



# NATO REVIEW

*where the experts come to talk*



*Inside find out*

- Why Chicago is the best fit for a NATO Summit
- Why partners matter so much
- The links between the US and NATO over the last 60 years
- And which senior NATO official plays the drums

- Barack Obama**
- Anders Fogh Rasmussen**
- James Stavridis**
- Ivo Daalder**
- Alexander Vershbow**
- Giampaolo Di Paola**
- Alexandr Vondra**
- ...and more*



**coming home, moving forward**





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## NATO REVIEW

WHERE THE EXPERTS COME TO TALK

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# NATO REVIEW

where the experts come to talk

## NATO in Chicago: coming home, moving forward

One of the founding fathers of the United States, Samuel Adams, once said: 'We cannot make events. Our business is wisely to improve them.'

NATO arrives in Chicago in 2012 with a similar sentiment.

At the previous Lisbon Summit in 2010, the Alliance had mapped out a new mission statement or 'Strategic Concept'. But less than 6 months later, events in Libya tested many parts of that concept sooner and harder than expected.

Nonetheless, thousands of Libyan civilians were protected by NATO's campaign in 2011.

The unpredictability of security is almost predictable. And in a sense, the Chicago Summit is an attempt to make sure that NATO remains ready to handle these surprises.

One of the areas it will have to tackle is Afghanistan – and how to stay on course no matter how many times the drawdown roadmap is challenged.

In this Chicago Summit special edition, NATO Review hears from some of security's key players on how they see the security road ahead.

President Barack Obama describes what it means to him to bring NATO to his hometown. NATO's Secretary General Rasmussen sets out his vision for what can be achieved at Chicago and beyond.

We hear stories of people as well as policies. We find out what it's like to be from both sides of the Atlantic. And what role NATO has played in forming people's lives.

Finally, we remember one of Europe's most dignified and talented advocates of freedom and democracy: Václav Havel.

The man who rose from being a downtrodden poet to the President of his newly-free country is remembered by a man who worked under him – today's Czech Republic's Defence Minister.

Havel once said: 'We should not forget any of those who paid for our present freedom in one way or another.' It is a sentiment that we can honour in Chicago – with him in mind.

Paul King, Editor

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# NATO's Chicago Summit

NATO leaders meet in Chicago on 20 and 21 May 2012. There is no better place for celebrating the unique bond that unites North America and Europe, and for taking the decisions to ensure our future is as successful as our past, says NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen.



Anders Fogh Rasmussen,  
NATO Secretary General

*“Elections are  
the visible face  
of democracy”*

Chicago is one of the most dynamic cities in the United States. It is built on diversity and a determination. Many hundreds of thousands of Chicagoans – past and present – came from NATO countries in Europe. And to Chicago's north lies another NATO Ally: Canada.

This year, many Allied nations are holding important elections, including in the United States. Elections are the visible face of democracy, and they are freedom in action. But democracy is about much more than a ballot box and majority vote. It also requires respect for the rule of law, and for the rights of the minority.

Individual liberty, democracy, human rights and the rule of law are the very values and principles on which the NATO Alliance is founded. They unite our NATO nations together in a unique community with the shared purpose of safeguarding our security and defending those values.

At our last NATO Summit in Lisbon in November 2010, we agreed a new Strategic Concept. It sets out three core tasks for the Alliance for this decade and beyond: Collective Defence means the Allies will always defend each other against attack; Crisis Management means NATO helps to manage the full range of potential crises; and Cooperative Security means the Alliance will engage actively with other nations and international organisations .

By carrying out these three tasks effectively, we will be able to continue safeguarding our security and values - and fulfilling our shared purpose.

We are already busy implementing our new strategy, but we are having to do so against the background of one of the worst economic crises in a generation. Many Allied nations are reducing their defence budgets, and these cuts will shape tomorrow's military capabilities and dictate what we will be able to do as an Alliance.

The decisions we take at our Chicago Summit will demonstrate North American and European Allies' commitment to shared responsibility and shared leadership. By working more closely together, we will prevent the financial crisis from turning into a security crisis. We will ensure that, by the end of this decade and into the next, NATO emerges not just as a leaner Alliance, but also one that is stronger and more flexible.

Sharing the responsibility means each Ally playing a full, fair and active part in all aspects of our Alliance's activities.

We live in an unpredictable world. Nobody anticipated the Libya crisis last year, but NATO demonstrated that we are capable of responding quickly, flexibly and effectively.

*“We are already  
busy implementing  
our new strategy...”*



© Alexander Khodarev

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quotes

**JOHN GUNTHER (1901-1970)**  
US JOURNALIST.

*“Chicago is the greatest and most typically American of all cities. New York is bigger and more spectacular and can outmatch it in other superlatives, but Chicago is a “world” city, more European in some respects than American.”*

# Right city, right time



In 2020, NATO will need to be equally ready to respond to the full range of security tasks. We need to maintain the ability to put together complex joint operations, at short notice, with high impact and high precision. So we will continue to need flexible, rapidly deployable forces, as well as the right mix of military capabilities. Libya was a strong reminder of what those capabilities are. They include precision-guided munitions, air-to-air refueling, intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance assets. These are the vital capabilities that help to protect our security and minimise risks; but they are also very expensive.

Acquiring them during a financial crisis is a major challenge. But at Chicago, we will demonstrate that we will meet that challenge with a new mindset called “Smart Defence”.

“Smart Defence” is about deciding not just what we cut, but what we keep, and where we place our priorities. It is about Allies specialising in what they do best, and also working together to deliver capabilities that are too expensive for any of them to deliver alone.

Sharing the responsibility for delivering the right capabilities is important, but it is not enough. Allies must also share the responsibility for making our capabilities, and forces, work together in the most effective way. That is the aim of the Connected Forces Initiative that I expect us to approve at our Chicago Summit.

Finally, a crucial requirement for meeting our shared purpose and our shared responsibilities is shared leadership.

Europe and North America face a broad and complex security agenda. Making Europe whole and free remains work in progress.

The Arab world is going through a period of major change, and further afield, especially in Asia, new security actors are making their mark.

To address this agenda successfully, we need a rebalanced transatlantic relationship. At Chicago, European Allies will demonstrate that they are ready, and able, to assume a greater leadership role.

Already, over the past 20 years, more European forces have deployed in more places than ever before. In Afghanistan, the United States has been the leading nation from the start of our engagement, but all our European Allies are present there too and are making a significant contribution.

