

PERCEPTIONS
JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

March - May 1999 Volume IV - Number 1

NATO IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY JAVIER SOLANA

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INTRODUCTION: EXPLAINING NATO'S SUCCESS

The Atlantic Alliance is one of the longest-lasting alliances in history. For 40 years this transatlantic organisation weathered the rough waters of Europe's Cold War division. After the East-West conflict had come to an end, it set out to build a new security architecture for an undivided Europe. The continent-wide network of partnership and co-operation, the accession of new members, the new relationship with Russia and Ukraine, and not least NATO's key role in the Balkans, all testify to NATO's unique ability to shape the strategic environment. Today, as we celebrate our fiftieth anniversary, we can proudly say that the signing of the Washington Treaty in 1949 by far-sighted European and North American statesmen ranks among the finest hours of our history. The reasons for NATO's success are manifold. But fundamentally they lie in the fact that NATO is not an alliance in the traditional sense. Unlike past alliances, which came together as temporary coalitions of convenience, NATO is permanent. Although the Washington Treaty was initially conceived as a short-term measure to inject self-confidence into a weak and fragmented post-war Europe, the notion of creating a lasting bond between North America and Europe was clearly present at the creation of the Alliance. Since then, the transatlantic relations cemented in NATO have grown in depth and intensity. Today, they have led to a true transatlantic community of values and interests that extends into political, economic, social and cultural areas.

THE NEW SECURITY AGENDA NATO's fiftieth anniversary gives us every reason to be proud of our achievements. Yet pride must not be mistaken for complacency. The project of managing security is far from over. The end of the twentieth century still leaves us with much unfinished business: Europe's integration must widen and deepen; long-term peace must be established in the Balkans, Russia must settle herself within the new emerging structures; a new, more mature transatlantic relationship must be built. Without the successful accomplishment of these tasks, the challenges of the approaching twenty-first century would quickly overtax our ability to manage. And, as it is becoming increasingly clear, there will be no shortage of challenges that can affect the peace and stability of the Euro-Atlantic region.

- **Globalisation** We can safely say that the trend towards globalisation will accelerate further. Our societies will become more transparent, more open, more creative. Yet globalisation will also cause problems of an entirely new nature. As our societies and economies become more complex, they also become more vulnerable. We have already seen the cumulative effect of international financial transactions—transmitted at lightning speed—on the economies of many countries.
- **Proliferation** The rapid dissemination of technology and information offers entirely new ways of production; but can bring also the danger of more states developing weapons of mass destruction. Moreover, while nuclear weapons remain difficult to acquire, this is not the case for biological and chemical weapons. Although their military value is often questioned, ruthless regimes have demonstrated their willingness to use them. Furthermore, their easy availability will also increase the potential damage caused by non-state actors, such as terrorist groups. It is thus no exaggeration to state that the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction will be one of the greatest security challenges of the

next century and one that can directly affect the security of the Allies. • Regional Conflicts The twenty-first century will also confront us with more traditional challenges that, unfortunately, have not disappeared with the end of the Cold War: regional conflicts. In Eastern Europe, these conflicts are, to a large extent, the result of lack of democracy, human rights and economic opportunities. Yet others are caused by the daunting challenges of transition into modern, self-confident states and societies. Furthermore, the violent disintegration of Yugoslavia makes clear that Europe has not yet found its final shape. • Resources and Migration The increasing competition for resources will also be a major characteristic of the twenty-first century. With regard to traditional fossil energy such as oil and gas, large cross-border projects such as pipelines will acquire increasing economic—and thus political—significance. The most sought-after resource of the next century, however, might well be water. Projects such as dams or the re-direction of rivers will thus have major economic and political ramifications, far beyond the country that initiates such projects. Finally, an economic downswing in some countries or an entire region, an environmental disaster of the Chernobyl type, or a regional conflict could contribute to turning migration into an entirely new challenge.

THE RESPONSE: NEW NATO FOR THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY These diverse challenges require diverse instruments and approaches. NATO's unique combination of political will and military competence, built around a strong transatlantic link, gives it a special role both as a distinct security actor and as a catalyst for wider international action. For NATO, celebrating its fiftieth anniversary is, thus, more than looking back at past achievements. It must get ready for the challenges of the next century. NATO's evolution throughout the 1990s laid the groundwork for this transformation. At the Washington Summit, the NATO of the twenty-first century will take shape.

