



**NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANISATION
SUPREME ALLIED COMMANDER TRANSFORMATION**

REMARKS to the NATIONAL DEFENCE UNIVERSITY

CAROL I of ROMANIA

Général d'armée aérienne Paloméros

Supreme Allied Commander Transformation

BUCHAREST, 31 Octobre 2014

General Stephan Danila,

General Moisescu,

Ladies and gentlemen, generals, admirals, officers

I am really delighted to have the opportunity meet with officers representing the future of NATO. You are one of the most important investments Romania can make in the education and teaching of an emerging generation of military and civilian leaders. In fact, I know that it is a standing tradition of this school, which was founded in 1889 and became the sixth staff school in Europe, successfully providing high quality officers, able to perfectly collaborate with other Allies.

It is also a personal honour to intervene in a school founded by general Stefan Falcoianu, who had very strong ties with France, having studied both in the Imperial Military School of Saint-Cyr and the Polytechnic School of Paris, between 1860 and 1864. The ties between Romania and France are long enduring and friendly.





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It is above all a real opportunity for a Strategic commander to reaffirm the Alliance's resolve to support its Eastern Allies, to support Romania and many other Allies, in time when ambiguity and development of hybrid threats is increasing on the flanks of the Alliance, and certainly in the East and South-East. I acknowledge the full commitment of your Nation to address these emerging challenges, with a particular effort, as stated in your White Paper, to enhance Romanian Forces at appropriate readiness levels and the development of Romanian air Defence with a great modernization. In a Transformational effort, I know you are integrating the lessons identified of your important and successful contributions to NATO-led operations, in particular in Afghanistan and in the Balkans.

For us, it is truly invigorating to see that Romania continues to invest in you, to invest in its people, to invest in the Alliance to prepare its future. This is of crucial importance not only for your country, but also for NATO, for its cohesion, for its efficiency, for its credibility.

Thus, I will take a few minutes with you, before we come to the questions and answers period, to describe NATO Transformation and advocate three simple messages. First, you are members of an Alliance which has just celebrated its 65th anniversary, which can be proud of its past, and which is ready to defend the sovereignty and security of its 28 members, the sovereignty and security of 900 million of people. Second, NATO is taking on its responsibilities to cope with emerging threats and third the transformation efforts, that my command is leading, are indispensable to adapt our Alliance and prepare its future.

1-[A successful past based on shared values]

In one poem of 19th century, Mihai Eminescu stated that *"Every nation and every age is standing on the shoulders of the past"*. And this is particularly relevant for the Alliance that Romania joined a decade ago, and which is probably one of the most powerful, the most relevant and successful military organization of the modern age. It has contributed in deterring a major conflict in Europe for the past 65 years, and has brought peace, security and freedom to today's 28 Nations.





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During the last twenty-five years, the Alliance demonstrated a very high level of adaptation and flexibility, adapting its structure from the Cold War to cope with crisis management requirements, in the Balkans, Afghanistan or Libya. Our Alliance's forces have been stretched from one crisis to the other; they have learned to cope with asymmetry, with counter-insurgency, and with short notice, long range, enduring deployments. Some of you were here, you can be proud of your achievements. But let's be clear, our Alliance is in no way a coalition of circumstances, it is the result, the combination of Political will and credible military capabilities tied together by a solid bond, our shared common values for freedom, democracy, rule of law.

From its inception, and as reaffirmed again during the NATO Summit (of HSoG) in Wales, the strength of NATO has been to bring together diverse national and regional security concerns and strategic interests. NATO has been able to cope with the diversity of national interests and of threat perceptions, with different regional perspectives, and with the many political and social culture changes. Today, as it was the case ten years ago when Romania joined it, our Alliance retains a great power of attraction and, as part of NATO's cooperative security effort, our Heads of States and Governments have decided to enhance our collaboration with our many Partners in particular through an interoperability platform that will prove as well the reality of our Open door policy.

