Forging the Future
Leading NATO Military Transformation

Final Report

Framework for Future Alliance Operations
Workshop #1

20-21 February, 2012
Royal Danish Academy of Sciences, Copenhagen Denmark

Organized by
Allied Command Transformation (ACT), Norfolk

In partnership with
Centre for Military Studies, University of Copenhagen

Executive Summary

Introduction

The first Framework for Future Alliance Operations (FFAO) workshop which linked the Strategic Foresight Analysis (SFA) with the Framework for Future Alliance Operations (FFAO) took place 20-21 February 2013 in Copenhagen, Denmark. There ACT led an inclusive, collaborative, and transparent workshop to advance, publicize, and gain input to the development of NATO futures work—the SFA and introduce the FFAO. The intent was to gain additional analysis and input while creating broad understanding and support for SFA and FFAO by the Nations. The desired end-state was to finalize development and analysis of the SFA security implications (25% of available time and effort); frame the initial FFAO (75% of available time and effort).

Task: (1) gather a broad representation of NATO experts to further develop futures work; (2) review a sharing of National perspectives by discussing the security implications and their relevance to NATO; (3) align and prioritize the security implications with each of the three core tasks to answer the question of how NATO will conduct the core tasks in the long-term future.

Purpose: conduct an inclusive, collaborative, and transparent workshop in Europe to advance, publicize, and gain input to the development of NATO futures work, an organizing concept, and broad strategic requirements as the foundation for a Framework of Future Alliance Operations.

Outcome: security implications aligned and prioritized with the core tasks; potential ways for conducting the core tasks in the long-term future developed.

The workshop provided a transition to FFAO from the previous SFA work including a document review, three workshops, and a foresight analysis to develop a list of 28 security implications. The participants analysed these implications to determine their relevance to NATO. In subsequent action, the contributors divided into syndicates corresponding to the three Alliance core tasks of Collective Defence, Cooperative Security, and Crisis Management. These groups then aligned and prioritized the security implications against each of the core tasks to begin the process of determining how NATO will conduct the core tasks in the long-term (18 years) future.

Plenary Session

The workshop opened with welcome and introductory remarks by Director, Professor Mikkel Vedby Rasmussen, Centre for Military Studies, University of Copenhagen followed by a NATO futures video presentation from Major General Peter Bayer, Deputy Chief of Staff, Strategic Plans and Policy (SPP) ACT. During the first part of the plenary session ACT SPP gave an overview of SFA work completed to date including a presentation of the common understanding achieved through a sharing of National perspectives and an introduction of initial security implications . Captain (U.S. Navy) John Mannarino provided a summary of how a sharing of National perspectives leads to a common understanding for discussing the future. Specifically, he described the 28 security implications and their potential meaning for the Alliance.

During the second part of the plenary session Lieutenant Colonel (U.S. Army) Bill Jakola provided an introduction of the FFAO model, followed by a panel debate with President Thomas Valasek, Central European Policy Institute and Director Camille Grand, Fondation pour la Recherché Strategique on expectations of FFAO from a core task perspective.

Major General Flemming Lentfer, Deputy Chief of Staff, Danish Defence Command gave a Danish perspective on Strategic Foresight and Long-Term Defence Planning. He underlined in his remarks the importance of NATO's Future Work and Smart Defence for the planning process of especially the smaller NATO nations.

Syndicate Work

Syndicates reviewed the security implications (Annex A) via the lens of the core tasks. To facilitate the security implication discussion, ACT assigned participants to one of four breakout groups or syndicates, each aligned to a NATO core task. The group topics were Collective Defence, Cooperative Security, and Crisis Management (two groups focused on different aspects of Crisis Management). Facilitators served as group leaders to manage discussions, and with assistance from ACT recorders, prepared a back brief.

Analysis Report

Break-Out Syndicate Work

1. Collective Defence

The Collective Defence syndicate identified the following top three security implications as most important: (1) NATO members' defence and security investments will fluctuate; (2) WMD/E proliferation will continue in mostly unstable global regions; (3) A shift in the East/West economic power balance has consequences for NATO.

