

Untangling NATO Transformation

Untangling NATO Transformation

Stephen J. Mariano
Lieutenant Colonel
United States Army

Centre for International Relations, Queen's University
Kingston, Ontario, Canada

2007

Library and Archives Canada Cataloguing in Publication

Mariano, Stephen J., 1964-

Untangling NATO transformation / by Stephen J. Mariano.

(Martello papers ; 32)

Includes bibliographical references.

ISBN 978-1-55339-100-5

1. North Atlantic Treaty Organization. 2. Operational readiness
(Military science) 3. Security, International. I. Queen's University
(Kingston, Ont.) Centre for International Relations. II. Title. III. Series.

UA646.3.M365 2007 355°.031091821 C2007-904997-4

The Martello Papers

The Queen's University Centre for International Relations (QCIR) is pleased to present the latest in its series of monographs, the *Martello Papers*. Taking their name from the distinctive towers built during the nineteenth century to defend Kingston, Ontario, these papers cover a wide range of topics and issues in foreign and defence policy, and in the study of international peace and security.

The end of the Cold War transformed the international system into something at once promising and menacing to the western states and their institutions. Accordingly, they in turn sought in varying degrees to transform their foreign and security policies, their militaries and their relations with allies. As LCol Stephen Mariano notes in this study, what began as an undertaking centred on the US military soon crossed the Atlantic and was adopted by NATO at its Prague summit in 2002.

Transformation meant many things to the alliance. Its roots were in successive attempts, through the 1990s, to redefine and update NATO's "strategic concept." By the time of the "transformation summit" in Prague, the agenda had become multifaceted, stressing enlargement, new relationships with partners and, in particular, capabilities. LCol Mariano's paper looks in detail at the last of these, finding a degree of progress but also a number of shortfalls some five years after the enunciation of the Prague Capabilities Commitment.

The study traces the trajectory of transformation through NATO's command structure, its force structure, the new NATO Response Force (NRF), and the Combined Joint Task Force (CJTF). Its critical finding is a lack of close fit between these new arrangements and the capabilities being sought or delivered by the allies. The problem is partly one of domestic politics,

which requires budget-driven compromises, and partly one of rear-view mirror driving, in which thinking continues to be shaped more by past missions than by current and future threats. This is a balanced and sobering analysis by a politically savvy officer experienced in the ways of military multilateralism.

We are, as always, grateful to the Security and Defence Forum of the Department of National Defence, whose ongoing support enables the Centre to conduct and disseminate research on issues of importance to national and international security. As is the case with all *Martello Papers*, the views expressed here are those of the author, and do not necessarily reflect the position of the Centre or any of its supporting agencies.

Charles C. Pentland
Director, QCIR
August 2007

Contents

List of Illustrations	ix
Introduction	1
NATO's Transformation Agenda	3
NATO's New Map	5
The Prague Capabilities Commitment	7
European Ambition	9
The Comprehensive Approach	11
What is Missing from the PCC?	15
Creation of the NRF	17
CJTF and the NRF	18
What is Missing from CJTF and NRF Policy?	21
Streamlining NATO Command Arrangements	23
NATO Command Structure	24
What is Missing from the NCS?	29
NATO Force Structure	32
What is Missing from the NFS?	34
Conclusions	37

Appendix I. Transforming the NATO Command Structure:
A Political-Military Process 41

Appendix II. Comprehensive Political Guidance 47

Bibliography 55

List of Illustrations

Figure 1. Allied Command Operations	26
Figure 2. Allied Command Transformation	28

Introduction

As a concept, the term “transformation” bubbled to the surface of security studies in the late 1990s. Two relevant phrases which preceded it were “the revolution in military affairs” (RMA) (Alcala and Bracken, 1994, 36) and its sidekick “network centric warfare” (NCW) (Cebrowski and Garstka, 1998). Though the terms RMA and NCW are still used in specific ways, in general terms they yielded to the now ubiquitous term, transformation. Transformation has taken on a life of its own, frequently with more political than military attributes. In the 1999 US presidential campaign, for example, transformation became a buzzword in George W. Bush’s election rhetoric (Bush, 1999). Two years later, Donald Rumsfeld codified transformation as a tenet of American defence policy in his 2002 article in *Foreign Affairs*, “Transforming the Military” (2002, 20-32) and created the Office of Force Transformation within the department of Defense. The

Summit in 2002. During the meeting, which has since been dubbed the “transformation summit,” nations agreed on NATO’s transformation goal by employing a multifaceted approach: “transforming NATO with new members, new capabilities and new relationships with our partners” (NATO, 2002). While US efforts to expand the meaning of transformation had been steadily growing during the early years of President Bush’s first term,

requirements of the social welfare state superseded the security requirements of the alliance; in the “terrorist era,” the tap on European funds is not yet open. As can be expected from an international institution with a dual political and military identity, NATO’s transformational work is proceeding in an uneven way along these two lines. The bottom line, however, is that the political decisions on Prague Capabilities Commitment programs are disconnected from NATO’s other military programs.

NATO’s Transformation Agenda

One part of NATO’s transformation agenda, enlarging NATO’s membership from 19 to 26 members, comprised the single largest increase since the alliance’s 1949 inception. Adding Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovakia, Slovenia, and Romania was, however, merely an extension of the 1999 enlargement which brought in the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland. Extending NATO’s membership was happening whether or not the word transformation was employed, but the timing of that round of enlargement lent itself to the transformation rubric. Future rounds of enlargement will likely make Europe “whole and free” by including Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, the Republic of Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia. Expanding the western European zone of peace eastward was simply the ultimate expression of alliance political will.

A second part of the transformation agenda, creating new relationships with partners, was essentially aimed at Russia and Ukraine but alluded to the European Union (EU) as well. At the military level, NATO enjoyed considerable success in developing partnerships with these two countries due to robust Partnership for Peace (PfP) exercises and extensive military

Americans. Generalizing transformation in this way is not only incomplete, but doing so misses the important organizational and doctrinal characteristics of the initiative.

In the official Prague *communiqué* the phrase “new capabilities,” encompassed seven initiatives:

1. Create a NATO Response Force (NRF);
2. Streamline NATO’s military command arrangements;
3. Approve the Prague Capabilities Commitment (PCC);
4. Endorse the agreed military concept for defence against terrorism;
5. Endorse the implementation of five nuclear, biological and chemical weapons defence initiatives;¹
6. Strengthen capabilities to defend against cyber attacks;
7. Conduct a NATO Missile Defence feasibility study (NATO, 2002).

Alliance leaders belatedly realized that “endorsing a military concept” or “conducting a feasibility study” did not provide NATO with improved military capability and soon deconstructed the official statement. NATO rebuilt the transformation initiatives into “a three-pronged approach to improving its defence capabilities:”

1. Launching of the Prague Capabilities Commitment (PCC);
2. Creation of the NATO Response Force (NRF);
3. Streamline NATO’s military command arrangements (NATO, 2004a).

With the other four capability efforts derailed, or at least left standing at the station, NATO transformation programs started running down these three parallel tracks. Not all of these efforts were completed in time for NATO’s Summit in Riga, Latvia, in November 2006 and it remains to be seen whether they will ever come together in any meaningful way.

