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NATO and the Transatlantic Alliance in the 21st Century

The Twenty-Year Crisis

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*To Janice
and
Randa
for their support and forbearance
during the lengthy period of research*

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Preface

The North Atlantic Alliance is about to enter a 20-year crisis from which it is likely to emerge greatly strengthened and with a renewed mandate for the next 50 years. The period of crisis will centre on NATO's relationship with Russia, the issues arising from the enlargement of NATO and the entry of countries whose strategic position will remain vulnerable to any real recrudescence of Russian power over the next two decades. Problems also will arise for the Alliance in respect to its long-term role in the Balkans in the aftermath of NATO's enforcement role in Kosovo. It is clear that NATO will need to expostulate a new doctrine of humanitarian intervention consistent with the norms of international law.

The Alliance will need to examine carefully the level of its defence expenditure and acquire high intensity capabilities for the modern battlefield which will see the end to the conscript armies of the past. It is a pressing matter to close the widening gap between the USA and NATO's European members states. NATO's new strategic concept calls for highly mobile, versatile multinational units which, if properly equipped and deployed, will constitute a genuine military aggrandisement. The biggest crisis centres on the long-term relationship between NATO and the EU in respect of security and defence responsibilities. As we go to print, Kosovo provided clear evidence of the crisis in European security and defence affairs. In the air during *Operation Allied Force*, NATO nearly became a virtual alliance with the US providing 80 per cent of the firepower; its allies lacked reconnaissance and surveillance aircraft, precision-guided and long-range weapons and even bombs. Although Europe has nearly 2 million men and women under arms compared to America's 1.45 million, the European members of NATO could not have coped with the enforcement operation in Kosovo without crucial American intervention. This situation constitutes the crisis for NATO. If these defects are not removed, NATO will become a virtual alliance and political club that ceases to be a military alliance capable of defending the interests of its members and increasingly incapable of power projection to the crisis spots beyond its territorial integrity.

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Cambridge

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Abbreviations

ABM	Anti-Ballistic Missile (Treaty)
ACDA	Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (USA)
BICC	Bonn International Center for Conversion
BTO	Brussels Treaty Organisation
C3i	Command, Control, Communication and Intelligence
CEE	Central and Eastern Europe
CFE	Conventional Armed Forces in Europe
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
CJTF	Combined Joint Task Force
CNAD	Conference of National Armaments Directors
CND	Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament
CSCE	Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe
DCC	Defence Conversion Commission
DDA	Defence Diversification Agency (UK)
DERA	Defence Evaluation and Research Agency (UK)
DFOR	Dissuasion Force
DGA	General Delegation for Armaments (France)
DIB	Defence Industrial Base
DM	Deutschmark
DMA	Defence Manufacturer's Association
DoD	Department of Defence (USA)
DTI	Department of Trade and Industry (UK)
DUAP	Dual-Use Technology Initiative (USA)
DUTC	Dual-Use Technology Centre (UK)
EADS	European Aeronautic, Defence and Space Co.
EAPC	Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council
EC	European Community
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EDC	European Defence Community
EEC	European Economic Community
EFA	European Fighter Aircraft
EMU	Economic and Monetary Union
EPC	European Political Community/Co-operation
ESDI	European Security and Defence Identity
ETAM	<i>Euzkadi ta Askatasuna-Militar</i>

EU	European Union
EUCLID	European Co-operative Long Term Initiative in Defence
FFr	French franc
FLNC	Corsican National Liberation Front
FRG	Federal Republic of Germany
FMoE	Federal Ministry of Economics (Germany)
FSU	Former Soviet Union
FY	fiscal year
G7	Group of Seven nations
GDP	gross domestic product
GDR	German Democratic Republic (former East Germany)
GNP	Gross National Product
GOP	Grand Old Party (US Republican Party)
GPALS	Global Protection Against Limited Strikes
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Authority
IEPG	Independent European Programme Group
IFOR	Peace Implementation Force
IGC	Intergovernmental Conference
INF	Intermediate range nuclear missiles
IRA	Irish Republican Army
KLA	Kosovo Liberation Army
KONVER	European Conversion Programme
MLF	Multilateral Nuclear Force
MoD	Ministry of Defence (UK)
MP	Member of Parliament
MTCR	Missile Technology Control Regime
NAC	North Atlantic Council
NACC	North Atlantic Co-operation Council
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NBC	Nuclear, Biological and Chemical
NPG	Nuclear Planning Group
NPT	Nuclear Proliferation Treaty
NVA	<i>Nationalen Volksarmee</i> (former East German military)
NWO	New World Order
OECD	Organisation of European Co-operation and Development
OEEC	Organisation for European Economic Co-operation
OSCE	Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe
PAPS	Periodic Armaments Planning System
PfP	Partnership for Peace
PIRA	Provisional Irish Republican Army
PJC	Permanent Joint Council

PLO	Palestine Liberation Organisation
PU	Treaty on Political Union
R&D	Research and Development
RMA	Revolution in Military Affairs
RRF	Rapid Reaction Forces
SACEUR	Supreme Allied Commander – Europe
SDI	Strategic Defence Initiative
SDR	Strategic Defence Review
SEA	Single European Act
SFOR	Stabilisation Force
SMC	Structural Material's Centre (UK)
SME	small and medium-size enterprises
TAFTA	Transatlantic Free Trade Area
TRP	Technology Reinvestment Project (USA)
TUC	Trades Union Congress
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNIFIL	United Nations Force in Lebanon
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNSCOM	United Nations Special Commission
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
VAT	Value Added Tax
WEAO	Western European Armaments Organisation
WEU	Western European Union
WEUAG	Western European Armaments Group
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction
WTO	World Trade Organisation