In Kosovo, Germany has played a leading role in our operation for some considerable time, and very effectively. And last year, in Libya, other European nations – together with Canada -showed that they can, and will, take the lead in NATO operations.

This shows how different Allies lead different operations; it demonstrates NATO’s enormous operational flexibility when there is political solidarity among the Allies; and it underlines that European nations can, and do, share the leadership role within the Atlantic community.

Another area where Europe and North America demonstrate this shared leadership is in continuing to engage other nations and organisations in building peace and stability.

At Chicago, we will meet with representative partners from all regions of the globe. Our vast network of security partnerships is truly unique. By working with partners, we enhance our own security, their security, and the

security of the world we all live in. We will see European and North American Allies demonstrate their commitment to the shared purpose of our Alliance. Together, we will take the necessary decisions to assume our shared responsibility and shared leadership.

*“Smart Defence” is about deciding not just what we cut, but what we keep, ... ”*

The Chicago decisions will shape our future, and our Alliance - an Alliance whose members are committed to working together seamlessly, effectively, and efficiently. An Alliance that is capable of meeting the full range of evolving security challenges. And an Alliance that is even more connected with countries and organisations around the world.

NATO already has an impressive history of success. Our Chicago Summit will ensure that it will continue to meet successfully the security challenges of today and tomorrow.



**HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON (B. 1947)**  
US SECRETARY OF STATE

*“Being a Chicago Cubs fan prepares you for life - and Washington.”*



# Message from President Obama



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Welcome to Chicago. And to our NATO Allies and partners, welcome to the United States. For 63 years, our Alliance has been the bedrock of our common security, our freedom and our prosperity. Standing together, shoulder to shoulder, we rebuilt Europe from the ruins of war, prevailed in a long Cold War, welcomed new European democracies into our ranks and brought peace to the Balkans.

On this foundation of security, we've expanded trans-Atlantic trade and commerce into the largest economic relationship in the world, supporting jobs and opportunity for millions of our workers. Beyond our borders, forces and personnel from every one of our 28 nations and from 22 partner countries serve bravely in Afghanistan, the first NATO operation overseas and a mission that is vital to the security of that region and of all our nations.

*“For the United States, there is no exaggerating the importance of this Alliance to our national security.”*

This history of shared sacrifice reveals a truth that cannot be denied—our nations are stronger, safer and more prosperous when we stand together. For all our nations, NATO is a force multiplier that allows us to achieve things together that none of us can accomplish alone.

For the United States, there is no exaggerating the importance of this Alliance to our national security. With no other group of nations do we have such a close alignment of values,

interests, capabilities and goals. NATO is not simply the foundation of our trans-Atlantic relationships, it is the cornerstone of American engagement with the world.

Moreover, NATO is a catalyst for global action. The partnerships that NATO has forged with neighbours and nations around the world make our Alliance a pillar of international peace and security. We saw this in Libya, where the NATO-led mission to protect the Libyan people included contributions from our partners in Europe and those in the Middle East and North Africa. No other Alliance in the world has the capabilities our Alliance was able to offer. Today, we see the results in the lives of the Libyan people we saved and the opportunity Libyans now have to forge their own future.

This is the rich history and record of success that we can build on at our 25th NATO Summit, where we can continue the work we advanced two years ago in Lisbon of revitalising our Alliance with a new Strategic Concept to meet the challenges of the 21st century.

Chicago is the perfect place to strengthen our Alliance of democratic nations, which is rooted in the friendships between our people and the values we share. It's why I'm so proud that my hometown is the first American city ever to host a NATO Summit outside Washington, DC.

Chicago is a quintessentially American town, but it is also a hub of our transatlantic community. It has grown into one of the great cities of the world in no small measure because of the hard work and sacrifices of generations of immigrants, including many from NATO countries. Even now, roughly one

in three Chicagoans trace their roots to NATO countries in Europe.

Here in Chicago, we can ensure that our Alliance is focused squarely on the future. We can chart the next phase of the transition in Afghanistan so that we complete the transition to Afghan responsibility for security in 2014, even as we forge a long-term partnership with the Afghan people.

We can continue to invest in the defence capabilities and new technologies that our security demands, even as we work together to pool our resources and share the burden in difficult economic times.

We can strengthen our valuable partnerships with European neighbours and nations around the world, even as we reaffirm the founding promise of Article 5 that remains at the heart of our Alliance—no NATO nation will have to fend on its own and all NATO Allies will stand by one another, now and always.

As we go forward, we're mindful that progress does not come on its own. Whether our Alliance rises to the challenges of our time will depend on our will and resolve to sustain the strongest and most successful Alliance in history. For 63 extraordinary years our nations have summoned the will to give us the security, freedom and way of life we enjoy today. Here in Chicago, I'm confident we can summon the same resolve, not simply to defend our democracies, but to pass them safer and stronger to the generations that follow.

Barack Obama  
President of the United States of America

“  
quotes

BARACK OBAMA (B. 1961)

SPEAKING IN GRANT PARK, CHICAGO, 4 NOVEMBER 2008 UPON WINNING THE US PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

*“If there is anyone out there who still doubts that America is a place where all things are possible, who still wonders if the dream of our founders is alive in our time, who still questions the power of our democracy – tonight is your answer.”*



*“ a key challenge facing us today is to maintain our ability to face threats as they emerge and evolve ”*

## Making the concept a reality

**NATO's Supreme Allied Commander Europe, Admiral James Stavridis, has been part of several key developments for the Alliance. These include when the Alliance set out its first new mission statement - or Strategic Concept – for 10 years. Here, he outlines how the ideas have been put into action.**

NATO is experiencing a period of tremendous change. That is both in the broad historical context and in defining moments within the Alliance. The 2012 Summit in Chicago will allow our nations to take stock of our progress and shape the Alliance's future to ensure the right military capabilities for the 21st century.

The new Strategic Concept and Lisbon Summit Declaration called for strengthening and modernising NATO's military capabilities, while continuing to promote international stability.

Over the past year and a half, we have executed several major operations, demonstrating an impressive array of Alliance capabilities. Today, over 140,000 NATO personnel are operating in Afghanistan. The Balkans continue to have a “safe and secure environment” due in part to the presence of 6,000 NATO troops. Piracy attack success rates have been cut in half compared with previous years. And we continue to support ‘smart defence’ via missile defence, Baltic air policing, and other operational initiatives. All of this reflects our work bringing the strategic concept to life.

The ISAF mission in Afghanistan remains our most significant operational commitment. Last year we began to transition security to Afghan authority and continue to train thousands of police and military personnel. Transition continues to rely upon increased Afghan National Security Force (ANSF) capabilities. Although challenges remain and continued

commitment by the international community will be required, we have seen tremendous advances.

