

# NATO After the Istanbul Summit

by Ambassador Maurizio Moreno

The outcome of the Summit of NATO Heads of State and Government held in Istanbul on 27-29 June 2004 was undoubtedly positive. Indeed the Allies on this occasion sent out a clear message of restored cohesion to the international community.

There was a common commitment to pursuing, with consistency and credibility, the security objectives of the Alliance. This Alliance has proved able to transform itself in the face of the asymmetric threats which characterise the current international context, after overcoming, in the run-up to the coalition's military action in Iraq, moments of crisis that could have cast a shadow over transatlantic cooperation.

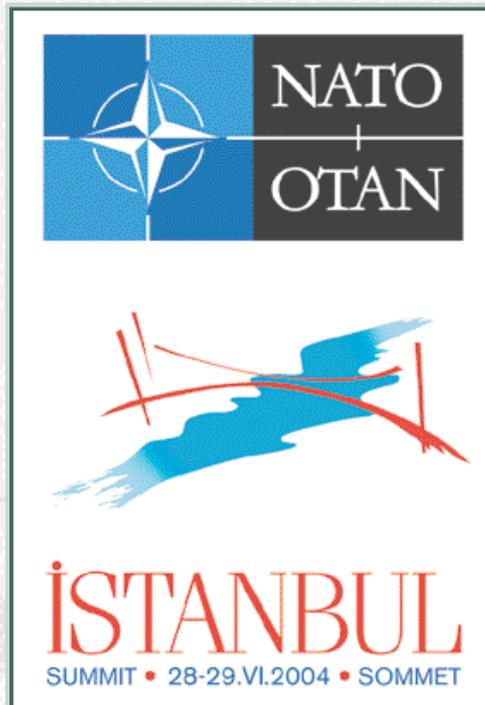
For over 50 years, NATO was the bulwark of our defence against threats originating in the East.

Today, NATO has not lost its relevance. In fact, it was confirmed in Istanbul as a political-military organisation actively engaged in promoting security and stability, ready to take action where necessary with new missions, including in areas remote from its original geographical sphere of interest.

This transformation was conducted with coherence, thanks to effective action to renew the impetus for political dialogue, to the careful development of partnerships with other international organisations and non-member States, and to the acquisition of new military capacities on the basis of programmes adopted during the previous Allied Summit held in Prague in Autumn 2002.

It is worth taking a closer look at these various aspects, starting with the political dialogue.

The idea put forward by Italy at Istanbul was that NATO should put increased



emphasis on its role as a permanent forum for dialogue and discussion on security strategies. The new NATO should first enhance its profile in consultation activities between European and North American democracies, and then ensure it can talk to a growing number of partners on an equal footing.

NATO should therefore not be seen only as a military alliance, but as an organisation with its own political function, as the place for "discussing the challenges to our common security and for identifying the most effective means to address the new threats that loom over our respective countries", in the words of the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Franco Frattini, in

his remarks to the North Atlantic Council in the preparatory phase which preceded the Summit.

The Alliance will thus eventually be able to confirm its fundamental role as part of the effective multilateralism approach which Italy has been actively pursuing.

I would like to illustrate some of the practical results which this approach delivered in Istanbul.

In the city on the Bosphorus, Allied Heads of State and Government met for the first time in their new format "at 26", thus symbolically underscoring the speed with which the Alliance was able to adapt to the new geopolitical context following the end of the Cold War. In this period NATO welcomed in its midst 10 new members in

two successive enlargement rounds, while establishing a relationship with Russia based on confident cooperation and fruitful partnership.

It was on the same basis that the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council celebrated its tenth anniversary in the Turkish city, as a forum for dialogue and cooperation between



Family portrait with all the NATO Heads of State



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NATO's 26 Allies and 20 Partners which played a fundamental role in support of aspirant countries on the way to fully-fledged membership of the Alliance. The perspectives for work outlined in Istanbul showed an increased focus on Partners from the Caucasus and Central Asia, without losing sight of the membership programmes to bring the three remaining aspirants, Albania, Croatia and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM), into the fold of the Alliance.

Also on the agenda, and of particular significance to Italy, is the assistance to be given to Serbia & Montenegro and Bosnia & Herzegovina in order to ensure that they can join the broader framework of Euro-Atlantic Partnership.

Events in the Balkans are of special concern to the Alliance, which has developed a comprehensive strategy for the region based on enhancing synergies, in a way consistent with the aims stated above, with the other major international players: the UN, the EU and the OSCE. The Balkans, where almost 5,000 Italian troops are deployed, were discussed in Istanbul and in particular during the meeting of NATO Foreign Ministers which was chaired by the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs, in his current capacity as Honorary President of the North Atlantic Council.

