degrees of availability.

NATO's defence planning process has been modified to incorporate the concepts of the Comprehensive Approach. Once again, changes in NATO procedures, changes in which the staff of the Spanish representations (PERMREP, MILREP, NMR) has participated, shall have an impact on national and Army procedures.

Offering the NRDC-SP to the Alliance arises from the response by Spain to the NATO Force Structure (NFS), materialised through the relevant Memoranda of Understanding (MOUs) and Technical Agreements (TA) in 2002.

Royal Decree 416/2006 and Ministerial Order 114/2006 establish that the High Readiness Force Headquarters (HQ HRF) of the Army will be the sole Command able to constitute the Headquarters at EC / Division level required by the operational structure.

According to the terms foreseen in Royal Decree 2015/2004, dated 11 October, by which the Army created the HQ HRF, and the General Instruction 02/07 of the Army Chief of Staff on the "Organic Concept of the HQ HRF", the HQ HRF will include a "National Component of the Headquarters of the NRDC-SP" that, together with personnel of the allied nations, will constitute the Headquarters of the NRDC-SP.

The Technical Agreement (TA) for Command and Control establishes that, in peacetime, the NRDC-SP will be under the Operational Command (OPCOM) of SACEUR.

Thus, the HQ HRF, regardless of its national commitments, is permanently constituted as NRDC-SP and its organic structure is able to respond to the requirements foreseen in the agreements signed with NATO (MOU and TA) in relation to the NRDC-SP. The main part of that contribution is made with personnel assigned to the National Component of the Staff of the HQ NRDC-SP. Likewise, the Army will provide the NRDC-SP with Units, which are "Units that form part of the HQ", "Dedicated Units" and "Affiliated Units".

The contribution by the Army to the HQ NDC- GR (Forces of Low Readiness) in Greece started in 2005 through assignment of personnel to the Headquarters and affiliation of an Infantry Brigade.

The HQ LCC – Madrid is set within the NATO Command Structure (NCS) as a Land Component Command. The Army maintains a particular relation with HQ LCC-Madrid arising from its location in Spain, from participation by Army staff at the latter Headquarters, the command of which is assigned to an Army General, as well as the commitments and support arising from the role Spain has as a Host Nation (HNS). As there are no permanent commitments with regard to contribution of units to this HQ, the possible contributions arising from Force Generation processes will adapt to what is foreseen in the availability plans of the Army.

From 1999, through successive responses to the NATO Defence Plan Questionnaire (DPQ), Spain has assigned forces of the Army, dependent on the Anti-Air Artillery Command (CAAA), to the Integrated Air Defence System of that organisation (NATINEADS).

Spain maintains its commitment to participation in the NATO Response Force (NRF). It contributes, within the scope of the Army, through leadership, in the different rotations established by NATO, of the Land Component Command (LCC) with adequate capacities, constituted as an NRDC-SP, and of the Special Operations Component Command (SOCC), as well as by contribution of capacity to the rotations led by other General Headquarters assigned within NATO's scope. Moreover, the Army also contributes to the NATO Response Force within the framework of participation in the EUROCORPS when that Headquarters acts as a Land Component Command (LCC) of the NRF. Contributions to the NRF do not constitute permanent contributions, as they are subject to the NATO Force Generation processes and are thus regulated according to the criteria foreseen in the Army Availability Plan.

7. Operations

The complexity of the present world has broken down the traditional borders between war and peace. Nowadays, most conflicts are located in an ample grey area where extreme violence coexists with the daily life of the citizens. Thus, operations in which the Spanish Army participates take place in complex situations of crisis or conflict, with multiple State and non-state players who may condition or even determine their outcome[9].

This complex, fluid security environment gives rise to new trials and challenges faced by the Armed Forces and, thus, the Army. They will not only have to respond swiftly to crises of a very distinct nature and intensity that may arise anywhere on the planet, but also, once

[9] "Doctrina para la Acción Conjunta de las Fuerzas Armadas" (Doctrine for Joint Action by the Armed Forces), *Defence Chief of Staff*, *PDC-01* (May 2009).

there, must perform a great variety of duties, autonomously, or in collaboration with multinational forces – from humanitarian aid to combat actions – against highly diverse adversaries, in any kind of environment whatsoever.

Spanish participation in operations and missions abroad has already reached the 20-year mark. It was in 1989 when the phase we call exterior operations began. The Spanish Armed Forces have actively participated in missions abroad continuously since 1991.

It is significant to remember that overseas operations and missions were carried out once Spain joined NATO. There is no doubt that all the experience of the Alliance in such operations amounted to a true benefit to the Army, especially all the aspects related to operating procedures, along with force projection mechanisms.

Each one of the operations in which the Spanish Army has participated has had its own idiosyncrasy, which has amounted to essential baggage and experience, to deal with the reality demanded by the international situation. In that period, the Army has taken part in multiple operations, covering the whole spectrum of conflict, from humanitarian operations to peace enforcement operations, acting alone or as part of multinational structures such as NATO, the European Union or the United Nations.

In fact, Spanish participation in foreign operations, particularly within the NATO framework, has been the driving force for change and our coming of age internationally. It has allowed us to recover our glorious tradition as an expeditionary Army, as well as to work with our partners and allies with full efficiency and operativity.

That is to say, during this time, as already mentioned, ample experience has been acquired, based on the lessons learned. These lessons continually drive preparation of the present contingents. Up to the present day, an approximate figure of 86,000 soldiers have been deployed on the diverse missions in which the Spanish Army has participated.

The command and control system for operations is regulated by the organic structure under the Chief of Army Staffs Command, which generates and prepares the force, and the operating structure, under the CHOD's command, that projects the force, performs the monitoring and, when appropriate, leads the operations.

The Spanish Army now deploys forces in three operations: Operation "Althea", organised by the European Union in Bosnia Herzegovina; the NATO Operation "ISAF" in Afghanistan, and Operation UNIFIL, organised by the United Nations in the Lebanon. For the purposes of this work, I shall only provide data of the NATO operations.

The mission in Kosovo, up to last 19 September, was based on maintaining a military presence to provide security and stability, in order to re-establish normal conditions in the region, maintaining constant support for other international operations in the area, especially the civil mission of the EU (EULEX) and the United Nations mission (UNMIK).

Spain immediately responded to the call of its allies to contribute to what was then called Operation Joint Guardian, now called Joint Enterprise, according to the mandate of the United Nations Security Council included in Resolution 1244 (1999). Since the operation began, more than 22,000 Spanish soldiers have participated in it, supporting the return of about 800,000 refugees, performing 60,186 patrols, covering more than 4.6 million kilometres and carrying out 245 missions to deactivate explosives. They have also worked on co-

operation projects to improve the living conditions of the local population, namely in the distribution of 1,010 tonnes of humanitarian aid, more than 10,000 health assistance instances, and 120 rapid impact projects, such as road works, electrical power line repairs, water channels and school reforms[10].

The general mission of the present operation, International Security Assistance Force (ISAF), in Afghanistan is that of aiding the Afghan Government to exercise its authority through support for stabilisation and reconstruction of the country. The reconstruction is based on three fundamental pillars, which are security, aid for development and support for governance.

Although the Spanish Army has participated in the ISAF operation since it started in 2005, during the expansion process, Spain decided to concentrate its efforts on the Western Sector, under the Western Regional Command (RC WEST).

Personnel is deployed in three places. Firstly, in Kabul, at the Headquarters of the ISAF, with the national intelligence cell and a communications centre. Secondly, in Herat, with a company of the Manoeuvres Battalion of the RC WEST, a helicopter unit, 2 liaison and advice teams and a UAV Unit, as well as a national support element (NSE) and personnel from the HQ of the Regional Command. Thirdly, in Qala and Now, with a provincial reconstruction team (PRT) with the mission of creating a stable, safe environment to facilitate development of the reconstruction projects by the international community. During 2010, all the Army's capacities deployed in RC WEST will be concentrated in Qala and Now.

At present, December 2009, the total personnel the Army has deployed on the ISAF operation is about 1000 service persons.

8. NATO Response Force (NRF)

The concept of the NATO Response Force (NRF) was approved at the Prague Summit, held in 2002, it consists of a set of technologically advanced, flexible land, air and sea forces with sustainable deployment capacity, ready to be quickly deployed wherever necessary after a decision by the Atlantic Council.

The High Readiness Force Headquarters made available to the NATO Force Structure, as well as other Headquarters of the nations, undertake the command of the Land Component of the NATO Response Forces according to the rotating shift agreed[11].

The essential objective of the NRF consists of acting as "catalyst" in the transformation of the capacities of the Alliance. The Forces of the nations committed to the NRF must undertake the effort of improving their capacities to achieve specific operational levels, in terms of efficiency and interoperability. The NRF reached its full operational capacity in October 2006.

The Spanish Army has expended a great deal on the NRF and, in fact, its participation in the different rotations has been one of the highest among the allied countries, both within the scope of the HQ NRDC – SP as well as the HQ NRDC - EC.

[10] *Ministry of Defence*, *International Missions,* http://www.mde.es/ .
[11] "Army Brochure", *op. cit.*

In 2005, Spain led the LCC of NRF 5. After the evaluation process during the second semester of 2005 the HQ NRDC SP was in the standby period, being part of NRF 5 ready to be deployed anywhere at any time.

The disastrous earthquake in Pakistan provoked the deployment of NRF 5 in a relief operation. The forward CP was deployed under the Command of the DCOS OPS Spanish Major General to lead the land forces. More than 1,000 soldiers from different nationalities made up the Land Component of the NRF 5. Spain provided the LCC HQ as well as 370 soldiers deployed from different Spanish Units. The relief operation concluded on 11 January 2006.

In NRF - 12, which was operational during the first semester of 2009, the joint land force was under the command of HQ NRDC – SP. It had a Combined Joint Statement of Requirements (CJSOR) of 9902 soldiers, with coverage of 5182 (52.3%), so the contribution by the Spanish Army was 3922 soldiers, representing 75.7% of that coverage. The rest, 1260 soldiers, were provided by other nations.

To these one must add 150 members of the Joint Logistic Support Group (JLSG) as well as the National Support Element LCC/JLSG of 593. The total participation of soldiers by the Army amounted to 4665.

9. Preparation of the Force

The operations by the Land Forces range from local security tasks in a relatively benign area to collective defence against a large-scale aggression. Although the highest probability for the Army is to lead Crisis Response Operations, from Peace Support Operations to combat operations by the Alliance, the Land Forces must be trained for the demands of high intensity combat operations.

The lessons learnt due to the experience acquired in over more than 20 years of operations abroad, especially those performed within the scope of the Alliance, from the point of view of generation and preparation of forces, are as follows:

- The start-up of the availability cycle, permitting sequential matching of preparation, deployment and recovery of the units;

- Design of a C2 structure to facilitate relations between Spanish territory and operations zones;

- Detailed planning of contingent preparation – organisation, training and mustering phase;

- Design of a C2 structure to facilitate relations between Spanish territory and the operations zones;

- Reconnaissance of the operations zones prior to deployment;

- Acclimatisation of the force once deployed and continued training activities;

- Ample knowledge of local customs and practices;

- Finally, the actual challenges under preparation:

- Crowd control, even excluding the National Police Force and the Civil Guard;

- The English language, which is fundamental for our Forces to work in a multinational environment;

- Boosting protection of the Force against the present asymmetric threats.

In order to deal with generation of all the units required by the CHOD, both in multinational structures as well as in operations zones, as well as guaranteeing adequate preparation of those forces, the Army has implemented the Availability and Training Sequence Plan that establishes an operating cycle lasting 24 months.

Each Brigade type unit rotates in that cycle, so it has 11/13 months in which it is dedicated exclusively to its organic preparation, 6 months when it is in available phase, being the base unit of any structure that requires a high level of availability, and 4/6 months in which it will generate the necessary contingents for the Operations Zone. Finally, there are 1 or 2 months for recovery after assignment.

This allows the units to know their medium term commitments, thus adapting their training to the operational requisites and facilitating measures related to morale, living standards and family conciliation.

Preparation of the Army units has continued to improve, in order to make them more efficient in land combat, both conventional as well as asymmetric, more apt for joint action and interoperable with those of our partners and allies.

Likewise, the availability process of the Land Force units has been improved, substituting the previous one based on generation of light and heavy Brigades, by implementation of availability cycles for the different organic units that has also been synchronised with their schedule of projection for peace support missions and training cycles. This has brought about a considerable improvement in the preparation and cohesion of organic units.

With regard to the Instruction and Training, the preparation has been fundamentally directed at being able to fulfil any mission that might be assigned outside Spain, to having the capacity to lead joint and multinational structures, and being able to collaborate with the Civil Authorities and with the Spanish National Police Force and the Civil Guard (FCSE- Spanish acronym).

Additionally, in line with real missions and capacities, the greatest efforts in instruction and training have been aimed at: Units constituting the NATO Response Force (NRF), especially NRF-5, NRF-9 and NRF-10, as well as preparation of NRF-12; constituent Units of the EU Battle Group; high availability units; and the NRDC-HQ SP.

10. Interoperability[12]

It is essential for the Alliance Forces to have the ability to operate together. There are significant differences among the Land Forces of the Alliance, particularly regarding skills, organisation and equipment. However, multinational operations require a high level of standardisation. It is considered vital for all the forces to have a common understanding of the principles of NATO land combat operations and thus be able to apply the same doctrine.

The present degree of interoperability that it is necessary to attain for adequate integration in a combined operational organisation is directly proportional to the complexity of the operation to be carried out. That, in principle, does not imply that warfare operations are more complex from the point of view that concerns us.

Multinational forums, principally those of NATO, are considered to be the essential framework in establishing the bases for interoperability, although within these it is necessary to detail and perform in-depth analysis of the existing arrangements, which are usually minimum agreements, so that within a smaller environment of two or more nations, a solution to problems that it is difficult to overcome when dealing with all the allies at the same time may be found.

In the Spanish Army, the search for those standardisation details to achieve greater interoperability and integration of the units constitutes a constant orientation in all areas, although it is certain that, at present, doctrine, material and training are considered essential.

11. Reflections on the Army´s Future in the 21st Century

Joining NATO has undoubtedly led to the Army to its coming of age, both in European and International terms. The experience acquired since it joined the Alliance in the early 1980s has been extremely important.

The results of this experience and the lessons learned in the different operations have mainly been embodied in the fields of doctrine, force planning, operational planning, capacity planning, exchange of know-how, force generation, logistics, intelligence, along with development of leadership as an essential tool and the quality of the Army's action.

Within such a context, lessons learnt in the different operations in which the Army has participated in the last two decades will have a decisive influence, both on the organic and operational structure as well as on command, planning, motivation and control of the Army in years to come. I shall present those that may provide some reflections concerning the evolution of the Army in the first quarter of the 21st Century, in two clearly distinct parts.

The first, mentions the features and characteristics, in the field of operations, capacity and personnel, on which the evolution of the Army in the coming years is to be based.

The second, is the close symbiosis, arising from the first, related to the main qualities and responsibilities of the members of the Army as significant members of Spanish society, which they serve.

[12] "Spanish-French Interoperability", *MADOC. Doctrine, Organic and Materiel Directorate (DIDOM), Bilateral Seminar DOCEX-07* in Review: *Difusión Semestral*, no. 7. (2nd Semester 2007), p. 48.

Within the first part, in the operations environment, it is necessary to emphasise that the importance of the Army depends on its utility for the interests of Spaniards at large and, according to the Government's directives, its most probable short and medium term use. Its consolidated place within the joint multinational scope and its consecrated vocation to projection are undeniable. More than 90% of the Army's human resources are assigned to expeditionary units.

The preparation and fitness to undertake greater leadership in multinational operations, when the Government considers this as convenient, along with its willingness to undertake sacrifices and risks therein, must also be mentioned. Additionally, it is also important to emphasise the significant weight of land operations on the foreseeable scenarios the Spanish Army shall face, the full awareness of co-operation with agencies in operations, as well as the fact that all the Army's units are affiliated or dedicated to international operations.

On the other hand, one must not forget the need to have sufficient personnel in the land units operations zones to maintain contact with the civil population. Battalions in the field, the "boots on the ground" concept. Crisis and peace restoring operations are eminently *terrestrial and inter-agency*.

Within the scope of capacities, the Army aims to attain an adequate size for joint capacities. It defines the Brigade as a "combat system", aiming at ensuring that the Army's effectiveness and efficiency be based both on the Force as well as on Force Support and prioritising protection of our soldiers in its acquisitions, setting basic needs to zero and new capacities, i.e. realistic, solid, forward-looking objectives.

With regard to the personnel field, "international affairs" constitute a general vocation for the Army. More specifically, the Army is in the world. Physical preparation and languages are society references and although technology is useful to the Army, the capacity of its men and women is even more so.

The Army is immersed in a process of permanent dynamic transformation that allows it to fulfil the missions assigned. Updating in preparation and organisation, new acquisitions and international participation by our units are aspects forming the major challenges to be faced.

The nature of the operations and the need to guarantee the best security conditions require adequate assignment of effective modern material. The Leopard tank and the Tiger combat helicopter, along with other acquisition programmes, such as the 155/52 mm. howitzer, the Spike medium range missile, or the Wheeled Armoured Vehicle (WAV) 8x8, provide a substantial increase in our capacities. Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAV) and the Multi-purpose Light Vehicles (LMV) Lynx and RG-31, in addition to contributing to that modernisation process, will increase protection of our soldiers.

