

Euro-Atlantic Council of Macedonia



The Global Guardian

Analysis and positions on the new NATO Strategic Concept



supported by



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Analysis and positions on the new NATO Strategic Concept

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Foreword

In the past year after the last NATO Summit in Strasbourg-Kehl in April 2009, we witnessed an intensive global security debate for the New NATO Strategic Concept. At the Summit, the Alliance created working group of experts, the so-called Group of Wise Men led by the former United States Secretary of State Madeleine Albright. The Group had very difficult task to organize global public debate for the future of the Alliance and to submit a report with its views on the numerous political and security aspects that affect NATO in the challenges of the new times.

The debate for the Strategic Concept is one of the most transparent debates led for any process in the last years. It was a debate which included the NATO member countries, the partner countries, politicians, military headquarters, experts, the civil society, various think-tank organizations, as well as every citizen thanks to the openness of the Alliance, especially through the Internet and the social media for communication.

The analysis and the positions for the New NATO Strategic Concept, which will be adopted at the Alliance Lisbon Summit in November 2010 is a document of the Euro-Atlantic Council of Macedonia (EACM) which originates as a result of the activities that the Euro-Atlantic Council of Macedonia took in the past period in the work with the public on the issues of NATO, the New Strategic Concept, security and the international relations.

In the dynamic world in which we live, the security environment and the relations among the countries are in constant change. The threats and the challenges transform, and the requests and the interests of the countries change on a global level. Therefore, we need a strongly built consciousness for the society which we live in, and moreover, we need strong and unwavering leadership which will face the challenges of the 21st century. That is why the EACM in its work is devoted to develop a strategic debate for the key issues of the international security that define the interests and the relations of the world we live in.

On the occasion, we thank the Royal Norwegian Embassy to Macedonia for their support to the development of this document.



New Vision of NATO

“We have to show that our values are not Western, still less American or Anglo-Saxon, but values in the common ownership of humanity, universal values that should be the right of the global citizen”

Tony Blair

Twenty years have passed since the end of the Cold War and the democratic revolution of Eastern Europe. We live in the era of globalization and the new technologies that give fully different nature to the security. NATO, the largest security alliance in the human history, based on the Washington Treaty and the UN Charter of Human Rights not only did stand the test of time, but has also demonstrated a capacity for change, which today confirms its relevancy. Today, it is not just a key security forum which protects the citizens of the allied nations from North America and Europe, their institutions and common values in the euro-atlantic area. NATO today is a security organization which by political and military means promotes peace, stability and security in a global context.

We live in a world of rapid changes and that sets the issue of security on a higher priority. The asymmetrical threats – the global terrorism, weapons of mass destruction, cyber war and the energy security in the “global village” are threats that need to be approached in a comprehensive and precise manner since the failure can have limitless consequences. Today, only NATO as an international security organization can try to respond to this global security challenges.

In the decade of the new millennium NATO did that all over the world. With the military intervention in Afghanistan and the dismantle of the felonious regime of the Taliban, in Iraq, the Mediterranean Sea, in Darfur, in Pakistan, in the United States, in the Gulf of Aden. NATO did it in different ways, from military intervention through training, antipiracy activities, crisis management in natural disasters.

Therefore, if in the 1990s, the out-of-area issue dominated the debate and thus in that period the Alliance was searching for its new identity, this decade the dominating missions were the missions out-of-area, the nature of the future will not be national, nor regional. Neither incidental. It will be global and NATO needs to adapt to the reality that comes with all of its complexities so that it can answer to the challenges if it wants to be relevant.

Thus, the level of ambition for the New Strategic Concept which will be soon adopted in Lisbon, is about the issue what kind of NATO does the world need in 2020 and beyond. That ambition is still less an issue of desire than a real category and it depends on the overall security challenges in the world that lives in the so-called “global village”. So that NATO can resist, deter and be successful towards that permanent and growing security pressure, it needs new shape, new energy and new vision.

What were the individual missions and activities in this decade, now, with the New Strategic Concept needs to be turned into a concept. That is the road on which NATO has already started to walk in the new millennium. There is no other option, besides NATO becoming an organization into a global context. NATO 2020 for which the Strategic Concept 2010 pertains - needs to be globalized.