A cursory comparison of the capabilities listed above with those needed in Afghanistan or even a possible mission in, for instance, Darfur, shows the list to be inadequate. Implementing nuclear, biological and chemical weapons defence initiatives, strengthening computer network defences, and conducting a NATO Missile Defence study are all worthy security initia-

NATO's New Map

Even more curious at Prague was the lack of debate on revising NATO's Strategic Concept. In the months leading up to the Prague Summit, NATO had invoked its Article Five provision, deployed aircraft to the United States in response to the September 11th attacks, and initiated a maritime interdiction operation in the Mediterranean. All of these events were figuratively and literally off the NATO map. If NATO genuinely wished to transform, then creating something akin to "NATO's New Map" (Barnett, 2004, 435), would have been an appropriate first step. Prague was the first opportunity to take that step.

Unveiled at the 1999 Washington Summit, the Strategic Concept was intended to reflect the "dramatic changes in the Euro-Atlantic strategic landscape brought by the end of the Cold War" (NATO, 1999). A review of the document indicates, however, that it merely consolidates NATO's experience of the five previous years rather than provide any ideological direction for the next fifty. For example, the term "Non-Article Five Crisis Response Operations" was introduced as the paradigm for future conflict but this language was deeply influenced by regional experiences in Bosnia and Kosovo (Ibid; The Insider Report, 1999).

Not surprisingly, the words "region" or "regional" are mentioned nine times in the Strategic Concept while the words "terrorist" or "terrorism" are mentioned only twice; "Russia" appears eight times, "Middle-East" not at all² (Chubin, Shahram, Green, and Larrabee, 1999). Few could have predicted that Al Qaida operatives would fly airplanes into buildings and kill thousands, but between 1999 and 2001 there were plenty of indicators of other terrorist threats to North Atlantic security. Certainly, by the time of the Prague meeting in 2002, there was overwhelming evidence terrorism had proliferated in Europe³ (International Institute for Counter-Terrorism, 2006). That capabilities pursued at Prague are not well suited to counter the terrorism threat foreshadows NATO's larger transformation problem.

-
2. The report made the point that the Strategic Concept did not adequately focus on the Middle East.
 3. According to the International Institute for Counter-Terrorism between the 1999 Washington Summit and 11 September 2001, there were 31 terrorist attacks against France, 21 in Germany, and 16 in the United Kingdom compared to 13 in the United States (The International Institute for Counter-Terrorism, 2006).

The Prague Capabilities Commitment

While NATO's internal disputes over Iraq are well known (Meyer, 2004,

[T]he allies generally lacked the level of precision and all weather capabilities that would allow them to carry out missions by day and night while ensuring the minimum civilian damage. The United States provided 700 of the 1055 aircraft deployed in the allied effort and flew by far the greatest number of sorties. Europeans also lacked capabilities to deploy personnel and equipment to the field of operations and to sustain them as long as necessary. The United States provided more than 90 percent of aerial refuelling

6. Intelligence, surveillance and target acquisition;
7. Combat effectiveness, including precision-guided munitions and suppression of enemy air defences;
8. Chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear defence capabilities (NATO, 2004b, 9).

The introduction of another “shopping list” attempted to accomplish three objectives: erase the failure of DCI, single out the most critical capability shortfalls, and strengthen Europe’s political commitment to the alliance.

European Ambition

EU sensitivities were explicitly important in any capability improvement exercise: “efforts to improve capabilities through the PCC and those of the EU to enhance European capabilities through the European Capabilities Action Plan (ECAP) should be mutually reinforcing, while respecting the autonomy of both organizations, and in a spirit of openness” (NATO, 2002).

Throughout the 1990s, European members of the alliance pressed for their own independent military capabilities, nominally under the command and control of the EU, in documents like the ECAP and more recently the European Security Strategy, without committing the resources needed to turn ambition into reality (Flournoy, Smith, Ben-Ari, McInnis, and Scruggs, 2005, 5, 15). To counter the funding problem, European nations have increased their coordination efforts, thereby gaining efficiencies and achieving a modicum of success organizing multinational consortia: Spain leads on

by a genuinely multinational crew, and commanded on a rotational basis by a “NATO” general officer. Likewise, the AGS is being commonly funded and will have a multinational contingent operating its aircraft as well as its ground-based radar components. By acquiring AGS, NATO will obtain a modern capability, modeled after the US Joint Surveillance and Target Attack Radar System, and add a much needed instrument to the NATO toolbox.

Significant tools, however, are still missing from this box. First, as the Balkan operations demonstrated, NATO lacks an effective intelligence, surveillance and target acquisition system that collects information and then processes it into actionable intelligence. Second, after nearly a decade of trying, national efforts have produced only a few improvements to combat effectiveness by outfitting, for example, combat aircraft with Link-16 communication equipment and precision-guided munitions.⁵ Third, nations have not supported development of strategically deployable and tactically mobile logistic units. Like all the PCC subject areas, obtaining the above capabilities has the twin advantage of helping NATO and contributing to the EU’s discernable European Security and Defence Policy.⁶

Unfortunately, AGS, air-to-air refuelling, and strategic lift are capabilities more likely suited for the last war than the next. Accordingly, and as a result of NATO’s engagement in Afghanistan and Iraq, an entirely new set of military capabilities and requirements were introduced after the PCC areas were set: the defence against terrorism programme. The capabilities being developed in this effort are reliant on “cutting edge technologies to protect troops and civilians against terrorist attacks. These technologies are aimed at preventing the kinds of attacks perpetrated by terrorists, such as suicide attacks with improvised explosive devices, rocket attacks against

-
5. Canada, for example, is only now upgrading their CF-18s with Link 16 (Defence Industry Daily, 2006).
 6. ESDP is the EU’s official policy; the European Security and Defence Identity (ESDI) has been developed within NATO and “is an integral part of the adaptation of NATO’s political and military structures. At the same time, it is an important element of the development of the European Union (EU). Both of these processes have been carried forward on the basis of the European Union’s Treaties of Maastricht in 1991

aircraft and helicopters” (NATO, 2006b). The DAT initiatives, like their PCC brethren, are disconnected from NATO’s organizational and doctrinal developments.

Trying to simultaneously acquire modern equipment for current missions and develop tools to meet future challenges exacerbates NATO’s political-military dilemma: which effort has priority? Modernization programs like AGS, air-to-air refuelling and strategic lift should be followed through to completion, but they will conflict — financially and philosophically — with development of the current and future force. National debates over defence spending are difficult enough, but bringing that debate into the multinational spotlight magnifies the difficulties 26 fold.

Creating a future force, for example, that includes a NATO unmanned aerial vehicle fleet, a NATO Missile Defence system, or a computer net-

process that establishes strategic objectives and provides directions to each of the organizations charged with a planning discipline, would help coordinate PCC efforts and improve the effectiveness of individual contributions

focus on new threats and develop plans for out of area operations (NATO, 2005c). The planning aspect of transformation has provided some “shock therapy” for NATO’s old business processes. As one US legislator said, NATO needs to be able to “go out of area, or go out of business” (Lugar, 2002, 10).