Elsewhere, the Arab Spring and rapid escalation of violence against innocent civilians in Libya took many by surprise. NATO Allies responded quickly. They led an unprecedented coalition of contributors from March 24 to October 31, 2011, enforcing an arms embargo by air and sea, maintaining a no-fly-zone, and undertaking specific operations to protect civilians and civilian populated areas. In all, 14 NATO members and four partner countries provided naval and air forces for NATO's three missions. The long-standing political-military relationships developed through Alliance operations, exercises, and partnerships helped the quick, coordinated start of operations with unprecedented speed.

This proved the value of the so-called ‘comprehensive approach’. We saw civilian advisors coordinate with nongovernmental organisations and other international actors in crisis management. And this enabled us to better develop this capability as we restructure.

But prevention is better than cure. Our goal is to prevent crisis through “horizon scanning” for emerging threats. Our Comprehensive Crisis Management Centre (CCOMC) structure at SHAPE is part of how we plan to do so. Its dedicated integration approach of political, civilian, international and military capabilities

will also enhance cooperative security in areas including missile defence and cyber defence.

The strategic environment continues to evolve at a rapid pace. A lot has happened since our last Summit and the Alliance has been busy. Global operations and engagement prove NATO's continued relevance and increased effectiveness as a mature Alliance. NATO is working as it was designed to do, with our allies and partners sharing the burdens and responsibilities of operational missions.

*“ our goal is to prevent crisis through ‘horizon scanning’ for emerging threats ”*

But a key challenge facing us today is to maintain our ability to face threats as they emerge and evolve – often unpredictably – with a smarter and more precise application of our instruments. The Summit in Chicago is an opportunity to progress towards this end. But also to further develop and operationalise the concepts of the strategic concept. In doing so, NATO will remain the cornerstone of collective defence and a force for good in the world.



**SAINT AUGUSTINE (354-430)**  
BISHOP AND PHILOSOPHER

*“The words printed here are concepts. You must go through the experiences.”*





## Two decades of NATO operations

# Taking stock, looking ahead

**Summer 2012 marks the 20th anniversary of NATO launching its first ever operations following the end of the Cold War. Diego Ruiz Palmer looks at how these operations have evolved – and what they could look like in the future.**

Not many people may have noticed. It was July 1992. Conflict had broken out in the Former Yugoslavia. The United Nations had imposed sanctions on the country. Without much fanfare, NATO initiated Operation Maritime Monitor in the Adriatic Sea. It was designed to monitor international shipping's compliance with the UN sanctions. NATO's first post-cold war operation had begun.

Maritime Monitor was the first of over 25 other NATO and NATO-led operations and missions conducted by the Alliance since then. They have taken place in Europe, Asia and Africa.

These operations were undertaken outside of the Alliance's collective defence framework and common defence area, as set out in Articles 5 and 6 of the North Atlantic Treaty. Accordingly, they have been designated "non-Article 5" or crisis response operations.

Since the end of the Cold War, the Alliance has also conducted a smaller number of deterrence and defence operations, pursuant to Articles 4 and 5 of the Treaty. For example, Operation Active Endeavour in the Mediterranean Sea, was put into force due to (and just after) the 9/11 terrorist attacks on the United States. In all, some 35 distinct operations and missions have kept NATO engaged continuously for the last 20 years.

These have involved joint, as well as land, air and maritime, operations, and various combinations of skills, assets and capabilities.

Operations have covered virtually the entire spectrum, from peace enforcement in the Balkans to multi-faceted security assistance in Afghanistan. From maritime embargo operations along the coasts of the Former Yugoslavia and of Libya to humanitarian assistance and disaster relief operations in Albania and in Pakistan respectively.

Some have been executed in a relatively benign environment, others in a hostile one. All have been characterised by tight political control, strict adherence to the mandate, mission and rules of engagement. And a shared concern for the protection of human life and the avoidance of civilian casualties.

Many operations have involved all Allies, others various combinations of Allies and non-NATO countries from around the world, making the Alliance's enlargement and partnerships visible and tangible. The Alliance has also demonstrated its readiness and capacity to work with other international organisations, such as the UN, WEU, EU, OSCE and AU.

The planning and execution of operations, however, has not been exempt from shortcomings. These have included shortfalls in the generation of the required capabilities and insufficient provision of non-military capacity to underpin stabilisation and reconstruction efforts.

Looking towards 2020, a likely lower tempo and a smaller geographic footprint of NATO's operations will prompt it to review and, in some cases, revise the design of its engagements in the following ways:

- a rebalancing away from operations with a large footprint on the ground towards smaller,

but visible, forms of presence, including through greater use of the NATO Response Force (which is a decade old in spring 2012) and a more regular scheduling of NATO exercises;

- wider reliance on naval forces and information-sharing hubs ashore to help meet a range of maritime security challenges;
- a determined endeavour to use the new NATO Command Structure as an alternative to ad hoc command and control arrangements;
- a more deliberate effort to expand the pool of mentors available for NATO training missions;
- a greater reliance on military cooperation with partners to support local capacity-building efforts;
- and a more systematic reach-out by NATO's family of multinational centres of excellence to partners to build-up together interoperable forces and capabilities.

These reforms should help ensure that lessons learned from two decades of operations are reflected in NATO's evolving operational capability. At the same time, a return of many allied and partner forces to their home locations should not be allowed to erode the habits of working together, and sometimes fighting together, that are at the heart of the Alliance's recognised operational responsiveness and effectiveness.

*Diego A. Ruiz Palmer is Head of the Strategic Analysis Capability staff in NATO's Emerging Security Challenges Division. From 2004-2010, he was Head of the Planning Section in NATO's Operations Division.*





# Afghanistan snapshot

## how the experts see it



NATO Review asked four prominent Afghans how they saw the country faring in their specialist areas. Here they give their views on the country's elections, priorities, women's rights and fight against corruption.



### How much progress have elections made in Afghanistan?

**AHMAD NADER NADERY**  
*Chairman, Free and fair election foundation of Afghanistan*

In 2002, we were conducting elections for the emergency Loyal Jirga commission, and I was part of the commission. There was a requirement for the Jirga to have at least one female delegate who met the criteria of reading and writing and to be able to participate in the Jirga. And in the whole of Uruzgan we could not find one with those criteria. And we were literally having a UN chopper flying from one district to another district. We were told that in Deh Rahod there is a midwife worker in a clinic that may meet the criteria. We literally flew there, talked to her, put her on a chopper with a family member, and flew her back to Tarin Kowt and then to Kabul.