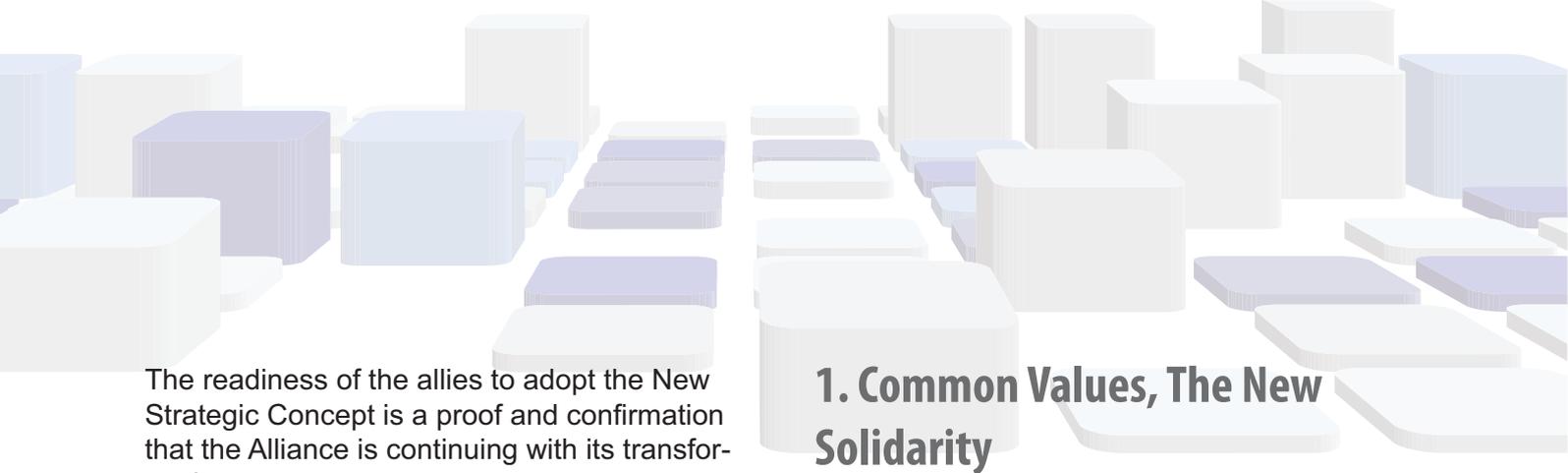
In order to resist, deter and be successful towards that permanent and growing security pressure, NATO needs new shape, new energy and new vision.

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Why New Strategic Concept?

NATO is one of the most dynamic international organizations that made the largest changes in the last twenty years since the end of the Cold War.



The readiness of the allies to adopt the New Strategic Concept is a proof and confirmation that the Alliance is continuing with its transformation.

The New Strategic Concept needs first to reaffirm the basic values of solidarity, democracy, freedom, collective security. NATO remains the only forum where North America and Europe have the possibility every day to discuss the security issues that pertain to us all and how to handle them together. But, the security environment has changed – from 16 in 1991, the Alliance has expanded for 12 members from Eastern Europe and now has 28 countries members, the world lives in the post 9/11 era, Afghanistan is a big operation that NATO has taken since 2002 and still lasts. NATO assisted in earthquakes and floods, in piracy actions, in genocides and ethnic cleansing, and most of the efforts NATO spent on the fight against terror.

With the New Strategic Concept the allies will need to confirm the North American-European strategic partnership and the organization as a whole. NSC is necessary for USA to once again try and gain a serious military partner in Europe. For Europe the NSC is needed to get a new confirmation for its security, as well as time to build its capacities, for which it has no clearly defined united political vision, will and goal.

Therefore, this Document needs once again to define the frames of the transatlantic link, as the basic nucleus of the Alliance, but this time set in a global context, with the obligations and the responsibilities for each member. In short, the New Strategic Concept needs to identify the processes which will offer a new concept to the Alliance with which it will be relevant and dominant for the decades to come. The processes which we have identified in this work, we consider them crucial for the globalized NATO, a projection which with the years will be upgraded.

1. Common Values, The New Solidarity

The New Strategic Concept needs to be first and foremost a confirmation of the common values and of the Washington Treaty itself, but in a new, universal form which will reenergize the principles of the Alliance. Today, the Atlantic values are universal for the humankind and it is another additional responsibility but as well as encouragement for the Atlantic family.

The New Solidarity is a *new agreement* between the allies which underscores that they will jointly recognize the security realities and challenges as well as the necessities for the future transformation of the Alliance and accept to take the responsibility and share the burden. It is a condition sine qua non, the new consensus.

2. Transformation of the Alliance

The growing dynamic changes in the security environment have led NATO to speed its military transformation and take decisive steps in order to protect its citizens. The transformation is a never-ending process, but there is a need of clear steps which the process will be identified for the future. The New Strategic Concept needs to give the roadmap for that.

If the allies want an Alliance that will respond and affect the changes in the 21st century, there is a need for a political and military reform.