According to Brendan Wilson, a Force Planner at the NATO Headquarters, the problem is not the planning system or even the availability of forces; the problem is the old nemesis, political will:

Nations are unwilling to give those forces to current operations when they are asked for by NATO. Force Planning’s job is to ensure the forces are available in the force structure and developed with the capabilities required for operations... No force generation has ever failed because the forces and capabilities were not available in the force structure. ... We have the assets we need to fill the operations in which we are currently engaged; the problem is in political willingness to provide the forces. For example, the NRF force generation is not failing due to lack of capabilities in the force structure. We know where those assets are and which nations have them (Wilson, 2006).

So even if out of area plans are developed, military requirements will be difficult to derive because of the political mismatch between international ambition and domestic funding.

Given the often fierce bureaucratic turf battles associated with these processes, the NATO Secretary General should appoint an independent commission of outside experts to redesign NATO’s defence planning processes to be more rational, integrated, agile, and more responsive to the needs of member states (Flournoy, Smith, Ben-Ari, McInnis, Scruggs, 2005, 11).

Second, taken from the 1977 Ministerial Guidance:

In developing more rational procedures for NATO's long-term planning for defence the alliance must seek to harmonise planning mechanisms for the various co-operative and supporting programmes, and to dovetail the results of this effort with the present NATO force planning procedures into a comprehensive approach for alliance defence planning; the need for early identification of the resource implications of major co-operative projects will be of special importance (NATO, 1977).

Even the most optimistic transatlanticist would be disheartened to learn that a comprehensive approach to planning has been a long-standing, unrealized alliance goal.

At Riga, nations agreed on an updated version of comprehensive planning called the Comprehensive Political Guidance (see Appendix II). It is not clear, however, how these comprehensive planning efforts are being brought together or how progress on the PCC initiatives is helping NATO achieve its objectives in the Balkans, the Mediterranean, Afghanistan, or Iraq. Perhaps more time is needed to produce tangible results, but time may not be on NATO's side. As one scholar noted, "the Atlantic alliance has been dying a slow death" since 1991 when it lost its central purpose and "began to crumble like a bridge no longer in use — slowly, almost invisibly" (Joffe, 2003, 159).

What is Missing from the PCC?

The work that has gone into the PCC, while considerable, does not cut across all the transformational areas, is not well connected to NATO's planning procedures or organizational structures, and not particularly relevant to ongoing operations. Three areas are glaringly underdeveloped: establishment of an intelligence, surveillance and target acquisition system, improvement of combat effectiveness, and creation of deployable combat support and combat service support forces.

And while the Czech Republic serves as an example for smaller NATO nations developing niche capabilities, its necessary efforts in developing a Chemical, Biological, Radiological and Nuclear (CBRN) battalion are insufficient. The CBRN unit is primarily designed to react to situations rather than defend against them. Moreover, the capabilities to prevent or preempt a CBRN attack do not reside in this military unit and the political furor over Iraq has prevented any reasonable discourse on the merits of further CBRN capabilities.

Disunity persists in the other PCC strands and their association with organizational structures: no civilian entity or military headquarters to deal with intelligence, including integration of the emerging AGS force; no dedicated office to coordinate strategic airlift and air-to-air refueling capabilities; no entity responsible for managing deployable combat support and combat service support capabilities; and no single office, agency or headquarters leads the effort to manage improvements in combat effectiveness and precision strike (though one could argue every operational headquarters has this mission).

Add to this list the “defence-against-terrorism” initiatives and NATO has a menagerie of capabilities initiatives with no dedicated keeper. No new offices or headquarters are needed to take up this slack but as will be shown, transitioning the few redundant or excess headquarters into new entities and assigning the task to underemployed offices throughout the civil and military structures could solve the problem. By its own admission and almost unbelievably, NATO does not have a comprehensive planning process to integrate these efforts (NATO, 2005d).

NATO is currently pursuing each capability in a vacuum, with the possible exception of the developing NRF. The Brussels bureaucrats are working hard to get national commitments and multinational corporations are collaborating on technical solutions but creative thinking on the military application of these capabilities is lagging behind. Rather than waiting until the capabilities are fielded before developing a command arrangement, the North Atlantic Council should task a military body (rather than a civilian entity) to integrate these emerging capabilities — ostensibly the role of Allied Command Transformation. Once the capabilities and concepts become operationalized, a field command, ostensibly the Allied Command Operations, should assume responsibility for their management. The political bodies in Brussels should adapt too, and not remain in their Cold War indolence.

Creation of the NRF

The NATO Response Force was the second major transformation issue

CJTF and the NRF

To fully comprehend the NRF proposal, an understanding of the Combined Joint Task Force (CJTF) is mandatory. In fact, the two concepts have more in common than American ancestry.

In October 1993 the United States proposed the CJTF concept as a means of establishing a genuine European military capability that was “separable but not separate” from NATO’s integrated military structure. At the same time, CJTFs serve the purpose of projecting security and stability to the East by giving NATO the flexible military structure to address tasks such as peace operations. NATO heads of state approved the CJTF initiative at their sum-

primarily on combat operations (though non-combatant evacuation operations or humanitarian assistance/disaster relief missions are also expected, as deployments to help earthquake victims in Pakistan and hurricane victims indicated); is lighter and more mobile; maintains a rotational scheme with one NRF always on standby (and others on lower levels of readiness); and rather than improving interoperability of NATO nations with non-NATO, European Union and Partnership for Peace (PfP) nations, the NRF is designed to increase the interoperability within NATO (Mariano and Wilson, 2003).

Nations are supposed to contribute their best forces to the NRF. By being nominated for an NRF rotation, these units should be prior objects of national reform efforts. Once these units receive organizational, techno-

a seabased headquarters to landbased facility as well as transitioning from brigade level operations to corps level campaigns.

What is Missing from CJTF and NRF Policy?

For better or for worse, the CJTF policy is still on NATO's books as a deployable force concept. Despite never having been tested in an operation, the CJTF policy has been reformulated twice: first to include PfP nations, and second, to accommodate streamlined command structure and the NRF. The new CJTF policy acknowledges use of high readiness forces and fits nicely over the smaller NRF, provided the NRF is deployed and then grows to a larger force.

The CJTF concept also served the useful purpose of forcing NATO's acquisition of deployable (communications) assets. Unfortunately, the lengthy political and acquisition processes are making the contracted equipment obsolete before delivery. Military planners glossed over the details of the NRF using the CJTF equipment in NRF operations.

CJTF deployable communications modules are too big and too heavy to meet the demanding requirements of a rapidly deployable force. A threat may have come and gone by the time technicians take the communications equipment apart, put it on a plane and put it back together in the crisis area. NATO needs to get with the 21st century program and purchase modern, off the shelf, rapidly deployable, and air-land-sea transportable ("roll on, roll off") communication assets. This equipment will electronically link headquarters with forces, serve the entire integrated command structure and meet the PCC goals.