NATO members' defence and security investments will fluctuate and NATO's role as a security guarantor is called into question: due to budgets cuts whole capabilities disappear that will most likely not return in the near and even long-term future. Nations ignore NATO's critical shortfalls and unilateral cuts tend to break the coherence of defense policy. This is a function of competing National interests and the lack of a clear threat post ISAF.

WMD/E proliferation will continue in mostly unstable global regions: NATO and agencies that deal with radiological incidents are not well aligned. NATO is not well prepared to counter the aftermath of radiation events that threaten the health and welfare of Alliance populations. A cyber-attack, depending on the severity, could be as detrimental to the Alliance people and land as an attack with a WMD. The group identified situations where Art Five implications could arise from a cyber-attack e.g. destroying or interrupting National infrastructure like the global positioning system, financial and banking systems, electrical production and distribution.

A shift in the East/West economic power balance has consequences for NATO: Art five may become less credible with the U.S. pivot due weaker U.S. commitment to European issues. Also should NATO decide to shift attention to the East as well, budget constraints may limit expeditionary operations.

Multiple threat perceptions amongst NATO members exist: Different priorities between nations drives nations apart. Differences in National interests detract from unified action and Alliance wide progress and could divide and delay support for capability development.

2. Crisis Management I (Counter Terrorism, Peace Keeping, Peace Enforcement , Conflict Prevention)

The syndicate ranked the security implications as follows for this part of the core task Crisis Management:

Rising influence of non-state-actors. Crisis management gets much more complicated and situations become unmanageable when too many non-state actors are involved. Non-state actors seem to have the greatest impact on how and if we can conduct crisis management. Currently, there is a natural emphasis on the military nature of NATO. However, an interface between military and non-military actors will be important. There are some critical questions to be answered in the future: Are non-state actors also part of collective defence? Are crisis management and collective defence wide apart? Or are these core tasks intertwined in the future? The participants assume these tasks are interlinked and will be even more in the future.

NATO's role as a guarantor of security is called into question. The problem of declining capabilities for Crisis Management is critical with respect to two areas: The decline of (absolute and relative) European military capability is important, and the long-term consequences of the U.S. pivot to Asia weakens the Alliance's relative total capabilities.

Shifting Migration patterns yield diverse effects on NATO. As NATO nations integrate larger immigrant populations, there is an increase in pressure to intervene or not intervene out of area to shape events in immigrant lands of origin. Also, migration might destabilize and radicalize countries outside NATO and pressure the Alliance to intervene. The migrant population alters the personnel base and potentially challenges the corporate culture within NATO Nations military.

The following three security implications were discussed with much controversy and seem to be closely connected to Crisis Management: 1) NATO's common values consensus is challenged, 2) Internal tensions challenge NATO's cohesion and 3) Multiple threat perception among NATO members. The main issue with all three security implications in the context of Crisis Management is the question of legitimacy versus common values and national interests. Political interests explain the willingness to act. In the future, NATO may see a development where political willingness trumps legitimacy. The syndicate asked a series of questions to add context to the security implications: What does legitimacy mean in the future? Is it reached by the constituency, or the governments, or international law? What are NATO values? Are there only national interests and our nations' benefit from being part of the Alliance? Is it easier to agree on values than on interests?

NATO's ability to achieve strategic power projection degrades. National and common interests will probably overlap. Therefore, a decline in NATO's overall strategic projection capacity is not as such a crucial issue. National capabilities are critical only in case of emergency and the cost problem remains critical.

More effective countermeasures challenge NATO capabilities. This is a general military problem, not focused on a specific issue such as the ability of NATO's future opponents to inflict casualties.