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3. Military Capabilities

NATO must develop contemporary and effective military capabilities for accomplishing the basic mission of the collective defence. The military capacities need to be modernized and be functional, which means above all, expeditionary oriented. Therefore, there is a need for strengthening the allied force protection systems.

The New Strategic Concept needs to direct the allies to develop forces which are mobile, which can be deployed and act wherever they are sent. The investment in static armies needs to end.

The nuclear defence, due to the present nuclear risk, needs to be maintained.

The new military transformation entails:

- *Building modern military capabilities* – The modern threats that use the new technology ask for rapid adjustment of the overall spectrum of the forces and the means for deterring on land, water and air, including the cyber threats and the securing of the energy lines. The future will soon bring the space component.

- *Functionality of the deployment criteria* – NATO with the new agreement needs to revise and enforce again the criteria for forces deployment. In conditions of limited resources, the functionality of the forces entails their adequate training, equipment and deployment.

- *Defence budget* – Appropriate budget defence share of minimum 2% of the GDP, joined by reform for effective use and purpose of the means

- *Reform of the main military headquarters and decrease and grouping of the number of committees.*

- *Rapid NATO Forces* – The capacity of building Rapid NATO Force is one of the priorities in the future military transformation. The present concept of the NATO Response Force (NRF) has shown to be over dimensioned and it needs to be revised to 6-8000 forces which can act and intervene at any given strategic time and distance.

- *Missile Defence* – The proposed missile shield in Eastern Europe is of strategic importance for the security of the Atlantic world. The building of this key capacity should not be delayed any more. Regarding Russia's scepticism on the project - not only that it is not a danger for Russia, but with its participation in the project, it can be upgraded and be more effective which is an essential benefit for the security of the citizens of all included sides.

- *Withdrawing the national caveats from the military zones* – It will increase the efficiency of the operations in theatre, something that the NATO commanders have been asking for a longer period.

- *Joint initiatives and investments* – The joint investments impose themselves as a reasonable solution for the growing need for specific investments in the different aspects of the modern highly technological defence and armament.

- *Developing civil-military capacities* - There is a need for integrated approach of the military and civilian capacities. Afghanistan has shown in the praxis that even the most effective military capacities need civilian support.

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4. Political reform

The new world reality of rapid changes, but as well as the enlargement of the Alliance to 28 member countries and the numerous partners from the different initiatives lead to internal administrative political reforms. NATO while harder in the field, must become more effective in and lighter in bureaucratic aspect.



There is a need for a more streamlined process of decision making, to decrease the procedures and reconsider the present process of consensus decision making on every level and for all issues. NATO needs greater dynamics.

The new projection for NATO will be more demanding for the Secretary General as the central figure of the Alliance. In order to be able to respond to this, the allies will need to agree to strengthen his role in the organization and in the public world stage. We should bear in mind that we are speaking about an organization, not a country, which can be an advantage in different negotiation processes which is accepted in different manner by all participants in the international system.

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In that direction, there should be improvement and adjustment of the image and the communication of NATO so that it can respond to the challenge as a globalized organization.

5. Partnerships of the Alliance

NATO has opened a great historic page with the policy of partnerships that have a common civilization goal in order to build the peace and stability in the world. NATO today admits that it can not act alone, especially in today's world of growing security challenges, asymmetrical and unconventional threats which can easily surpass borders. Therefore, for NATO 2020, the New Strategic Concept needs to give clear directions for the partnerships that the Alliance should introduce and therefore acquire a different dimension and a new image.

6. Europe – whole and free

The Policy of the Enlargement of the Alliance is of strategic interest in order to spread the zone of peace and security.

The NATO enlargement process with new members is guaranteed in article 10 of the North Atlantic Treaty and is in its after-Cold-war period nature.

The process of enlargement needs to continue promptly, since it is a key element in fulfilling the idea for Europe – whole, free and at peace.

This underscores that Europe should be completed by 2020 which is of strategic security importance. The membership process needs to be revised regarding the fact that today it is well-known to all the partner countries which was not a case 15 years ago when it was introduced.

Additionally, the contribution of the European partners to the global and regional security is significant.

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7. Russia

Strengthening and stabilization of the partnership with Russia is unavoidable for the new NATO. The size and nature of the security challenges simply develops this partnership. Russia is the only country in the Atlantic world that can significantly fill the growing need and the gap created by the European allies in the most vital areas of hard power of the Alliance. The forms of strategic cooperation, some of which have commenced, are numerous: the peace operations, the fight against terrorism, Afghanistan, the fight on proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, the missile defence, maritime exercises and the like. Additionally, its size and position have big geostrategic importance.