When SACEUR deployed parts of the NRF on operations in Afghanistan, Greece, Pakistan and the United States, he won the initial rounds of debate on whether the NRF is operational or transformational. Being two things at once is not easy and the primacy of each idea will be tested regularly. Thus far, it seems the NRF will not go the way of the CJTF — an operational construct that consumes a decade of resources but is never used.

Other issues like training and deployment of the NRF still need to be institutionalized. Given the diverse nature of the military headquarters, the NRF needs to have its training relationships better linked to operational headquarters. NATO's collective security depends on not letting realistic training slip through bureaucratic cracks. When it comes to deployment

training, for example, geography matters. Deploying the NRF to the Canary Islands might be pleasant for the participants and give them practice dealing with environmental issues,¹⁰ but rehearsing an NRF deployment at strategic distance outside Europe to sub-Saharan Africa with little or no

Streamlining NATO Command Arrangements

The third agenda item at Prague, and the one overshadowed at the Riga Summit by discussions over Afghanistan, was streamlining NATO's command arrangements. NATO's multinational, integrated command arrangements have been a fundament of alliance cohesion since 1949. The structures have continually evolved since the organization's inception but for 40 years they were never operationally tested. When NATO began un-

that link them together.¹¹ Command structure is roughly defined as the fixed headquarters throughout the United States and Europe that fly a NATO flag at the entrance to the building (Canada does not currently have a NATO headquarters on its territory). Force structure is generally defined as the people, tanks, airplanes, and ships that nations offer *to* NATO to be commanded *by* a NATO headquarters, although recently NATO has expanded the traditional understanding of “forces” to include multinational headquarters, even though they do not have any combat forces permanently assigned. Theoretically, NATO uses the operational constructs discussed earlier (CJTF or NRF) to connect the headquarters with the forces and operate outside of Europe.

NATO Command Structure

The changes conceived in Prague are the third attempt in a decade to bring the command structure out of its cold war organization and into something better-suited to meet current and future missions. Command structure consistently consumes a significant portion of the common fund and earlier critiques still apply: “left unreformed, the current structure... will continue to drain nations’ limited defence budgets and produce suboptimal collective capabilities” (Young, 2001, 31).

Other observers have suggested overhauling both the existing command and force structure, in some cases before the current structure has been given a chance to succeed or fail (Millen, 2004, 125). These views represent a skeptical belief that NATO efforts are bound to fail unless US planners, strategists, politicians and financiers lead the fight against the forces of NATO bureaucracy and push for reforms¹² (Smith, 2003, A3). This belief is not particularly helpful to the alliance in the wake of its “near

-
11. “Integrated Military Structure” is a phrase used in the original Military Committee document on the subject, MC 57/3. The document lags behind post Cold War and post 9/11 realities; for example, it refers to the Soviet Union and Major NATO Commanders, which both cease to exist.
 12. In addition, the 2006 Department of Defense Quadrennial Defense Review lists as one of the DOD’s major accomplishments, “Spearheaded steps to transform NATO” (US Department of Defense, 2006).

death experience” (Black, 2003)¹³ over the Iraq War and a perception that the US has marginalized NATO through unilateral action (Serchuk, 2005, A12).

Admittedly, each attempt to restructure the headquarters has demonstrated incremental success. The 1992 effort cut the number of headquarters from almost 130 down to 78. Unfortunately, the remaining headquarters were not any better designed to deal with emerging threats and missions. The 1997 reductions went even further — reducing the number to 20 — but still did not do much to improve military effectiveness. The 2002 attempt to reinvent NATO’s command structure was not an overwhelming success either, but marked steady progress nonetheless. For a third time in ten years, the number of operational headquarters was reduced; this time from 20 down to ten. In 2007, another round of closures is in the offing and the International Military Staff at NATO headquarters is the process of recommending even more closures.

While the number of headquarters was cut in the last round by nearly 50 percent, the overall number of personnel reductions was just over ten percent. One of the reasons for the modest *decrease* in personnel was an *increase* in the number of centers and schools — organizations that fell short of the criteria to be officially called “headquarters,” such as Combined Air Operations Centers (CAOC)¹⁴ and an entirely new transformational structure.

On the operational side of the command structure, all of the headquarters were placed under the command of the SACEUR (NATO, 2005a). Despite North Atlantic Council intentions to have new names and titles as immediate and visible signs of transformation, both SACEUR and his headquarters, the Supreme Headquarters Allied Command Europe

13. Then US Ambassador to NATO, Nicholas Burns, referred to NATO’s inability to reach agreement on sending troops to Iraq as a “near death experience” for the alliance.

14. Air command and control (C2) had been a sore subject for NATO, particularly since the world got a glimpse of US capabilities in the Balkans. Newly on nations’ minds, however, were air operations in Central Asia, where many participated in a “coalition of the willing.” Nations saw first hand the extent of the capabilities gap. Reducing the number of CAOCs fit in with the alliance’s emerging ideas on air C2. The Air Command and Control System (ACCS) and the NATO Integrated Extended Air Defence System (NATINEADS) provide a complex but sophisticated capability to the alliance. Further effects included reviewing personnel assignment policies and redistributing qualified personnel to the remaining NATO-sponsored CAOCs.

(SHAPE), retained their names. The names would stand because of entrenched European bureaucracy: the headquarters would have had to change stationery, work with Belgian authorities to replace road signs, amend contractual arrangements, and somewhat dubiously, modify international standing under “the Paris Protocol.”¹⁵ The compromise was changing the name of the command from Allied Command Europe (ACE) to Allied Command Operations (ACO) in order to better represent the scope of SACEUR’s trans-Atlantic responsibilities. Consequently, ACO is responsible for all alliance operations but is still based in Mons, Belgium. The commander is always an American and remains dual-hatted as Commander, US European Command (USEUCOM). He is responsible for three different levels of command: the strategic, operational and component or tactical. Figure 1 shows the wire-diagram depicting the subordinate units and their locations.

15. “The Protocol on the Status of International Military Headquarters Set up Pursuant to the North Atlantic Treaty” was signed in Paris on 28 Aug 1952 (NATO, 1952).

After some “horse-trading,” the component commands, CAOC structure and locations were agreed.¹⁶ A bonus in this round of restructuring was cutting quasi-multinational CAOCs from the NATO roster. Excluding excess “national” CAOCs from the NATO line-up not only eased management of air operations, but also reduced the burden on the NATO common fund.¹⁷

The most important feature of the current command structure was not quantitative reductions in the operational structure, but rather the qualitative break from the traditional organization. Nations drank the transformation “Kool-Aid” and agreed to create an entire command dedicated to the idea of change. Transformation is not just about advancing technology but also about promoting new ways of thinking (Hone, 2004).¹⁸

Allied Command Transformation (ACT) was created as a functional command out of the remains of the old Allied Command Atlantic. Transforming the Norfolk-based strategic command from a primarily maritime organization to a fully joint and largely cerebral headquarters, NATO was able to preserve the transatlantic link at the highest military level. The United States offered to keep NATO’s transformation headquarters in Virginia, as a literal next-door neighbour to the US organization charged with the same transformation mission, US Joint Forces Command (USJFCOM), “thereby bringing obvious advantages to NATO” (NATO, 2004b). In a way similar to his operational counterpart, the Supreme Allied Commander Transformation is dual-hatted as the Commander, USJFCOM.¹⁹ The

16. A full description of the political machinations that surrounded placement of headquarters is offered in the Appendix.