Last year I went back to Uruzgan and the Governor called the elders and everybody else in the Governors Hall and there was a group of females coming in. The first row was filled by the male participants, but they insisted that part of that first row was evacuated, left empty for the women, for them to be seated in the front row. I said: Wow, that's great. And then these women stood up and spoke in front of the elders.



### What matters to Afghans now?

**SAEED NIAZI**  
**MOHAMMAD SHARIF**  
*Director, Civil society development centre and nominee for the 2013 Nobel Peace Prize*

Rule of law is the most important part that Afghanistan people need and implementation of justice can guarantee peace and stability in Afghanistan. You know, all these things are like a chain. If you have rule of law, capital can be safe and we can be sure that if some people spend their money in Afghanistan, and they have money, they will be willing to bring their money and to do their businesses.

But if we don't have rule of law, nobody will be willing to bring their money to Afghanistan. This is the big problem of Afghanistan. We don't have rule of law in Afghanistan for the moment, or at least it is very weak. But, if we improve this part, so the other part – under this part – can be guaranteed.

### How are women faring?

**MS FARKHUNDA ZAHRA NADERI**  
*Afghan Member of Parliament*

We have 69 women in the parliament, which means that we will go beyond the quota that was enshrined in the constitution. We also have women in the executive branch to work. But I always highlight the fact that the absence of women in the Supreme Court, which is of course the third part of the branch of power, is... their absence is a challenge. This absence has the potential to make the role of women symbolic, if we do not pay more attention to that.

But, generally speaking, now you have women not only in the government, in the parliament. You have women's presence in the civil society, there they are very vibrant as well. Of course, what we have, we are not satisfied with. We want more. And for that purpose, we do criticise sometimes or most of the time. But that doesn't mean we don't have any achievements. We do appreciate the achievements that we have.

### How important is the fight against corruption?

**SHAFIQ MOHAMMAD YUSUF**  
*Country advisor to Afghan SCR*

After security, the major issue for Afghanistan is corruption. I'm optimistic that we will win the fight against corruption as we have won the war against terror in Afghanistan. I'm saying this because currently people in Afghanistan are confident that they will win the war and also that they will win the fight against corruption. The major issue for us ten years back it was fighting terrorism, but now it's fighting corruption. So we have succeeded fighting terrorism.

However, there are some security challenges in Afghanistan, but as you can witness from debate, that currently there's no more talking about making government, building government, but it's about a good government. There's not any more talking about building an army, building a police, there's discussion about quality, because it's beyond numbers.



# The US: at the heart of NATO from day 1

NATO was created by a treaty signed in Washington, DC in 1949. As NATO returns to the US 63 years later for its Chicago Summit, NATO Review highlights some of the key moments of the shared history of the Alliance and its biggest member.

'By this treaty, we are not only seeking to establish freedom from aggression and from the use of force in the North Atlantic community, but we are also actively striving to promote and preserve peace throughout the world.  
President Harry S. Truman,  
August 24, 1949



President Dwight D. Eisenhower was not just one of the US' finest Presidents. He was also NATO's first Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR). He had also been Supreme Commander for operations in Normandy towards the end of the Second World War.



President John F. Kennedy in Paris, 1961. When he addressed NATO during the visit, he concluded: "I sit here, speaking for a country which is separated from yours by many hundreds of miles, but which is totally involved in your destiny".



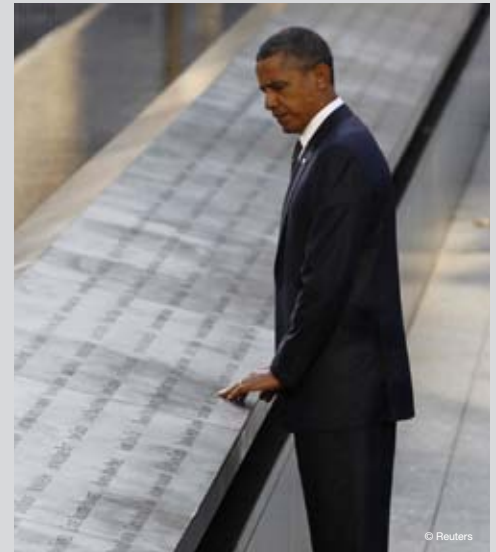
The B-2 Spirit Stealth Bomber «Spirit of Alaska» taxis for take off in October, 2001. It was of the type used to bomb Taliban troops protecting Kabul and other Afghan cities during the final days of the Taliban regime.

U.S. President Bill Clinton walks with ethnic Albanian children from Kosovo. He was surrounded by them as he visited the Stankovic-1 refugee camp in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia\* on June 22, 1999.

\* Turkey recognizes the Republic of Macedonia with its constitutional name.



U.S. President Ronald Reagan and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev shake hands just before the start of their mini-summit in Reykjavik October 11, 1986.



U.S. President Barack Obama touches the names of victims engraved on the side of the north pool of the World Trade Center site, New York September 11, 2011.



East Germans climb the Berlin wall at the Brandenburg Gate as they celebrate the opening of the East German border, November 10, 1989.



U.S. President Barack Obama waves to the crowd after setting out his vision for a nuclear free world, Hradcany Square, Prague April 5, 2009.



President Obama and his national security team watch the operation to capture or kill Osama bin Laden unfold. He had only authorised the operation 48 hours earlier. When the news broke, thousands filled city streets in America.



A U.S. Navy EA-18G Growler electronic warfare jet is refuelled by a Canadian Forces Airbus CC-150 Polaris tanker over the Mediterranean Sea in 2011, whilst enforcing the no-fly zone over Libya.

*“the fact that I spent 25 years in Europe and 25 years in the United States when I arrived at NATO helped me to understand both sides better”*



Ivo Daalder was born in the Netherlands in 1960. Today he is the United States' Ambassador to NATO. NATO Review asks him about his thoughts on today's NATO, how important it is to the US and about his journey from his homeland through Washington and the White House which now takes him back to northern Europe.

# Mr TransAtlantic

**NATO Review : How important is the timing of this Summit?**

*Ambassador Ivo Daalder, US Permanent Representative to NATO*

Remember our last summit in Lisbon was a summit on which NATO agreed to a new strategic concept that sort of set the course for the next ten years. It was about what this Alliance should be doing and how it should be doing it. A year and a half later, in Chicago, we'll come together and make sure that the direction we have set ourselves is the right direction. And, importantly, to make sure that we have the capabilities necessary to make sure that the challenges of the 21st century, the security challenges we all face together, that we can meet them. In Libya, we demonstrated that we could, but we also demonstrated that we have some gaps in the capabilities.