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Due to higher abovementioned causes, NATO needs to enter in this strategic arrangement, nevertheless the weaknesses of the Russian democracy and the concerns of its immediate neighbours, countries members and partners of the Alliance.

8. The Arab world

The Arab world which lies on the line of North Africa, the Middle East and the Arabic Peninsula is the Atlantic immediate neighbour. It is a region which is in an intensive development, but it is also a region with numerous security and democratic challenges.

Strategic interest of the Atlantic world is to have peaceful and secure neighbourhood. Therefore, there have been several initiatives in the past such as the Mediterranean Dialogue and the Istanbul Cooperation Initiative. This multiyear cooperation needs new shape and new impulse. The next ten and more years need to be years where will be build strong institutional bonds between the Atlantic and the Arab world. For beginning there should be a creation of NATO-Arab Council. The security sector reform is a field which can be of mutual interest.

In the next decades, there should be the big rapprochement between the Atlantic and the Arab world, and it firstly depends on the Atlantic world.

The next ten and more years need to be years where will be build strong institutional bonds between the Atlantic and the Arab world. For beginning there should be a creation of NATO-Arab Council.

9. New energy with the UN and other International Organizations

NATO needs to enter a new phase of cooperation with the World organization. The organizations founded on common values in the new era are even more devoted to each other. It needs to be proved. As the only international military alliance it is needed to the United Nations so that it can help in their basic mission for peacekeeping and spreading the world peace and security.



In case of drastic mass violation of the human rights, ethnical and religious cleansing and genocides, NATO should put the NRF in purpose of the UN.

Afghanistan is a good lesson that today it is not enough to gain the war, but to win the peace. In order to win peace, development should be provided. In order to succeed, the key is in the comprehensive approach. On an international level, there should be an improvement of the cooperation among UN, EU, OSCE, NATO and their different agencies. In certain areas, protocols should be introduced.

NATO needs to support the development of the African Union.

In case of drastic mass violation of the human rights, ethnical and religious cleansing and genocides, NATO should put the NRF in purpose of the UN.

10. EAPC and the Global Partnerships

NATO needs to continue with the cooperation with the partners from the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council and the so-called Global Partnerships with the countries with which it shares the common values.

11. The New Strategic Concept and Macedonia

The Republic of Macedonia in 2008 fulfilled the basic criteria for NATO membership, as an organization based on performance-based criteria, but there has not been such a membership due to political reasons. This precedent in the NATO history should certainly be a lesson learned with the enlargements that are in front of the Alliance towards East.

Macedonia is contributing with more than 4 % of its land forces in the missions and thereby it shows that understands the new rules and obligations that the Alliance membership brings.

With the contribution to the global and the regional security, Macedonia has shown that it is a good NATO partner, that it has a capacity to use the benefits, but as well as to share the burden and the obligations that stem from the NATO membership sharing the same values with the euro-atlantic family.

The Strategic Concept 2010 will be important for Macedonia as a direction for the further defence transformation, the new capacities that should be developed, the force structure, equipment and the type of missions for which the armed forces should be prepared.

12. Conclusion - Globalized NATO

In the dynamic world in which we live today the Alliance has shown as the only effective tool which represents a guardian of the peace and security in the world.

After the Cold War NATO several times intervened out of its traditional area, assisted in helping and overcoming of many military conflicts of different nature, saved many human lives, and thereby showed its capability.

In order to continue to be effective security organization in the 21st century, NATO today, as its visionary ancestors 60 years ago, needs to adopt a new Concept.

There is a need for the New Solidarity, larger investment in the defence budget and developing a modern army, more effective use of the process of political consultations and bigger flexibility of the allies in the use of the consensus as a tool for decision – making.

The new alliances, partnerships and the world cooperation will only confirm that globalized concept.

Identification of the key processes that need to be implemented for Globalized NATO



The great debate among the allies in the 1990s for out-of-area issue at the end has not been answered at the political forums, but under the pressure of the reality which painfully rose on September 11 2001 and showed us the way.

With similar analogy and as a lesson learned, the vision for the globalized NATO is not an issue of whether but how much, and it also is not dependent on the wishes, likes nor the prejudices, but it is firmly founded in the necessity to provide peace, security and development of the humanity in the globalized world of the 21st century.

To complete that, NATO need not be the “world policeman”, but the guardian of the civilization values and benefits for the humanity.