WMD Proliferation. Proliferation is a general strategic problem, as it might end up interdicting entire regions to Western interventions (strategic anti access). At another level, NATO should focus on countering the possibility of WMD terrorism. Also, weapons of mass destruction are not a single unified class of weapons that the Alliance can easily view as a whole. Instead NATO should view each element included in the abbreviation of WMD separately and on its own merits. For example, just within the sub category of chemical weapons there are many different types of chemicals that produce a wide range of unhealthy impacts on people and animals with a range of lethality and longevity. So to discuss this variety of weapons in a single term is not easily done. Proliferation of such a wide range of weapons requires significant effort conducted through a coordination and synchronization of most, if not all, Alliance resources. In short, WMD proliferation requires a total NATO effort.

3. Crisis Management II (Consequence Management, Humanitarian Assistance, Disaster Relief, Extraction Operations, Enforcement of Sanctions and Embargoes)

The syndicate determined which of the 28 security implications had the most impact on a mission set that mostly reflected military support to the civilian authorities and, in fact, the Comprehensive Approach; then ranked them in order of importance from highest to lowest.

Thus, natural and man-made disasters emerged as the top ranked security implication, having the greatest impact in terms of scope and breadth and ties to the results of climate change. Issues surround the use of NATO forces in this capacity and the challenges concerning law enforcement versus military authority were vigorously discussed. This same point was also reflected in the discussion of UN mandated versus NATO mandated operations. The group acknowledge that in most cases international organizations, non-governmental organizations (IO/NGO) are better suited for humanitarian assistance and disaster relief (HA/DR) missions than were

NATO assets. This category also included WMD/E and pandemics in this discussion

The Rise of non-state actors, as the second in the series, would make NATO's work more challenging. In particular identifying good and bad actor(s) in the vast group that constituted IO/NGO would present a daunting challenge. NATO's ability to interoperate with actors technologically and procedurally would be problematic in most, but not all cases. Private military security corporations (PMSC) fit this description as the most likely owners of military grade capabilities and organization.

Extreme weather resulting from climate change ranked third and was expected to not only result in more HA/DR missions, but also be a factor in conducting all operations under harsher environmental conditions. The group conceded that NATO's involvement will be interest driven, political will vs. public support reflecting the resource and capability constraints as well as commitment to assist those in need.

Resource Competition was ranked by the syndicate as the fourth highest concern. The group pondered the question; do different resources have a different impact? This may suggest an influence on cohesion among member nations and may have crucial operational overall. Note: this raised the issue of the need for broader policies on critical infrastructure protection and intervention when conflicts over resources affected Alliance stability and security.

Power Projection came in as sixth, mainly because of the potential loss of capability resulting from fiscal constraints. The lack of lift and logistics capacity would limit response options and be reflected in under resourced missions. The group's fear was that regional adversaries might use this as propaganda to demonstrate NATO lack of concern and commitment to relief operations, and to embarrass a host nation sponsor.

4. Cooperative Security

The syndicate ranked the security implications as follows:

Global Power Shift Away from the West. With the U.S. pivot to the East, Europe faces the question as to whether it will follow. The question of China's military development in the future and level of ambition is still unclear and will probably define NATO's way ahead with this challenge. Importance of Asian sea lines of communications (SLOC) based on NATO's ambition and resources may see either stable long term cooperation in the Asia-Pacific or an event driven cooperation pattern. In general, this security implication may lead to new partnerships (e.g. Malaysia, Singapore,

Australia – but also China /SCO/India) and to new types of partnerships. Will there be less appetite for military operations and more appetite for cooperative security?

WMD Proliferation. NATO and various agencies that deal with such issues are not aligned well; there is need for more engagement of other international organizations (International Atomic Energy Agency, European Union, Inter-/Europol) and a mutual interest (NATO standards, interoperability, arms control measures). The risk of spread of WMD should give various countries great incentives to cooperate and reduce numbers and spread.

Rising Influence of Non-State Actors. Establishing interaction/dialogue with Non-State-Actors now will pay dividends later: Contractors, NGOs/MNCs (Information powerhouses (Google, but also Raytheon, Dynacorp and others; energy companies, mining companies), insurance companies, law enforcement). NATO will see a diversity of commercial interests and certain impact of corruption while dealing with Non-State-Actors. Increased interaction with Non-State-Actors may have effects on cyber security and strategic engagement and strategic communication.