In more politically mature Bosnia, NATO agreed to transfer responsibilities to the EU in light of the successful experience in FYROM. In Kosovo, however, following the recent outbreaks of violence, Allies reiterated the need to maintain a presence in order to ensure the transition to a stable system based on standards shared by both sides.

This approach is very clear, and offers the key to understanding



*Mr. Franco Frattini, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Italy and Amb. Maurizio Moreno, entering NATO HQ in Bruxelles*

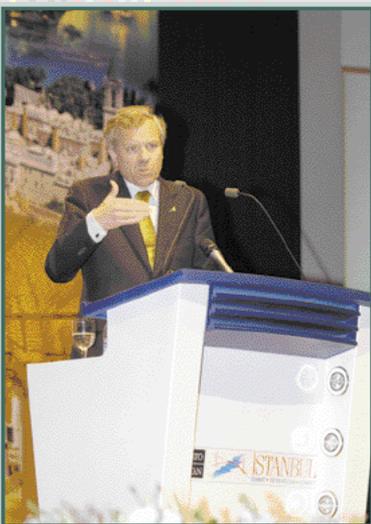
the decision to end the SFOR mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Indeed this decision marks a success for the Alliance, and is in no way an act of disengagement. NATO will in fact maintain a presence in Sarajevo, but of a different nature, focusing predominantly on supporting defence reform.

In the last few months, partly thanks to Italy's efforts when it held the six-month Presidency of the European Union, NATO's relations with the EU on the basis of the Berlin Plus arrangements have been gaining new impetus, thus confirming the EU's new specific role in the field of security. A field in which the EU and NATO share the same objectives, not least in the fight against terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. The handover to the EU of responsibilities for the operations in Bosnia & Herzegovina will be a further demonstration of the importance of NATO-EU relations, as part of a coherent division of labour inspired by a common perception of world security.

The establishment of a special partnership with Moscow, which Italy strongly supported through the organisation in Spring 2002 of a historic NATO-Russia Summit in Pratica di Mare, has yielded equally positive results. The work now carried out "at 27", both on military matters and as part of the political dialogue, has led to tangible achievements in the fields of peacekeeping, theatre missile defence, anti-proliferation policies, the fight against terrorism, civil protection and consultations on emergency situations. In the current security context, it is indeed in the Alliance's interest to ensure that Russia is able to play its rightful role.

Russia, for its part, took the opportunity offered by the Istanbul Summit to reiterate the strategic value of cooperation "at 27", and to confirm Moscow's willingness to provide further contributions to NATO operations.

In the run-up to Istanbul, relations with Mediterranean Dialogue countries (Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Mauritania, Morocco, Tunisia), with Italy's strong backing, were also pursued with renewed vigour in a bid to upgrade the exercise.



*Press Conference NATO Secretary General, Mr. Jaap de Hoop Scheffer*



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*A view of NATO Headquarter in Bruxelles*

To this end, a raft of practical initiatives were launched during the Summit. The aim was no longer only dialogue, but also effective cooperation to be developed through a pragmatic approach in areas such as interoperability, defence reform, maritime security, civil protection, the fight against terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, as

well as illegal trafficking and immigration. Furthermore, the Alliance showed its openness to other countries in the area with a shared interest in strengthening security and stability in the Mediterranean.

A new and specific initiative – the Istanbul Cooperation Initiative – was also adopted at the summit for the benefit of the broader Middle East region. It includes programmes intended to consolidate world security and stability and to promote the democratisation and reform processes initiated by nations in the area. It is important to emphasise the innovative approach which characterises this initiative, which is based on the full and equal participation by all those involved, without any artificial models for institution-building being imposed “from above”.

Progress was also made in the complex transformation of Alliance military capabilities, an area in which the meeting of NATO Defence Ministers in Istanbul highlighted some very encouraging results.

As regards the commitments made in 2002 by the Allies gathered in Prague, it is expected that almost 50 percent of the targets established with the Prague Capabilities Commitment (PCC) will be met



*Italian Ambassador to NATO, Maurizio Moreno meets the Italian ISAF troops*

by 2005, and 80 percent by 2008. The efforts made at multilateral level should also be taken into account, in particular the consortia for the development of strategic sealift, with Italy's participation, and strategic airlift. Similar efforts are under way for air-to-air refuelling – again with Italy's participation; for the Allied Ground Surveillance system; for the modernisation of Allied satellite communications (SATCOM system) where a joint bid involving Italy and its own satellite programme known as SICRAL, France and the United Kingdom was recently declared successful; for the creation of a theatre missile defence system, with a recently completed feasibility study; and for the establishment of a battalion with specific capabilities in the field of chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear defence.

