

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF NATO'S STRATEGIC CONCEPT FOR DEFENCE AND SECURITY, ADOPTED IN LISBON IN NOVEMBER 2010

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The Heads of State and Government of the NATO nations decided to fulfill the Alliance's mission in ensuring "their common defense and security". When NATO has put into practice this Strategic Concept, the Alliance will be more "effective in a changing world, against new threats, with new capabilities and new partners". This Concept reasserts the bond between NATO nations to defend one another against attack, and against new threats and "to keep the door to NATO open" to all European states "that meet the standards of membership", because enlargement contributes to the Alliance's "goal of a United Europe, free and at peace".

The Concept "commits the Alliance to prevent crises, manage conflicts and stabilize post-conflict situations" (including by working more closely with the United Nations, the European Union and the other NATO partners), and "to continuously reform towards a more effective, efficient and flexible Alliance", so that NATO citizens get the best security, "with the goal of setting the conditions for a world without nuclear weapons" (as long as there are nuclear weapons worldwide, NATO will remain a nuclear Alliance).

The Alliance offers its partners "more political engagement with the Alliance, and a substantial role in shaping the NATO-led operations". NATO's essential mission has always been the same, i.e., to ensure that the Alliance remains a unique Organization of freedom, peace, security and shared values.

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NATO's Lisbon Summit, held on November, 19-20, 2010, is obviously an historical event because in its framework was adopted and launched the New Strategic Concept of the North-Atlantic Organization so that the Alliance becomes more efficient, more involved in the relations with the international organizations and the partner states, more capable not only to fulfill its classical mission of collective defense, but also to successfully confront this century's new security threats and challenges. The New Strategic Concept was adopted because the former Concept had lasted since 1990 and was now obsolete and did not fully meet the new threats, as the ones represented by Al-Qaeda terrorist group, cyber attacks and piracy.

Among this Concept's objectives a very important one is to develop an efficient and effective anti-missile defense capability. The new document of the Alliance provides its commitment to develop new capabilities, new partnerships and to modernize its capacity regarding the accomplishment of collective defense foreign missions. One of the main partnerships, perhaps the most important NATO partnership, is the one developed with Russia.

In Lisbon, the North-Atlantic Alliance committed itself to leaving the door open for further adhesions of some European democratic countries and to reforming itself, and also to managing its financial resources more reasonably. The chiefs of state and governments of the 28 member states agreed to reduce certain Alliance structures and, firstly, some command centers, reinforced by NATO's adaptation to the challenges of the particularly fluid 21st century security environment. The downsizing, as a whole, of the military expenses in Europe will be 10-15% in the second decade of our century; annually, 210 billions Euro are spent in this field and about a quarter of this sum was allotted to investments, which means that, in conformity with the Strategic Concept, NATO "will do more things, with less expenditure".

In Lisbon, on November 19th, 2010, President Barack Obama stated the relation with the European allies and partners of the United States of America represents "a basic element of the American foreign policy" and even "the milestone of our global engagement, and a catalyst for global cooperation"¹. Therefore, the American president wished to emphasize the

¹ Marilena Georgescu, *Un summit istoric*, Observatorul militar, anul XX, nr. 47 (1080), din 24-30 noiembrie 2010, p. 2.

USA does not have such alignment of values, interests, capabilities and objectives with any other region besides Europe. Also, Obama underlined “on the basis of the wider economic relation worldwide, the transatlantic commerce sustains millions of jobs” not only in the USA, but also in Europe, this being the basis for the common efforts towards global economic revival. Furthermore, the high American official pointed out the Alliance will transform by the new “Strategic Concept recognizing the capabilities and partners needed to respond to the new threats of the 21st century”². He also declared the US will be continuously engaged in the fight to eliminate the nuclear weapons, but still added that as long as such type of weapons exists, the North-Atlantic Alliance will remain a nuclear organization.

In this respect, the US President has steady reasons of concern, because North Korea has developed a nuclear arsenal raising worries not only to South Korea, but also to Japan, a country feeling threatened by the Korean army’s experiments made in 1998, when it tested some medium range missiles, although the North Korean nuclear program had frozen in 1994, following an agreement signed with the American administration. North Korea has two types of missiles: No Dong, with 1,000 kilometers’ range, and Taepo Dong, with range about 2,000 kilometers.

North Korea does not want to give up the nuclear program in exchange of an economic aid recently promised by the United States of America; this raises serious obstacles in some states’ engagement to start the procedures in order to eliminate the nuclear weapons.