It is now convenient to emphasise, on completing 20 years of Spanish participation in international missions, that the availability of our units to be used in all kinds of missions, along with the capacity to integrate in multinational general headquarters, have made Spain play an important role in the international framework.

The Army encourages the overall vocation and integration of operations with players who are not purely military, maintaining a level of participation in keeping with the specific weight assigned to our organisation due to the volume and missions concerned[13].

Complementing what has been stated up to this point, regarding a new, modern leadership oriented to mission, in keeping with the requirements of the new times, the qualities, responsibilities and action by the members of the Army will most probably be set within this Decalogue:

1. Being: Integrity, values, principles, virtues and ethical code;
2. Knowing: Profound knowledge and training;
3. Behaving: Exemplary behaviour;
4. Communication skills: Good communicator and transmitter, correct interpretation of political will;
5. Inspiration: Capacity to act in the face of the unexpected, adaptation, change, transformation;
6. Responsibility: To society, to the people, to the State and institutions. Capacity to manage social pressure;
7. Knowing how to live with change: Innovative, creative, seeing beyond the horizon. Controlling and creating the future, mastering transformation;
8. Integration of national and international interests. Action of the State as an actor in the international community;
9. New threats: Global vision of the geostrategic, multidisciplinary, multinational context. Profound integral training;
10. Legitimacy as an essence and foundation for military values: total support and backing by society, through honour, values, principles and virtues;
11. Leadership: Example, charisma, in-depth preparation. Leadership of forces and appropriate, efficient decision-making. Being flexible and versatile;
12. Integrating national interests with honour and fear in the human dimension of warfare, to annihilate the adversary's willpower.

To sum up, in the coming years, the Army, taking into account that its transformation is fully bound to that of the Alliance, which guarantees it a pragmatic, balanced evolution and great experience acquired in diverse scenarios, will be effectively prepared to respond, in an efficient, credible manner, to the most modern and demanding requisites, both of our allies as well as those of the international arena.

[13] "Army Brochure", *op. cit.*

12. Prospects on NATO´s Future[14]

NATO's 60th Anniversary Summit in Strasbourg/Kehl in early April 2009 has entrusted the Secretary General with the development of a new Strategic Concept[15], so now it seems appropriate to make a prospective approach – after listing the main threats and risks – to attempt to list and define the main parameters or indicators that will mark the future of the Alliance in the first quarter of the 21st Century.

Today, our nations and the world are facing new, increasingly global. threats, such as terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, their supply and cyber attacks. Other challenges such as energy security, climate change, as well as instability, emanating from fragile and failed States, may also have a negative impact on the Alliance and international security[16].

I consider that some of the most important *current challenges* that will characterise NATO in the coming years, and that it will be necessary to establish or define in the new Strategic Concept, are the following: re-definition of the purpose and role of NATO; affirmation of its global orientation and regional focus; closer co-operation with the European Union; a new impulse for relations with Russia; reaffirmation and detailing its nuclear policy and strategy; intensification of its relations with international organisations; maintenance of the enlargement, reorganisation and increase of Partnership; taking China and India into account; and reforms of its structures.

Two peculiar and important challenges that will have an important impact on the Army's employment and evolution, are the following:

Reform NATO's structures. Allied capacities need to be flexible and deployable so that the Alliance may respond rapid and efficiently, wherever necessary, when there is a new crisis. Its structures must also be reformed in order for these to be made more simple and, at the same time, more effective.

New tasks for NATO. The following security issues and challenges appear to be particularly worth profound debate: proliferation, biological attacks, terrorism, organized crime, maritime security including piracy, the security implications of climate change as well as food, water and resources scarcity, and cyber security.

The implications deriving from the current and future challenges mentioned which NATO will have to face will be reflected in the Army's new role to be characterised, among others, by the features that follow.

A more flexible disposition of land forces and with greater deployment, projection and sustainability capacities are required, in order to be able to face with greater rigour expeditionary operations, without overlooking that these forces will also be useful in the defence of allied territory.

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[14] Wittman, Klaus: "Towards a new Strategic Concept for NATO", *North Atlantic Treaty Organisation* (NATO), *BG., NATO Defense College*, *NDC Forum Papers Series*, Rome, Italy (September 2009).
[15] "Declaration on Alliance Security", *North Atlantic Treaty Organisation* (NATO), *Heads of State and government meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Strasbourg/Kehl,* Strasbourg/Kehl (04 April 2008).
[16] *Idem.*

It will be necessary to encourage efforts in new capacities in fields such as intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance, command and control, strategic and tactical transport and multinational logistics.

A greater readiness is required in order for Alliance commitments to be materialised with the greatest rigour possible. Within the Alliance, interoperability will be a permanent goal.

The preparation and adaptation of the Units are required in order to respond with greater effectiveness to the new missions related to proliferation, biological attacks, terrorism, organised crime, energy security, cyber attacks, climate change and water or food shortages.

To continue participating, with a high presence, in rotations of the NATO Response Force (NRF) is desirable, as the best way to increase the Army's levels of effectiveness and operational capacity, as well as being an important element in the Alliance's transformation process.

With the horizon of 2025 in view, joint action and the comprehensive approach to conflicts will continue to be permanent reference points for the allies, understanding such an approach to be the convergence of military efforts with others of the same State or of those of non-governmental actors.

Another permanent reference point in the Alliance's context is professionalism, based on solid training and a continuous updating thereof, materialised in the precise execution of the missions entrusted and in the effort towards excellence.

Likewise, also within the Alliance, a permanent reference point will be the need for evolution in a continuous and dynamic fashion in line with the speed of technological progress that will require designing and implementing new military capabilities, induced by the unceasing adaptation to the changes in the strategic scenario and to technological advances.

Lastly, another permanent reference is effectiveness as a whole and this can be attained by the continuous exercise of individual responsibility, respect for each professional's sphere of decision, permanent availability - both individually and collectively - and the usual practice of the assigned commitments.

The constant improvement, fruit of experience, innovation and the capacity for adaptation, takes shape in the redesign of the organisational processes identified in order to attain significant advances in costs, effectiveness, speed and the quality of the service we render to society.

13. Conclusions

Following what has been explained above, with regard to the impact of NATO on the Spanish Army - on the basis of the reasons indicated at the beginning - , and to sum up, I consider that the most important aspects to emphasise are those listed below:

- The crucial influence, both direct as well as indirect, that NATO has had on the Army in all its fields of activity needs to be recognised, especially in the fields of personnel, organisation, training and operations.

- The important *change in mentality* that the Army has undergone as a consequence of entering the Alliance has fundamentally been in the field of operational structures, force projection, knowledge of languages, leadership, joint and combined spirit and multinationality.

- NATO provides the most important reference for development of the Army, providing the normal framework for action, and it is integrated in the *doctrine, planning, interoperability, preparation and evaluation* of its forces.

- The Army, in line with the present trends in employment, *organisation and planning forces*, is perfectly embedded in and participates fully in development and application of the concept of Comprehensive Approach as designed by the Atlantic Alliance.

- *The greatest benefit* has been the experience achieved in the *operations*. For the Army, this experience has been the driving force for change throughout its whole structure. In fact, this field is where it has learned most.

- As it has all its units affiliated/assigned to NATO and as it is one of the most outstanding participants in the NRF rotations, a true "catalyst" of the NATO transformation, the Army has achieved an excellent level of integration in the Alliance.

- Regardless of Spanish NATO membership, due to our geo-strategic position, in terms of the present and foreseeable security and defence environment, as well as in terms of our national security interests, the Army has adequate capacity for an independent response.

Looking ahead to the near future, among the most important implications for the Army that derive from our membership of NATO, together with the indicators of its evolution in the first quarter of the 21st Century, the following may be pointed out:

- In relation to its evolution, the Army is immersed in the *transformation* of NATO, participating in depth in its initiatives and activities, providing and receiving suggestions and proposals in order to be as efficient and effective as possible.

- Along with the Army's aim to achieve greater protagonism in international operations, there is also its capacity to contribute its experience, knowledge, doctrine and theory in the field of *military leadership*, by exchange of information and proposals, within the European and allied environment.

- The Army must improve its skills to deal with the threats and challenges to security that have a direct impact on the territory of the Alliance, and that may appear at a strategic distance or nearer to allied territory.

- Some of the permanent references for the Army, with the 2025 horizon in sight, include: professionalism, joint action, a Comprehensive Approach to conflicts, a continuous and dynamic need to evolve, constant improvement and an intelligent dissemination of the Institution's values.

- Additionally, the most important and, indeed, key aspects for the Army in forthcoming years include: the human factor (of the combat soldier), the command structure, organisation, armament, material and equipment. The Army needs to persevere in all of these, as well as to identify the improvements necessary to act appropriately in widely differing conflicts[17].

- Definitively, the Army in the first quarter of the 21st century is a tool of the State, one that is modern, agile, flexible, perfectly represented in NATO and the international environment, which is prepared in its mentality, and in staff and material terms, to respond with the greatest solidity, credibility and efficiency to safeguard and defend Spanish interests.

[17] Army Staff Documents. 2009.

ADDENDUM I

PRINCIPLES
"NEW COMMAND STYLE"

1.- RESPECT FOR PERSONAL DIGNITY
ACTING AT ALL TIMES WITH DEEP NOBILITY AND CONSIDERATION FOR OTHERS.
2.- LEADERSHIP
DEVELOPMENT OF COHESION AND CO-OPERATION WITH SUBORDINATES FOR THE PRESTIGE ACQUIRED THROUGH THE EXAMPLE AND PREPARATION.
3.- TEAM SPIRIT
DEVELOPMENT OF GROUP COHESION TO CO-OPERATE IN CONVERGENCE OF EFFORTS BY THE ARMY.
4.- RESPONSIBILITY & DELEGATION
EXERCISING THE RESPONSIBILITY THE OFFICE INVOLVES AND ALLOWING SUBORDINATES THE LEVEL OF DECISION TO WHICH THEY ARE ENTITLED.
5.- DISCIPLINE
IMPLEMENTING AND DEMANDING DISCIPLINE WITH FULL CONVICTION THAT IT IS A VALUE THAT IS EQUALLY BINDING FOR ALL.
6.- INITIATIVE & CREATIVITY
ACTING WITH ANTICIPATION AND INGENUITY, AND ENCOURAGING THIS AMONG SUBORDINATES.
7.- AWARENESS OF COMMUNICATION
MAINTAINING TRUE, APPROPRIATE COMMUNICATION IN ALL AREAS, IN KEEPING WITH SECURITY.
8.- PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE
PERFORMING PROFESSIONAL DUTIES AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL THROUGH SOLID TRAINING AND SPIRIT OF SERVICE.
9.- ABILITY TO ADAPT
DEVELOPMENT OF THE ABILITY TO INTEGRATE AND ACT ON DIFFERENT MISSIONS AND SCENARIOS.
10.- PERMANENT EVOLUTION
MAINTAINING AN OPEN ATTITUDE TO DRIVE THE CONTINUAL CHANGES THAT AFFECT THE ARMY.

General FAURA, Madrid, 10 October 1997

THE IMPACT OF NATO ON THE SPANISH AIR FORCE: A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW AND FUTURE PROSPECTS

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Abstract:
The Spanish Air Force is one of the oldest independent Air Forces in the world and the youngest service of the Spanish Armed Forces. Since the early 50's of the last century it was very much involved in exercises and training with the United States Air Force following the Agreements that Spain signed with the United States in 1953. That is why when Spain joined NATO in 1982 the Spanish Air Force was already somewhat familiar with NATO doctrine and procedures. In the following years, cooperation with NATO was increased dramatically through exercises and, when necessary, in operations. The Spanish Air Force is now ready and well prepared to contribute to the common defence of NATO nations and to participate in NATO led operations whenever the Spanish government decides to do so. The Spanish Air Force maintains its readiness through training and exercises and contributes very actively to the development of NATO air operational doctrine and procedures.

Keywords: NATO, Spanish Air Force, United States Air Force.

Resumen:
La Fuerza Aérea española es una de las más antiguas del mundo pues inició su andadura en 1911 y se constituyó como un servicio independiente con el nombre de Ejército del Aire en 1939. Tras los acuerdos firmados por España con los Estados Unidos en 1953, se inició una estrecha relación con la Fuerza Aérea de ese país con énfasis en el entrenamiento, procedimientos y nuevo material aéreo. Por esa razón, cuando España se unió a la OTAN en 1982, el Ejército del Aire estaba en algún grado familiarizado con la doctrina y procedimientos usados por las Fuerzas Aéreas de la Alianza. Sin embargo, la entrada en la OTAN permitió una intensa colaboración con otras Fuerzas Aéreas aliadas con la participación del Ejército del Aire en maniobras y ejercicios y cuando fue preciso en operaciones. Las unidades del Ejército del Aire participan actualmente activamente en varias misiones lideradas por la Alianza y están listas y preparadas para contribuir a la defensa común con los demás aliados. El Ejército del Aire mantiene un alto grado de alistamiento y disponibilidad mantenido con un intenso entrenamiento que incluye la participación en ejercicios con otras Fuerzas Aéreas de la OTAN. Por otra parte, sus miembros contribuyen muy activamente al desarrollo de la doctrina aeroespacial y a la mejora de los procedimientos aéreos aliados.

Palabras clave: *OTAN, Fuerza Aérea Española, Fuerza Aérea de los EEUU.*

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1. Introduction

The Spanish Air Force, the "Ejército del Aire", is the current name of this service in Spanish, is one of the oldest independent Air Forces in the world. Since 1939, the Spanish Air Force (SAF) has been an independent service and the youngest of the three services of the Spanish Armed Forces. When Spain joined NATO in 1982, the SAF was involved in a process of modernization and transformation. To analyse the impact of NATO on the SAF, at least some information about its glorious past and the pre-1982 development of this youngest service of the Spanish Armed Forces is needed. That is why the first part of this essay begins with a summary of the history of the SAF and then follows the successive stages in the relationship between NATO and the Air Force of Spain. That relationship existed even before 1982 and has been especially intense since the signing of the Coordination Agreements in the early 1990s. All experts consider that the impact of NATO on the SAF has not only been significant as an institution but also for its personnel. In fact in the past 27 years, Air Force generals, officers and NCOs have participated in NATO led exercises and operations and many have been assigned to the International Military Staff, to posts in the Command structure and in other structures and agencies. Their professional experience has contributed greatly to building the good understanding of NATO issues that today exists in the Air Force[2].

2. Building a New Service

In the aftermath of the Spanish Civil War, the Ministry of the Air was created on 8 August 1939 and a few days later, on 7 October 1939, the Spanish Air Force was born as an independent Service from the Army and the Navy. Although the first military course for airplane pilots was announced in March 1911, the official onset of Military Aviation took place on 28 February 1913 with the creation of the Service of Military Aeronautics that was divided into Aerostation and Aviation branches. As early as 1913, airplanes from Military Aeronautics participated in operations in the Morocco campaign. A few years later there was another step in the right direction when a Royal Decree, dated 15 March 1922, provided the Aviation Service with a new framework that fostered a new Aeronautical section. Furthermore, the Air Echelon was created and different types of flying units were organized in groups, flights and squadrons. Once the Morocco campaign was finished, a period of great flights began around 1925. On 22 January 1926, the flying boat "Plus Ultra" departed for Buenos Aires. A few weeks later, between the 5 of April and the 11 of May, the Elcano flight conducted a raid into the Philippines. One of the last of those interesting flights was the Seville-Cuba raid in the "Cuatro Vientos" airplane. Barberán and Collar, the two pilots, disappeared on 20 June 1933 while on route from Cuba to Mexico. Spanish Aviation came into its own during the cruel years of the civil war. From 1936 to 1939, the military efficiency of Air Power gave Spanish Aviation units great prestige. The experiences in close air support, air bombing, air transport and air supply operations were incorporated into Air doctrine.

[2] There is not a bibliography about the impact of NATO in the SAF and any other type of open information on this topic is very limited. The Air Force magazine has been for many years the most consistent open source of information about all aspects of the life of the Spanish Air Force. For that reason, I have taken into consideration several articles published in that magazine to follow the progress of the relationship between NATO and the Spanish Air Force and to evaluate the consequences of that relationship.

However even more relevant were the proficiency and heroism of the Spanish pilots of both sides.

