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**“The Road to NATO’s Riga Summit – Consolidating and Advancing Transformation”**

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Sub-Committee, thank you for inviting me to testify about the Defense Department objectives and plans for the upcoming NATO Summit in Riga, Latvia, in November 2006.

Our overall objective at Riga will be to focus on NATO’s Transformation: advancing the shift of NATO’s capabilities from the Cold War-era’s territorial in-place defense to the new 21<sup>st</sup> century need for expeditionary operations and defense beyond the Euro-Atlantic area. To accomplish this, we believe the Summit should address the transformation of not only the mindset in how our Allies think about threats in the post-9/11 era, but also the capabilities Allies need to participate in NATO operations and work with Global Partners.

**A VISION FOR NATO’S FUTURE**

During the Cold War, the Alliance was focused on its territorial defense; Allies understood the threat they faced and stood shoulder-to-shoulder to deter the enemy, ensuring the enemy knew they it could not achieve an easy or costless victory.

Today, 15 years after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the transatlantic Alliance still faces a common threat which seeks to destroy its way of life and freedoms which it holds so dear. However, today’s enemy uses asymmetric means to wage its battles. Moreover, it launches wars from territories outside of the transatlantic area.

While the nature and identity of the threat have changed, NATO, as an institution, has also changed — and it has never been more relevant in addressing the challenges of the day.

Presently, NATO is engaged in eight operations around the world. Until 2001, NATO had never conducted a single operation outside of Europe. Now

NATO is operating not only in Kosovo, but in the Mediterranean to protect Allied shipping (Operation Active Endeavor); in Iraq to train senior level military officers (NATO Training Mission – Iraq); in Sudan to airlift African Union troops to Darfur; and in Afghanistan, progressively taking responsibility for more and more of that nation’s security (International Security Assistance Force). NATO also undertook emergency relief operations for Hurricane Katrina and, in Pakistan, after the earthquakes. Over forty Allies and partners have been or are involved in these NATO-led operations.

Within the past eight years, NATO has enlarged its ranks to welcome ten new members, each committing to NATO’s Article V guarantee to each other’s defense and each contributing to defending the transatlantic security space.

However, as we saw seven years ago in Kosovo, and as is plainly evident in Afghanistan today, Allied military capabilities do not always match mission requirements. Too many of the Allies’ current capabilities are still tied to static Cold War requirements. While there have been some improvements that have allowed us to operate in Afghanistan, many of NATO’s forces are not oriented to operations outside the European theater.

In order for the Alliance to meet the challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, Allied Members must be willing to make necessary investments, i.e., spend resources and restructure their armed forces, in order to properly modernize and equip them. Allies must also support NATO headquarters reform to end Cold War-era projects that no longer make sense in an Alliance transforming itself to become more expeditionary. Finally, all Allies need to undertake domestic public diplomacy campaigns to explain to their peoples why NATO matters and why investments in national capabilities are needed in order to give NATO the military muscle it needs to meet today’s threats.

With this as the foundation, our vision for NATO’s future is the following:

- NATO remains the premier transatlantic security institution.
- Collective defense remains the core function, requiring capabilities to meet potential threats not only to Alliance territory and populations, but threats to the safety and security of our interests outside Europe.
- For this, NATO must be prepared to conduct effective crisis management and crisis response beyond Alliance borders and safeguard our common security interests well beyond the Euro-Atlantic region.

To fulfill this vision, NATO has further work to do in transforming to an expeditionary culture that:

- Embraces the full mission set for collective defense, global crisis response, and stabilization;
- Develops and employs all the capabilities needed to make NATO's forces more deployable, useable and interoperable; and
- Creates the links and mechanisms to cooperate in operations and activities with other international military and political partners, international and non-governmental organizations.

The Riga Summit should serve as a catalyst for progress in these areas and provide a milestone for NATO's continuing transformation. As SecDef stated in Berlin recently, the transformation summit will be a "make or break" moment for NATO, meaning it will test whether Alliance members are serious about reforming NATO to meet the challenges of the 21st century. In the coming months, preparing the agenda to secure capability commitments from our Allies will be the number one priority for my NATO portfolio.

#### **WHAT DO WE MEAN BY TRANSFORMATION?**

We see Transformation at NATO, as in our Department of Defense, as a continuing process of adopting and refining new concepts, doctrines, and technologies to meet emerging and future security challenges. The overarching transformational challenge for the Alliance is to develop a truly expeditionary mindset with the requisite capabilities. We are not there yet—and since there is never a definitive end state to Transformation, it is in a sense a moving target—but we are using this year's Summit to move forward.