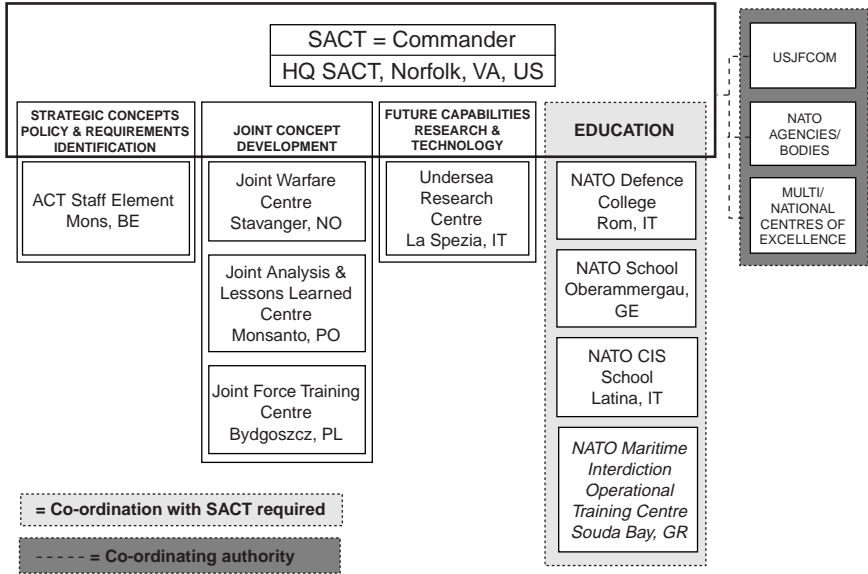
17. One example of the many quirks in the command structure was creation of a small team of air specialists at Torrejon Air Base in Spain under NATO command. The ostensible purpose was to help train and exercise the two deployable CAOCs. But Spain argued persuasively that national legislation required they retain some type of national/NATO connection with respect to air space management. Consequently, the team’s existence is more emblematic of the politics of restructuring than any standard of military requirements or effectiveness.

18. For a NATO example see the remarks of then-General Harald Kujat at the New Defence Agenda’s International Conference, “Reinventing NATO: Does the alliance reflect the changing nature of transatlantic security?” 24 May 2005. Kujat, as Chairman of the NATO Military Committee stated, “...transformation in its largest sense is as much an affair of mindset” (Kujat, 2005).

19. Unlike its European counterpart, bureaucracy on the west side of the Atlantic did not prevent changing the name of the commander, its headquarters or its command.

“wireless” diagram at Figure 2 shows the organizational design of ACT and alludes to the non-hierarchical nature of the organization.

Figure 2: Allied Command Transformation



One obvious advantage of being next to USJFCOM was opening a side door through which NATO’s European nations could participate in US transformation efforts. The less obvious advantage was (re)building a bridge to the US across the divide that developed over Iraq (Cornish, 2004, 63). On the subject of transformation, NATO nations should be rightly proud of making a courageous decision that allows its European members to benefit from the spiralling advancement of US technological, organizational, and doctrinal innovations. Alliance benefits may be small at first, but over time this USJFCOM-ACT relationship will bear fruit not only by increasing physical capabilities of Canadian and European platforms, but also by improving mental interoperability of their personnel.

At lower military levels, the American transformation prototype will be difficult for NATO to replicate. Each one of the columns in Figure 2 was designed to represent a transformation “process” and provide a basis from

which transformation initiatives can be germinated and grown. But the associated entities portrayed by each box are mostly old NATO headquarters with new missions and names. They are not yet resourced the way the US has outfitted its simulation centers, battle laboratories, instrumented ranges or education facilities. It will take time to mature a cadre of NATO transformational specialists and fill the manning rosters. Despite successes like using the Joint Warfare Centre as a training ground for headquarters going to Afghanistan and involving the NATO School in Oberammergau in educating officers in the Iraqi National Army, creating a sister-set of transformation entities is still hundreds of people, several years, and millions of dollars away.

What is Missing from the NATO Command Structure?

NATO's two command structure modifications in the 1990s took place prior to a full assessment of the Balkan operations and were also not informed by today's Middle Eastern and Central Asian missions. The alliance has since gathered considerable lessons not only from its activities in Bosnia, Kosovo, the Mediterranean, Afghanistan, Iraq, and Pakistan, but also and almost surreptitiously, two missions in the United States. A consensus will likely develop around operational issues such as training and employment of special operation forces, the inefficiencies associated with deploying national logistics systems, and the lack of multinational intelligence col-

of global Islamic jihad, it is time to reconsider the approach. Developing a NATO Special Operations Command would allow nations to build on the considerable successes of recent experience, better align NATO and national doctrine and serve as a starting point for work on the PCC goal on combat effectiveness.

Command arrangements could also help integrate deployable combat service support units with other PCC objectives. NATO has yet to develop an efficient logistics doctrine to manage the “tail-to-tooth” ratios. Currently, “up to 30 percent [of deployed forces] of any NATO led operation are purely there to support their own national contingents. That is wasteful, inefficient and it must be transformed in the future” (Jones, 2005, 19).

intelligence “fusion center” in the United Kingdom is the right idea, but it too will have limitations (Mitchell, 2006). Nearly all of NATO’s “intelligence” is based on information that is gathered by national sources, processed through national systems, analyzed by national analysts, and then passed to a NATO commander. But even handing over the information is a tortured process because of two factors. First, different technical standards prevent connectivity between national and NATO computer systems, and second, lack of political will precludes policy changes that could remedy the problem. Creating a NATO unit along the lines of the Multinational Joint Intelligence Center, located adjacent to the US European Command’s Joint Analysis Center in the United Kingdom, and improving system connectivity would be additional steps toward improving NATO’s collective intelligence capability.

Providing a single point of contact for intelligence, however, is not sufficient. NATO and its nations must obtain surveillance and target acquisition hardware sought in the PCC, integrate those assets into the command arrangement and factor in a human intelligence. Only then can the PCC’s intelligence, surveillance and target acquisition initiative be turned into intelligence “capability.”

During the next round of discussions, it is possible that instead of deleting the headquarters with questionable utility or a redundant capability,²¹ infrastructure could find new life by filling the special operations, logistics and intelligence gaps. The subsequent effort should also spend more time integrating the PCC areas with headquarters and defining the relationships between static headquarters and deployable forces. The military architects of the current command structure conducted a significant overhaul but they eventually hit a political barrier. Fortunately for NATO, the new command structure makes huge strides in fulfilling the objectives of the Prague Summit in 2002 and helps NATO meet the threat of the current international security situation. Regrettably, the structure falls short in more than one area and is disconnected from PCC efforts. Unfortunately, more effective command structure requires yet another round of closures, reorganization and transformation.