The "Ejército del Aire", newly born in 1939 as an independent service, was negatively affected by World War II as training and acquisition of new planes had to be reduced because of lack of funds. The situation was even worse at the end of the conflict. In fact, Spain's isolation from the Allied powers hampered the procurement of fuel and the renewal of material from 1945 till 1953. In December 1953, there were 915 aircraft on inventory but only 634 aircraft, most of them obsolete models, were ready for service of which 34 were classified as fighters. Notwithstanding some considerations about the fairness of the Agreements signed with the United States in 1953, the fact is that they put an end to a very difficult situation and there was a new beginning for the SAF. Once the Agreements were signed, the bases to be used jointly by the United States Air Force (USAF) and the SAF were defined as well as the bases that were to be used by the SAF units and were to be equipped with new material under the Mutual Defence and Assistance Program (MDAP). The arrival of jet fighters, the creation of the Air Defence Command and the renewal of material, systems management and doctrine boosted a transformation process that changed the SAF completely. A number of Air Force officers were sent to receive training in different schools and training centres in Europe and the United States. To mention one of them, in April 1954, six SAF officers were designated to attend a Course for Instructors of T-33 in Fürstenfeldbruck (Germany) where they remained for two years as instructors for other Spanish pilots. In March 1954, the first Lockheed T-33 jet aircraft arrived to the new Fighter School, "Escuela de Reactores", in Talavera la Real (Badajoz). A few months later, in September 1955, the first F-86 Sabres joined the SAF combat units. During the period 1971-1973, new aircraft were received by the SAF, including the C-130 Hercules for transport and refuelling, the P-3 for Maritime Patrol and the Phantom F-4c fighter-bombers that replaced the F-104 Starfighters received in the middle of the 60s as part of the United States military cooperation. Especially relevant in the transformation of the SAF was the operational training of its air defence and fighter units that were able to exercise regularly with units of the same type of the USAF. The use of common operational procedures made participation in exercises such as "Pathfinder Express", "Atlantide", "Creta", "Sentry" and others possible. The cooperation went on for many years and made the SAF familiar with the doctrine and procedures of the USAF, doctrine and procedures that were also used by the Air Forces of many NATO allies. As has been mentioned, many pilots, navigators, mechanics and other SAF personnel attended courses in USAF training centres. Furthermore, most units of the SAF participated in exercises those years with USAF aircraft that were stationed in Spanish Air bases. For these reasons, it is generally accepted that when Spain joined NATO, the SAF was quite well prepared to operate with the Air Forces of our new allies.

3. Getting Familiar with NATO

The Air Force magazine paid attention to NATO issues as early as 1950, only a few months after the signing of the Washington Treaty, the 4th of April 1949. In fact, the first relevant article on NATO affairs was published in issue 113 of the magazine in April 1950. "El Poder Aéreo Atlántico" was a translation of the article "Atlantic Air Power", published first in "Aviation Week". The article explains the discussions that took place in the meeting of the North Atlantic Council (NAC) in Washington in November 1949. The article reported that, as a result of the discussions, it was accepted that for the success of any common defence strategy it was necessary to forge ahead with the Alliance Air Power. It was a very reassuring

conclusion for the SAF, which as a younger service in Spain had very often to justify why it was important for national defence to have an efficient Air Force. At that time, the early 50s, it was not easy in Spain to get first hand information about NATO issues and for that reason translations from foreign magazines were welcomed and somehow filled that vacuum. Mr. Madrey A. Salomon was the author of another article entitled "The North Atlantic Treaty Organization", whose translation was published in the Air Force magazine in January 1952. Mr. Salomon presented an excellent overview of NATO structures at the time in his work. There were many other contributions from foreign authors commenting on NATO issues in the Air Force magazine during the fifties of the last century. It is a must to stress how important those articles were in making readers[3] aware of the structures and policies of the Atlantic Alliance. Among those articles there were some that were especially significant for their content. One of them was "Europe's stakes on missiles" whose author, Mr. Henry Kissinger, had had it published in April 1958 in the prestigious "Foreign Affairs" magazine. The magazine of the USAF reprinted the article and its translation appeared in our magazine in July 1958. Mr. Kissinger defended in a forceful manner the deployment of US missiles in Europe at a time when it was a hot issue in the old Continent. He argued that the deployment of missiles in Europe was necessary not for the defence of the United States but for the defence of Europe. Almost 20 years later, US Navy Captain Komorowsky was the author of two articles entitled "Spain and NATO defence" that appeared in the US Naval Institute Proceedings and were reproduced translated into Spanish in the March and April of 1977 issues of our magazine. Captain Komorowsky made a complete analysis of the military power and potential of Spain and its possible contribution to NATO common defence efforts in the first article. In the second, the author presented with some detail possible missions of the Spanish Armed Forces within the Alliance and explained his points of view about the advantages for Spain of becoming a member of NATO. This second article is illustrated with a map of Western Europe with the text: "Spain, dominating the Mediterranean accesses, is of extraordinary strategic importance for Western countries". The contributions of the above-mentioned foreign authors and others[4] were an important feature in the SAF magazine, one of the few publications in Spain dealing with strategic issues at the time. Some Air Force officers were soon interested in NATO matters and were beginning to write articles about NATO. Colonel Antonio Rueda Ureta was a pioneer on NATO affairs and the author of one the first articles written by a Spaniard on this topic. "The European Defence Cooperation (ECD) and NATO", published in November 1954, explains the structure of NATO Air commands and the improvements in capabilities, bases, training and organization of allied Air Forces in the years 1952 and 1953. In his article, Colonel Rueda also analysed how the French National Assembly's rejection of the ECD initiative put NATO in the front line to become the foundation of a new European defence. In the 14 pages long article there are some interesting considerations on the aeronautical industries of Russia and the USA and on the need for good air to ground communications to assure the link between airborne units and ground control centres for the sound use of Tactical Air Support units. Colonel Rueda wrote other articles about NATO and many others experts followed that trend. As we have seen, for many years before Spain joined the Alliance, the Air Force magazine showed Spanish people, particularly Air Force officers, about its organization and activities. The number of articles on NATO

[3] At that time, the Air Force magazine was distributed to all officers of the Spanish Air Force and was also sold in libraries and press kiosks.

[4] See, among others, articles such as Richardson, Robert C.: "The US Air Force and NATO", *Revista de Aeronáutica y Astronáutica,* no. 152 (July 1953); Perkins, George W.: "The United States and NATO", *Revista de Aeronáutica y Astronáutica,* no. 202 (September 1957) and Vouthier, Charles: "NATO, the shield of the Free World", *Revista de Aeronáutica y Astronáutica,* no. 255 (February 1962)

issues increased dramatically after 1982 and it can be said that today it is the Spanish professional publication that dedicates most attention to the activities of the Alliance.

At the beginning of the 1980s the political situation had changed and there was a feeling that the time was ripe for Spain to join NATO. In October 1981, the Air Force magazine published the dossier "La OTAN, síntesis informativa" full of information on the Alliance only a few months before Spain signed the Washington Treaty. The four contributions to the dossier explained the history and structure of the Alliance but more significantly contained some reflections on a hypothetical Spanish military contribution and about the cost of joining NATO.

4. Spain in NATO and the Coordination Agreements

The signing of a new Treaty between Spain and the United States of America in 1976 is generally considered the initial point of the process of Spain's becoming a NATO member. The Treaty contemplated the creation of a US-Spain Joint Military Committee with a combined Staff and an ad-hoc Group to provide specific coordination with NATO. In May 1982 Spain joined NATO following a decision by the Spanish government, without specifying our military contribution. However a political change brought about by the general elections in October that year resulted in the freezing of the process of integration in the Alliance's structures. Even during those years of uncertainty about the future of our position in the Alliance, our magazine published a dossier on "The Air Forces in NATO" in April of 1983. The authors presented in their contributions the roles, capacities and organization of the Air Forces of NATO nations.

On 12 March 1986 a referendum was held to determine the willingness of the Spanish people to remain in NATO under certain terms. The terms set up by the referendum were as follows:

- The participation of Spain in the Alliance will not include its incorporation into the integrated military structure.

- The ban on installing, stockpiling or introducing nuclear weapons into Spanish territory will be maintained[5].

- There will be a progressive reduction of the US military presence in Spain.

The referendum confirmed the Spanish people's will to continue in NATO and clearly strengthened the Spanish commitment to the Alliance. After the referendum a number of steps were taken to bring Spain into NATO. In June 1986, confidential intra-staff discussion of politico-military aspects of Spain's participation in NATO bodies and activities and elaboration of the framework for Coordination Agreements took place, to allow for Spanish contribution to the common defence of the Alliance outside the Integrated Military Structure. Discussions on Spanish contributions to defence took place between high-level NATO staff and Spanish officials in October 1986, January 1987 and October 1987, respectively, in Brussels, Madrid and Brussels. On the 12 of August 1987, the Spanish accession to the

[5] Other NATO nations like Canada, Denmark, Iceland and Norway also had a ban on nuclear weapons.

following NATO documents took place: Status of Forces Agreement; Ottawa Agreement; Agreement for Mutual Safeguarding of Secrecy of inventions related to Defence; and Agreement on the communication of technical information for Defence purposes.

On 25 January 1988, the Spanish Government presented its proposals on the contribution of Spain to the common defence to the North Atlantic Council (NAC) and the Defence Planning Committee (DPC). The proposals included the participation of Spain in every activity of the Alliance except her integration in the military structure. According to the later so-called Spanish model, Spain accepted NATO's strategy, and from that moment was present at the Defence Planning Committee (DPQ), Military Committee (MC), Nuclear Planning Group (NPG), etc, and participated during the NATO planning process by answering the Defence Planning Questionnaire (DPQ) and presenting Spanish force proposals. The Spanish Chief of Defence (CHOD Spain) acted as a Major NATO Commander and made Force proposals, which were tabled with Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR) and Supreme Allied Command Atlantic (SACLANT), for their opinions. The Spanish model was politically accepted by the DPC on February 1988 and it was decided that to mark the Spanish contribution to NATO, Coordination Agreements between Spain and the Major NATO Commands (MNCs) should be written.

The Military Committee document 313 was produced with that purpose, defining the guidelines for the development of Coordination Agreements between CHOD Spain and the MNCs. Defence Ministers endorsed the guidelines and Foreign Ministers noted the document in the NAC on 8 December 1988. The document identified six areas where the Spanish Armed Forces would mainly contribute to NATO roles and missions. The basic difference between Spain and other nations was that its Armed Forces would be at all times under national operational command. Therefore, some arrangements for coordination between the MNCs and CHOD Spain were necessary to determine "What, Where, When and How" its Armed Forces would contribute to the common Defence. It took more than two years to discuss and produce the six Coordination Agreements that, after being signed by the MNCs and CHOD Spain, were endorsed by the DPC. The six Coordination Agreements and their endorsement dates were:

- Air Defence of Spain and adjacent areas (ADCA). 30/11/ 1990.
- Naval and Air operations in the Eastern Atlantic (ELCA). 30/11/1990.
- Preserving the integrity of Spanish territory (ISTCA). 17/5/1991.
- Naval and Air operations in the Western Mediterranean (WMCA). 17/5/1991.
- Defence and Control Straits of Gibraltar and its approaches (STROGCA). 24/8/1992.
- Provision of Spanish territory and facilities for reinforcement, reception and transit, and logistic, air and maritime support (SUPCA). 24/ 8/1992.

The six Coordination Agreements involved the greater part of the Spanish Armed Forces. In particular, the SAF had an important role in almost every agreement but the involvement was very significant in the agreements ELCA and WMCA and instrumental in ADCA. According to ADCA, Spain agreed to conduct independent, coordinated and combined Air Defence

operations mainly in the area that was common to both the MNC's[6] area of responsibility and the normal area of Spanish Air Defence operations. Those Air Defence operations were in pursuance of NATO's Air Defence mission of contributing to deterrence, preserving the integrity of NATO airspace in peacetime and of defending NATO against air attacks in war. To that end the SAF had to adopt states of readiness compatible with those of NATO Command Air Defence forces and was supposed to increase them systematically and progressively in times of tension and war. The freedom of action of the Spanish Air Defence forces and NATO Command forces in the airspace over international waters should not be impaired. In ADCA there were provisions for the combined operations with a clear definition of the operational authority when NATO or Spanish air units were deployed in Spain or in the MNC's area of responsibility. The designation of the Coordinating Authority in coordinated operations was also well defined in the agreement. ADCA was the basis for detailed coordinated planning between Spanish and NATO commanders and, according to this, the Spanish Air operational commander and Allied Command Europe developed the Spanish Air Defence control plans. To facilitate liaison and coordination in all matters between CHOD Spain and MNCs, two permanent military missions accredited to Supreme Allied Commander Europe and to Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic were established and liaison officers were sent to the Channel Command and subordinated commands in Lisbon and Naples.

The SAF was very much involved in the process of drafting the Agreements, in particular ADCA. The Combat Command in charge of the Air Defence of Spanish territory received the ratification of this Agreement with enthusiasm. The SAF, responsible since its inception for the Air Defence of Spain, was well prepared to tackle the tasks contemplated in ADCA and many of its units were familiar with NATO procedures, at least since 1976. Nevertheless, in the new situation interoperability between the Spanish Defence system and the overall NATO Air Defence was a must and for that reason there was a significant increase in the number of exercises conducted within the NATO framework. Furthermore, the preparedness of the SAF was based on the implementation of instruction and training plans according to NATO standards. The acceptance of the Spanish model and the development of the Coordination Agreements supposed a clarification of our position in the Alliance after years of uncertainty about our future role in NATO. The new mood could be perceived in the dossier published in the Air Force magazine in April 1989, on the occasion of the 40th Anniversary of the Washington Treaty. The dossier was dedicated to the history of the Alliance and to the seven years of Spain's membership. Some Spanish diplomats and military officers assigned to our representations[7] at NATO Headquarters had had the opportunity to familiarize themselves with NATO and that knowledge was reflected in their articles. In one of them, "The Spanish Air Force and NATO", the author pointed out that, notwithstanding the freezing of our contribution during the first seven years of NATO membership, valuable know-how had been incorporated into our Air Force by the personnel that had participated in meetings and working groups. It is also important to mention the knowledge about NATO acquired by officers and NCOs attending courses at NATO Defence College in Rome, NATO School in Oberammergau and other centres during those years of uncertainty. At this point it is proper to mention that the first Military Representative of CHOD Spain (JEMAD in Spain) in the Military Committee was lieutenant general of the SAF, Santos Peralba.

[6] In 1990 there were three Major NATO Commands (MNCs), Allied Command Europe, Allied Command Atlantic and Allied Command Channel.

[7] NATO nations have two high level representatives at NATO Headquarters in Brussels. The Permanent Representative that represents the national government in the North Atlantic Council and the Military Representative of the national CHOD in the Military Committee. The ambassador or Permanent Representative has the overall representation of the country.

5. The End of the Cold War and the New Developments

The Alliance's Strategic Concept, agreed by the Heads of State and Government participating in the Rome Summit, 7th-8th November 1991, was NATO's response to the profound political changes that had taken place since 1989 in Central and Eastern Europe. Part IV, Guidelines for Defence, of the document included the Alliance's New Force Postures to respond to the new security environment in Europe. According to that new posture, NATO established a new Force Structure that was presented in December 1993 as a dossier in the Air Force magazine. The Allied Reaction Forces Planning Staff (ARFPS), located at SHAPE, was completely operational the 1st of April 1993 as an independent staff dedicated to planning issues of the Reaction Forces. A lieutenant colonel of the Spanish Air Force was assigned to the Reaction Forces (Air) Staff, subordinated to the ARFPS, established in Kalkar (Germany) and his work was instrumental for the participation of our Air Force in the exercise "Strong Resolve" of 1995.

The 5th of December 1995 the members of NATO decided to appoint Mr. Javier Solana as Secretary General of NATO and Chairman of the North Atlantic Council. In his speech accepting his appointment Dr. Solana said: "I believe my appointment as Secretary General is also an expression of recognition of my country, and of the contribution Spain makes to our collective security and defence and to the basic principles and objectives of our Alliance". A few months later, the 26th of April 1996, His Majesty the King of Spain paid an official visit to NATO Headquarters. A year later the Heads of State of the member countries of the North Atlantic Alliance met in Madrid on the 7th and 8th of July 1997. The 27 points of the Declaration of Madrid issued at the end of the meeting was an important document at an important juncture of the life of the Alliance. Some of the decisions taken were: to issue invitations to the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland to begin accession talks; to reaffirm NATO's Open Door Policy; to recognize the achievements and commitments represented by the NATO-Russia Founding Act; to sign the Charter on a Distinctive Partnership between NATO and Ukraine; to convene the first meeting of the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council; to enhance Partnership for Peace; to update the 1991 Strategic Council and to adopt a new Defence posture; to welcome the progress on the development of a new Command structure; and to issue a special Declaration on Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Summit meeting in Madrid was a real success and together with the nomination of Mr. Solana and the visit of King Juan Carlos to NATO Headquarters was a clear sign of the strong position of Spain within NATO. Meanwhile Spain was getting ready for complete integration to the structures of the Alliance.

From 1989 till 1996, the Spanish Air Force was actively involved in common defence, cooperating with our allies in the framework of the six Coordination Agreements. The participation of Spain in the resolution of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia began in July 1991, when the European Union decided to deploy a European Community Monitoring Mission upon the signing of the Brioni Agreements. When the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina flared up in 1992, Spain, out of solidarity with other allies, decided to contribute with military units and a group of observers, under UNSC resolution 776, to the UN operation UNPROFOR. Further extension of the mandate led to the sending of Air Force units. During 1993, the SAF started its participation in Peace Support operations by sending some of its members to the former Yugoslavia as Forward Advance Controllers (FAC)[8] and as Tactical Air Controllers (TAC), in support of Air Force units as requested from NATO by the United

[8] Their international radio code "Bullfighter" became well known by all allied units deployed in Yugoslavia.

Nations. Our presence in international missions at that time included the active participation in operation "Deliberate Guard", with fighter-bomber C-15[9] (EF-18) aircraft stationed from 1993 in the Aviano Air Base. Furthermore, Transport aircraft T-12 (Aviocar C-212) were operating out of Vicenza Air Base (Italy) and Military Patrol aircraft P-3 Orion out of Sigonella Air Base from 1993. One of the expeditionary Aviocar aircraft was hit by enemy fire in March 1994 and the plane suffered serious damage.