Decline in Defence Investment. A push for 'smart defence' may have several impacts: Financial: Share the costs; Political push for more cooperation (private sector AND/OR other states – also as proxies). NATO may become less interesting to partners while increased nationalism leads to a focus on inward looking priorities. In addition, an overall decrease in NATO and National funding could lead to decreased resources for cooperative security.

Guarantor of Security. Due to financial austerity, nations tend to shift their focus away from defence spending towards other important challenges like health, education, employment policy etc. In the future NATO may face a problem with credibility/relevance because of broader cooperation options and regional security cooperation.
Strategic Power Projection Degraded. The discussion focused on strategic airlift (as with C17s in Mali- United Kingdom, Canada; Strategic Airlift Interim Solution Strategic and Airlift Capability). In the future, NATO may develop other forms of strategic power projection, not necessarily only military - but will they work? Can they lead to new (different) forms of cooperative security?

Emerging technologies. As a positive aspect there will be a more intense use of virtual networks to achieve effects. NATO's strategic communication can greatly benefit from such a development. However, due to the interconnected world it will probably be more difficult to cooperate at the national level due to a decrease in national cohesion.

NATO adaptability. As a consensus organization, slow reactions in cooperation with others will remain one of NATO's weaknesses which gives opponents an asymmetric advantage. Consequently, adaptive cooperation and interoperability will be one of the biggest aims to achieve in the future (in theatre, nationally, and globally). This should enhance partners' ability to adapt rapidly and reduce technology disparity with partners.

Conclusion

The Copenhagen workshop successfully updated the Futures COI on progress of the SFA and its security implications and explained the concept of the FFAO. It was also the first step in the development of the FFAO. Aligning and prioritizing security implications against the core tasks of the Alliance provided important data which highlighted the Power Shift to the East, the Rising of Non-State Actors, Emerging and Disruptive Technologies, WMD/E and Fluctuate Investments as possibly crucial security implications for the future NATO. In addition, there were some security implications that were not aligned with the core tasks (e.g. Pandemic, Health, Defence Industry.) (Annex B) As we move ahead in this Futures work, further analysis of security implications against our core tasks will determine what the Alliance needs to be successful in the long-term.

Way Ahead

Over the next year ACT will lead the Core Futures Team (IS/IMS/ACO/ACT), along with the Futures Community of Interest made up of Nations, partners, think tanks, and academia in an open, transparent and collaborative effort to the development of the Framework for Future Alliance Operations.

ACT will lead a series of workshops over the Summer and Fall of 2013 which will further examine security implications across differing lenses, refine the implications and provide broad strategic and capability insights.

Long-term Military Transformation must fully support and inform the E-NDPP, and enhance the Alliance's long-term perspective. SFA is the first step. The 18 February 2013 Defence Ministers paper on Enhancing the NDPP has already made a critical link between an E-NDPP and the SFA, stating the "next Political Guidance could also be informed by ACT's on-going work on the strategic foresight analysis aimed at helping to create a shared understanding among Allies on the future operating environment." The second step of the Long-term Military Transformation process is the Framework for Future Alliance Operations. The FFAO effort begins with an analysis of the SFA security implications viewed through a series of lenses,

refined, aligned, compared and analysed against the Capability Hierarchy Framework (CHF) and ultimately expressed in terms of what type of capacity and effects we must achieve to execute our three core tasks which serve as the basis of our future organizing concept. The FFAO will deliver four outputs: (1) a Future Organizing Concept (FOC) informed by, (2) a set of Broad Strategic Insights (BSI), and (3) associated capability implications, (4) through an assessment of mission types to inform a future CHF.

Annex A

Security Implications

Driver #1 - Shift of Global Power

1. **A shift in the East/West economic power balance has consequences for NATO.** The consequences are twofold; subsequent rebalancing of global military power and North American focus looks away from NATO. Potential new power "blocs" in competition to NATO's lead and influence, challenge NATO's current strategic advantage.