Secretary Rumsfeld has suggested to Allied defense ministers several key elements of transformation on which NATO should work. All of these elements are central to NATO's continued development toward an expeditionary culture, and can be considered in three groupings:

- First, those elements which *consolidate* or solidify our ongoing transformation work;
- Second, those that *advance* the transformation of Allied capabilities; and
- Third, those that *broaden* the scope of transformation to develop NATO roles and relationships for successful expeditionary operations that are best suited for the 21st century security environment.

## *CONSOLIDATING TRANSFORMATION*

Our first job is to ensure the success of NATO's ongoing missions and initiatives that embody the essence of Allied transformation: our current Alliance operations, and the NATO Response Force. Secretary General de Hoop Scheffer has declared that NATO success in leading the International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan is the Alliance's number one priority, and we have to agree—with the NRF following close behind. Securing lasting positive results in these two areas are vital to consolidating the transformation that has already taken place across the Alliance, and to providing the catalyst to advance further.

**Operations:** NATO's operational advancements in Afghanistan and Kosovo represent the real-world evidence of Allied commitments and progress in Euro-Atlantic security, and they will feature prominently at the November Summit.

NATO's International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) assists the Afghan government in establishing and maintaining security and creating the conditions for stabilization and reconstruction. Presently, ISAF has this responsibility in the Kabul areas and the northern and western regions of Afghanistan.

By the Riga Summit, we hope to see ISAF expand its operations to include all of Afghanistan. This requires ISAF to expand into southern Afghanistan, a process currently underway. Once it demonstrates success in the South, ISAF will then move forward with its final stage of expansion – eastern Afghanistan.

**The NATO Response Force (NRF):** The NATO Response Force, the linchpin in NATO's development of an expeditionary culture and transformation catalyst, was proposed at the Prague Summit in 2002. It became initially operational in 2004 and has contributed to operations in Afghanistan, Pakistan and Louisiana. It is scheduled to reach full operational capability (FOC) in time for Riga.

Unfortunately, upcoming rotations remain short of critical capabilities. We are working hard to ensure that at the Summit, Heads of State and Government can welcome attainment of an honest FOC after a successful live exercise (LIVEX) in June 2006. The U.S. has consistently pledged to each rotation a foundation of vital capabilities, including key "enablers" that are scarce among Allies, rising over time to about 2,000 personnel. The U.S. has also been the largest contributor toward the unfilled requirements for FOC that NATO has asked nations for since last summer, and we are considering more of those items that the force list still requires. We are also prepared to add combat forces as our planned reductions in Iraq and Afghanistan allow. From Secretary Rumsfeld on down, we

are citing this leadership to Allies as we press them to make further vital force pledges.

For the long term, we are working to see NRF rotations filled with force generation commitments at least three years in advance and urging longer-term NRF force planning to help nations plan and budget NRF contributions well ahead. We are also increasing critical enablers that would benefit the NRF such as strategic air lift and modernizing the way we think about funding operations, including by common-funding transportation costs for short-notice NRF deployments.

An effective NATO expeditionary culture will require improved funding of common capabilities, distant operations, and potential further enlargement. We are working toward some common funding for NRF deployments. We anticipate that this would have a positive effect on force commitments to operations and the NRF.

### *ADVANCING TRANSFORMATION*

In addition to securing the foundations and the operational embodiment of Transformation in NATO, the Riga Summit presents an ideal venue to move NATO and Allies forward in expeditionary capabilities and more modern ways of doing business. Riga itself should be a catalyst for further shifting Alliance roles and mindset from local European operations to expeditionary missions.

**Strategic Lift:** In many respects our Allies have more than enough manpower and forces for military operations; it is the deployable support and expeditionary enablers that they lack. One of these enablers is fundamental: strategic lift.

Since the Prague Summit in 2002, Allies have made progress in this area. A multinational initiative among several Allies to secure adequate sealift capacity has been a success. Likewise, 16 Allies and Sweden have formed a multinational consortium to contract for on-demand access to Antonov AN-124 airlift. However, NATO and Allies remain too reliant on the U.S. fleet and on workarounds such as NATO AWACS training aircraft. We are considering ways that the U.S. might provide leadership to secure additional strategic airlift capacity for NATO and Allies.

**NATO Special Operations Forces:** A vital mission set that a NATO summit on Transformation should address is that of Special Operations or Elite forces (that perform e.g. special reconnaissance, military assistance, and direct action).

The value of SOF in modern warfare is greater than ever. Advances in intelligence collection and dissemination, and network based warfare have put a premium on forces that can operate with low visibility and strike decisively. At the same time, the non-conventional nature of modern warfare increases the need for forces which can operate among non-NATO indigenous forces in an uncertain security environment.

SOF are usually a closely held national asset. NATO members have a number of on-going bilateral and multilateral SOF relationships, but overall SOF direction at the Alliance is hindered by a lack of manning, structure and emphasis. We could benefit, both as an Alliance and as individual members of the Alliance, by creating the means to harmonize these scarce assets.