Furthermore, and it is a great pleasure to write this for a magazine published by the NATO Rapid Deployable Corps in Solbiate Olona, the creation of the NATO Response Force (NRF) is undoubtedly of key significance in the current security environment. I am proud to recall that Italy, which has made the Solbiate Command available to NATO, became Lead Nation on 1<sup>st</sup> July 2004 for the NRF land component, which is of particular importance in view of the advanced technology used and innovative features guaranteeing high readiness levels. The NRF is the core instrument to ensure that NATO is able to carry out new rapid response missions to safeguard Allied security in the face of the new asymmetric threats. It is due to reach initial operational capability in Autumn, under Italian leadership, and full operation capability will be attained in 2006. Our country will be the top contributor to the NRF this year, with over 6,500 troops assigned to the new force, in addition to naval and air combat units as well as logistical support.



These are, in a nutshell, the various dimensions of the new NATO.

Against this background, the main message which emerged from the Istanbul Summit lay in restored Allied unity on strategies to project NATO's stabilising potential out of theatre.

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**General James L. Jones (Supreme Allied Commander Europe) shaking hands to President Hamid Karzaim Head of the transitional Islamic State of Afghanistan**

NATO's renewed political dialogue, enlargement, deeper and broader partnerships, transformed capabilities and new missions should not be regarded as an attempt by the Alliance to find a *raison d'être* now that the era of bipolar confrontation has ended. They should be seen in the light of strategic requirements in a world where the geographical barriers and physical distances which once protected us no longer exist.

A world where it would be extremely short-sighted, for instance, to ignore the fact that the stabilisation and reconstruction of Afghanistan have a direct effect on our security. After Istanbul, one of the top priorities for the Allies, with Italy at the forefront, is to ensure that their mission in Afghanistan will succeed in paving the way for the development of a solid democratic process. This is done through both political and military means, with the allocation of troops, assets and resources to assist in the rebirth of the country. Indeed the outcome of this mission will enable the international community to measure NATO's commitment and credibility as it faces the current challenges to our security. The Alliance has therefore set itself ambitious stabilisation targets so that elections can duly take place in the second half of the year. Italy has made a substantial contribution, with a reserve battalion in theatre as part of the NRF, to the measures aimed at guaranteeing the security of the electoral process as requested personally by President Karzai of Afghanistan in Istanbul. In addition, the NATO Secretary General was able to announce that the first phase in the expansion of ISAF had been completed and the second phase initiated with the gradual establishment of new Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs) across the country's territory

Significantly, the Istanbul Summit also coincided with the transfer of power in Iraq to the new sovereign interim government, in accordance with UN Security Council Resolution 1546 of 8 June 2004. The resolution explicitly asks UN Member States and the relevant international organisations to assist the multinational force, which can contribute to the restoration of security and stability in Iraq on the request of the legitimate Iraqi Government.

In this context, and following a specific request by the newly established Iraqi authorities, NATO Heads of State and Government committed the Alliance, building on its undeniable experience in this field, to assisting the Iraqi security forces with training and equipping as part of the arduous stabilisation process in the country. Again in this case, Italy expressed its readiness to help rebuild Iraq's armed and security forces. As a first step, a NATO Training Implementation Mission has been dispatched to Iraq, with personnel from 11 Allied countries including Italy, in order to explore how best to fulfil the Alliance's training commitments.

## **Ambassador Maurizio Moreno**

*The Italian Permanent Representative to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization since 2002, Mr. Maurizio Moreno was born in Rome on June 23, 1940.*

*After graduating in law at the University of Rome, he joined the diplomatic service in 1963.*

*Director General for European Countries from July 1999 until August 2002, he served before as Ambassador to the Czech Republic (1996-1999).*

*His initial assignments, between 1965 and 1974, included Basel (Vice-Consul), Rabat (First Secretary, Italian Embassy), Bordeaux (Consul).*

*From 1976 to 1980 he was the Italian Alternate Permanent Representative to the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva.*

*Appointed Consul General in Lyon in 1980, Ambassador Moreno was the Deputy Head of the Italian Delegation to the CDE-CSCE in Stockholm in 1984. Returned to Rome as Director of the Policy-Planning Office in 1985, he was subse-*

*quently in charge of Africa at the Political Affairs General Directorate.*

*Ambassador to Senegal from 1988 to 1992, Maurizio Moreno served again in Rome between 1992 and 1996 as Deputy Head of the Cabinet of the Minister and then Special Envoy to Somalia, Director of the Press and Information Department and finally Director of the Diplomatic Institute.*

*A member of the Board of SIOI (Società Italiana per l'Organizzazione Internazionale), and of IAI (Istituto Affari Internazionali), IsIAO (Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente) and other Institutes of Research on International Affairs, Mr. Maurizio Moreno was awarded national orders by Austria, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Morocco, Norway, Portugal, San Marino, Senegal, SMOM and the United Kingdom.*

*Divorced, one son.*

*Languages: French and English*