2. **NATO's role as a guarantor of security is called into question.** Changes in the global political landscape, could result in reduction of conventional threats to some European Alliance members. NATO's role is further complicated by individual nations' shift their focus and re-direct capabilities away from the Euro-Atlantic region.

3. **NATO's common values consensus is challenged.** New players present alternative values and principles, challenging those of the Alliance. Erosion of NATO's common-value base may degrade Alliance cohesion.

4. **NATO's ability to maintain an effective strategic narrative diminishes**. Because of the consequences of political, economic and security challenges, NATO could struggle in a changed world to maintain its appeal as a relevant security organization in the minds of its own citizens as well as the global community.

Driver #2 - Interconnected world

5. **Rising influence of non-state actors challenges NATO.** Independent, private military security companies (PMSCs) might compete with NATO as security providers. Super-empowered individuals' increase their role in political, economic and security landscapes. Greater FSE complexity will emerge due to increased number of global players.

6. **Internal tensions challenge NATO's coherence.** Changing political and economic landscapes create diverse national interests. Non-alignment of Alliance members' national interest on global issues impacts NATO's coherence.

7. **Legitimacy of NATO decision-making process is questioned**. Global political systems experience greater democratization. A more informed society demands greater participation in national and international politics. Subsequently NATO's decision-making process is challenged in areas such as "responsibility to protect" (R2P) and human security.

Driver #3 - Absence of a shared threat perspective

8. **Multiple threat perceptions amongst NATO members exist.** Diverging national, regional and functional priorities and perceptions makes NATO increasingly ineffective at the POLMIL level and subsequently unprepared at the military, operational level. Absence of a shared perspective may result in regionalisation and emergence of ad-hoc coalitions.

9. **NATO's ability to achieve strategic power projection degrades.** NATO's collective ability is weakened by individual nations deploying capabilities in support of national interest to mitigate their own perceived risks and threats. NATO's ability to perform strategic power projection is challenged as perceived threats change.

Driver #4 - Demographic Shifts

10. **An aging global population impacts NATO.** Widespread, but unequal aging has a two-fold effect that creates instability. In the developing world - increased fertility rates equates to a youth bulge. In the developed world increased welfare spending impacts defence budgets. Reduced fertility rates plus increased aging may also reduce the pool of available personnel for military services.

11. **Increased urbanization impacts NATO.** Population movement to expanding urban areas prompts the rise of mega-cities. Resource shortages and income disparities manifest themselves in dissatisfaction and civil unrest, which result in increased peace-

support and stability operations in urban areas and an exposure to greater asymmetric threats.

12. **Shifting migration patterns yield diverse effects for NATO.** Natural, economic and man-made events yield diverse effects. Economics induced migration could revive western societies, compensate for declining indigenous populations thus supporting workforce and skills base; and/or internal unrest caused by immigrants' inability or resistance to culturally assimilate. Transnational extremist and criminal organisations may exploit this seam.

Driver #5 - Health / Disease

13. **On-going regional disparities in health persist.** Health disparities between the developed and the developing nations will likely increase. Developing nations will need further assistance to control and cure infectious diseases. NATO nations' deployed forces may be prone to diseases that are increasingly resistant to current treatments or medications.

14. **A global pandemic may impact NATO.** Weaker states may experience increased instability while wealthier, more stable states will focus resources and efforts to protect their populations. Ensuing tensions and competition for medical resources and cures, coupled with uncontrolled migration will fuel instability around NATO's borders with increased economic / security strain on Alliance.

Driver #6 - Technology as an Accelerant

15. **Emerging technologies present challenges for NATO capabilities.** FSE will be influenced in unexpected and non-traditional ways. Citizens will be able to identify more with groups or organizations rather than with the state's foundations of consensus and rule of law. Conflicting interests undermine state loyalty as a reduction or absence of unity born of common experiences, traditions, and rituals fuels "state" decline.

16. **Emergence of disruptive technologies potentially shrinks NATOs technical edge.** NATO's current technical advantage will be

challenged by new technologies that potentially degrade NATO's political, military, social, economic, informational and infrastructure (PMSEII) capabilities.