In 2009, the USA, Russia, China, Japan and South Korea conducted negotiations with Pheniang, but these did not go on not just because of the tests made with the North Korean missiles, but also because of the initiation of the program to enrich uranium for nuclear warheads. North Korea’s communist administration recently passed to threat and nuclear arming to preserve its power by all means³. Accordingly, Barack Obama declared the United States will defend South Korea against any aggression from North Korea, even against an unconventional one.

In an optimistic perspective, German Chancellor Angela Merkel declared the Lisbon Summit could constitute “a decisive step” for the Alliance’s relation with Russia and “could open a new chapter in the

² Ibidem.

³ Marilena Georgescu, *Conflict în Marea Galbenă*, Observatorul militar, anul XX, nr. 48 (1081), din 1-7 decembrie 2010, p. 14.

relations between the Cold War's former enemies". Also, the German Chancellor declared she supports the Russian President's proposal "for Moscow to deploy an anti-missile shield in Europe", to counteract some eventual attacks or threats by attacks from some states "considered, especially by the United States, as sustaining terrorism, as is Iran's case"⁴.

Therefore, Angela Merkel expressed her consent for this project and for Russia to be included in the Summit's discussions. So, the Russian President, Dmitri Medvedev, proposed a common Russia – NATO project for anti-missile defense (a Russia – NATO common anti-missile shield) starting at the end of October 2010, sustaining the NATO offer to Russia. Hence, Moscow promotes a policy meant to dissolve the division lines between Russia and NATO and to jointly develop a common space of security, based on mutual trust.

Consequently, upon the Lisbon Summit president Medvedev accepted Russia's participation in a NATO anti-missile system which will cost about 280 millions USD and will protect NATO's allies and the Eastern European states against a threat as the one of long range missiles Shahab 3 and Qiam 1, made in Iran.

Some NATO member states possess radar systems and interceptors able to shoot down short and medium range missiles. Now, NATO works on a program to interconnect all the allied states' systems to allow NATO to bring down any missile flying over any portion of the NATO space, using those national systems.

USA officials designed and revealed some plans to move on the European Union territory some elements of the long range American system on ships stationed on the Mediterranean Sea, then, in 2015, on Romania's and, in 2018, on Poland's territories. Missile ground systems will be soon deployed in Poland and Romania, followed by drones. In the distant future, in Europe will be deployed long range action systems to counteract the possible intercontinental missile which will be sustained by powerful radars.

In Afghanistan, NATO leads a transitional policy towards an Afghan takeover of the political-military power; this will allow in the future for the gradual withdrawal of the NATO-led coalition troops from this country. 48 nations are participating in the coalition, among them being the 28 NATO nations, as well as 40,000 militaries from the allied and partner countries. The American president expressed his high appreciation for the coalition

⁴ Ibidem.

militaries and partners' services and sacrifices, and stated the allies' common effort is necessary and essential in the fight to eliminate and annihilate the insurgent (terrorist) groups and in the efforts posed to improving the living standard of the Afghans. At the end of his Lisbon speech, Obama concluded: "Now, at last, there exist the strategy and resources needed to interrupt the Taliban permanence, to deprive the insurgencies of fortifications, to train many Afghan security forces and to support the Afghan people"⁵.

The North-Atlantic Alliance's main and unfading goal is to defend the liberty and security of all member states by political means, and also by military ones. Further, the Alliance remains a main and even essential source of stability and security in an unstable and unpredictable international environment.

The NATO member states represent together a unique community of fundamental values, respecting and defending individual freedom, human rights, democracy and rule of law principles, and are firmly committed to the common efforts to fulfill the UN Charter and Washington Treaty objectives and principles, providing the prevalence of the Security Council decisions as regards the Alliance's actions to maintain international peace and security.

The political and military relations between the European and North American states were strengthened within the North-Atlantic Treaty Organization immediately after NATO's creation, in 1949. The chiefs of states and governments of NATO nations also declared that the Trans-Atlantic relation will continue to be as strong and important as always for the Euro-Atlantic peace and security safeguarding and "we will continue to defend together on the basis of solidarity, the shared goal and equitable distribution of tasks". The political-military events after the end of World War II proved with sufficient arguments that NATO countries' security on both shores of the Atlantic is, indeed, indivisible.

The adoption of the NATO Strategic Concept represents a current political-military strategic event of utmost importance. For drafting the document important human and intellectual resources of NATO member states were gathered. The final draft of the concept's content has a generality note corresponding to the consensus principle and the document's

⁵ Marilena Georgescu, *Conflict în Marea Galbenă*, Observatorul militar, anul XX, nr. 48 (1081), din 1-7 decembrie 2010, p. 2.

unclassified character and requires complex analyses to set its provisions' implementation solutions. In our approach, we will try to present the basic principles underlying the Alliance's institutions and also of NATO member states' and partners' studies.