2-[NATO is maintaining its relevance and credibility]

In line with our Strategic Concept, NATO is filling today a spectrum of missions and operations larger than ever, first and foremost Collective Defence, Crisis Management and Cooperative Security. The main challenge for the Organization is to find the right balance and coherence of effort, to deal with the volatility of a complex security environment. We have to maintain a commitment to solve previous crises while answering to current crisis and preparing ourselves for future security challenges.

The reality of our security environment is that we are still present in Kosovo, in the Mediterranean Sea, in the shore of the Horn of Africa and in Afghanistan. As planned, we are





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going to end ISAF mission in December 2014 and transition to training, assisting and advising the Afghan National Security Forces. Thanks to the recent agreement between Afghan political leaders, the planning is moving forward and we are working hard to prepare the Resolute Support Mission in January 2015. I would like to take this opportunity to underline the important effort that your country has accomplished as it counted over 1,800 soldiers deployed in 2013, the 7th troop contributing Nation to ISAF. They outstandingly supported our Afghan counterparts, the Afghan people, with a large portion of the troops in the Zabul province, one of the most contested by the insurgents. Having ended its combat operations in June 2014, we are glad that your country also is committed to participate in the Resolute Mission Support to keep on supporting our Afghan Partners. (Iraq – we cannot afford to loose or give up)

Along with these long-standing crises response operations, you know better than anybody else the degradation of the security environment that has been occurring in your close neighbourhood. It brought back the reality and necessity of our Collective Defence, task as well as the support we owe to Ukraine, a reliable and very close partner.

Just after the beginning of the events in Crimea, the first sign of Alliance's solidarity was the commitment of the Allies to implement tangible and credible reassurance measures for our eastern nations. NATO was able to improve its prevention and deterrence posture, while avoiding any kind of military escalation with Russia, or any potential exploitation by an aggressive Russian strategic communication campaign.

The first phase of the reassurance measures was built around a reinforcement of our Air Baltic policing missions, a significant increase of our NATO AWACS deployment, to enhance our situational awareness and the deployment of Maritime assets.

As for ACT, our enhanced program of exercises gave us the ability to maintain, and even improve, Allies contribution to assurance measures. Combining all these exercises, the Alliance conducts today one training event every two days, increasing visibly its presence on NATO's flanks.





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I would just remind you that these reassurance measures are complementing our powerful deterrence means, based upon our nuclear component, and our credible conventional forces.

Turning now to our very short-term expectations, the Alliance military authorities were tasked to implement the Readiness Action Plan, by which we should sustain these assurance measures, and improve the overall readiness and responsiveness of the Alliance, to cope with threats emerging on the Alliance borders, in particular in the East.

Concerning the first point, to sustain the assurance measures, we will capitalize on our Connected Forces Initiative, which focus at enhancing Education, Training and exercises as well as xxx new technologies. This is a very flexible transformation tool, which levers two decades of lessons learned, and enables NATO to maintain the high level of interoperability between the Allies and Partners. It is a way to invest in our key resources, our men and women. Our renewed exercises policy is allowing us to improve our flexibility and as well provide a dynamic presence on the Alliance flanks.

To enhance the quality of our exercises we are building high intensity scenarios and use the full expertise of ACT's subordinate commands: the Joint Warfare Center in Stavanger, Norway, the Joint Force Training Center in Bydgoszcz, Poland, which focuses on the tactical preparation of NATO forces deploying to Afghanistan, and the Joint Analysis and Lessons Learned Center in Monsanto, Portugal.

NATO can also fully benefits from Nations initiatives to create Center of Excellence through which they share their expertise, in domains of interests for the Allies. I would specially thanks Romania for its commitment to the crucial improvement of NATO Human intelligence capabilities, in its centre of Excellence of Oradea that I visited yesterday, and I have been truly impressed by the expertise and commitments of your people.





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In order to improve the responsiveness of our forces, we are also closely working with ACO to build a Very High readiness Joint Task Force that must take benefit on what was already created and implemented in our NATO Response Force. This force will need to be military relevant, with a reasonable and sustainable notice to move, include key enablers and be able to connect rapidly with the supported Host Nation. It must be well trained, through short-notice and high intensity exercises. It will be as well a transformation vehicle for the overall enhancement of NATO responsiveness. I will xxx that to achieve a better readiness will require a real effort and investments from the nations in infrastructure, communication and information systems or command and control.