In December 1994, Detachment "Icaro" was set up in Aviano Air Base, Italy, to take part in the operations conducted over the former Yugoslavia. For the first time the Spanish Air Force assumed an entirely expeditionary character by deploying combat and combat support aircraft outside national territory and participating in real operations including the first ever combat activity conducted by NATO. In recognition of the courage, valour and military and aeronautical virtues shown by the Detachment members, they were awarded the Air Medal collectively, which was presented by His Majesty the King Juan Carlos I.

6. The SAF Participation in Air Operations

As we have seen, after years of preparation the SAF was ready to contribute with its units to allied operations in the former Yugoslavia. Its participation was very active and was praised by NATO commanders and other participants in the operations. A detailed explanation about some of the main operations and our contribution to them is offered in the following paragraphs.

6.1. Operation Sharp Guard

Operation Sharp Guard, a joint venture of NATO and the Western European Union (WEU), began on 15 June 1993, was suspended on 19 June 1996 and terminated on 1 October 1996, following a UN resolution. For more than three years, NATO and the Western European Union (WEU) enforced both economic sanctions and an arms embargo. During Sharp Guard no ships were reported as having broken the embargo and in the period 22 November 1992 to June 1996 74.000 ships were challenged, almost 6.000 were inspected at sea and more than 1400 were diverted and inspected in port.[10] Sharp Guard was initiated to conduct operations to monitor and enforce compliance with UN sanctions in accordance with UN Security Council Resolutions (UNSCR) 713, 757, 787, 820 and 943. The main force involved in the operation was Combat Task Force (CTF) 440 formed with NATO forces, mainly the Standing Naval Force Mediterranean (STANAFORMED) and the Standing Naval Force Atlantic (STANAFORLANT) together with the WEU Contingency Maritime Force. As a consequence of UNSC resolutions 1021 and 1022 the Sharp Guard mission was eventually limited to a heavy weapons and ammunition embargo. UNSCR 1022 suspended, subject to certain provisions, the commercial embargo against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Sharp Guard units continued to enforce the embargo on heavy weapons and her ammunitions to include mines, military aircraft and helicopters, and remained ready to resume, at short notice, full implementation of sanctions if the conditions set by UNSC resolutions were not met. On 1 October 1996 the UNSC approved resolution 1074 and in a statement said that, satisfied with elections held in Bosnia-Herzegovina in line with the Peace Agreement, the UNSC decided to

[9] In the SAF the letter C is for fighter/fighter-bomber, T is for transport aircraft, D is for multipurpose aircraft, E is for training and H is for helicopter. A means Advanced.

[10] Operation SHARP GUARD replaced operations MARITIME GUARD (NATO) and SHARP FENCE (WEU) that had been active from November 1992.

immediately terminate all sanctions on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. On 2 October 1996 NATO and the WEU announced that, following the UN decision, Operation Sharp Guard was terminated.

Given the mainly maritime character of the operation, the detailed organization of CTF-440 and the ships participating on the Task Force are not presented here. Nevertheless, it is relevant to mention that the nations contributing forces were: Belgium. Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, The Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, United Kingdom and the United States.

6.2. Statistics and Participating Forces (Air)

Fighter aircraft:

Aircraft from allied nations operating in the area contributed to the defence of NATO ships from attacks by surface ships. The exact number of sorties is not known but many were flown to defend allied ships.

Maritime Patrol aircraft:

Continuous MPA support to the naval forces of CTF 440 was provided by resources from eight nations: France (Atlantique), Germany (Atlantique), Italy (Atlantique), The Netherlands (P-3C), Portugal (P-3B), Spain (P-3B), UK (Nimrod), and the US (P-3C). The above aircraft operated from air bases at Sigonella (Sicily) and Elmas (Sardinia), in Italy.

7.151 Maritime Patrol Aircraft sorties.

Airborne Early Warning:

Eight E-3A and two E-3D from NATO's Airborne Early Warning Force (NAEWF) supported operation Sharp Guard. The E-3A aircraft operated from Geilenkirchen, Germany, Aviano and Trapani, Italy, and Action, Greece and were flown by multinational crews provided by 11 nations. The E-3D aircraft from the UK's Number 8 Squadron flew from RAF Waddington, UK, as well as Aviano and Trapani. The French E-3F aircraft participating under the auspices of the WEU operated from either Avord, France, or Trapani, Italy.

NATO and French Airborne Early Warning Aircraft sorties = 6.174

Operation Sharp Guard was mainly a maritime operation in which the air units had a supporting role to naval units enforcing the embargo. It was a joint NATO-WEU operation with the implications inherent in the cooperation of two very different organizations, one of them, the WEU, in the process of activation after many years without practical activity. Furthermore, the frequent change of the scope of the sanctions contemplated in the UNSCRs in some cases created confusion in the units in charge of enforcing the embargo. Nevertheless, during its three years of activity, operation Sharp Guard gave the opportunity to Maritime Patrol Aircraft units to improve procedures and cooperation with naval forces.

6.3. Operation Deliberate Force

Operation Deliberate Force was initiated in response to Bosnian Serb Army (BSA) shelling of the Sarajevo market place on 28 August 1995. However, this operation was the culmination of events and related planning over a long period of time. In fact, the warring factions disregard

for UN mandates regarding "safe areas" and heavy weapons exclusion zones (EZs), targeting of NATO and UN aircraft and ground forces, and increased factional fighting during the fall and winter of 1994, dictated prudent military contingency planning. As a result of these events two plans were formulated:

Dead Eye, an air protection plan, to disrupt the integrated air defence system in Bosnia-Herzegovina and thus reduce the risk to NATO aircraft.

Deliberate Force, an air attack plan, to reduce military capability to threaten or attack safe areas and UN forces. Targets included: field forces, heavy weapons, command and control facilities, direct and essential military support facilities, supporting infrastructures and lines of communication. The concrete targets were approved for planning through the Joint Targeting Board (JTB) process established by NATO and the UN.

As has been mentioned, Operation Deliberate Force was triggered by a mortar attack of the Bosnian Serb Army on Sarajevo market place on 28 August 1995, killing 38 civilians. A "Dual-Key" decision was made by the NATO Commander in Chief South (CINCSOUTH) and Force Commander UN Protection Force (FC UNPF) to initiate air strikes, 29 August 1995. Subsequently COMAIRSOUTH directed Commander Five Allied Tactical Air Force (COMFIVEATAF) to launch NATO forces with an execution time planned for not earlier than 02:00 on 30 August 1995. On 20 September 1995, UN/NATO agreed Deliberate Force objectives had been met, the mission had been accomplished and the end states achieved ("safe areas" no longer under attack). CINCSOUTH and FC UNPF therefore agreed, "The resumption of air strikes is currently not necessary".

Statistics and participating forces (only Spain)

The total number of sorties flown in the operation: 3.515

Nation	Number	Aircraft type	Location
SPAIN	8	C-15 (EF-18A)	Aviano AB
	2	T-10 (KC-130)	Aviano AB
	1	T-12 (CASA 212)	Vicenza AB

Deliberate Force was a well-planned and well-executed operation that accomplished its ambitious objectives in a short period of time. The operation demonstrated the importance and ability of the Air Power to achieve specific goals and to force the enemy to renounce aggression. In fact, the end states, as contemplated in the UN-brokered Framework Agreement, were achieved at the end of the operation and the Safe Areas were no longer threatened or under attack. Another important aspect of the operation was the "Dual Key" way of taking decisions by the commanders of two different operational organizations. Furthermore, during some phases of the operation the use of CAP (Combat Air Patrol), AEW (Advanced Early Warning), AAR (Air to Air Refuelling), and ELINT (Electronic Intelligence) provide continuous coverage meanwhile CAS (Close Air Support) and SEAD (Suppression of Enemy Air Defences) able aircraft were airborne near continuously. As a matter of fact, Deliberate Force was a model of advance limited air operation and a test of the

capabilities of the aircraft and the ability and training of the pilots participating in the operation.

6.4. Operation Deny Flight

Operation Deny Flight was conducted from 12 April 1993 to 20 December 1995, when the International Implementation Force assumed responsibilities for the implementation of the military aspects of the Peace Agreement on Bosnia-Herzegovina. During nearly 1.000 days this operation effectively prevented the warring parties from using belligerent air as a medium of warfare and, through the application of air power, made a key contribution to the peace process. The mission of the Operation Deny Flight was:

To conduct aerial monitoring and enforce compliance with UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 816 which banned flights in the airspace of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the "No-Fly Zone" (NFZ).

To provide close air support (CAS) to UN troops on the ground at the request of, and controlled by, UN forces under the provisions of UNSCRs 836, 958 and 981.

To conduct, after request by and in coordination with the UN, approved air strikes against designated targets threatening the security of the UN-declared safe areas.

Statistics and participating forces (only Spain)

The total number of fighter sorties (NFZ) flown over Bosnia-Herzegovina: 23.021

Closed Air Support and Air Strikes sorties flown over Bosnia-Herzegovina: 27.077

Suppression Enemy Air Defence (SEAD), NATO Early Warning (NAEW), tanker, reconnaissance and support aircraft sorties: 29.158

Training missions flown: 21.164

Total of sorties: 100.420

Nation	Number	Aircraft type	Location
SPAIN	1	T-12 (CASA 212)	Rimini AB
	8	C-15 (EF-18)	Aviano AB
	2	T-10 (KC-130)	Aviano AB

Multinational crews provided by 11 nations flew the E-3A aircraft of NAEWF.

On 8 March 1994, a Spanish CASA 212 transport aircraft, on a routine flight from Zagreb to Split made a successful emergency landing at Rijeka Airport (Croatia) after being hit by ground fire while flying over Croatia. Four passengers on the aircraft were slightly injured and the aircraft suffered minor damage.

Operation Deny Flight not only prevented the use of airspace to the warring factions during 993 days but Air Power was also used to prevent other aggressions. It fact, when the NAC decided on 9 February 1994 that the heavy weapons not removed from a 20 kilometres exclusion zone around Sarajevo, or turned over to the United Nations ten days after 2400 GMT of the 10th of February of 1994, would be subject to NATO air strikes, the weapons were withdrawn or delivered or placed under the control of the United Nations. During the operation several aircraft violating the UN "No-fly" zone were shot down and NATO planes attacked some airfields and radar and SAM sites. One Spanish CASA-212 and other NATO planes suffered enemy fire and one NATO F-16 aircraft was shot down over western Bosnia on 2 June 1995. Search and rescue forces rescued the pilot on 8 June 1995.

6.5. The Kosovo Air Campaign and Operation Allied Force

The first phase of Operation Allied Force, called at the time "Operation Determined Force", was initiated on October 13, 1998 when the North Atlantic Council (NAC) authorised an activation order allowing for "limited air strikes" and a "phased air campaign" in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, should Yugoslav authorities refuse to comply with UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1199 (23rd September 1998). The execution of the "limited air strikes" was initially set to begin not earlier than 96 hours from the authorization of the activation order, to allow time for negotiations between Ambassador Holbrooke and President Milosevic to bear fruit. Some progress in the diplomatic negotiations was due to pressure maintained by NATO through the deployment of air and naval resources in Italy and in the Adriatic Sea. After nine days of negotiations, Mr. Holbrooke secured an agreement from Mr. Milosevic to comply with the provisions of UNSCR 1199 with both air and ground regimes to verify compliance. The agreement was signed on October 15, but after 96 hours there was clear evidence that there was some distance from full compliance of the terms of the accord. The following months there was some progress in the compliance but the crisis was not over.

Operation Allied Force proper was launched in March 1999 to halt the humanitarian catastrophe that was at that time unfolding in Kosovo. In fact, by the end of 1998 more than 300.000 Kosovars had fled their homes. Various cease-fire agreements were not respected and negotiations were stalled. At the beginning of 1999, two internationally brokered talks, in Rambouillet in February and in Paris in March, failed to break the deadlock and diplomatic efforts were considered unable to solve the conflict. On March 1999, all efforts to achieve a negotiated, political solution to the Kosovo crisis having failed, the only alternative open was to take military action. Mr. Solana, NATO's Secretary General, ordered the Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR) to initiate air operations in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The operations started on 24 March 1999 under the name "Operation Allied Force". On 9 June 1999, while the air campaign was in its 78th day, NATO and Yugoslav military authorities signed a Military Technical Agreement. Javier Solana ordered the suspension of air operations, having received reports indicating that the withdrawal of the Yugoslav security forces was in progress. On 20th June 1999, after all FRY military and police forces had departed Kosovo, NATO's Secretary General decided to terminate the air campaign.

Statistics and participating forces (only Spain)

Thirteen NATO countries contributed to Operation Allied Force. The countries were: Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, United Kingdom and the United States. As of June 20, 1999, over 900 aircraft were committed to this operation. More than 37.000 sorties were flown, including as many as 14.000 strikes. Approximately 23.000 bombs and missiles were launched.

Nation	Number	Aircraft type	Location
SPAIN	8	C-15 (EF-18)	Aviano AB
	3	T-10 (KC-130)	Aviano AB
	2	T-12 (CASA-212)	Rimini AB

On 10 June 1999, after an air campaign lasting seventy seven days, NATO Secretary General Javier Solana announced that he had instructed General Clark, Supreme Allied Commander Europe, to suspend operation Allied Force temporarily. That announcement was the beginning of the end of a unique operation. In fact as is mentioned in a public document, the Alliance held together during 78 days of air strikes. During those days more than 38.000 sorties, of them 10.484 strike sorties, were flown without a single Allied fatality. After first targeting the former Federal Republic of Yugoslavia's air defences, NATO escalated the campaign using the most advance precision-guided systems and avoiding civilian casualties to the greatest extent possible. Furthermore, target selection was reviewed at multiple levels of command to ensure that it complied with international law, was militarily sound and minimized the risks to civilians and their properties.

6.6. NATO Airborne Early Warning and Control Force (NAEW&CF)

In all operations mentioned above and in many others the NATO Airborne Early Warning and Control Force (NAEW&CF), formerly known as NATO Airborne Early Warning Force (NAEWF), has had a very significant role. The fleet is one of the few military assets that is actually owned and operated by NATO. It is also the Alliance's largest common-funded project and an example of what NATO member countries can achieve by pooling resources. The fleet of AWACS E-3A radar aircraft provides the Alliance with an immediately available airborne surveillance, warning and command capability. The AWACS – or Airborne Warning and Control System – are modified Boeing 707 (called E-3A) equipped with special radar capable of detecting air traffic over large distances and at low altitudes. The data can be transmitted directly from the aircraft to command and control centres on the ground, sea or in the air. Multinationality is a key characteristic of the AWACS programme. The programme involves 15 NATO countries, among them Spain. The fleet of AWACS aircraft are integrated in the NAEW&CF based on Geilenkirchen (Germany) and operates 17 NATO-owned E-3A aircraft. The squadrons are manned by integrated international crews from 13 nations, among them Spain. In fact, 22 officers and 24 NCOs are assigned from the Spanish Air Force in NAEW&CF, which is permanently under NATO Command.

Since 1982, when it began flying operations, the AWACS fleet has proven to be a critical asset for crisis management and peace support operations. During the 1990s, aircraft from the NATO AWACS fleet operated extensively in the Balkans, supporting UN resolutions in the former Yugoslavia and Alliance missions in Bosnia-Herzegovina, as well as

Kosovo. Governments of NATO countries have also requested AWACS support and their surveillance capability for major public events. This was the case for the 2004 Olympic games in Athens, the Euro 2004 football championship in Portugal, the 2006 World Cup football matches as well as many important meetings held by international organizations. NATO AWACS also support security for the summits and for high-level national events such as the wedding of Principe Felipe of Spain.

7. Integration in the Military Command Structure

The contribution of the SAF to NATO common defence was implemented till the end of 1996 under the Coordination Agreements. For more than four years the model had successfully met the standards for which it had been designed. However, the need for a change had emerged in the light of new challenges that appeared in the European Security environment and in the light of the clear imbalance in our military contribution to the Alliance. It has already been said that Spain participated in all NATO planning disciplines including Force Planning. We were present in all fora including those at the highest level (NAC, NACC, DPC, DRC, NPG, MC, etc.). We were also participating in NATO security investment and common funding programmes, including Spain's participation in the Infrastructure Programme agreed by the North Atlantic Council (NAC) in July 1994. Furthermore we were contributing to the Force Structure by offering the majority of our Armed Forces and support facilities for both operations and exercises. We did, however, have to stand to one side in the decision-making process and were unable to assume any command responsibilities.

In November 1996, the Spanish Parliament decided to take the necessary steps towards our full integration into the Command structure, provided the following general requirements were met:

- There was to be a single structure, able to carry out all Alliance mission, opened to further procedural adjustments for specific operations such as non-article 5 operations.
- There was to be a new Command structure based on the following:
- Broad decentralization of military activities and greater flexibility in terms of geographical limits, as well as missions and tasks;
- A substantial reduction in the number of headquarters;
- Development of the European Security and Defence Identity within the Alliance, pursuant to the decisions reached at the January 1994 Brussels Summit[11] and the June 1996 Berlin Ministerial meeting[12].
- Operational and command responsibilities should be assigned to Spain, particularly in commands established within our immediate strategic area of interest.