**How significant is it that this summit is held back in the US?**

President Obama believed when he came to office it was vital that the United States once again demonstrated that it believes its engagement with the world is on the basis of its partnerships and alliances with friends and allies around the world. He spent from day one his energy to rebuild alliances and partnerships. Being able to invite, towards the end of his first term, everyone from NATO and the many partners that are part of NATO, to Chicago, his hometown, is one way in which he is trying to make real the pledge that NATO remains the cornerstone of America's engagement with the world.

**How important are these partnerships to NATO?**

Partnerships really are becoming a central aspect of what this Alliance is all about. When you think about it, partnerships represent the global security network, which has NATO at its core, at the hub of that network. Partnerships are a means to that end. And we not only have partnerships with countries that are close-by – whether it's Switzerland or Sweden or Austria – but increasingly we're finding that we need partnerships across the globe.

**Partners play a key role in Afghanistan. Is there anything that could constitute a success for the NATO's operation there?**

Well, remember we went into this country for one real reason, which was to make sure that Afghanistan would never again be a safe haven for terrorists. So, success is if we achieve a situation in which Afghanistan is sufficiently secure, sufficiently able to manage for itself, both politically, economically and of course in the security sphere. That is the course we're on. But we are seeing success in the sense that Afghans are stepping up to the responsibility of taking care of their own security, of governing their villages and provinces and districts and cities, and providing – because of that – a basis for prosperity for the future of this country. That's what we want for Afghanistan, and frankly, that's what Afghanistan wants for itself.

**Did your previous positions prepare you for what you are doing now as US Ambassador to NATO?**

I came with a full knowledge of what this organisation does and how it works. What I didn't have, is the diplomatic background to make sure that you promote America's interests in an Alliance in such a way that it is embraced generally by others. That's what I have learned over the last three years. I really learned you need both: you need strategic vision, but then you also need diplomatic tact to translate that strategic vision into a set of practical steps that make this Alliance move forward.

**You are a European who became an American and who now represents your new homeland. Has this unique perspective helped in NATO?**

Undoubtedly, the fact that I spent 25 years in Europe and 25 years in the United States when I arrived at NATO helped me to understand both sides better. I do think I have a comparative advantage of having been able to live in, study, work on both sides of the Atlantic, to have, frankly, the Transatlantic Alliance be part of who I am and what it is that I do. When I arrived here I sat at a table with 28 other members and the Secretary General being one of four native Dutch speakers.

**You're back in Europe now. What do you miss most about Washington and the US?**

Baseball, without any doubt. We are in the beginning of a new season. I love to go to baseball games and take the family and sit in the stands and eat hotdogs and drink beer and - more importantly - see them win. And now that the Washington Nationals are finally starting in a winning season, not being there is hard.

“  
quotes

**MARGARET THATCHER (b. 1925)**  
LONGEST-SERVING BRITISH PRIME MINISTER OF THE 20TH CENTURY.

*“Europe was created by history. America was created by philosophy.”*

*“A school exchange for one year turned into 14 – in my new country, I followed Bulgaria’s every move”*

## Standing in line: *What NATO means to me*

NATO brings together people from differing cultures and backgrounds on both sides of the Atlantic. Here, a NATO staff member explains how her life, which unfolded in both Europe and the US, coloured her vision of NATO.

On 9/11 I was standing in line outside my university dorm in New York waiting to donate blood for recovered victims. I was confused by the chaos of cancelled trains, and shut down highways. In the hours that followed, my roommates and I were glued to the television. We sat motionless, watching every angle of the towers being struck by two airplanes. It was on every channel, every network. And in the midst of this, I questioned what this meant to me as a European in America.

Back in Bulgaria, where I grew up, my sister and I had used to stand in line on Saturday mornings to buy the loaf of bread allowance for our family. And then in the summer of 1990 I stood in line with my mother when she was waiting to cast her vote in the first free election held in Bulgaria after 45 years.

Several years later I travelled to America. A school exchange for one year turned into 14. In my new country, I followed Bulgaria’s every move – how it dealt with 200% inflation, trying to shrug off the difficulty of transition, and

standing in line to become a NATO partner and member and EU hopeful.

And that brings me to what NATO has meant to both of my countries - and to me in trying to link them. After 9/11, as a fourth year political science student and a European American, I found myself questioning how America’s “war on terror” became everyone else’s. Why, as a world economic and defence superpower, couldn’t America simply solve terrorism so the rest of the world wouldn’t have to? But we – and the world – learned more about the genesis of terrorism, realising it was not a threat confined to a geographic location. And with that, Europe was no less vulnerable to the threats that had struck America.

The post-1989 years were filled with change and uncertainty - different to today’s threats. But unlike previous generations, I felt fortunate to live in a time knowing that my government would not question me because I voiced my criticism against it. I felt fortunate to come from a place whose resilience brought it from NATO

partner to aspiring member, leading Bulgaria to take an in-depth look at its political and military structures, and forging strategic bonds in the region.

As an Eastern European, I live with the resonance of a communist era, when NATO symbolised an aggressor against the sovereignty of nations which did not fit the Western model. As someone who has spent nearly half her life in America, NATO represented the shield against regimes whose power was as unpredictable as their end was unforeseen.

So from my two lives, I see NATO uniting two nations whose relationship goes beyond small and large players, wealthy or developing, or East or West. Two nations so different historically, but so clear in their present and future conviction – standing in line together, to ensure each other’s security.

*Stanislava Mladenova is a member of NATO’s international staff at its Brussels headquarters. She writes here in a purely personal capacity.*



**ROBERT BENCHLEY (1889-1945)**  
US WRITER, HUMORIST.

*“We are constantly being surprised that people did things well before we were born.”*





# From Cronkite to Korea: lessons learned

Ambassador Alexander Vershbow is the first Deputy Secretary General of NATO in modern times who is an American. Having been at NATO during the Bosnia crisis, the Kosovo campaign and shortly before 9/11, he has extensive experience of the organisation. NATO Review asked him about how he became interested in defence, what he has learned in his other posts, and how he feels NATO has changed.