In summary, NATO is doing its job in deterring and preventing a further extension of the crisis within its borders, and it is doing so in both a responsible and resolute manner. While we are focused on the present, we must keep on preparing the future. This is a key mission for ACT, in leading NATO's Transformation effort. Therefore, we have to maintain a long-term vision, with enough flexibility to integrate emerging needs imposed by an ever-evolving security environment.

3[...while preparing the future]

To define our preparation of the future, I would say that ACT is working accordingly with the French philosopher Auguste Comte' statement saying that we should "*Know to anticipate in order to act*".

It means that preparing the Future starts now and it depends on four main lines of effort:

- Imagining what are the main trends that would define our future military environment, and then its military implications
- Developing the capabilities and technologies enabling the Alliance to shape its future





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- Encouraging Nations to continue to invest in their Defence and to answer the requirements of our NATO Defence Planning Process
- Enhancing our Partnerships as part of NATO's contribution to a comprehensive approach within the international community.

First and foremost, ACT has begun last year a very ambitious Framework for Future Alliance Operations to define the main trends of our security environment. To be clear, this Framework is not designed to provide an assertive view of the future – unfortunately we have no magic crystal ball in ACT – but we strive to enhance our ability to understand the key tenets of tomorrow. Let me share with you some of our first conclusions. In light of our present experience, we must take the assumption that there is a clear enduring trend for our adversaries to overturn the key tenets of our military power.

We must assume they will not accept internationally established borders, treaties rules of law, or norms of behavior. They will increase their use of asymmetric or irregular forms of warfare, in order to counter our military superiority. Some states or non-states actors should seek more often to combine these different forms of warfare – conventional, irregular and cyber warfare – and possibly, large scale terrorism, including hostage taking. They will try to deny us clear, legitimate, Course of action and identified targets and will seek to increase the ambiguity on the battlefield, posing in certain cases the same problem of indubitable attribution that we currently experience in the cyberspace. This hybrid and ambiguous model will represent a complicating element for developing our strategy and our defense planning, as it blurs the boundaries between conventional approaches of power. Moreover, our opponents could seek to strike the Alliance within its own borders, in such a way to limit the possibility to adequately use our forces, and even the legitimacy to employ them.

Second, our opponents will keep on increasing their capabilities, and will more and more aim to impede our actions. They will also challenge our technology based superiority model.

As we can observe today, non-state combat experienced fighters can move easily from one theater to another as it is the case in the entire arc of crisis from the Sahel to Caucasus, including MENA. In addition, they are able to exchange and share lessons learned and





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techniques, using modern information technology and extensive strategic communication tools. They will be more and more empowered by access to technologically advanced weapons. So, we must assume that there will be less and perhaps no more so called “permissive environments”. Going further down our considerations, this raises a real question of NATO’s ability to ensure a first entry in a high intensity operational area. Anti-access and area denial capabilities will continue to be spread through the dissemination of highly effective systems by some major Powers. Our adversaries will seek to increase the lethality and diversity of threats in the area of operations in order to step up our dependency on force protection and affect our Nations’ perceptions of risk and therefore, our public opinion and political will to intervene, our society’s resilience.

Third, our readiness will be more and more stressed.

Crisis could develop so swiftly that the decision making process would leave us little space to respond in a timely manner. To compensate this fact, our forces will need to be more agile, more mobile, able to adapt in real time to a very versatile combat and security environment. Not only they will have to be trained and exercised on the whole scope of possible missions but they will need as well to be able to interact with an increasing number of actors and to better integrate the military component within a wider global approach.

From these main trends, we have tried to define key strategic military perspectives on which we need to focus for the future, that I will summarize in three priorities: better strategic awareness, improved operational agility and robust resilience.

But, as Romanian sculptor Constantin Brancusi said, “*to see far is one thing, going there is another*”. It brings me to the implications for the Alliance.