21. Appendix I describes why headquarters in Lisbon, La Spezia, Heidelberg, and Madrid could be of questionable utility or a redundant capability.

NATO Force Structure

The second element of NATO Command Arrangements is the NATO Force Structure. Underneath the command structure headquarters lies a complex web of national and multinational headquarters and forces, almost all of which are still poised to defeat the Red Army as it crosses the Fulda Gap in Germany. As anachronistic as that image may be, the difficult truth is that

experience; specifically, it forced them to deploy personnel and equipment off the European continent by land, sea and air. Development of these headquarters and their use in Afghanistan has been a watershed event for NATO.

Oddly, the high readiness headquarters were designed before the forces they command and before the headquarters under which they fall. Instead of designing command arrangements in a logical top to bottom (or even bottom up) approach, NATO accidentally created a winning idea at the midlevel and has been forced to push changes up and down the chain of command. Luckily, these force headquarters have done an admirable job at becoming what the command structure headquarters are not: deployable.

But even these deployable force headquarters have the debilitating characteristic of being “hollow.” The well equipped and nearly over trained ARRC is reduced to a paper tiger if it is not given troops to command.

USS Mount Whitney,²² home ported in Gaeta, Italy, and therefore risks availability problems.

If land headquarters receive high marks and maritime headquarters get passing ones, then the air headquarters are outright failures: NATO currently has no deployable air command and control (C2) assets. In the short term and for recent operations NATO has relied completely on individual nations, usually the United States or ad hoc contracts, and a liberal

multinational headquarters called “Multinational Corps Northeast,” (involving Denmark, Poland, and Germany) offering their services at lower levels of readiness. The maritime headquarters also have made, and will continue to make a contribution given NATO’s increasing concern over the Mediterranean Sea, but another C2 platform is needed to relieve the overtaxed USS Mount Whitney.

The aforementioned air C2 gap exists because nations elected not to pursue High Readiness Force (Air) headquarters when the NATO Force Structure Review was being conducted. By their nature, airplanes are mobile and deployable. For that reason, the architects of the current force structure somewhat naively believed that NATO command of deployed air forces would not be a problem. The decision haunts NATO planners today and they will find few solutions in the near term. One pragmatic solution is to use the United States capabilities that are co-located with NATO headquarters in Germany and Italy and a technique called “reach-back” whereby small units deploy and “reach back” to the larger, static headquarters for the needed expertise. Sharing American assets will get harder to do with one air headquarters moving from Naples to Izmir and reach back requires increased deployable communication modules, so neither option is particularly advantageous.

Another solution pertains only to smaller operations — around 200 sorties per day. France and the United Kingdom have combined assets and offered a deployable Joint Force Air Component Commander for the NATO Response Force (NRF). Despite the potential of this and similar capabilities, nations can be reluctant to submit themselves to the NATO certification process.

The vacancy of deployable air headquarters in the force structure stands out as the missing link inside NATO’s command arrangements and fails to

deployable combat formations is notoriously deficient. In a 2003 speech, the NATO Secretary General, Lord George Robertson stated:

In theory, the availability of relevant resources should not be a problem for our alliance. The 18 countries of NATO's Integrated Military Command Structure in principle declare around 250 combat brigades to the alliance, each up to about 5000 strong. A huge figure. But fewer than half of that number are [sic] declared deployable, and therefore useable for today's real world operations. In fact, if you subtract the U.S. contribution, together with those forces, which NATO assesses to be undeployable in practice, your

Conclusions

NATO's current problems do not have anything to do with political differences over Iraq or even NATO-EU relations. As one author put it, "those who focus on NATO's political difficulties cannot see the forest for the trees" (Trachtenberg, 2004, 3). NATO's most pressing problem is not even having an empty military toolbox when called upon, though there are obvious problems with its capability menu. The problem is twofold: first, not having a common purpose in the contemporary security environment and second, not having the capacity to manage change in a multinational

even provides a remarkable assessment of the strategic environment; it does not provide any process, however, for employing the time honoured ends-ways-means formulation which will lead to a “Strategic Concept to reflect the paradigm-shifting events of the last several years and to chart a way forward for the alliance in the 21st century” (Flournoy, Smith, Ben-Ari, McInnis, Scruggs, 2005, 11).

NATO should rewrite its existing Strategic Concept to reflect the present and coming reality. NATO’s path to success lies in maintaining a balance between political consensus and military efficiency. Part of this balance means finding consensus on its strategic purpose. That consensus implies developing a common view of threats. Defining a new enemy is not as simple as replacing the word communism with terrorism or extremism, but it needn’t be that different either. NATO needs to dialogue and debate aspects provided by the treaty’s Article 4 before making a decision on whether or not global jihad poses a threat to member nations. But so far, nations prefer to sail the safe waters of “transformation.”

In the meantime, and as part of the transformation effort, NATO will first need to modify the defence planning process so it is more predictable for nations. Requirements should be based not only on current operations but also future contingencies, thus attaining the right kind of forces will require better contingency plans. Better plans will require better intelligence and out-of-the-box thinking, qualities for which NATO has not earned its reputation. Second, NATO needs a system whereby it “crosswalks” the PCC elements with the command structure capacity. Where there is a capacity shortage a decision is needed: either develop C2 capacity or accept the risk of not having it. Developing a strategic planning process and robust management matrix will be attractive to technocrats, but that approach carries the enormous risk of running amok in the headquarters bureaucracy. Third, NATO needs to get the internal C2 house in order. Myriad command and force structure efforts have not been tightly woven with concepts for deploying forces. The defence-against-terrorism programme appears to be equally disconnected. These ideas should be articulated in a coherent way so every service member, from every NATO nation, can understand them.

An example of this situation appears in NATO’s “integrated command structure” — the phrase appears in the title of the command arrangement bible. The NATO document that governs this relationship was written in the 1950s, has been amended more than nine times, yet fails to take into account the changes of the last decade. The existing publication is a useless

planning tool or even doctrinal guide; it also scares off Brussels bureaucrats as a Pandora's box of national issues. The document has yet to include the High Readiness Force Headquarters, Berlin Plus Agreements, and the command structure.

Life goes on without an overarching document to explain how the PCC, NRF, CJTF, NCS and NFS pieces and parts fit together, but, then again, it does not go very smoothly. Every time NATO makes a political commitment, it then grinds its teeth looking for forces and headquarters to fulfill the requirements. The solutions are seldom graceful but that clumsiness need not persist. Breaking down the organizational stovepipes of the PCC areas, the NRF, CJTF, NCS and NFS should lead to connecting the capability "dots." Linking C2 concepts with the PCC subjects would create meaningful capabilities and command arrangements. Updating old doctrine would help establish a standardized playbook, something NATO *is* known for possessing.