The Strategic Concept will surely determine notable transformations as regards the Alliance's defense and security approach, by an independent manner or one adopted in the theatres of operations, and also important reconsiderations from some states outside the Alliance, no matter their power or geographic location. Also, the Concept will influence the international global or regional security bodies such as the UN, EU and OSCE.

In the opinion of NATO's Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen, the increasing need of a new strategic concept, started from the obsolescence of the former document (dated 1999), appeared before events as 11 September 2001, the Afghanistan conflict, cyber attacks and piracy. Then NATO had only 16 members, and today has 28; moreover, the world has changed, threats have changed and also has the North-Atlantic Alliance. Therefore, the Secretary General of the Alliance declared "we need and will have a strategic concept to take into consideration the nowadays realities, and also the challenges of the future".

A thinktank of 12 was tasked to draft the new Concept; they worked in a transparent manner and were supported by the public opinion in the Alliance's member states. There were many consultations over "the subject" among the NATO member states' representatives. The thinktank submitted a report suggesting that the New Strategic Concept views at least a 10-year applicability period and a NATO transformation based on the lessons learned in Afghanistan, the end product being an organization with enhanced power and numerous partners.

Prior to adopting the New Strategic Concept, there were many debates, at different levels, among expert groups or political-military decision-makers, justified by the document's importance and complexity, and also by its adoption procedure on the consensus principle basis.

The Romanian decision-makers organized some work sessions to adopt a scientific and political-military point of view concerning this Strategic Concept. These work sessions were hosted by the National Defense College (8 October 2009), the National Ministry of Defense headquarters (19 October 2009), the Foreign Affairs Ministry (15 October 2009) and, finally, by the Parliament Palace (23 October 2009).

Based on the document elaborated by the group led by Madeleine Albright, the NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen issued the final version of the New NATO Strategic Concept which was further submitted for analysis and debate to the NATO 28 member states ambassadors, being analyzed by all the 56 Foreign and Defense Ministers upon a reunion organized in Bruxelles on 14 October 2010. The final draft was presented to the chiefs of states and governments participating in the NATO Lisbon Summit, between 19-20 November 2010.

In May 2010⁶, in Bucharest, NATO's Secretary General stated "My ambition is to reform the Alliance", an ambition transmitted to all the people involved in the drafting and adoption of the Strategic Concept, including the NATO member states. Everyone acted in order to offer original, useful and viable ideas to earn all members' interest and to grant the basis for the elements needed for compromise in order to build consensus over the final draft. We think that the will, as already stated, to adopt the document and the consensus principle application determined the formulations characterized by a certain degree of generality that, afterwards, allowed the identification and application of solutions for special, particular situations. The New Strategic Concept's value is obvious as a programmatic document where the objectives and positions sustained by the member states are synthesized and also because of the political message clarity of the allies from both sides of the Atlantic regarding the solidarity and common action strengthening. The 1999 Strategic Concept offered general instructions for the application and development of some detailed policies and military plans for military allied forces' missions and Alliance's force position and, also, characteristics of conventional and nuclear forces⁷.

In exchange, the 2010 Concept impresses by an emphasized policy of the Alliance which will continue to play its "unique and essential" role by "political and military means", firstly by non-violent actions, and this, in our opinion, gives the decision-makers the possibility to know better and to use, in the first instance, political means to eliminate the causes of terrorism in order to stop their attacks. The idea is not new: it comes from the Romans: "durante causa, durat effectus", Latin adagio meaning: as long as the cause lasts, its effect lasts as well. The chiefs of state and government of NATO nations expressed in Lisbon the will for NATO to remain "the essential

⁶http://www.adevarul.ro/interviurile_2_plus_1/Anders_Fogh_Rasmussen,,Invit_Rusia_sa_intre_in_lumea_reala-_0_256774807.html

⁷ Manualul NATO 2001 Office of Information and Press NATO – 1110 Brussels – Belgium, p.43.

source of stability”, the same “unparalleled community of freedom, peace, security and shared values”. Moreover, NATO will remain the unique Trans-Atlantic Organization for consultations on all the problems affecting its members’ territorial integrity, political independence and security, as provided by Article 4 of the 1949 Washington Treaty.

Within the NATO Strategic Concept – 2010 there are also some continuity elements from the 1999 variant, but this represents only the starting point; where necessary, nuances were added along with needed definitions.

In order to ensure their security, the Alliance members must and will continue to fulfill effectively three essential core tasks, all of which will contribute to safeguarding the Alliance members, in full accordance with the international law, i.e., 1) collective defense; 2) crisis management; 3) security by cooperation⁸.