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First and foremost, Allies need to bolster their Defence budget. In Wales, NATO's Head of States and Governments recognized that we live in a dangerous world where many big nations have been investing to modernize their defence capabilities, such as China, India or Russia. Therefore, they have made a pledge to increase their defence expenditure to meet the 2% guideline of Gross Domestic Product (xxx), and a minimum annual investment of 20% of the total defence expenditures. But, even with improved defence budgets, we have to spend better, and we have to prioritize our efforts, we have to innovate and I can tell you that I am confident that our countries can face this challenge. They will (xxx).

After the results from our last cycle of our NATO Defense Planning Process, our political authorities have recognized a list of 16 priority shortfalls, which should be addressed in priority in the next future such as JISR, Training, BMD, Cyber.

To achieve our capability goals, I strongly advocate maximizing our multinational collaboration through Smart Defence and the Framework Nation Concept. And I praise Romania as a strong supporter of multinational initiatives in participating in 42 Smart Defence projects.

To develop our capabilities, we also need to leverage technology and innovation considering the exponential pace of technological progress. The spirit of innovation is well-known in Romania, as the inventor and aerodynamics pioneer, Henri Coanda designed and built in 1910 the world's first jet powered aircraft. Indeed, in our modern environment we must be able to rapidly and smartly exploit existing and emerging technologies such as autonomous systems, nanotechnologies, distributed IT solutions - cloud computing -, new energy production and storage (and many others). On this crucial need to exploit the best of technology, let's be sure that our potential adversaries will not miss the opportunity, in fact they are already using new technologies to their benefit. I must also mention standardization as one of the most powerful enabling factors of a smarter capability development and for improved interoperability. I think then, that we must learn to work much closer, more effectively with industry, with University, and with Think Tanks to anticipate the impact of new models, of new sociology and of new technologies on military capabilities.





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As a summary of these considerations on equipment perspectives, I would say that we need to better master the trinity of cost, time, and effectiveness of our major equipment projects. We must do this, through a balanced and innovative approach and keeping interoperability in mind. I do think also that effective, pragmatic, efficient innovation offers us solutions to tackle the capability modernization challenges I have just depicted. This is why I put so much emphasis on innovation as a key engine for Transformation.

Turning to my last point, I must emphasize the key place of our Partners in our Alliance strands of effort. As shortly presented in our future works, our Nations will continue to face global challenges, which require comprehensive solutions. Therefore, NATO has to capitalize on its partnerships both with partner nations and organizations.

First and foremost, the Alliance should maximize its collaboration with the most important Strategic Partner: the European Union. Today 22 European nations are members of the two organizations and many Non-NATO EU countries enjoy a very close partnership with NATO (Sweden, Finland, Austria). There is a clear interdependency between NATO and EU that we strive to capitalize on, in developing coherent capabilities and multinational projects, as well as interconnected training through our Connected Forces Initiative. EU and NATO are part of the same peace and security equation and they must complement, reinforce each other. That will in turn strengthen our Transatlantic relationship.

[Closing]

To conclude, I would stress that the last Summit in Wales underlined the necessity to sustain our efforts, in order to train and exercise NATO forces, develop its capabilities, enhance its readiness and responsiveness and strengthen its military links with Partners. This is a great challenge of NATO's Transformation, a challenge for the future, a challenge for future generations.





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And I have no doubt that, thanks to the outstanding education you are receiving here in this great defence university, you will be able to meet this challenge. You will be able to build on your operational experience, on your understanding of the new world, to take any opportunity to transform your forces, to transform our Alliance, to keep on the pace of a world which evolves at speed light.

In a couple of months, you will inspire your men and women with innovation, agility, creative and critical thinking. By having been selected to this course, you will now share the responsibility on keeping our Alliance fit for the future.

Your motto "LABOR IMPROBUS OMNIA VINCIT" - "Great labour overcomes everything" is enlightening the path to your future successes. Keep faith, keep confidence in yourself, in your Nation, in our Alliance.

Fight, never give up, and take your chance. The world belongs to those who are courageous enough to change it.

Ladies, gentlemen, you cannot afford not to try, and you will succeed, together for the benefit of your country, for the benefit of peace and freedom of more than 900 millions of men and women.

Thank you.

Général Paloméros