With a little luck and even more determination, NATO can grow the new command arrangements into a productive system of headquarters, forces and concepts. Headquarters, however, need to be aligned with PCC efforts and the stated mission in the Strategic Concept, be it the extant or a new one. The current procedures do not provide the commanders with consistent forces or reliable capabilities for training or operations. Hopefully, the new ideas on strategic and operational planning being drafted will address the deficit. But hope is not a method for success; vision, leadership and political will are required (Sullivan and Harper, 1996, 294). The PCC identified the problem and the NRF is a step in the right direction, but the NRF touches only a fraction of the national forces offered to NATO and only scratches the surface of the PCC initiatives. Whether or not it is poised to assimilate the defence-against-terrorism capabilities also remains to be seen.

At the Riga Summit in November 2006, NATO avoided any detailed discussion about a transformed alliance, particularly on its military capabilities, and the subsequent declaration spends only one sparse line on "efforts to ensure that the command structure is lean, efficient and more effective" (NATO, 2006d). The alliance instead focused on a kaleidoscope of issues: unveiling the Comprehensive Political Guidance; supporting its continued missions in the Balkans, Kosovo, the Mediterranean and Darfur; confirming its support to President Karzai and the ISAF mission in Afghanistan (which in terms of content dominated the agenda by being mentioned 17 times); applauding European governments for improved

military capabilities; crediting military authorities for fielding a fully operational NATO Response Force; inviting Albania, Croatia, the Republic of Macedonia to join NATO in 2008; welcoming Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Serbia into the PfP programme; praising Ukraine for its steadfast commitment to the highest democratic ideals; noting Russia's failure to withdraw troops from Moldova; expanding its partnerships with non-NATO countries; promoting the UN Secretary General's "alliance of Civilisations"; and complimenting itself for seamlessly handing the Bosnia operation to the European Union.

Though the word "transformation" appears seven times in the Riga Summit Declaration, NATO's current trajectory does not help it answer the question "transformed to do what?" According to one newspaper editorial, what NATO really needs is a "big think" to answer the nagging post-Cold War question, "what is our purpose?" (Christian Science Monitor, 2006) By over-focusing on Afghanistan during the Riga Summit and spreading itself thin across dozens of issues, NATO missed another opportunity to chart a course into the 21st century. NATO should publicly admit to what its member nations privately know: transformation means developing a new strategic purpose. Anything less leaves Europe unprotected, forestalls re-emergence of NATO as a credible international organization, and risks further "continental drift" (Bergsten, 1999).

to a point, but it could not proceed beyond the political morass of placing headquarters into countries. Although it was widely unpopular, an ad hoc organization called the Senior Officials Group (SOG) sat on the proverbial shoulder of NATO's Military Committee pressing it for military advice rather than political solutions. The SOG was free from many of the normal NATO procedures and eventually coerced NATO nations to agree on placement of all the headquarters, an act viewed as "a challenging diplomatic feat, skilfully managed within the Office of the Secretary of Defense (OSD)" (Trachtenberg, 2004, 3). To the group's credit, the political compromises of 2003 were more palatable than those of 1997. Though it took another year to iron out the details of the new command structure, the political-military process worked. With the negotiations finished, NATO nations, commanders and staffs set about implementing the new structure. What resulted was part incremental progression and part radical change for the alliance. If streamlining the command structure by reducing numbers was a continuation of previous downsizings, then creating a transformation command was a complete break with past.

Politics had entered previous command structure reviews and did so again this time, albeit with a decidedly better outcome. As with all multinational agreements, negotiators took into account national sensitivities. Accordingly, bargains were struck and trade-offs made. Portugal, for example, had been a staunch supporter of the US as it built its "air bridge" to Afghanistan in the early part of Operation Enduring Freedom and it appears to have been consequently awarded the Joint Headquarters (JHQ) on political, rather than military, grounds.

airspace), that was more important politically than meeting any collective security or military requirement. Similarly, the NATO Maritime Interdiction Operational Training Centre (NMIOTC) demanded by Greece was really handed to them as a gift for their complicity in incredibly complex political-military negotiations, despite long-standing rivalries with another NATO ally.

The Greece-Turkey drama did not play out directly on center stage but their longstanding disputes over balance, prestige, territory and culture were eventually accommodated — at least in the context of command structure negotiations. The logic of the agreed structure was not immediately apparent to either constituency but NATO staff members patiently explained the idea to national representatives accustomed to playing a zero-sum game.

In the old structure, Greece had possessed not only a CAOC, but also one of the much maligned Joint Sub-Regional Commands (JSRC). Tur-

more influence over Greece's national position than expected. Since the Greek navy's earlier bid to obtain a Maritime Component Command failed, they could be content with the resultant and aforementioned NMIOTC.

The NMIOTC sits uncomfortably in the structure and will not get much, if any common funding. Nations may not even take advantage of the Greek proposal, though in a moment of weakness they agreed to it. Proponents say it will add value to the war on terror, particularly because NATO still conducts maritime interdiction operations in the Mediterranean and needs some type of touchstone for that special duty. Along with the JHQ, the detachment of airmen in Torrejon, and the land headquarters in Germany and Spain, opponents of this Greek training facility see it as another political construct that goes beyond any semblance of military necessity. Creation of this center would be but a footnote in the command structure story if it were not for its involvement in the larger geopolitical saga.

changes to encompass the RTA and other alliance agencies should be reinvigorated in the upcoming year. NATO should either delete the URC from the command structure or make a serious run at developing land, air, space, and surface maritime research centers. Given the general trend to decrease headquarters, the former options should be pursued.

With overall numbers of headquarters reduced, missions more clearly defined, and political harmony more or less achieved, NATO gained several efficiencies and crossed perennial redlines. Even removing the north-south-east-west orientations from the names of the headquarters was a solid indication that significant change is afoot. The development of a transformational “corps” inside the NATO command structure was a bold break

Appendix II

Comprehensive Political Guidance

*Endorsed by NATO Heads of State and
Government on 29 November 2006*

Introduction

1. This Comprehensive Political Guidance provides a framework and political direction for NATO's continuing transformation, setting out, for the next ten to 15 years, the priorities for all Alliance capability issues, planning disciplines and intelligence. This guidance, to be reviewed periodically,

operations, as set out in the Strategic Concept. The Alliance has undertaken a range of operations of this kind since the end of the Cold War. Experience has shown the increasing significance of stabilisation operations and of military support to post-conflict reconstruction efforts. The role of the UN and EU, and other organisations, including as appropriate non-governmental organisations, in ongoing operations and future crises will put a premium on practical close cooperation and coordination among all elements of the international response.

7. Against this background, NATO must retain the ability to conduct the full range of its missions, from high to low intensity, placing special focus on the most likely operations, being responsive to current and future operational requirements, and still able to conduct the most demanding operations. There will continue to be a requirement for a mix of conventional and nuclear forces in accordance with extant guidance. In particular, the Alliance needs to focus on:

- i. Strengthening its ability to meet the challenges, from wherever they may come, to the security of its populations, territory and forces;
- ii. Enhancing its ability to anticipate and assess the threats, risks, and challenges it faces, with special attention to the threats posed by terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction;
- iii. Providing forces able to conduct the full range of military operations and missions;
- iv. Being able to respond quickly to unforeseen circumstances;
- v. Ensuring that NATO's own crisis management instruments are effectively drawn together. 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;
- vi. Continuing to adapt planning processes to meet the new demands.