*“the Kosovo experience taught us to never assume that the adversary is going to fold in two days”*

**NATO Review: You are an expert in Russian studies. How did you become interested in the country?**

*Ambassador Vershbow:* I grew up as a child of the Cold War. I think one of the first experiences that I remember, was watching the evening news during the Cuban missile crisis, when my parents started running Walter Cronkite during dinner. And so, the confrontation with the Soviet Union was a formative factor for me, and it led me in fact to pursue International Relations and Russian studies in college and university. No one in those days could imagine that the Berlin wall would come down and that the whole nature of European security would change.

**What lessons did you take from your experience of dealing with Bosnia in the 1990s?**

I was involved in Bosnia both here at NATO in the early '90s and then in Washington, when the decisive action was taken that led to the Dayton Accords. And then I was here again as ambassador in the lead-up to and the actual conduct of the campaign in Kosovo. Those were, I think, cases where the Alliance took longer to get its act together, and may have hesitated to grasp the nettle and act, but in the end achieved success. And I think that created a sense of confidence that NATO could address problems on its periphery - which were of more political or humanitarian character - and get the job done effectively and contribute to European and regional security. So I think it was that experience that made it easier to get the rapid decisions that we needed in Libya.

**Did lessons from NATO's Kosovo campaign also play out in the recent Libya operation?**

I think the Kosovo experience taught us to never assume that the adversary is going to fold in two days. You have got to be patient, steady, stick with the mission, continue to day by day carry out the mission. And, ultimately,

you will succeed. Remember, it was 78 days for Kosovo. People thought it was going on forever. Libya took a little longer, but, in historical terms, it was a pretty quick and effective operation.

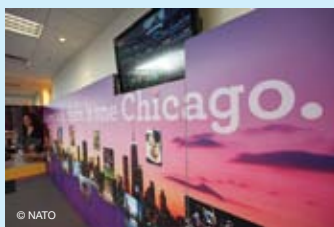
**You spent time in South Korea. How key do you see the US' pivot to Asia?**

Well, the Korean Peninsula is sort of the last front of the Cold War, where you still see this confrontation, this standoff dating back to the '50s, almost preserved under glass. But there's a real, ever-present danger to South Korea posed by the military capabilities and the aggressive ideology of the North. So we have to remember that some old threats haven't completely disappeared and they are not irrelevant to European security. The North Koreans are not only developing their long-range missiles to go with the nuclear capability that they have demonstrated, but they export missile technology to Iran and to Syria, countries that could pose a direct threat to European security. So the fact that the United States has decided to put more emphasis on the Asia-Pacific in its strategy, I think, is very much in Europe's interest and it shouldn't be viewed as a zero-sum game.

**Finally, this is your third tour in Brussels. What did you miss about it and how is it to be back?**

I've missed the continuing political debates that go on here, whether you are at the office or at a dinner party or just hanging around in Brussels. There's a certain buzz to this place, maybe because not only NATO, but also the European Union are headquartered here. And so a lot of the big issues of our time are being discussed. I didn't have quite as much of that in South Korea or in my last assignment in Washington. So I'm glad to be back in this milieu at a time of tremendous challenges, particularly with the financial crisis, but also tremendous opportunities. But NATO itself, even though it has more members, seems like a very familiar place to me.





1. When was NATO established?

- A. 1949    B. 1919    C. 1928    D. 1945

2. How many member states does NATO have?

- A. 21    B. 23    C. 32    D. 28

3. When did the last round of enlargement take place?

- A. 2005    B. 2002    C. 2009    D. 2007

4. How many members does the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council have?

- A. 75    B. 50    C. 46    D. 34

5. When was NATO's Strategic Concept first made public?

- A. 1995    B. 1991    C. 2002    D. 1984

6. Since when has the ISAF been led by NATO in Afghanistan?

- A. 2000    B. 2005    C. 2003    D. 2001

7. When did NATO launch its first out of area mission?

- A. 1998    B. 2009    C. 2003    D. 2002

8. When was Article 5 of the Washington Treaty first invoked?

- A. 2000    B. 2001    C. 2005    D. 2002

9. In which year did NATO launch its 78 day air strike in order to stop ethnic cleansing in Kosovo?

- A. 1999    B. 1975    C. 1956    D. 1987

10. When was the Partnership for Peace programme launched?

- A. 1994    B. 2002    C. 1991    D. 2005



How much do you really know about NATO?



RIGHT ANSWERS 1A; 2D; 3C; 4B; 5B; 6C; 7C; 8B; 9A; 10A



# Václav Havel

## Remembering the big little man

**When Václav Havel passed away last December, the flags at the NATO Headquarters were flown at half-mast. NATO Review remembers his eventful life and key contribution to the Alliance.**

The 20th century served up many paradoxes. Vaclav Havel was at the heart of several of them.

Here was 'an unimportant conscript private', as he once labelled himself, who became the supreme commander of his country's armed forces and was celebrated as a major proponent of NATO post Cold War.

Here was a person who was denied promotion because of his political beliefs. Yet here was also a person who hated disputes and embraced harmony and agreement.

But it would be wrong to consider Václav Havel a pacifist. In the 1980s, various Western pacifist movements reached out behind the Iron Curtain to gain support for their petition against the deployment of NATO's Pershing II missiles. To their surprise, many dissidents, including Václav Havel, refused to sign.

Havel later explained why in his essay *The Anatomy of Retardation* (1985). 'The danger of war is not caused by weapons as such but by political realities,' he wrote. Disarmament deals only with consequences and not causes.

And it was the causes that he felt most strongly about. "Without free, self-respecting, and autonomous citizens," Havel argued, "there can be no free and independent nations. Without internal peace, that is,

peace among citizens and between the citizens and their state, there can be no guarantee of external peace." This was the essence of his philosophy that he later projected into his views and foreign policy.

The difference between Havel and pacifists is best illustrated in their views on Iraq and the Balkans. Both agreed on the need for Western intervention in the Balkans. Yet human rights activists did not back the interventions in Iraq, while Havel did so twice.

In 1990, he insisted that the Czechoslovak armed forces join the US-led coalition, despite a poor legislative framework and no experience in such operations. From the very beginning, he was convinced that the West needed to act when it came to the first war in the Balkans or later during the Kosovo crisis.

He did not hesitate to quarrel with Jacques Chirac over the second war in Iraq, and did so vocally and against the will of the Czech government as well as the majority of Europe. Václav Havel believed that human rights and dignity are superior to any state sovereignty.

In the early 1990s, right after the fall of communism, Václav Havel wanted to quickly re-establish Czechoslovakia's independence with a fast withdrawal of Soviet troops from the country. He set up a special team led by the foreign minister Jiří Dienstbier and his deputy Luboš Dobrovský. Another friend of Havel's, rock musician Michael Kocáb, headed the parliamentary commission overseeing the withdrawal of troops.