[11] Point 4: "We give full support to the development of a European Security and Defence Identity which, as called for in the Maastricht Treaty, in the longer term perspective of a common defence policy within the European Union, might in time lead to a common defence compatible with that of the Atlantic Alliance."
[12] Point 7: "The third objective is the development of the European Security and Defence Identity within the Alliance."

Spanish officers participated very actively in the discussions that took place at NATO HQS about different options for a new Command structure. The discussions were carried out in the working group for the Long Term Study (LTS WG) created by the International Military Staff (IMS). The Defence Ministers, at their meeting on 13 June 1996, had directed that LTS must proceed on the basis that it should be cost-effective. Furthermore, "although adaptations should not be driven only by savings …every attempt should be made to reduce running costs". The long process to determine resource implications was followed very closely by Spanish Defence authorities and very soon it was clear that all the general requirements imposed by Parliament were going to be met. In fact, the Spanish Armed Forces were going to have an adequate presence in the new Command structure through an agreed policy of rotating key posts and a Joint Sub-Regional Command could be established in Spain. Furthermore, the Ministerial meeting of the NAC on 16 December 1997 acknowledges, "an agreement had been reached on a new Command structure as a whole, and in particular on the type, number and location of headquarters." As a consequence, the Spanish government authorized, on 27 December 1997, the participation in the new NATO Command structure and the establishment of a Joint HQ Sub-Regional Command Southwest (JHQSW) in Spain. At the beginning of 1998, Retamares, Pozuelo de Alarcón (Madrid) was selected as temporary site for the new JHQSW.

The dossier "The Air Force and the new NATO" published in the Air Force magazine in March 1998 covered different aspects of the changes that were taking place in the Alliance at that time[13], the new Command Structure and the concepts of Combined Joint Task Force (CJTF) and Joint Forces Air Component Command (JFACC), the air component of the combined task force. Furthermore, the progress in the development of Air Command and Control System was analysed in depth in one the articles of the dossier.

The NAC approved activation requests for the headquarters of the new Command Structure the 1st of March 1999. The Washington Summit Communiqué, issued in Washington D.C. on 24 April 1999, welcomed the activation decision of the implementation phase of the new Command Structure. In accordance with these declarations Joint Command Southwest Headquarters (JHQSW) was activated on 1 September 1999 and the official ceremony of inauguration was held on 30 September that year with the Spanish Prime Minister, NATO Secretary General and SACEUR present. The 6th June 2002 the new JCSW achieved Full Operational Capability. The Headquarters of NATO in Madrid was born as a Joint Headquarters and for that reason Air Force officers were assigned to key positions in its structure. The JHQSW was always deeply involved in multiple, demanding tasks and oriented towards training as well as to operations.

Consistent with a new framework and mission of NATO Command structure agreed by Alliance Defence ministers at their meeting on 12 June 2003, JHQSW lost its joint and territorial features in favour of a land-focused body: CC-Land Madrid. On July 1st 2004 as a result of the decision to streamline the Command structure adopted in the Prague Summit, Joint Headquarters Command Southwest was transformed into Component Command Land HQ (CC-Land) Madrid as part of the Joint Force Command, Naples. Some Air Force officers that were integrated in the JHQSW left when it was transformed into a Land Command. This new Component Command achieved Final Operational Capability the 1st July 2006. The new headquarters accomplished significant tasks in training, military cooperation, integration of new NATO members as well as operations and it provided the core staff for ISAF XI in 2008.

[13] Signature of NATO-Russia Founding Act the 8 May 1997 in Paris and the decisions taken at the Madrid Summit in July 1997 of inviting Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic to join NATO.

CC-Land Madrid was being reconfigured as a NATO Force Command HQ in 2009. On 30th June 2009, the 1st Deployable Joint Staff Element (DJSE-MA 1) of the new Force Command achieved Initial Operational Capability (IOC).

8. The Spanish Air Force in the Command Structure

The former Combined Air Operation Centre 8 (CAOC-8), now a FOB of CAOC Poggio Renatico, is one of the 5 components of the Component Command Air (CC-Air), Izmir, Turkey. NATO HQ CAOC-8 was created on the 1st of September 1999 with the re-organization of the NATO Command Structure and was located in a provisional facility in Torrejón Air Base, Madrid, Spain. It had a multinational staff, with personnel assigned from 7 NATO nations: Germany, Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain, Turkey and the United States of America. Spain as host nation and the other participating nations began to fill the assigned positions of the Peace Establishment in March 2000. The manning consisted of 66 NATO positions of which 56 were filled at the end of 2001. On the 28th June 2001, Spain handed over a new building to NATO to host one of the Alliance's Combined Operations Centres (CAOC). CAOCs supervise air defence and carry out air policing functions. The new facility, based also in Torrejón Air Base, was inaugurated during a ceremony presided over by the Chief of Staff of the Spanish Air Force. Specialists in offensive, defensive and support air operations, as well as intelligence and communications personnel, ran the new CAOC-8, which was under the command of COMAIRSOUTH. The responsibility of former CAOC-8 (air defence and air policy) encompassed Iberian Peninsula and Canary Islands and is charged additionally with Air Campaign Planning and Spanish National and/or NATO Exercises and Training.

When CAOC-8 moved to the new building, personnel started to perform 24 hour duties, assuring air defence and air policy for the Iberian Peninsula and Canary Islands, reaching the Initial Operational Capability (IOC) at the end of NATO Exercise Destined Glory 01 (November 2001). CAOC 8 continued to host and/or participate in numerous NATO exercises all over Southern Region, training its personnel and reaching the Final Operational Capability (FOC) on 7 June 2002 after a successful performance in the NATO Exercise Dynamic Mix 02.

The new Command structure agreed by Defence ministers on the 12th of June 2003 changed the role of the facilities at Torrejón. In fact, as the four deployable CAOCs that were established needed to exercise their capability to exercise and deploy, the facilities at Torrejón Air Base were designated the primary site for training and exercising in the region. Small NATO air facility staffs are stationed at Torrejón to support that capability. The Spanish Air Force also participates in the NATO Integrated Air Defence System (NATINADS) and, through a rotational scheme, has been in charge (2006/2007) of the Air Defence of the Baltic countries.

9. Lessons Learned and a New Phase of Cooperation

"Spain's increased level of participation in UN and NATO operations, and particularly recent efforts in Kosovo and neighbouring Albania, have clarified the reaction capability of the country's Armed Forces in humanitarian missions" according to the Chief of Defence Staff of

Spain, General Valderas.[14] This statement of General Valderas in May 2000 expressed in few words the very significant involvement of the Spanish Armed Forces in NATO operations in the Balkans from 1991 till 1996. The three services were involved in those operations but the Air Force participation was especially relevant. General Valderas, a fighter pilot, also made other significant considerations in that interview: "Nonetheless, the Kosovo conflict, like any other, has provided us with a series of situations that we need to take special note of in future crisis. It is interesting to note that this was the first armed conflict to be resolve mainly through the use of air power, although, unfortunately and to certain extent foreseeable, it was not enough to settle the crisis firmly rooted in the heart of a people tormented by inter-ethnic conflicts for many generations."

Participation in NATO operations implies a high degree of interoperability with the forces of other member countries. The interoperability is particularly important in air operations that need precise coordination, air to air and air to ground, adequate communications and common procedures. In the already mentioned interview, General Valderas added some reflections about lessons learned in the Balkans about air operations. The general stressed that: the participation of eight F-18 Hornet fighters of the SAF in operations in the Balkans and mainly in Operation Allied Force revealed many lessons to be learned. From the operational point of view, the use of precision-guided weapons has to be emphasized: it was more costly but much more effective than conventional bombing. This together with an adequate selection of objectives permitted the boosting of air power and at the same time minimised collateral damage. That is why analysts stress the importance of providing adequate resources for the acquisition and processing of intelligence. The use of multinational formations of aircraft divided into groups with specific assignments which work together to create synergy requires greater effort but the results are clear in reducing the rate of attrition to virtually zero. General Valderas also pointed out that the political limitations on the selection of targets and the need to avoid at all cost your own losses and collateral damages, placed constraints on the planners of the NATO air campaign and the lessons for Spain were the same as those for other members of the Alliance. The Chief of Defence of Spain also mentioned the transition to a professional force was going well and that a social change had motivated the drive for professional Armed Forces. Furthermore, increasing technological advances in weaponry and military procedures demand greater continuity in units.

The full professionalisation of the Armed Forces that was finalized at the beginning of the 2000s didn't have a significant impact in the SAF, where most of the operational personnel had been almost always professionals. Nevertheless, the efforts to modernize the Spanish Armed Forces have been very significant in the 2000s. Since the transition to professional forces began in the late 90's of the last century, the Air Force has been especially keen to get better facilities and services in the bases for personnel, mainly for lower ranks. Social change motivated the drive for full professional armed forces. At the same time, increasing technological advances and sophistication of weaponry and procedures demanded greater continuity in units. The experience required to maintain and operate Air Force weapons systems cannot be obtained in the limited period of time of conscript service.

[14] "Interview", *Jane's Defense Weekly*, vol. 33, no.22 (31 May 2000), p. 40.

10. New Systems for the Future

The SAF is nowadays a modestly sized organization with increasing significance in terms of quality. In fact, the SAF works very hard to maintain its capacity to perform its permanent mission of guaranteeing the air defence and control of the airspace of national sovereignty. The Spanish Air Force also helps to preserve international peace and security and contributes to common defence with our NATO allies. The SAF, to accomplish its mission, needs to renew as required its inventory of aircraft and other weapons systems. That renewal of inventory will be done in collaboration with NATO allies facilitating interoperability and, when needed, common maintenance. Over the next two decades there will be a significant change in the aircraft the SAF operates from its bases in the Iberian Peninsula and Balearic and Canary islands. In fact, aircraft such as the C/CE-15 (Boeing EF-18A+/B+ Hornet) fighter-bomber aircraft, T-10 (Lockheed Martin C-130H/H30 Hercules) tactical transport aircraft and AE-9+ (CASA-Northrop F-5) lead-in trainer aircraft will be replaced by the Eurofighter Typhoon multirole service aircraft, some already in service, by the Airbus Military A400M strategic transport aircraft and by a new trainer aircraft as part of the European Jet Pilot Training Integrated Training System (AEJPT ITS). Alongside the Typhoons and the Hornets, C-14 (Dassault F1 Mirage variants) fighter aircraft will remain in service for many years. More than 80 C-16 (Eurofighter Typhoons EF-2000) fighters are going to be distributed among five squadrons, two of them already operational. The delivery of the Eurofighter aircraft began in 2003 and the delivery of the first 19 was completed in 2007. The delivery of the second batch will be completed in 2012. The remaining 34 aircraft are supposed to be delivered after 2012. In the medium term, the Eurofighter Typhoon aircraft will be the backbone of the combat units of the SAF. Nevertheless, the Mirage F-1 force will serve till the end of the next decade and the upgrade of the F/A-18 will take the aircraft through to 2025. The F/A-18s of the squadrons deployed at Zaragoza Air Base and Torrejón Air Base have completed their mid-life upgrade programme that, as already mentioned, will maintain the aircraft in service till 2025. The F/A-18 stationed at Gando Air Base will be maintained in service at least till 2015. These aircraft may also undergo a mid-life extension upgrade. Spain is not a member of the Joint Strike Fighter partnership but it is possible that the Spanish Navy will get involved in the program as an option to retain its short take-off/vertical landing capability. As is well known, there is a variant of the JSF with that capability.

The move to a new generation of fighter aircraft is a big improvement for the SAF. Nevertheless, the very much-needed boost of the airlift fleet will be perhaps an even more important change. That substantial improvement will happen when the A400M aircraft will enter into service to replace the more than 30 years old fleet of six T-10 (C-130H) and one C-130H-30 procured in 1987. Spain had planned to buy 26 A400M aircraft but the number could change due to delays, the increase of acquisition costs and the decisions of some governments to withdraw from the A400M program. The lift capacity of the Spanish Armed Forces will also increase by the procurement of 45 NH90, made by NH Industries. Although the majority of these helicopters will be committed to the Army and the Navy some of them will have to replace the Aerospatiale HD-19 (SA-330H Puma) utility helicopters. The five P-3 (P3B) aircraft have been upgraded with the Fully Integrated Tactical Systems (FITS), including an acoustic signal processor and an ALR-66 electronic support measures system and other new equipment. With these improvements the ageing P-3 fleet will be in service for at least eight more years.

Recent conflicts, from the Balkans to Iraq, have highlighted the need for pinpoint targeting of surface objectives to do more damage to the enemy's capability while avoiding civilian casualties. That need is even more significant in Afghanistan today. The SAF has units ready to acquire and to perform pinpoint targeting. Any increased attack capability is associated with heightened situational awareness, which is enabled through planned improvements to Eurofighter Typhoon's sensors that will enhance the battle space information available to the pilot. Although interoperability has always been very important up to now, it will be even more important in the future and vital between aircraft participating in coalition missions. Eurofighter Typhoon's new and upgraded communications' systems will allow pilots to operate effectively in Composite Air Operations (COMAO).

11. Conclusion

Spain's commitment to the achievement of a more stable and safer world, based on peaceful coexistence and on the defence of democratic values and human rights, revolves around a broad concept of security and defence. That broad concept includes not only the territory of our national sovereignty and that of our allies but also the defence of Spanish interests all over the world. Since 1982, the SAF has participated in operations in the framework of NATO once the decision to do so was taken by the Spanish government. The Spanish Air Force maintains today its readiness to participate in all kind of assigned operations in the framework of NATO but also of the European Security and Defence Policy and other international organizations. As a matter of fact, the SAF is nowadays participating in several NATO led operations such as "Allied Protector" in Somalia and off the Horn of Africa, "Active Endeavour" in the Mediterranean Sea and in the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan. Furthermore, members of the SAF are in charge of the control and technical supervision of Kabul Airport. Units with other type of aircraft are also ready to be integrated in ISAF if so decided by the government.

To keep up the ability to participate in these operations and in others in the future, the SAF follows a very comprehensive military training and exercise programme. In fact, the training programme makes the successful participation of the SAF in exercises, and when necessary in operations, possible. The first phase of the programme is the Individual Common Core Skills (ICCS) that assures basic military and aeronautical training. The second phase is the "Plan de Instrucción y de Adiestramiento Básico" (Training and Basic Instruction Plan) that is regulated by General Directive 50-1. The third step is the Advance Instruction Plan, prepared by the Combat Command. This Plan covers a wide range of practical and complex exercises that facilitate the final training of crews for further participation in advanced exercises and operations. Furthermore, there is an Evaluation Plan of NATO air units known by the name of FORCEVAL to certificate combat and combat support air units that are committed to common defence by each NATO country.

The Tactical Leadership Programme (TLP) was established in Germany in 1978 and moved to Belgium in 1989. TLP is dedicated to delivering advance-training courses for combat crews and support personnel. The different courses of the Programme were delivered in Florennes, Belgium till June 2009. Since October 2009, Albacete Air Base, Spain, has been the new seat of the Programme. Furthermore, the Spanish Air Force participates in exercises such as Red Flag to improve the interoperability and integration of its own capabilities with those of our NATO allies. This exercise, in the context of the Concept of Expeditionary Air Force, entails having the human and material resources required to deploy combat aircraft and

other weapons systems rapidly to scenarios far away from the homeland and to sustain their operations for an indefinite period of time.

Air Force regulations define that any unit of the SAF, before being deployed, receives specific training to become familiar with its established area of deployment and operations. This process is in force for the detachments deployed with NATO: "Mizar" with T-10 (C-130 Hercules) aircraft in Manas Air Base, Kyrgyzstan; "Alcor" with T-21 (EADS-CASA 295) aircraft at Herat, Afghanistan; "Helisaf" with HD-21 (Puma SA-330 and Super Puma SA-332) helicopters; and Kabul International Airport now under control of the SAF. The same process was followed with the detachments with the European Union: "Icaro" with P-3 aircraft in Djibouti and the already finished "Sirio" with T-21 (EADS-CASA) aircraft in Chad.

The Spanish Air Force has participated in all types of operations in the framework of NATO, the training of its units follows NATO patterns, its doctrine is the NATO doctrine and NATO STANAGs[15] and procedures are used by its crews and technical personnel. Having this in mind, it's clear that the integration of the SAF's own capabilities with our allies will continue in the future. For many years the Spanish Air Force has been both a pioneer and a crucial factor in peace support operations as well as an important actor in humanitarian aid missions. In fact, it has been a prime actor in humanitarian aid, taking the message of solidarity from Spain to the countries in greatest need. During the next few years the Spanish Air Force will continue to be a modestly-sized organization but provided with cutting-edge weapons systems and looking forward to the full integration of air and space resources. In any case, the programmes under way will enable the Spanish Air Force to be fully interoperable with our allies in the framework of NATO.

[15] STANAG or STANDARDIZATION AGREEMENTS are documents that contain NATO multinational techniques and procedures agreed by allied nations.