8. The evolving security environment requires that commitments from nations, recognising the primacy of national political decisions, to NATO operations be translated into concrete terms by the development and fielding of flexible and sustainable contributions, and also by a fair sharing of the burden. It is also important to have an early indication of the likely military demands and potential availability of forces and resources when making an Alliance decision to launch an operation.

9. All of this requires Allies to continue the process of transformation, including conceptual and organisational agility and the development of robust capabilities that are deployable, sustainable, interoperable, and usable.

Part 3 – Guidelines for Alliance Capability Requirements

10. Given the likely nature of the future security environment and the demands it will impose, the Alliance will require the agility and flexibility to respond to complex and unpredictable challenges, which may emanate far from member states' borders and arise at short notice. The Alliance will also require effective arrangements for intelligence and information sharing. As in the past, intelligence and lessons learned from operations will also inform capability development.

11. In order to undertake the full range of missions, 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; it is likely that NATO will need to carry out a greater number of smaller demanding and different operations, and the Alliance must retain the capability to conduct large-scale, high-intensity operations.

12. Regardless of its overall size, each operation is likely to require a command and control structure able to plan and execute a campaign to accomplish a strategic or operational objective, employing the appropriate mix of air, land and maritime components. It also requires forces that are structured, equipped, manned and trained for expeditionary operations in

14. NATO and the EU and their respective members states have already agreed procedures to ensure coherent, transparent and mutually reinforcing development of the capability requirements common to both organisations. NATO's planning disciplines should continue to take full account of these principles, objectives and procedures.

15. The development of capabilities will not be possible without the commitment of sufficient resources. Furthermore, it will remain critically important that resources that Allies make available for defence, whether nationally, through multinational projects, or through NATO mechanisms, are used as effectively as possible and are focused on priority areas for investment. Increased investment in key capabilities will require nations to consider reprioritisation, and the more effective use of resources, including through pooling and other forms of bilateral or multilateral cooperation. NATO's defence planning should support these activities.

16. Over the next ten to 15 years, the evolving security environment and the need to deal with conventional and especially asymmetric threats and risks, wherever they arise, will put a premium on improvements in meeting the following capability requirements:

- i. The ability to conduct and support multinational joint expeditionary operations far from home territory with little or no host nation support and to sustain them for extended periods. This requires forces that are fully deployable, sustainable and interoperable and the means to deploy them. It also requires a fully coordinated and, where appropriate, multinational approach to logistic support;
- ii. The ability to adapt force postures and military responses rapidly and effectively to unforeseen circumstances. This requires, *inter alia*, an effective capability to analyse the environment and anticipate potential requirements, a high level of readiness for our forces, and the necessary flexibility to respond to any sudden shifts in requirements;
- iii. The ability to deter, disrupt, defend and protect against terrorism, and more particularly to contribute to the protection of the Alliance's populations, territory, critical infrastructure and forces, and to support consequence management;
- iv. The ability to protect information systems of critical importance to the Alliance against cyber attacks;

sensors and weapons, and deploying and employing joint expeditionary forces coherently and to greatest effect.

18. Among these qualitative requirements, the following constitute NATO's top priorities: joint expeditionary forces and the capability to deploy and

Bibliography

Alcala, Raoul Henri and Paul Bracken. 1994. *Whither the RMA: Two Perspectives on Tomorrow's Army*.

- Bush, George W. 1999. "A Period of Consequences," Campaign speech delivered at The Citadel, South Carolina, 23 September. At http://www.citadel.edu/pao/addresses/pres_bush.html
- Cebrowski, Arthur K. and John J. Garstka. 1998. "Network-Centric Warfare: Its Origin and Future" *Proceedings*

- NATO. 2006d. "Riga Summit Declaration" at <http://www.nato.int/docu/pr/2006/p06-150e.htm>.
- "NATO/International: New Command, Continuing Tensions," *Oxford Analytica*, 16 June 2003, p. 1.
- "NATO Needs a big think," *Christian Science Monitor*, 27 November 2006, p. 8.
- Peters, John E. 2001. *European Contributions to Operation Allied Force: Implications for Transatlantic Cooperation*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND. Abstract at http://www.rand.org/pubs/research/_briefs/RB72/index1.html.
- Robertson, Lord George. 2002. *Speech*, Claridge's Hotel, London. 24 January. At <http://www.nato.int/docu/speech/2002/s020124a.htm>.
- Robertson, Lord George. 2003. *Speech*, Conference on Transatlantic Defence Industrial Cooperation, *Challenges and Prospects*, Résidence Palace, Brussels, Belgium. At <http://www.nato.int/docu/speech/2003/s030718b.htm>.
- Roosevelt, Ann. 2005. "NATO Has the Political Will, But Needs Resources For Missions, Jones Says," *Defense Daily International*, 28 October, p. 1.
- Rosen, Stephen Peter. 1991. *Winning the Next War: Innovation in the Modern Military*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Rumsfeld, Donald H. 2002. "Transforming the Military" *Foreign Affairs* 81 (3):20-32.
- Schwarz, Benjamin and Christopher Layne. 1999. "NATO: At 50, It's Time to Quit" *The Nation* 268 (17): 15-19.
- Serchuk, Vance. 2005. "The Multilateral Myth," *Wall Street Journal (Eastern Edition)*, 26 August, p. A12.
- SHAPE. 2005. "NATO Response Force arrives in Pakistan," at <http://www.nato.int/shape/news/2005/10/051025a.htm>,
- Smith, Craig S. 2003. "NATO Agrees to US Proposals to Revamp Alliance," *The New York Times*, 13 June, p. A3.

About the Author

Lieutenant Colonel Stephen J. Mariano was commissioned in 1986 through the Reserve Officer Training Corps program at the University of California, Santa Barbara (UCSB). From 1987-1990, he served in Augsburg, Germany as a logistics platoon leader and company executive officer in a 2d Corps Support Command supply & service company. From 1991-1993, he served as a staff officer and company commander in the 7th Infantry Division (Light). During a tour at the United States Military Academy at West Point from 1994-1999, he served as an Assistant Professor of Military Strategy and Comparative Military Systems and later as Executive Officer to the Commandant. From 1999-2001, he was posted to the US European Command in Stuttgart, Germany as a NATO/PfP Exercise & Engagement Planner; after September 11th, he served first as the Chief of the Coalition Planning Group. Those experiences led to an assignment at the NATO HQ in Brussels, Belgium, on the International Military Staff as a strategic planner from 2002-2004. LTC Mariano then served six months as the Military Advisor to the NATO Senior Civilian Representative in Kabul, departing Afghanistan in June 2005. He is currently serving in Iraq. He holds a B.A. in Mathematics & Economics from UCSB, a M.S. from the Naval Postgraduate School in Strategic Planning, International Organizations and Negotiations and is completing his doctorate in War Studies at the Royal Military College of Canada. In 2005-06 he was the US Army Visiting Defense Fellow at the Centre for International Relations, Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario, Canada. His wife is Monica (nee Richey). They have three children: Alaina (age 15), Dominic (age 14) and Zachary (age 14).