COLLECTIVE DEFENCE The commitment to collective defence remains the linchpin of the NATO of the twenty-first century. The end of the Cold War fundamentally improved the security of all NATO allies, but there are still security challenges at our doorstep. To be able to respond to them, the NATO of the twenty-first century has adjusted its forces to be more flexible and more mobile. But the Article 5* commitment remains—as insurance against unexpected downturns in international relations, and as the ultimate expression of nations tied together in a common security space.

NEW MEMBERS The NATO of the twenty-first century will be a larger NATO. The admission of the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland finally does away with the remnants of Europe's Cold War division. It represents a fresh start for a new, re-shaped Europe and a strategic gain for the entire Atlantic community. With three new Allies, NATO's ability to shape the wider strategic environment will be even greater. The enlargement process, however, must not end after the first three new members have joined the Alliance. Other nations will continue to state their case for membership, pointing to their successful political and military reforms, their progress in establishing good relations with their neighbours and their commitment to Atlantic values. We have made it clear that these first new members will not be the last.

PARTNERSHIP AND CO-OPERATION The NATO of the twenty-first century will be a more open NATO. Partnership and co-operation will have become a firmly embedded feature of NATO's structures, providing us with new political and military options for crisis management. Our program, Partnership for Peace, NATO's flagship of co-operation, will broaden in scope to cover the full spectrum of peace support operations, building on the lessons of our operation in Bosnia. We will also explore further the possibilities of preventive military deployments to stop the spill over of regional conflicts—a new approach that NATO has already put in place during the Kosovo crisis. The Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council, which brings the representatives of 44 countries around the NATO table, will acquire a regional dimension for security co-operation.

NATO-RUSSIA RELATIONS The quality of European security in the years ahead will be determined also by the way Russia settles herself within the new Europe. Accordingly, NATO has consistently sought to engage Russia constructively in the creation of a new security

order in Europe. The NATO of the twenty-first century will be an Alliance where this relationship with Russia is no longer an experiment, but a permanent feature. The new political relationship between NATO and Russia has already cleared the way for a closer military relationship. The superb co-operation we have achieved in Bosnia can be extended across the full spectrum of security-related issues. Such strong co-operation in the military field will help dispel whatever residual misconceptions exist between NATO and Russia. It will contribute to making NATO-Russia relations a strong element in the emerging new architecture.

A DISTINCT RELATIONSHIP WITH UKRAINE The emergence of new democratic states is a feature of the new security order. Their ability to survive and flourish as independent states is a key test for all of the institutions and individual nations alike. In this sense, Ukraine occupies a crucial place in Europe. An independent, stable and democratic Ukraine is of strategic importance for the development of Europe as a whole. That is why NATO and Ukraine have developed a distinct relationship, covering a wide range of security-related co-operation. Priority areas for NATO-Ukraine co-operation include co-operation in peacekeeping, including joint training, logistics and education, seminars and exchanges of experts. NATO will also seek to assist Ukraine in the challenge of defence reform. In sum, a distinct relationship with NATO will help Ukraine to gain its rightful place as a confident nation and reliable partner.

NATO'S MEDITERRANEAN DIMENSION The NATO of the twenty-first century will also have a more distinct Mediterranean focus, underscoring the fundamental truth that security in the Mediterranean cannot be separated from European security at large. For this reason, the Alliance has been forging closer ties with countries of the Southern Mediterranean and Middle East—Morocco, Tunisia, Mauritania, Egypt, Israel and Jordan. The main aim of our policy is to dispel some of the damaging misperceptions and apprehensions that exist on both sides of the Mediterranean shore. Clearly, the problems of the Mediterranean are unique and we cannot apply our co-operative approach towards Europe's east wholesale to that region. Yet NATO's institutionalised dialogue with non-NATO countries in the Mediterranean underlines that we believe it is possible to create good, strong and friendly relations across the Mediterranean just as we have done across Europe.

A EUROPEAN SECURITY AND DEFENCE IDENTITY The NATO of the twenty-first century will also be an Alliance with a stronger European personality. New arrangements to support European-led operations will create new political and military options. The development of a European Security and Defence Identity within NATO not only reflects an awareness that, for the foreseeable future, robust European military operations will remain dependent on material support by the United States. It also ensures that other strategic partners—like Canada, Norway and Turkey—remain involved in the process by helping to support it. This more flexible NATO would allow Europe to make progress in deepening its integration without being caught in a painful split between political ambitions and limited military means. With the European Allies better capable of coherent military action, the stage is set for a more mature transatlantic relationship, where roles and responsibilities are shared more equitably.