17. **More effective countermeasures challenge NATO capabilities.** Availability of conventional and unconventional off the shelf capabilities may challenge NATO in three ways: willingness to engage in conflicts (kinetic/non-kinetic); reduced effectiveness when engaged; and choosing when to disengage.

18. **NATO's adaptability to change will be tested.** Confronting and adapting to rapid technological change faster than future adversaries will remain a challenge. Balancing greater off the shelf availability against NATO's current long-term R&D-based procurement cycle will be more difficult.

Driver #7 - WMD/E

19. **WMD/E proliferation will continue in mostly unstable global regions.** Nations most actively working to develop WMD/E are generally located in unstable regions of the world. NATO deterrence may not affect WMD/E proliferators whose aim is to blackmail or terrorize. Unconventional delivery methods, technological advances , and ease of access may threaten any nation.

20. **A lack of confidence in the international order may prompt states to acquire WMD/E to meet perceived threats.** Globalization, including transfer of dual-use commodities will cause a greater diffusion of technology. Detection and prevention of WMD/E pre-cursors and technology transfers will be increasingly difficult, enabling non-state actors to challenge the security of the Alliance at will.

21. **The commitment of a growing number of states to global disarmament and arms control will diminish.** This trend is most apparent in the nuclear arena where an erosion of the global nuclear order is well under way. A nuclear non-proliferation regime collapse would have strong repercussions and compromise global efforts to promote WMD/E restraint and marginalization resulting in increased WMD/E capable nations around NATO's borders.

Driver #8 - Globalization of Financial Resources

22. **NATO members' defence and security investments will fluctuate.** Financial markets' volatility will result in individual nations becoming stressed to maintain their planned defence spending. Consequently degrading Alliance military capabilities and increasing the need for improved co-operation and specialization mechanisms to mitigate capability gaps.

23. **Industry may not consider NATO's needs a business priority.** Defence requirements will be increasingly exposed to market forces. The defence industry may look beyond NATO for other lucrative civilian and military markets. Their R&D focus will no longer be driven by Alliance requirements and as a consequent NATO loses its technological edge due to limited access to non-western industrial advances.

Driver #9 - Geopolitical Competition for Resources

24. **Competition for diminishing resources arises amongst NATO members.** Nations will seek to secure dwindling resources for economic and security purposes resulting in competition, likely friction and possible conflict requiring a POLMIL response.

25. **NATO's increases its requirement for alternative energy sources.** Long-term hydrocarbon depletion, pollution and climate change coupled with a dependence on "external sources" located in unstable regions will see NATO held energy-hostage by anti-western groups or nations controlling access to critical resources. This will result in a requirement and competition for alternative energy sources.

Driver #10 - Climate Change

26. **Extreme weather events occurrences increase in frequency and intensity.** Increased occurrences of tropical cyclones, severe storms and tornadoes, coastal flooding, and drought cause extensive damage to infrastructure, arable land, habitat, and feedstock creating conditions for insecurity and instability. Famine, drought or flood driven populations forced migration exacerbated by expanding transnational criminal and extremist activity and border tensions will be a recipe for conflict.