NATO AND THE SPANISH NAVY

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Abstract:
Almost everything that the Navy does in its professional field has been influenced by NATO. This influence can be seen in three areas: in empowering joint efforts; in coordination and joint action with the armed forces of our allies, which allows us to operate with them; and in the awareness of contributing to the security and defence not only of Spaniards but also of all of the world's citizens who share our values. In order to get to where we are, decades of cooperation have been necessary. At first approaches were timid but later attempts were made to update procedures to facilitate the taking on of responsibilities and duties together with the allies. The influence of NATO on the Spanish Navy can be appreciated on three classic levels: tactical, operational and strategic. On the tactical level we share all on board procedures. On the operational level all activity is developed via Alliance procedures. With respect to the strategic level, the countries tend to have similar Command Structures. The organisation of the Navy, with a specific structure dedicated to force preparation, and another group dedicated to using those forces, also has its antecedents in the Alliance. The Alliance is preparing a new Strategic Concept, which will determine the way to interpret and carry out security and defence matters in Spain.

Keywords: NATO, Spanish Navy, Strategic Concept.

Resumen:
Prácticamente todo lo que la Armada hace en el ámbito profesional se ha visto influido por la OTAN. Esta influencia se materializa en tres campos: en la potenciación del esfuerzo conjunto, en la coordinación y comunidad de actuación con las Fuerzas Armadas de nuestros aliados que nos permite operar junto a ellos y en la conciencia de contribuir a la seguridad y defensa no sólo de los españoles sino de todos los ciudadanos del mundo que comparten nuestros valores. Para llegar a donde hemos llegado, han sido necesarias décadas de cooperación. Al principio con timidez y posteriormente tratando de actualizar todos los procedimientos para llegar a asumir responsabilidades y cargas junto a los aliados. La influencia de la OTAN en la Armada se aprecia en los tres niveles clásicos: táctico, operacional y estratégico. En el nivel táctico compartimos todos los procedimientos a bordo. En el nivel operacional toda la actividad se desarrolla mediante procedimientos de la Alianza. En lo que respecta al nivel estratégico, los países tienden a tener estructuras de mando similares. La organización de la Armada con una estructura específica dedicada a preparar fuerzas y otra conjunta dedicada a emplearlas tiene también sus antecedentes en la Alianza. La Alianza está preparando un nuevo Concepto Estratégico, que determinará la forma de interpretar y acometer los asuntos de la Seguridad y Defensa en España.

Palabras clave: *OTAN, armada española, Concepto Estratégico.*

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1. Introduction

In everyday life we do not really appreciate what the main financial, political, security and defence organisations offer us. However, if we did not belong to those "Clubs", we would certainly appreciate the importance of those establishments more.

If we want to assess what NATO represents for the Spanish Navy, we have to imagine what the Spanish Navy would be without NATO. If we analyse what NATO has meant for Spain, and more specifically for the Spanish Navy, we can conclude that everything we are and do within the professional sphere of the Navy, is thanks to the important influence of NATO.

2. NATO and the Spanish Armed Forces

When we read the newspapers or listen to the news, we may have the impression that NATO is not our business. It is like an organisation to which we belong and express our opinions and place demands, but without really being responsible for its actions. Certain historical stereotypes associate NATO with a different defence concept from that of our country; some expressions such as "we have asked the Alliance to…" or "we have agreed with the Alliance on such or such issue" contribute to the thought that NATO is an organisation to which we belong but which is governed by foreign leaders or nations.

But this is far from the truth; NATO is the only relevant international organisation where decisions are taken unanimously and the vote of the 28 members has, at least in theory, equal value. There are no formal agreements or voting reached by majority. When governments have diverging positions, negotiations are established to reach unanimous agreements. If an agreement is rejected by, say, Lithuania, to take a case in point of a small nation incorporated very recently , its vote is just as valid as that of the United States. In this sense, Spain participates in the decisions of the Alliance as any other nation. Therefore, when we talk about NATO, if we want to talk properly, we should say "we have decided that…," "we have agreed with our partners that the best stand is…," etc.

This shared responsibility in the most important security organisation in the world has a great impact on national policy, especially in the performance and structure of our Armed Forces; and also in the way we interpret the concept of security and defence.

NATO's impact or influence on our Armed Forces could be summarised in three aspects:

1.-The strengthening of the joint effort of the three Services (Army, Air Force, Navy).

2.-Coordination and common operations of our Armed Forces with those of our Allies.

3.-The awareness of contributing to the security and defence not only of our Spanish society, but that of the world that shares our values.

The Alliance is governed at the political level by a Council made up by the Presidents of the member states, and at the military level by a Committee where the Armed Forces are

represented by the Chiefs of the Defence Staffs. Consequently, our organisation had to change, not only to be able to provide assets to the Alliance, but also to contribute to the management of the organisation supporting the decisions of those who represent us.

This feature of NATO as a relevant factor affecting our military organisation has seldom been presented, but the fact that just one serviceman is the spokesman for the whole Armed Forces implies a joint posture through the Joint Staff, a command support organisation of the Chief of the Defence Staff, our spokesman in NATO's Military Committee. In the past, the three Services of our Armed Forces historically followed independent and sometimes opposed paths, but as members of the Alliance, endeavours have been made to join efforts.

The need for joint action has important working effects; namely, high military studies are taught in a Common College. Likewise, and in order to favour joint advising, Service structures have evolved towards common standards with members from the three Services sharing the same departments, no matter their Corps of origin. The advantage of one service also takes into account the needs and common interests of the rest. This common interest is defended by our Chief of the Defence Staff (JEMAD) at the Military Committee of the Alliance. This implies an important effort as regards adaptation, change of mind-set and, above all, flexibility. If the JEMAD had not represented the three Services in the Military Committee, the need for a joint endeavour would not have been so important.

The second aspect of the impact of the Alliance on our Armed Forces refers to the standardisation of working procedures to operate in common with our Allies. The need to act in common requires analysing their interests and concerns while defending our own interests.

This evolution is filtered through the organisation and reaches all levels of the Armed Forces. It is now common practice that when working on a study, concept or proposal, the positions of our Allies are pondered accordingly, with the final product influenced by the likes and dislikes of other nations. In the same way, our Allies take into account our concerns when drafting their initiatives.

The need for fluent communication with our Allies in the official languages (French and English) has implied a great effort for our servicemen. NATO has no doubt contributed to turning our Armed Forces into one of the most international organisations of the State, which contributes to fostering our intellectual heritage.

The third effect is the appreciation that we participate in an important effort of collective defence and security. Before joining the Alliance, the concept of defence was primarily national. Both the territorial structure of the Armed Forces and the definition of assets were oriented towards the defence of the homeland. Joining the Alliance and co-responsibility in its management has radically changed our view of security. Now our defence is shared. Our Allies commit themselves to guarantee our security in exchange for our contribution to theirs. As a consequence, the traditional territorial organisation disappeared and our Armed Forces became more deployable, ready for action in far away scenarios. The Spanish Navy is fully aware of this change and is permanently adapting its organisation.

Furthermore, the deterrence capability of the joint effort contributes to reducing the risks in our territory, thus changing our concept of security. Indeed, integration in the Alliance and the evolution of the world situation has implied that our vision of security is more oriented towards the risks posed by situations where the security of people is at stake, or even our social and economic development.

In this new security context, NATO membership makes us consider the security of other people as being as important as our own. When we carry out our daily work, endeavouring to have efficient Armed Forces, we are also contributing to guaranteeing the security of nations such as Albania or Croatia, the most recent members of NATO, that need security to grow socially and economically.

To sum up, the impact of NATO on our Armed Forces has been remarkable. They have become a joint structure, sharing our security efforts with our Allies.

Spain is today an actor and has co-responsibility in collective defence since joining NATO. Our perception of security would be different without NATO. Our Armed Forces have undergone great development since joining the Alliance, and with pride we can conclude that the Armed Forces of our Allies have also benefited from our presence. We cannot consider NATO as something distant and foreign. Spain is NATO and our Armed Forces would be different without NATO.

3. NATO and the Spanish Navy

3. 1. The Path Towards NATO. Relations with the United States

Navies, by their very nature, are expeditionary and global in their employment. Mobility is indeed a specific characteristic of Naval Forces which, along with the lack of frontiers at sea, turn Navies into real elements of State Diplomacy and Foreign Policy. This also paves the way for relations with other Navies in international waters.

However, some events in our recent history, such as the Spanish Civil War and the Second World War, left Spain isolated from the rest of the world. This fact affected both civilian society and the military world.

As regards the Spanish Navy, naval shipbuilding in the 20th century was primarily indigenous, with some influence from countries with which we had bilateral relations. Ships were built that became obsolete as soon as they were launched[2], with limited technology. From the operational point of view, the procedures used were also strictly national[3].

In the second half of the 20th century, Spain and the United States began to enjoy intense relations with benefits for both nations. U.S. President Eisenhower's visit to Spain was a turning point, and not entirely for military reasons. This interest was connected with his concept of a European Defence. In the political sphere, Spain was initially favoured while the United States benefited from the defence area of interest: for example, apart from the use of many small facilities, the U.S. was allowed to jointly use the bases of Zaragoza, Torrejón, Morón and Rota.

During this long period, Spain updated its Armed Forces and benefited from the transfer of technology which has greatly enhanced our industry and consequently our naval forces[4].

[2] Cerezo, Ricardo (1983): *La Armada española en el siglo XX*, Tomo I, Madrid, Ediciones Poniente, p. 107.
[3] De Bordejé Morencos, Fernando (1982): *España, poder marítimo y estrategia naval, Barcelona,* Empresa Nacional Bazán, pp. 119-120.
[4] *Ibid.* pp. 159-161.

From the 60's on, the Spanish Navy began to have a close relationship with the U.S. Navy. The United States transferred a series of destroyers (known as the "5 *latinos*") with their accompanying technology: radars, sonars, weapon systems, etc., along with personnel training programmes, courses in the U.S. for officers, exchanges, etc. In the course of our recent history, many warships and projects have been transferred or developed with support from the U.S. Navy (FRAM destroyers, *Baleares* and *Santa María* class frigates, the aircraft carrier *Príncipe de Asturias*, etc.)

Combined exercises between both Navies were also scheduled[5]. A fundamental requirement was the interoperability between participating warships as well as common procedures, such as similar radios for communications at the same frequencies and modulation, or responses for situations of man overboard while sailing in close formation, or arranging torpedo attack formations when a submarine was spotted. That is to say, the employment of warships at a tactical level[6].

All these things, so obvious and natural nowadays, were not so at the beginning. NATO was also taking its first steps and published several manuals called Allied Tactical Procedures (ATP) many of which, in their first editions, gathered procedures which were drafted, developed and practised during the Second World War.

3.2. First Contacts with NATO

Although Spain did not become a full member of NATO until 1982, our relations with the United States allowed us to have access to these ATPs, perhaps without sensitive information, and were very useful. Apart from the ATPs, we also had access to other technical documents, such as equipment standardization, specifications, etc.

All this permitted us, in the case of the Spanish Navy, to get acquainted with NATO tactical procedures from the very beginning, and kept us updated with new tactics and procedures. This situation allowed the Spanish Navy to participate in some exercises with units from NATO countries within a bilateral framework, contributing to somehow mitigate our isolation from the rest of the world. Thus, when Spain joined the military structure of NATO the Spanish Navy was fully prepared.

One of the most outstanding initiatives of NATO back in the years 1965-67 was the establishment of Standing Naval Forces. Although they were, at first, on call forces activated for specific periods of time, they soon became permanent. Four forces were set up: two for the Atlantic and two for the Mediterranean; each one of them made up of a task group of frigates and a logistic ship and the other with mine countermeasures ships.

These Standing Forces played an important role in the image of cohesion within the Alliance, as well as deterrence since they were considered Immediate Reaction Forces (IRF). They also had a twofold task: the first one was the establishment of common equipment standards (material interoperability), and the second was the issuing of common tactical procedures (tactical interoperability). The fact of having ships at sea during nearly 365 days

[5] Linares Seiru-lo, Luis (2007): *La política de seguridad en la transición española, 1976-1982,* Tesis Doctoral, Universidad Complutense de Madrid. Ministerio de Defensa, p. 256.

[6] A good essay about this period in the Navy is the one published by Álvarez-Maldonado Muela, Ricardo (1997): *Crónica de la Armada española (1939-1997),* Barcelona, Empresa nacional Bazán de Construcciones Militares S.A., pp.57-65 and 117-127. These latest pages deal in depth with the renewal of the Spain-US Agreements in the seventies.

per year required the development of standardization agreements (STANAGS). Among them we can highlight the following: Replenishment at Sea to supply oil to any NATO ship; Communication Systems and Automatic Data Exchange to keep a common tactical situation in all ships from a task group.

Tactical interoperability has also been a fundamental cornerstone of NATO. Once interoperability has been achieved, it is necessary to attain a series of common procedures to be efficient. These tactical procedures have been drafted little by little, sharing specialized know-how of each NATO member with the rest; experimenting with tactics before turning them into doctrine, etc. Spain has drawn great advantages for its military operations from this experience.

Besides these two aspects, and given the fact that the Spanish Navy started to participate in the Standing Forces at the end of the 80's, we can assert that the Navy was the first Service to have an active role within NATO, transmitting experiences to the other Services of the Armed Forces.

Not much has been written in Spain about this, but it is one of the features of the naval world: activities at sea leave no "footsteps". In those years the Spanish Navy took part in important exercises with significant assets but with hardly any repercussion in public opinion. All this, now and then, has both a positive side and a not so positive side: Among the former is that the Spanish Navy has made progress and among the latter that those important advances in the naval or maritime sphere go unnoticed in society.

To sum up we can conclude that, at a tactical level, the Spanish Navy is based on NATO doctrine, as are the rest of the Navies in our environment, some of which are the most modern in the world. Without NATO's tactical doctrine, the Spanish Navy would not have achieved the level it enjoys at present.

3.3. From the Tactical to the Operational Level

At the tactical level, apart from doctrinal publications and standing forces, participation in educational centres and working groups has allowed for great developments in the employment of the Force at that level. Likewise we also contributed by sharing our experience and know-how with the other members.

Our participation in Standing Forces permitted a first contact with NATO, but it was after entry into the military structure, back in 1997, when we underwent important developments at operational level.

Integration into the military structure entailed new assignments for many officers and petty officers in operational and strategic Headquarters. This demanded important organisational efforts on the part of the Spanish Navy in order to provide qualified personnel to coordinate relations with the Alliance. NATO is also responsible for providing adequate training to the personnel assigned to their Headquarters. For example, at the NATO School in Oberammergau (Germany), Operational Planning courses are organised for officers assigned to the Headquarters, which are intended to qualify them for the operational planning of missions. NATO not only provides academic training but also know-how and experience through real operations and exercises.

The truth is that national procedures, both at joint or on a specific level, are based on the ones used in NATO Headquarters.

I would also like to mention in this chapter the NATO Rapid Response Force (NRF) and the establishment of the Spanish High Readiness Maritime Headquarters (SPMARFOR). The NRF is a joint high readiness NATO force that can operate anywhere. The command of the Naval Component of this Force is exercised by the High Readiness Maritime Headquarters (HRF-M) of NATO; the Spanish Navy has one of them: SPMARFOR.

We can say that the HRF-M works both at tactical and operational levels. Its Staff is made up of national (70%) and foreign (30%) personnel. The employment of the NRF, the exercises carried out by such a demanding Force as the NRF, as well as its relation and integration with NATO's operational Commands, involve great experience in all stages of planning, preparation and execution at the operational level of the Force[7]. The main know-how in the Spanish Navy of this type of operation comes from the analysis and lessons learnt through experience of the NRF. There is nowadays, as always, a debate on the future of these forces. This will evolve and the member states will have doubts as to when and how to use these forces and who will finance them. Decision making processes are necessarily complex, as also happens with standing forces, but the advantages of the SPMARFOR for the Spanish Navy are evident.

Other aspects at the operational level, although not directly connected with the management of operations, but rather with the design and capabilities of our ships and training methods, are the standard requirements of naval units as well as the certification of standards and procedures. What is intended is to standardize the capabilities of specific naval units, a frigate, for example, regardless of its nationality and the type of training of its crew. It is intended that all members understand what it is and what NATO expects from each naval unit. Spanish Navy training organisations will have to apply their standard working procedures. In this sense, the maturity of the Spanish Navy is such that we can now contribute with our own experience as one of the most important members of the Alliance.

3.4. Attaining the Strategic Level

We can say that it is at the tactical level where the Force is employed in order to attain the military goals identified at higher levels. At the operational level is where operations are conducted which are aimed at attaining the goals defined at the strategic level.

Although at tactical and operational levels NATO has certainly influenced our doctrinal procedures, at the strategic level we have made some contributions. We should not forget that the NATO Strategic Concept has a big influence on national strategic thought. I feel sure, nevertheless, that this is an area that still needs further development. The NATO Strategic Concept has a direct, although not obvious, influence on the national strategic concept. We in Spain, I refer to our society as a whole, should pay more attention to this concept. The risks and threats included in the NATO Strategic Concept have been incorporated, with all necessary nuances, into the different national strategic concepts. Equally, guidelines about

[7] Chacón Piqueras, Carme: "Solicitud de comparecencia, a petición propia, de la Ministra de Defensa, ante la Comisión de Defensa, para informar sobre el desarrollo de las operaciones de las Fuerzas Armadas Españolas en el exterior, conforme a lo dispuesto en el artículo 18 de la Ley Orgánica 5/2005, de la Defensa Nacional", *Congreso de los Diputados, Boletín Oficial*, Madrid, Spain (10 December 2008), pp. 4 y 5.

what NATO Forces should be and what capabilities they should have need to be assumed by each member country, since they measure and mould our Armed Forces.