Meanwhile, Havel's team coordinated negotiations on a speedy dissolution of the Warsaw Pact with Warsaw and Budapest. Havel's dream was to be the master of ceremonies at the Warsaw Pact funeral.

During this period, Havel's view on NATO evolved. He would often ask whether the Alliance would have any purpose once the Warsaw Pact ceased to exist. But he soon concluded that NATO had its place in Europe after the Cold War and that it should open up to new members.

There were several reasons that contributed to this change in Havel's thinking. Havel's positive attitude towards the United States – as the key country in NATO – played a role. Havel would often speak about his trip to the United States in 1968 and was grateful for America's role in defending the freedom in Europe and worldwide. In 1991, during his visit to NATO, he apologised to the Western democracies for the lies and communist propaganda of the previous 40 years.

*“Havel's dream was to be the master of ceremonies at the Warsaw Pact funeral”*

Also the events of 1991 showed that there would be no end of history. A definite sobering arrived in the war in Yugoslavia, and Europe was clueless about the situation.

On the 1st of July, 1991, Havel presided over the funeral of the Warsaw Pact Treaty in Prague. Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, fearful of domestic developments, decided not to attend the signing ceremony of the Pact's dissolution. He sent his deputy Gennady Yanayev, who toured the hallways of the Prague Castle unsteadily. To our surprise, several weeks later, Yanayev staged a coup against Gorbachev in Moscow. It was the final drop in our contemplation on NATO's relevance, and we were resolved to seek the full NATO membership.

A new era on our way to NATO membership began in 1993 when US President Bill Clinton took the office. If we were to succeed, it was critical to secure the US. At that time, there were only a few Americans who favoured the enlargement of NATO, among them Ron Asmus and Paul Wolfowitz.

Two special moments drew Bill Clinton's attention to NATO enlargement; a personal one and a political one.







In April 1993, the dedication ceremonies of the Holocaust Museum in Washington took place against the backdrop of the siege of Sarajevo. Clinton invited several Holocaust survivors to this ceremony, including Elie Wiesel, as well as the presidents from Central European countries. Clinton was moved by the testimonies of the Holocaust survivors. He saw a direct link between World War 2 and the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

On top of that, Presidents Václav Havel and Lech Wałęsa urged Bill Clinton that NATO needed to enlarge so that there are no more wars in Central Europe - which helped cause the horrific killing.

As Bill Clinton arrived late to the ceremony, our appeal to him on NATO enlargement grew in intensity. This may have been due to involuntary tobacco abstinence (at the newly non-smoking premises of the White House). Havel and Wałęsa presented their requests in less than diplomatic language. It was the time we finally drew Clinton's attention.

Still, having Bill Clinton on our side was not enough. Václav Havel's strength in difficult debates played a role in winning over Republicans too (who won Congress in 1994). He would outline the moral arguments and historic reminiscence of 1956 and 1968. The personal story mattered, and Havel helped convince many hardline realpolitikers, including Henry Kissinger.

The breaking point came in 1995. The Clinton administration tabled a compromise solution on NATO membership in the form of a Partnership for Peace (PfP). Initially, PfP felt like kissing through a handkerchief.

Bill Clinton sent three of his high level diplomats with roots in Central Europe (Madeleine Albright, John Shalikashvili and Charles Gati) to talk us into PfP. Clinton wanted to make sure that he would be met with enthusiasm during his upcoming visit to Prague. Yet the negotiation that preceded the visit was hard.

In the end, we were ready to feign our excitement with PfP in exchange for President Clinton's public announcement that PfP was a precursor to a full NATO membership. We would soon be kissing without that handkerchief.

In March 1999, a week into our accession, NATO began the bombing of Yugoslavia.

To Czech Ambassador Kovanda, the war in Kosovo was a baptism of fire. Against the will of the majority of the Czech politicians, Kovanda pushed through our support to the air campaign. At that time, President Havel was the only Czech politician who stood firmly behind the ambassador and did not back off. Kovanda thought that Prague deserved a better image and came up with the idea of organising the next NATO summit in the Czech capital.

Meanwhile, Havel continued to advance NATO's open door policy. Truly convinced of indivisibility of freedom, he argued that the openness of the Alliance towards new European democracies was a key part of redefining itself. The open door policy was to be fulfilled with concrete invitations to new members at the next NATO summit.

In Prague, seven countries from Central and Eastern Europe who did not or could not join in the first enlargement wave were invited to join the Alliance.

The Prague Summit was, in a way, was a homage to Havel's role in transforming the post-cold war Europe and a capstone of his long years in the presidency. A neon heart, a symbol and logo of Václav Havel shone above the Prague Castle. Inside the castle, Havel's second presidential term was coming to an end. Yet before leaving office in early 2003, Václav Havel, a man of the sixties, a "hippie," did not hesitate to support George Bush in his decision to remove Saddam Hussein.

Václav Havel knew that a strong NATO requires a strong commitment on both sides of the Atlantic. He also knew that the transatlantic partnership would be tested permanently.

He viewed NATO as something more than just a military organisation that provided extra security guarantees to its members. For him, NATO represented an alliance whose goal is to defend the shared values, moral principles, culture and civilization through solidarity and strong political commitment.

This is a legacy we should carry on today and one that should be remembered at the Chicago Summit. President Havel will be remembered as a visionary and a committed Atlanticist. I was proud to serve under him.

Alexandr Vondra  
Defence Minister of the Czech Republic



# Inside out: a different perspective

Giampaolo Di Paola has gone from a key international military role to a central national political role in the last few months. Now the Defence Minister of Italy, he was until November 2011 NATO's Chairman of the Military Committee. NATO Review asked him how he perceived the differences between looking at defence from inside NATO to the national perspective.

**NATO Review:** You have been involved in defence and security both inside – and now outside – of NATO. How has this changed your perceptions?

**Admiral Di Paola:** My perception of the defence challenges has not changed. We are and we will be facing a serious financial crisis during the next few years which can have a major impact on the defence budgets. Therefore, I believe that we need to change our approach to the way we do business, both in NATO and in each of our member countries.