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The North Atlantic Treaty

Washington D.C. 4 April 1949

The North Atlantic Treaty

The Parties to this Treaty reaffirm their faith in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and their desire to live in peace with all peoples and all governments. They are determined to safeguard the freedom, common heritage and civilization of their peoples, founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law. They seek to promote stability and well-being in the North Atlantic area. They are resolved to unite their efforts for collective defence and for the preservation of peace and security. They therefore agree to this North Atlantic Treaty:

Article 1

The Parties undertake, as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations, to settle any international dispute in which they may be involved by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered, and to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.

Article 2

The Parties will contribute toward the further development of peaceful and friendly international relations by strengthening their free institutions, by bringing about a better understanding of the principles upon which these institutions are founded, and by promoting conditions of stability and well-being. They will seek to eliminate conflict in their international economic policies and will encourage economic collaboration between any or all of them.

Article 3

In order more effectively to achieve the objectives of this Treaty, the Parties, separately and jointly, by means of continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid, will maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack.

Article 4

The Parties will consult together whenever, in the opinion of any of them, the territorial integrity, political independence or security of any of the Parties is threatened.

Article 5

The Parties agree that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all and consequently they agree that, if such an armed attack occurs, each of them, in exercise of the right of individual or collective self-defence recognized by Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, will assist the Party or Parties so attacked by taking forthwith, individually and in concert with the other Parties, such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area.

Any such armed attack and all measures taken as a result thereof shall immediately be reported to the Security Council. Such measures shall be terminated when the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to restore and maintain international peace and security .

Article 6¹

For the purpose of Article 5, an armed attack on one or more of the Parties is deemed to include an armed attack:

- on the territory of any of the Parties in Europe or North America, on the Algerian Departments of France², on the territory of or on the Islands under the jurisdiction of any of the Parties in the North Atlantic area north of the Tropic of Cancer;
- on the forces, vessels, or aircraft of any of the Parties, when in or over these territories or any other area in Europe in which occupation forces of any of the Parties were stationed on the date when the Treaty entered into force or the Mediterranean Sea or the North Atlantic area north of the Tropic of Cancer.

Article 7

This Treaty does not affect, and shall not be interpreted as affecting in any way the rights and obligations under the Charter of the Parties which are members of the United Nations, or the primary responsibility of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Article 8

Each Party declares that none of the international engagements now in force between it and any other of the Parties or any third State is in conflict with the provisions of this Treaty, and undertakes not to enter into any international engagement in conflict with this Treaty.

Article 9

The Parties hereby establish a Council, on which each of them shall be represented, to consider matters concerning the implementation of this Treaty. The Council shall be so organized as to be able to meet promptly at any time. The Council shall set up such subsidiary bodies as may be necessary; in particular it shall establish immediately a defence committee which shall recommend measures for the implementation of Articles 3 and 5.

Article 10

The Parties may, by unanimous agreement, invite any other European State in a position to further the principles of this Treaty and to contribute to the security of the North Atlantic area to accede to this Treaty. Any State so invited may become a Party to the Treaty by depositing its instrument of accession with the Government of the United States of America. The Government of the United States of America will inform each of the Parties of the deposit of each such instrument of accession.

Article 11

This Treaty shall be ratified and its provisions carried out by the Parties in accordance with their respective constitutional processes. The instruments of ratification shall be deposited as soon as possible with the Government of the United States of America, which will notify all the other signatories of each deposit.

¹ The definition of the territories to which Article 5 applies was revised by Article 2 of the Protocol to the North Atlantic Treaty on the accession of Greece and Turkey signed on 22 October 1951.

² On January 16, 1963, the North Atlantic Council noted that insofar as the former Algerian Departments of France were concerned, the relevant clauses of this Treaty had become inapplicable as from July 3, 1962.

The Treaty shall enter into force between the States which have ratified it as soon as the ratifications of the majority of the signatories, including the ratifications of Belgium, Canada, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and the United States, have been deposited and shall come into effect with respect to other States on the date of the deposit of their ratifications³.

Article 12

After the Treaty has been in force for ten years, or at any time thereafter, the Parties shall, if any of them so requests, consult together for the purpose of reviewing the Treaty, having regard for the factors then affecting peace and security in the North Atlantic area, including the development of universal as well as regional arrangements under the Charter of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Article 13

After the Treaty has been in force for twenty years, any Party may cease to be a Party one year after its notice of denunciation has been given to the Government of the United States of America, which will inform the Governments of the other Parties of the deposit of each notice of denunciation.

Article 14

This Treaty, of which the English and French texts are equally authentic, shall be deposited in the archives of the Government of the United States of America. Duly certified copies will be transmitted by that Government to the Governments of other signatories.

³ The Treaty came into force on 24 August 1949, after the deposition of the ratifications of all signatory states.



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