As regards Naval Force employment, NATO has not developed an allied maritime strategy so far, although it did develop doctrine and concepts that, given their conceptual scope and long-term duration, could be said to be included in the strategic level. This maritime strategy, which is still in a process of development, although geared towards NATO objectives (in sum, the objectives of its member countries), is based on the naval thought of all NATO maritime powers, including Spain. Certainly, this will have a strong impact on national maritime strategy.

On the other hand, there are certain NATO activities that, although they can be included in the strategic level, are not related to the attainment of military objectives but to logistics and organisation, and that have an extensive influence on Spain and, specifically, on the Spanish Navy. Thus, for instance, the dock infrastructure at Rota Naval Base is supported by NATO Infrastructure programmes. On the one side, NATO supports the enlargement of the docks in this Base and, on the other, Spain agrees to offer support to any NATO ship that needs it.

In terms of organisation, organic changes need to be introduced in order to maintain effective communication with NATO and our involvement in working groups and decision-making agencies by providing qualified personnel to the different Headquarters. It was even necessary to take command of Forces such as the maritime HRF and some Standing Naval Forces.

3.5. Coherent Acquisition of Equipment ans Systems

The role that NATO has had in bringing together our Armed Forces has already been stressed, both in the domestic or joint aspect (among the different Services and the Navy), and in the external or combined aspect (with the rest of our allies). NATO contributed to our planning system for material assets with some proven methods to define and procure equipment, guaranteeing the coherence of national defence and our contribution to common defence.

The Phased Armaments Programming System (PAPS) constitutes, within the NATO environment, the framework to promote cooperation programmes based on an agreement on common military requirements, while being the instrument to assist in decision-making in all management echelons. Since the year 2000, these procedures and this methodology have also been a framework for developing programmes geared to satisfying national needs.

This phased system analyses in a systematic, gradual and detailed way the different processes used from the time when a need is identified to the moment when the equipment is definitively deactivated. Generally speaking, we can mention three basic periods: conceptual, procurement and operational service. The first, purely theoretical, identifies the need and accordingly defines requirements for new equipment. In the second, the equipment that fulfils those defined requirements is planned, designed and produced. Finally, the third period covers the support needed throughout the whole operational life span and the steps that should be taken to guarantee decommissioning in an efficient way.

In addition, the process establishes the responsibilities and functional relations among the agencies involved in each phase. Thus, we verify that:

- The selected action fulfils the need that generated it.
- The results expected from the action make up for the effort invested in its implementation.
- It is viable given the material and human assets available.
- It is financially feasible.

In this sense, the peculiarity of working in a medium such as boundless sea, with very few legal limitations for the deployment of military units, led the Spanish Navy to a close collaboration with the rest of the navies long before our treaty membership.

At a first phase, by acquiring mostly US-material, and at a second phase by building units in national shipyards that systematically conformed to all common requirements and standards defined by the Alliance, the Spanish Navy has been working in an effective and integrated way with the rest of the allies for more than 40 years[8].

This involvement not only guarantees coherence among all allied assets, but also allows the application of more rigorous operational requirements, taken from the global experience from all members, to the new equipment. Some examples of the effectiveness of this approach are in the wide range of orders coming from outside of our national industry, and our high technological degree in fields such as shipbuilding and electronics. Without the level of standardisation demanded by NATO, our ships would be different, and our contacts with the international world much reduced.

4. The Future of the Spanish Navy and NATO

NATO is a dynamic organisation that performs an ongoing evaluation of its strategic environment in order to adapt its organisation and political and military stand; the aim is to be always in the best position to efficiently face the needs of the collective defence and common security of all its members. This evolution has internal consequences in the Alliance, which reorganises its structures and its decision processes and actions so as to adjust our reaction to any changes in the international sphere. It has also external consequences, for it promotes the adoption of certain force structures, as well as the procurement of specific military capabilities among its member countries.

For forty years, NATO had prepared to face the threat of the Warsaw Pact, a well-defined and well-known threat against which it was relatively simple to plan and rehearse military responses. On the other hand, the design of new ships and weapon systems was strongly influenced by the need to counter, or surpass, the progresses in military technology attained by the Soviets, whose technical and tactical employment were known by the allies through their intelligence distribution channels.

[8] Linares Seiru-lo, *op. cit.*, p. 397 y Álvarez-Maldonado Muela, Ricardo (1997): *Crónica de la Armada española (1939-1997)*, Barcelona, Empresa nacional Bazán de Construcciones Militares S.A., pp. 263-268.

The Spanish Navy, without neglecting its immediate environs and national responsibilities, assumed with its main units the role that had been assigned to the allied navies during those years: to exert control over the sea in oceanic waters in order to reinforce Europe through maritime sea lines of communication in case of a conflict with the Soviet Bloc[9]; to neutralise the nuclear submarine threat[10]; and to be prepared to project naval power over the European territory so as to contribute to the defeat of the Warsaw Pact's land forces[11]. We assumed the allied doctrine and, as I have already pointed out, the same operative procedures and the same way of organising and directing the forces at sea as our allies. Thus, the main effort to modernise the Spanish Navy in the 70s and 80s was materialised in the Combat Group (made up of the aircraft carrier, Harrier aircraft and oceanic frigates) [12].

When the Soviet Bloc disintegrated in the early 90s, NATO had to reconsider its role on the international security scene. Without forgetting the essential role that military defence plays in the Alliance's *raison d'être*, cooperation and a more ample vision of security came to prevail on the new scene, resulting from dialogue. During this decade, NATO made a great adaptation effort which, starting from the 1991 Strategic Concept, culminated in that of 1999. This, although still in force, is now under a review process.

The 1999 Strategic Concept has maintained as its essential objective the safeguarding of security and freedom of NATO-member countries by political and military means. It does not dismiss the possibility that in the long-term future it could be materialised in a great-scale conventional threat against the Alliance or one of its members, thus shifting its focus from defence towards maintenance of security and stability in the Euro-Atlantic area. In addition, it still has the ambition that NATO become a useful tool for international peace and security.

This means, on the one hand, recognising that new risks like international terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction or the impact of armed conflicts in far away regions are concerns that demand attention from the Alliance. On the other hand, we need to use political instruments, such as NATO enlargement and dialogue and cooperation with third countries, in order to promote international stability. Finally, it also means that the allied military forces should transform themselves to attain the rapid and flexible reaction demanded in cases of crisis management in far away geographical areas.

Therefore, we can conclude that NATO, maintaining collective defence as the organisational cornerstone, is also taking on a new role in common security.

In the maritime environment, and along these lines, today's navies have to operate in waters that are more distant from their bases but nearer the coast, and against irregular adversaries, the so-called asymmetric threats. Moreover, given the general reduction of military forces in the allied nations, multinationality and joint action are now a requirement to plan and carry out NATO operations. In addition, some kinds of actions that seemed outdated are being practised again, such as maritime embargo, prompted by the operations in the Persian Gulf and the Adriatic Sea after the invasion of Kuwait and the disintegration of

[9] Álvarez-Maldonado Muela, *op. cit.,* pp.256-257.
[10] Polanco Martínez, Enrique (1967): *Discurso de clausura del Curso de Guerra Naval 1965/1967.* Chocano Higueras, Guadalupe (2000): *Curso de Guerra naval. Últimas lecciones (1925-1999). Madrid,* Escuela de Guerra Naval, Ministerio de Defensa, p. 192.
[11] De Bordejé Morencos, Fernando (1982): *España, poder marítimo y estrategia naval, Barcelona,* Empresa Nacional Bazán, pp. 94-101.
[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 158-173.

Yugoslavia, respectively.

The Spanish Navy appreciated this new approach, and soon aligned itself with it. Multinationality in naval forces was already an issue left behind, after years of cooperation inside NATO. However, as regards to joint operations we needed to progress. To that effect, the best way was to fully enter the NATO Response Force (NRF) by contributing one of the four High Readiness Maritime Headquarters that yearly rotate in order to cover the allied needs of planning and conducting rapid reaction maritime operations. Our NRF membership also forced us to adopt a new system for ship, Marine Corps units and Staffs certification, which I have already commented in above paragraphs.

However, the most important change derived from bringing operations to the coast was that attention was now focused on all things related to maritime security and the use of the sea for illicit activities, a field of action that had been the traditional role of many navies in past centuries, and that now is again being practised to fight the new risks, such as international terrorism, drug smuggling, illegal immigration and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. This new approach to maritime operations brought about a very important organisational change inside the Spanish Navy: the creation of the Maritime Action Force and the Protection Force in the year 2002. The first includes different types of units, mostly patrol boats, embodying the Spanish Navy's contribution to the State's action at sea, especially maritime surveillance and naval collaboration to prevent and monitor the aforementioned risks. The second agglutinates the Marine Corps units specialised in protection and security tasks, but geared, among other things, to providing the Spanish Navy's ships with inspection and search equipment for surveillance and maritime security tasks.

Once this shift towards coastal waters in naval operations was adopted, NATO soon realised that the essential tool for effective action was lacking: suitable knowledge of the maritime environment. NATO was aware that it was not possible to act efficiently in the new coastal scenarios without a complete picture of what is happening at sea and the reasons why things happen in a certain manner. In order to solve this problem, NATO launched an initiative, Maritime Situational Awareness (MSA), which embraced the study of the conceptual, technological and organisational aspects needed to obtain, merge and analyse all relevant information for maritime security operations. The Spanish Navy was involved in these tasks from the beginning and, with the support of its national industry, applied the solutions developed at the Maritime Action Surveillance and Operations Centre (COVAM: Centro de Operaciones y Vigilancia de Acción Marítima), whose facilities were set up so as to support the new Maritime Action Force in its surveillance and security tasks[13], and that is now supporting with remarkable success the EU's Atalanta Operation against piracy in the Indian Ocean.

Also as a consequence of the 1999 Strategic Concept, more attention was paid to the Alliance approach to third countries so as to promote strategic dialogue and mutual confidence; again, navies played a significant role here, applying both traditional actions, such as naval diplomacy, and more novel actions, like military cooperation, in order to extend the Euro-Atlantic stability and security area. The Spanish Navy has been very active in this field,

[13] For a detailed study about these aspects and their tendencies, see: Ruesta Botella, José Antonio (2008): "Seguridad marítima: tendencias y retos" pp. 102-108 and Martínez-Núñez (2008): "Capacidades clave en la seguridad marítima" pp. 161-164 in *Grupo de Trabajo* nº 05/08 (2008): "Impacto de los riesgos emergentes en la seguridad marítima", Instituto Español de Estudios Estratégicos, Ministerio de Defensa, *Cuaderno de estrategia,* no. 140, at http://www.ieee.es/archivos/subidos/CE/CE_140_Seguridad_Maritima.pdf.

too, promoting the involvement of observers and units from third countries in national exercises, and contributing to the integration of ships from non-NATO nations, including Russia, in real operations like Active Endeavour – the maritime security operation that NATO has maintained in the Mediterranean Sea since 9/11.

Therefore, we can sum up the result of the development in NATO naval strategic thought since 1990 as geared towards two specific areas of action: first, conventional operations as a contribution to deterrence and collective defence; and last, but not least, maritime security as a specific contribution to the fight against the new risks that have emerged in the field of common security.

Such development in allied naval thought and practices is currently under a process of shaping and updating, as the Allied Maritime Strategy (AMS) is being prepared to organise the military activities that NATO should be ready to conduct at sea in order to contribute to the defence and security of the Alliance in the future. While the final document will not be approved until 2010, there are indeed clear trends in its drafts that will have, and are having already, an influence on the way that the Spanish Navy carries out its missions.

The first trend is the consolidation of the future role of war navies in three principal fields of action:

1.-Contribute to deterrence and joint conventional operations related to collective defence and crisis response operations. This area will bring about operations ranging from force projection to humanitarian aid.

2.-Maritime security operations to fight risks like international terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, piracy, etc., and protect freedom of navigation.

3.-Military cooperation as a vehicle to promote mutual confidence on the periphery of the Euro-Atlantic area, to strengthen our bonds of collaboration with nations that are close to the Alliance but geographically far apart, and, most importantly, to create capabilities in countries lacking them for the benefit of global maritime security.

In organisational terms, the Spanish Navy is well aligned to play this role, for the new structure of the Spanish Naval Force (the Fleet), under a single command, is organised in three blocks:

- The Naval Action Force, which materialises the contribution of the Spanish Navy to deterrence and defence in the joint environment, and which includes the Spanish Navy's most powerful assets: aircraft carriers, amphibious force, frigates, submarines and aircraft.

- The Maritime Action Force, focused on maritime surveillance and maritime security operations conducted both as the Spanish Navy's own and permanent mission, and in support of other national and international agencies with responsibilities in the maritime realm.

- The Marine Corps Force, which affords both landing force for conventional operations, and security, inspection and search equipment for maritime security tasks.

The AMS will also identify a series of principles in all actions of the allied naval forces, some of which are today common practice and have been incorporated into the approach of the Spanish Navy to naval operations and to the future characteristics of the naval force. Perhaps the most relevant are a global approach to maritime security and the expeditionary nature of naval forces.

NATO, along with the European Union, recognises that maritime affairs, and especially the maritime security issue, should be tackled with an integrated approach, both in geographical terms and regarding the relations among the different agencies and institutions, both military and civilian, with responsibilities at sea. The seas as a whole are a global geographical element in which the limits between coasts and oceans are irrelevant, and in which none of the institutions or agencies, whether national or international, military or civilian, with responsibilities for handling and protecting maritime activity, have the information or adequate means to successfully act by themselves to prevent and control such diverse risks as are piracy, illegal immigration, weapons proliferation, etc., or to guarantee the global protection of maritime shipping and the freedom of navigation. This is why NATO recommends, firstly, tackling the issue of maritime environment knowledge by integrating and merging information coming from civilian and military systems, and then, to be in a position to support international governments and agencies when it comes to preventing maritime risks, protecting vital infrastructures also related to maritime shipping, etc.

On the other hand, the expeditionary nature of naval forces has been a recurrent question in the latest Ministry Guidelines issued by the North-Atlantic Council, as has, particularly in that of 2006, the need for highly deployable and flexible forces that can take advantage of the sea to restrain crisis situations in far away theatres. The novelty in the AMS is that such expeditionary capability will have an enhanced importance in the field of military cooperation and post-conflict reconstruction.

The Spanish Navy is already applying these principles to its daily tasks connected to maritime surveillance and security; the COVAM merges information coming from very diverse sources, so that each agency can have what it needs to fulfil its specific responsibilities. At sea, apart from fulfilling its specific missions, including surveillance and security of maritime spaces, the Spanish Navy has the additional aim of becoming the best collaborator for all national and international agencies with responsibilities in the maritime realm, coordinating their actions according to the legal duties and assets of each of them.

As regards the expeditionary nature of our naval force, it is important to highlight the effort made in recent years to reinforce this capability with the imminent entry into service of the amphibious ship "Juan Carlos I" and the combat replenishment ship "Cantabria"[14].

[14] With respect to the vision and operative application of the Spanish naval power projection, see: Rebollo García, Manuel (2008): "The Deep Strategic Significance of the Spanish Navy", *NATO Review*, no. 3 (2008), Brussels, NATO, pp. 98-104, at http://www.armada.mde.es/ArmadaPortal/page/Portal/ArmadaEspannola/conocenos_ajema/06_Articulos V.A; Ruesta Botella, José Antonio: "Nuevas capacidades, nuevos medios. El buque de proyección estratégica", Escuela de Guerra Naval, *Cuadernos de Pensamiento Naval,* no. 3 (2003).
For an introductory essay about the projection capability, see: "Revisión Estratégica de la Defensa", *Ministerio de Defensa*, Madrid, España (2003) pp. 206, 221-223. For a deeper study, see: Gray Colin S. (2001): *La Pujanza del Poder Naval,* Madrid, Ministerio de Defensa. A recent study is the one publised by Fernández Fadón, Fernando (2009): *España y el Reino Unido. Dos potencias navales ante un escenario de incertidumbre, Madrid,* Escuela de Guerra Naval, Ministerio de Defensa, Madrid, pp. 123-135.

However, the expeditionary nature of our naval force is not only based on having the specific assets of the Naval Action Force and the Marine Corps Force I have already mentioned before, but also on a shift in the mind-set regarding the response opportunities that such expeditionary capability offers and about the ways in which its assets can be used. The naval response to the Lebanon crisis in 2006 was excellent proof of it: in less than two weeks, a Marine Corps battalion was deployed on the spot that used the Tiro beach for its shore-based deployment and support, as well as other Spanish Navy ships and amphibious resources.

Finally, I have to mention the NATO New Strategic Concept, currently being prepared, and that will supersede the one that has been in force since 1999. This document foresees that NATO will establish the kinds of operations that it should be ready for in the future, the capabilities that it should procure to that effect, and the new cooperation bonds that it will establish to these ends. Most likely, the Allied Maritime Strategy will have a significant influence on the new Concept; the Spanish Navy will closely follow its development to maintain itself in a good position to re-orientate and align its structures and plans with the least effort possible and in all necessary areas[15].

5. The Spanish Navy, NATO and the European Union

Before finishing this speech, and after having said that the NATO influence on the Spanish Navy has been, and is, essential, we should comment on the European Union and the role of Europe in the Spanish Navy. Both institutions, NATO and the EU, with their Common Security and Defence Policy, are essential for our future. They are very important, and in addition, they are complementary.

The entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty will allow, now more than ever, a much more coherent and coordinated European Foreign Policy. This will have an impact on European Security and Defence Policy. We will still receive tactical procedures and operational doctrine from NATO, and we also will align our national strategic concept with NATO strategy (this, I will say again, is also our task) and will conduct NATO operations as necessary. But we also will take advantage of those procedures and doctrine for all operations in defence of our European interests whenever it is necessary.

We should see this as only natural: it is in accordance with the advanced and complex Western societies of the countries to which we belong.

6. Conclusion

NATO has exerted a very important influence on the Spanish Navy. It would be very difficult to explain many things we carry out in our daily routine without this influence. Organization, training, command structure, procurement, standardization etc is very much driven by ideas born inside NATO.

[15] Pérez Muniello, Francisco (2009): *El Gasto de defensa en España,* Madrid, Ministerio de Defensa, 171-217. The chapter "El Gasto en defensa en el mundo" makes an extremely didactic analysis, with profusion of sources and comparative references among NATO partners and between NATO and Spain.

But NATO is not an organization foreign to us. We also influence NATO and being present there we influence others as much as they influence us.

In the near future one of the big challenges we'll have to face is to develop the Europe's security and defence policy while keeping a solid relationship with NATO in benefit of our future security.

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Resolución de la Comisión de Formación Continua de 27 de Febrero de 2006

13ª PROMOCIÓN

UNIVERSIDAD COMPLUTENSE DE MADRID

DIPLOMA EN PREVENCION DE CONFLICTOS

CÓDIGO: D0037/4

Curso 2009/2010
Del 2 de abril del 2010 al 31 de mayo del 2010
Preinscripción:
Septiembre 2009- marzo 2010

Director: **Antonio Marquina Barrio**
Secretaria: Gloria Inés Ospina

PROGRAMA

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2. **Prevención de conflictos. Conceptualización:**
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   - Crisis y control de crisis.
   - Alerta temprana.
   - Centro de prevención de conflictos: decisión, efectividad, movilización de recursos y actores.
   - Imposición de la paz.
   - La reconstrucción de la paz tras el conflicto.
   - Desarme, desmovilización y reintegración.
3. **Respuestas de las Organizaciones Internacionales:**
   - Las operaciones de Mantenimiento de la Paz de Naciones Unidas.
   - La Organización para la Seguridad y la Cooperación en Europa, OSCE.
   - La OTAN, gestión de crisis y postconflicto.
   - La Unión Europea y la prevención de Conflictos: Aspectos Civiles y Militares
4. **Lecciones de la experiencia de prevención de conflictos: éxitos, fracasos, equivocaciones**
   - El caso de Afganistán.
   - El caso de Bosnia y El caso de Kosovo.
   - El caso de Georgia
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   - El conflicto árabe-israelí y palestino-israelí.
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Fundamentación: El curso ha venido ofreciéndose como título propio y posteriormente como curso de formación continua con alumnado suficiente. Creo que es más atractivo el curso si se oferta en julio y se pueden dedicar 100 horas a esta actividad de forma concentrada que es lo que nos pide el alumnado.

Objetivos:

1.-Abrir al alumnado y público en general los temas de seguridad y cooperación, que viene desarrollando la cátedra, al área de Asia-Pacífico, dado que no hay ninguna asignatura reglada sobre estos temas en la Universidad.

2.-Contribuir al conocimiento de los temas de Asia que son incipientes en España y están consolidados en las universidades europeas.

3.-El alumnado podrá familiarizarse con problemas, formas y métodos de prevención y gestión de conflictos en parte diferentes a los que se realizan en Europa.

4.-El alumnado puede adquirir una experiencia suficiente para poder optar a puestos internacionales donde ya se exigen este tipo de conocimientos.

Duración: 100 horas

Horario: Curso de 9 a 14,00 horas

Aula: Aula que permita el movimiento de mesas y sillas de forma circular para la realización de las simulaciones

Número máximo de alumnos 40(ideal 25-30).

Alumnado: Alumnos de licenciatura de cualquier Facultad, titulados universitarios, profesionales de policía, guardia civil, Fuerzas Armadas. No hacen falta conocimientos especiales previos.

Escuela Complutense de Verano 2010

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ASIA EN EL SIGLO XXI: CONFORMACIÓN POLÍTICA Y ECONÓMICA Y GESTION PREVENTIVA DE RIESGOS Y CONFLICTOS

5 a 31 DE JULIO

8 Créditos de Libre Configuración
10 Créditos MEC

Director Antonio Marquina
Subdirector David García

1.- Introducción (4 horas)

Breve evolución histórica de la configuración política de Asia. Diferenciación Cultural y Religiosa

2.-Situación política: Procesos de democratización, regímenes autoritarios y dictaduras.(6 horas)

Nordeste de Asia

Sudeste de Asia

Australia y Nueva Zelanda

3.- Desarrollo económico y auge en las economías de Asia (10 horas)

El crecimiento económico de Japón, Taiwan y la R. de Corea

El crecimiento económico de la R.P.China.

La ASEAN y el AFTA.

El crecimiento económico de la India

4.-Política exterior (10 horas)

Política exterior de los estados del nordeste de Asia

Política exterior de la RP. China

Política exterior de los Estados del Sudeste Asiático

Política exterior de la India

Política exterior de Australia y Nueva Zelanda

5.-Conflictos, Riesgos y Amenazas en Asia Central y Asia Pacífico (7 horas)

- Situación en Asia Central
- Situación en el Sur de Asia
- Situación en los Estados de ASEAN

Situación en el Este de Asia

6.-El rearme en Asia-Pacífico (2 horas)

7.-Iniciativas de cooperación y gestión de crisis en Asia Central (3 horas)

8-Las relaciones de seguridad entre India y Pakistán (2 horas)

9.-El conflicto de Cachemira. Propuestas para la gestión y resolución del conflicto (2 horas)

10.-Iniciativas del ASEAN REGIONAL FORUM (4 horas)

11.-Propuestas para la prevención de conflictos y gestión de crisis entre las dos Coreas (4 horas)

12.-Interpretaciones del poderío militar creciente de la República Popular China. La República Popular China en la agenda Regional de Seguridad.(4 horas)

13.-Las relaciones de seguridad entre la República Popular China y la República de China. Escenarios para la prevención de conflictos y gestión de posibles crisis.(4 horas)

14.-Japón y la normalización militar. Reconfiguración de la seguridad y defensa de Japón. Los cambios en la alianza con los Estados Unidos. La perspectiva actual de prevención de conflictos y gestión de crisis.(4 horas)

15.-La reestructuración de la presencia militar de los Estados Unidos en Asia-Pacífico.

Políticas de prevención y gestión de crisis.(4 horas)

16.- La agenda de seguridad de Australia y Nueva Zelanda. Prioridades en la prevención de conflictos y gestión de crisis. (2 horas)

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ACTIVIDADES PRÁCTICAS

Cinco simulaciones prácticas. Dos sobre Asia Central y Sur de Asia. Tres sobre Asia-Pacífico:

– ASIA CENTRAL

Celebración de una reunión de Primeros Ministros de la Organización de Cooperación de Shangai como preparatoria de la Cumbre Anual de Jefes de Estado.

– SUR DE ASIA

Reunión extraordinaria del Consejo de Seguridad de las Naciones Unidas, convocada por el presidente de turno, tras una cadena de atentados terroristas en la red de ferrocarriles de la Unión India y una escalada de la tensión entre ésta y el vecino Estado de Pakistán.

– PENÍNSULA COREANA

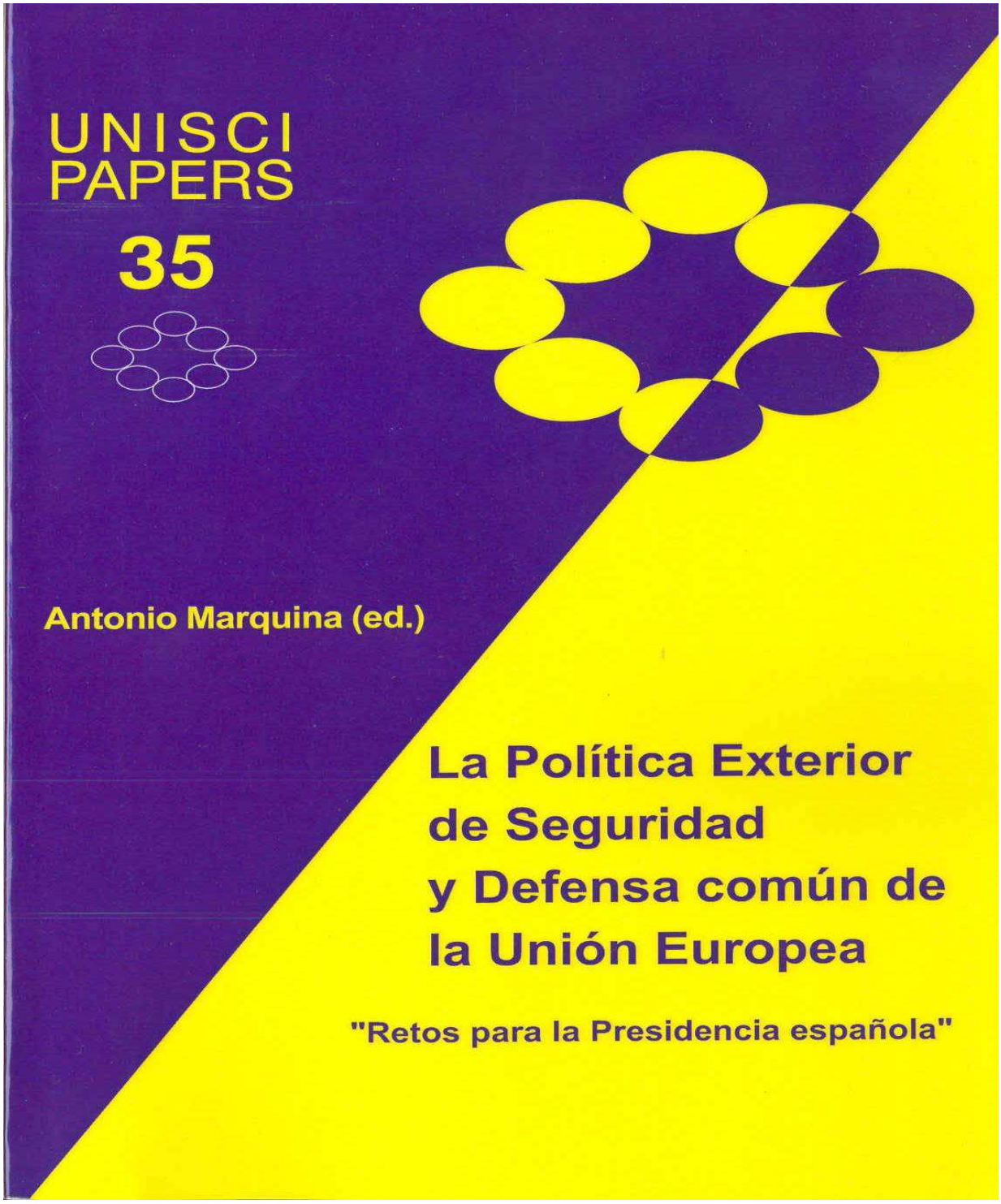
Celebración de una nueva reunión plenaria en el marco de una Ronda de las conversaciones a seis bandas (Six-Party Talks) con el fin de llegar a una solución pacífica definitiva que permita asegurar la consolidación de una Península Coreana no nuclearizada.

– FORO REGIONAL DE LA ASEAN (ARF)

Celebración de una Reunión Ministerial del Foro Regional de la ASEAN. En el transcurso de la reunión se planteará a los alumnos la ayuda y cooperación a poner en práctica en caso de un desastre que ha afectado a varios estados de ASEAN como consecuencia de un maremoto

– RUSIA-CHINA

Celebración de una reunión bilateral Rusia-China a nivel ministerial, como preparación de la próxima Cumbre entre los presidentes Dimitri Medveded y Hu. Jintao. Discusión del estado de las relaciones bilaterales en cuanto a los siguientes temas: cooperación en asuntos de defensa, cooperación económica y transfronteriza, cooperación energética, lucha contra el radicalismo y el separatismo, perspectivas sobre las relaciones regionales en Asia-Pacífico, otros asuntos decididos de común acuerdo. Elaboración de un borrador de declaración conjunta para la Cumbre presidencial.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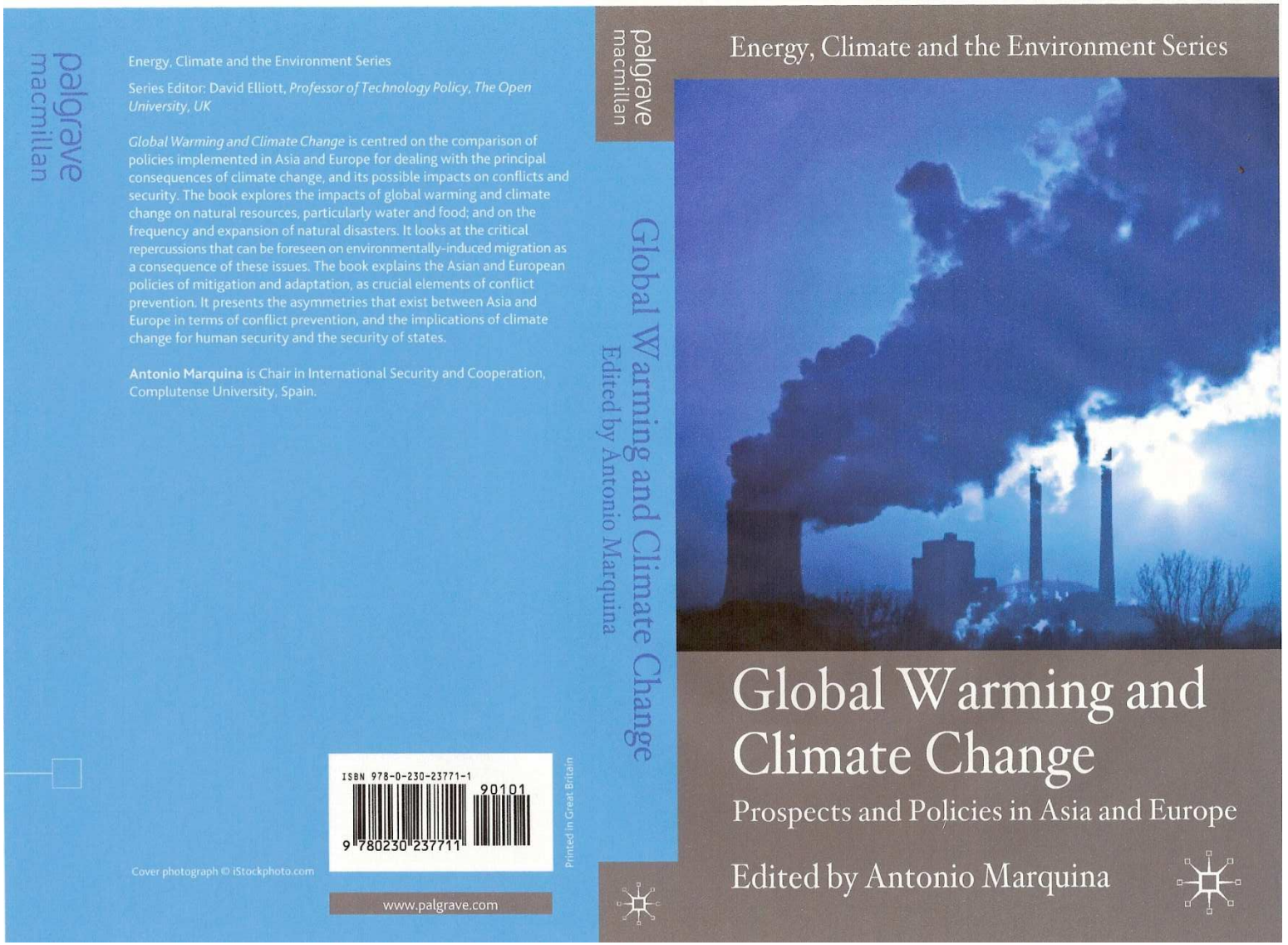

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Schmitz, Hans Peter: "Domestic and Transnational Perspectives on Democratization", *International Studies Review,* vol. 6, nº 3 (septiembre 2004), pp. 403-426.

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Apellido, Nombre: "Título del artículo", *Periódico,* día de mes de año.

Bradsher, Keith: "China Struggles to Cut Reliance on Mideast Oil", *New York Times,* 3 de septiembre de 2002.

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Gunaratna, Rohan: "Spain: An Al Qaeda Hub?", *UNISCI Discussion Papers,* nº 5 (mayo 2004), en http://www.ucm.es/info/unisci.

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The author's full name, professional category, institution, main research areas, postal address and e-mail should be stated in the body of the message.[1] On the title page, authors should include an abstract of 100-150 words, as well as several keywords that accurately describe the contents of the article. Images and graphs should be included in the text and also attached as separate files (.bmp, .gif or .jpg.).

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[7] *Ibid.,* pp. 78-79.

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Schmitz, Hans Peter: "Domestic and Transnational Perspectives on Democratization", *International Studies Review,* Vol. 6, No. 3 (September 2004), pp. 403-426.

G) Press Articles

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