*“More effort in the way we communicate NATO is needed”*

#### How do you believe that should be done?

The best solution is to adequately manage resources. In other words, spend intelligently to get better value for money. This means we must prioritise, specialise, and seek multinational solutions. This is the underlying rationale behind what we call NATO's new Smart Defence Initiative. This new approach to defence spending will help the Alliance to have the right capabilities. Nations will be able to provide unilateral capabilities by combining resources, which they might not otherwise be able to finance. They will benefit from greater efficiency by working together with economies of scale, and by establishing combined capabilities. Working together effectively does not require procurement of identical equipment, but it does require that NATO member countries are equally knowledgeable and effective at utilising their shared equipment and resources.

#### How do you feel NATO is perceived in Italy?

NATO plays a fundamental role for Italy. It contributes to our security, promotes industrial cooperation in the defence field, and acts as an advisor to our political authorities for all issues concerning our shared security. Italian people are traditionally NATO “supporters”. They mainly associate NATO with the idea of an organisation that maintains international peace and security. This is also linked to the NATO

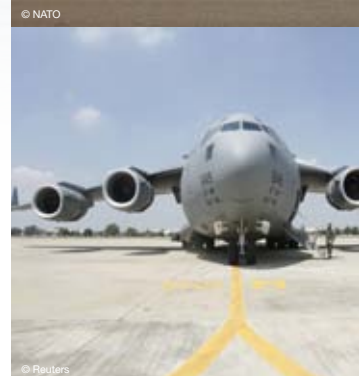
operations in Afghanistan and Kosovo, where the Italian contingents have always been numerous. The recent operation in Libya also contributed to a better image of NATO among Italian people. However, there is room for improvement.

#### What kind of improvement? And how would you tackle it?

There are citizens that are less knowledgeable of NATO's roles and mission, especially among the youngsters, who represent the future of our country. They sometimes have no idea of what NATO stands for. Or they perceive the Alliance as an organisation that deals mainly with combat operations. I know that this is true not only for Italy but also for many other NATO countries. So more effort in the way we communicate NATO is needed. We should encourage all initiatives meant to better explain, to our publics, current and future security challenges and the values and principles that NATO stands for. The Chicago Summit is also an extraordinary opportunity to make NATO better known and to convince the Euro-Atlantic public that our Alliance is relevant to their security concerns.

#### Finally, you were NATO's Chairman of the Military Committee during NATO's Libya operation. What do you feel were the main lessons learned?

The operation in Libya was undoubtedly very successful. We conducted nearly 10,000 strike sorties against a regime that was deliberately and systematically attacking its own people. The campaign prevented the massacre of many civilians and provided a victory on the ground that was left in the hands of the Libyans. Arab partners joined us in this endeavour. It was also an unprecedented political success story. Remember that the Alliance took several years before deciding to become involved in Bosnia, several months to go into action in Kosovo, but only a few days to transfer responsibility for air and maritime operations to NATO. Another important lesson learned is that for any kind of operation, regional support is fundamental. The international community would never have been able to tackle the situation in such a firm way without the support of the Arab League and some countries in the region.



“  
quotes

JOHN F. KENNEDY (1917-1963)  
35TH US PRESIDENT

*“If we are strong, our strength will speak for itself. If we are weak, words will be of no help.”*

# Mission impossible?



The US is a vast country, with a growing population and a myriad of cultures. Getting your message across is not always easy. NATO is no exception. So we asked five Americans how they would try to convince their compatriots of the value of NATO.



COLIN CLARK, *AOL defence editor*

If I wanted to bring the American public into a greater appreciation of NATO, I think I'd simply point out relentlessly that those Allies are part of NATO. That they are NATO. And that the military effectiveness of our country is made much greater because of the command and control agreements, the standards, the common acquisition policies that NATO has made possible, etc. But that means these politicians have to mention NATO whenever they make these statements - and I don't know how likely that is.



RONDA SCHOLTING, *journalist, blogger and public relations expert*

For most people in America, since there is such a small percentage of folks that are actively serving, they don't really get that connection with how NATO really impacts your life. Or sometimes even how the rest of the world can impact your life. With what was going on in Greece, with the economy there, what happened to the American stock market, it's difficult [with] the sense of isolationism when you're worried about your economy, mortgage payment, whether I'm going to have a job tomorrow, to sort of look outside that. So it's a hard question to answer.



ROBERT HADDICK, *managing editor of Small Wars Journal and contributor to Foreign Policy Magazine*

I would stress the long cultural ties between the United States and Europe that go back 400 years, 500 years or more. A lot of American heritage comes from the European continent. That is a message, I think, that resonates with a lot of Americans. The second thing I would say is that the European countries that are part of the Alliance with the United States have been some of America's best and most reliable Allies. And that's an important thing to maintain into the future.



DAN FUTRELL, *US Army veteran, Harvard Kennedy Sch.*

There is going to be a segment of the US that will not opt-in to issues around NATO, because they are more concerned about getting a job, they are more concerned about their health care, or whatever. And I think that's okay. Certainly people should not be forced to know something. But what I think it means is that people who agree with the mission and the values of an alliance like NATO just ought to keep talking about it. It should continue to be part of the discussion and that really comes from, you know, talking with your friends and co-workers.



JIM ARKEDIS, *director for the Progressive Policy Institute's National Security Project*

I found success actually occurs when you get out and you take the time to talk to the smaller regional papers, and some regionally-based websites, because these are outlets that have hundreds of thousands of readers who don't think that they should pick up a copy of the New York Times every day. I'm thinking of the Norfolk Virginian Pilot, for example, which is an area of the country that is very heavily populated by United States Naval members, their families, maybe civilians, and they are interested in this kind of stuff. Those outlets may draw some news from the New York Times and reprint it, but ultimately some original reporting and good interviews with correspondents from these kinds of papers might help spread the word a little more effectively.

*“ people who agree with the mission and the values of an alliance like NATO just ought to keep talking about it ”*

**OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, SR. (1809-1894)**  
US WRITER, PHYSICIAN

*“People who honestly mean to be true really contradict themselves much more rarely than those who try to be “consistent.”*





# NATO REVIEW

magazine  
*where the experts come to talk*

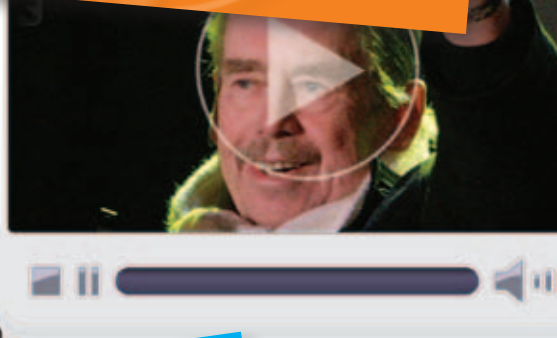
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