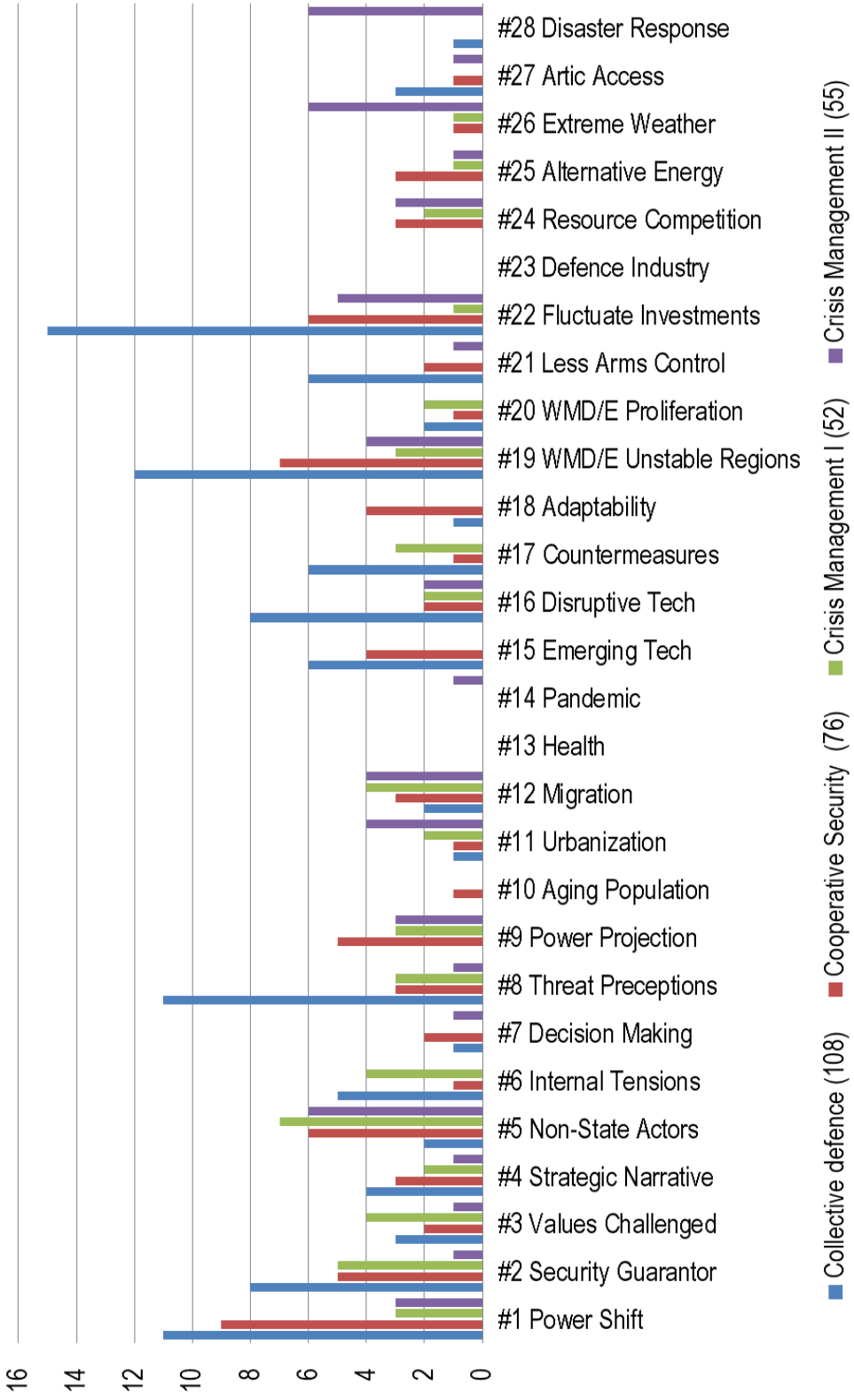
27. **Rising temperatures will contribute to an increasingly accessible Arctic and Antarctic regions.** Ocean warming and reduced sea ice will foster greater access to and exploitation of previously inaccessible natural resources in the Arctic and Antarctic regions. Additionally, reduced seasonal ice no longer restricts use of maritime global trade routes prompting possible resource competition, which may expand beyond traditional Arctic Council nations and affect NATO members with regional interests or actual territorial claims.

Driver #11 – Disasters (Natural / Man-made)

28. **NATO's resilience in response operations will be tested.** Major disasters causing large scale devastation, extensive loss of life, and massive infrastructure damage will stress the economies and security of affected member states. These events may include earthquakes, tsunamis, volcanic eruptions, solar flares, gamma ray bursts, large meteor impacts and/or man-made incidents such as major oil spills, and industrial, toxic, or nuclear accidents. Although a national responsibility to react to such events, NATO may be requested to support increased humanitarian and disaster relief operations.

Annex B

28 Security Implications (Lens: Three Core Tasks)




ALLIED COMMAND TRANSFORMATION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