In our opinion, the first task overlaps with the provisions of Article 5 of the Washington Treaty referring to the collective defense against any attack and should be called “collective defense and security” because the Alliance committed itself in Lisbon to take strong measures “to deter and defend against any threat with aggression and against any emerging security challenge jeopardizing the basic security of one or many of the allies or the Alliance as a whole”⁹. Consequently, the North-Atlantic Alliance remains the unique and essential transatlantic forum for consultations on all matters that affect the territorial integrity, political independence and security of its member states, as expressed in Article 4 of the Washington Treaty; any state can submit for discussion, within the Alliance’s framework, any security issue of interest, any information and can exchange concerns in order to build a common approach.

In this context, all the allied states should elaborate following the NATO Strategic Concept new provisions, their own official documents regarding their national security and defense and, mainly, their new national strategic concept for defense and security. Consequently, there is a need also for Romania to eliminate the conceptual confusion in the National Defense Strategy and the Defense Planning Law and to adopt urgently a New National Strategic Concept for Defense and Security. Also, we consider for

⁸ Mirela Atanasiu, Conceptul Strategic pentru Apărare și Securitate al statelor membre ale Organizației Tratatului Nord-Atlantic, adoptat de șefii de state și guverne la Lisabona, Impact Strategic Nr. 4/2010.

⁹ Idem.

the same reasons that "Carol I" National Defense University's name should be changed into "Carol I" National Defense and Security University.

As regards crisis management, we underline the Alliance owns an unique and strong range of political and military capabilities needed and sufficient in actions specific to every crisis (pre-conflict, during conflict and post-conflict). In this respect, NATO contributes to crisis management susceptible to jeopardize its security by active commitment to an adequate set of political and military instruments prior to those crises susceptible of affecting the Alliance's security, before they escalate into conflicts in order to stop them effectively if they compromise NATO's security and to strengthen the stability in the post-conflict period. But this peculiarly complex and difficult task as regards the consensus fulfillment needs more initiative from the members and more determination to settle the capabilities in an opportune and proper manner for every distinct situation, in order not to repeat the Iraq errors. Also, "... Persistent members of the US Congress, the media and non-government lobbying groups have, for the umpteenth time, dogged the US Secretary of Defense, ... for explanations of why they have gone to war, sustained casualties, maimed the enemy and, unfortunately, spawned collateral damage that hurt numerous Iraqi civilians and destroyed non-military facilities. Also, they have again been queried as to why the US military year after year costs so many billions of dollars, and where has that money been going? ... The questions were as follows: Why were US military personnel still being attacked and killed in Iraq? What was the sense of going to war in Iraq if there cannot be any WMD there?"¹⁰ This is the reason we consider in the crisis management performed in Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen, Bahrain, Iraq and Libya, the Alliance did not have proper mobilization and, consequently, the crisis could get out of control at any moment and unbalance the entire Middle East. Moreover, the series of revolutions and insurgencies bursting out for different reasons among them being dictatorship, corruption and poverty by all means trespassed the Mediterranean and reached Albania, and there is uncertainty over the future developments and outcome of these crises. We are sure they have common features and also specific traits, particular for every country, as regards the means of action of the ragged masses and the governance's reaction manner.

¹⁰ Eugen BĂDĂLAN, Floriean TUCĂ, Eugen SITEANU, **Patrie, Oștire, Eroism – cuvinte de învățătură**, Culegere de texte românești și străine, Editura Academiei Oamenilor de Știință din România, București, 2010, p. 166 (apud: Marvin LEIBSTONE, "Information Gap" – US Congress & the US Military, Military Technology, Vol. XXVII, Issue 7/2003, p. 5).

The third main and essential task, i.e., security by cooperation, is not new but is emphasized by the political-military and security evolutions taking place outside the Alliance's territory. Therefore, NATO will take active measures to strengthen the international security into a partnership framework with partner states and international organizations for weapons' control, nonproliferation and disarming, and also for the preservation of the "open door policy" for all the European democracies expressing their will to become members of the North-Atlantic Treaty Organization and gathering the Alliance's norms.

In order to fulfill all the missions into a more effective and efficient manner, NATO members engaged, at Lisbon, into a continuous process of Alliance reform, modernization and transformation initiated long before the November 2010 Summit.

If, at the end of 2010, the threat of a conventional attack against the NATO territory was low, today, after the Tunisia, Egypt, Syria, Algeria, Yemen and Libya crises, the situation has changed; for the future a new security environment assessment is needed. We estimate that in 2011 the conventional threat in the vicinity of the NATO territory, especially in the southern part, can have consequences hard to predict for the Euro-Atlantic security.

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