We are considering ways that NATO might create not a Special Operations Force, but a NATO arrangement that would bring Allied SOF and elite forces together in training and capability development for NATO missions. We welcome the Alliance's work on developing common Special Operations Forces standards, and look forward to the benefits that will come from enhancing interoperability among SOF forces.

**NATO Stabilization and Reconstruction Capabilities:** The forces we send on NATO operations must operate across the spectrum of conflict. NATO should not be limited to high-end combat operations, but must also be ready to conduct low intensity conflict, and stabilization and reconstruction (S&R) missions. Stabilization and Reconstruction operations are military operations which require a high degree of interaction with civilians. Indeed, the very success of military forces in stabilization and reconstruction operations depends as much upon success in building or supporting governmental and economic institutions as it does on defeating armed enemies in combat.

Modern warfare requires improved capabilities to cooperate with non-military S&R resources and actors. It also requires the Alliance to develop standards for S&R operations, just as it has for traditional military operations. It is also essential that NATO develop a better framework for planning to support S&R activities objectives and activities as a coherent part of the larger operation. We are working with Allies to determine how best to develop this capability.

### ***BROADENING TRANSFORMATION***

Finally, a 2006 Summit should also address NATO's developing need to broaden its transformation, to address the wider security threats and opportunities before us, and leverage NATO's unique international security potential.

**Middle East Training Center:** We are considering how NATO could take on a greater role in international security training. NATO has an established history as an effective provider of security- and defense-related training and education. A modest investment in expanded outreach could return significant results in terms of advancing Alliance security interests in key parts of the world. We can't do everything—but we could start with a training program in a region where there are clear interests and high potential returns, such as the Middle East.

The United States, Norway and Italy have presented to Allies a joint proposal to establish a training center in the Middle East which would train as many as 160 Middle Eastern students a year in subjects such as civil-military relations and defense planning, and budgeting. We also welcome the Secretary General's recent proposals to examine how NATO could use existing training facilities as well as mobile training teams to provide training to partners in the Middle East and Africa.

**“NATO with Global Partners:”** We also think that in 2006 the Alliance should develop closer relationships with nations that are outside the Euro-Atlantic area but have values, security interests, and capable forces in common with NATO.

Our goal must be to develop an “enhanced partnership” relationship with a core group of key U.S. Allies who are not in NATO but want to develop a greater, practical relationship with the Alliance. The focus should be on practical cooperation. Such cooperation can take many forms: increased exchanges between NATO and the new “Global” Partners, opportunities for new Partners to send officers to NATO schools, joint planning and participation in NATO exercises, Alliance certification of new Partners' forces, possible participation in pre-decisional operational planning of a NATO mission where a new Partner may well be considering participating, and even complementary, not core, contributions to NRF rotations.

These and other ideas about practical cooperation will complement the work of transformation within the Alliance. We will want our NATO Allies' best thinking about how to reach out beyond the Euro-Atlantic area. And, we will want to engage existing Partners – like-minded, capable, and interested in contributing – in such outreach and cooperation.

**Enlargement:** The Defense Department is heavily engaged in developing the national defense structures of the current NATO aspirants, Macedonia, Croatia, and Albania. The Department believes in NATO's “open door” policy and aspirants should join once they have met NATO's established membership criteria.

## CONCLUSION: SUMMARY OF OBJECTIVES

To wrap up the continuing transformation agenda that I have just described, I will summarize the 2006 Summit “deliverables” we are pursuing for Riga:

- First, continue to make significant progress and demonstrable achievements in NATO operations.
- Second, achievement of a viable NATO Response Force, including conducting a successful LIVEX, reaching Full Operational Capability, and developing a program for long-term sustainment of the initiative;
- Third, a decision to pursue improved enabling capabilities, particularly strategic lift assets.
- Fourth, development of a framework for Alliance Special Operations Forces;
- Fifth, development of stronger capabilities for Stabilization and Reconstruction;
- Sixth, establishment of a NATO training program in the Middle East region; and
- Finally, pursuit of closer ties with distant but kindred, capable nations—within the overall NATO partnership structure.

If the Alliance is able to achieve all of these initiatives, it will have taken significant strides toward making itself into a truly expeditionary organization. Allies will have shown that they recognize that the changed security environment of the post-9/11 era requires new thinking, resources, and capabilities in order to continue to defend the Euro-Atlantic territory and the shared values of over half a billion people. Allies will have expanded their vision and capacity to protect security and stability well beyond their borders. Allies will have created important ties to global partners for the effective pursuit of our common security agenda. Finally, Allies will have solidified the foundations of a strong future Alliance that can further expand its membership and the borders of Euro-Atlantic security and prosperity.



Again, Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the opportunity to present the Defense Department's goals and objectives for the upcoming NATO Summit in Riga. I would be honored to answer any questions you or the Committee may have. Thank you.