MILITARY COMPETENCE The military structure and force posture of the future NATO will also reflect this new flexibility and openness: a force posture geared increasingly towards crisis management; a defence planning and procurement process that increasingly reflects the new missions; and growing Partner involvement. These structural changes will not detract from NATO's core function of collective defence. Rather, they will augment these capabilities with additional military options. Like the NATO of the past, the NATO of the future will rest on military competence and on the ability to react quickly to rapidly shifting situations. To this end, a defence capabilities initiative, to be launched at the Washington Summit, will help improve interoperability and sustainability among Alliance forces. We will also step up our efforts to respond to the challenge of proliferation. As weapons of mass destruction (WMD) can pose a risk not only to our national territories, but also to our troops which may be involved in peacekeeping missions,

NATO will not only be sharing information among Allies on the WMD problem, but could also co-ordinate Alliance support for non-proliferation efforts. **INSTITUTIONAL CO-OPERATION** In line with a wider definition of security, the NATO of the twenty-first century will co-operate even more closely with other institutions. As the conflict in Bosnia has demonstrated, the United Nations will continue to rely on the support of a strong NATO when it comes to managing crises in Europe. In a similar vein, the Kosovo crisis acted as a catalyst for the development of NATO-OSCE relations. And an ever-closer relationship between NATO and the WEU provides the basis for a true European Security and Defence Identity that takes into account the interest of all Allies.

TURKEY'S ROLE NATO's evolution from a mainly passive, defence-oriented Alliance into a strategic instrument of managing change, rests on the fundamental premise that we can shape events instead of remaining hostage to them. Security is a broad, pro-active concept. To achieve lasting security, one must move from safeguarding it to actively promoting it. Turkey, as an active and valued member of the Alliance, has contributed significantly to this shaping of our common security. Its proximity to the Balkans, the Caucasus, Central Asia, the Middle East and the Mediterranean puts Turkey in the epicentre of change. As a secular Islamic democracy and a staunch NATO ally, Turkey has never had a greater opportunity to play a bridge-building role in a region of considerable geopolitical complexity. It is this new role of Turkey that makes this country a major asset in NATO's new co-operative approach to security. As a country with unique historical and cultural links and as a promoter of regional co-operation, Turkey actively contributes to NATO's collective defence as well as to its new missions in crisis management and peace support. And, in contributing significantly to the Alliance's outreach and co-operative activities with non-NATO countries, Turkey has a particular importance in developing the new co-operative security architecture in Europe.

CONCLUSION Barely three days after the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty in April of 1949, the famous American commentator, Walter Lippman, wrote the following assessment: "The pact will be remembered long after the conditions that have provoked it are no longer the main business of mankind. For the treaty recognises and proclaims a community of interest which is much older than the conflict with the Soviet Union, and come what may, will survive it." These were prophetic words. At the end of the twentieth century, Europe and North America have emerged as the strongest combination of like-minded democracies, and the most successful example of a community of shared values, interests and of pragmatic problem-solving. North America and Europe feature the most dynamic societies and the ones most open to change and innovation. If these two entities co-ordinate their policies, there is hardly any challenge they could not overcome. Together, these two major strategic actors provide the essential ingredients for a successful security policy: a strong commitment to democratic values, a penchant for economic innovation and competition coupled with generosity towards less fortunate neighbours, and effective military tools to cope with new challenges. This combination will be able to tackle an ever-growing transatlantic agenda: helping establish a democratic and prosperous Eastern Europe, supporting Russia's democratic transformation, preventing and managing regional conflicts, establishing open markets world-wide, and protecting the environment. NATO will remain at the core of this community. The Alliance has steered us safely through the Cold War, successfully managed the transition afterward and now is a central institution in addressing the challenges of today. NATO's positive influence is greater than it has ever been. Turkey has played a full part in getting the Alliance to where we stand today. It will play an equally important part in getting us where we want to go: towards a twenty-first century that is more stable and secure than the century we soon will be leaving behind. *Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty reads as follows: 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 recognised 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 to necessary restore and maintain international peace and security.
