

NATO's Partnerships: Initiatives, Institutions, and Ideas

A Monograph

by

LtCol Philipp F. Leyde
German Army



School of Advanced Military Studies
United States Army Command and General Staff College
Fort Leavenworth, Kansas

2016

REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE				Form Approved OMB No. 0704-0188	
Public reporting burden for this collection of information is estimated to average 1 hour per response, including the time for reviewing instructions, searching existing data sources, gathering and maintaining the data needed, and completing and reviewing this collection of information. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing this burden to Department of Defense, Washington Headquarters Services, Directorate for Information Operations and Reports (0704-0188), 1215 Jefferson Davis Highway, Suite 1204, Arlington, VA 22202-4302. Respondents should be aware that notwithstanding any other provision of law, no person shall be subject to any penalty for failing to comply with a collection of information if it does not display a currently valid OMB control number. PLEASE DO NOT RETURN YOUR FORM TO THE ABOVE ADDRESS.					
1. REPORT DATE (DD-MM-YYYY) 07-04-2016		2. REPORT TYPE Monograph		3. DATES COVERED (From - To) JUN 2015 – May 2016	
4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE NATO's Partnerships: Initiatives, Institutions, and Ideas				5a. CONTRACT NUMBER	
				5b. GRANT NUMBER	
				5c. PROGRAM ELEMENT NUMBER	
6. AUTHOR(S) LTC (GS) Philipp F. Leyde, German Armed Forces				5d. PROJECT NUMBER	
				5e. TASK NUMBER	
				5f. WORK UNIT NUMBER	
7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) School of Advanced Military Studies, U.S. Army Command and General Staff College 201 Reynolds Ave., Fort Leavenworth, KS 66027				8. PERFORMING ORG REPORT NUMBER	
9. SPONSORING / MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) School of Advanced Military Studies; Advanced Strategic Leadership Studies Program.				10. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S ACRONYM(S)	
				11. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S REPORT NUMBER(S)	
12. DISTRIBUTION / AVAILABILITY STATEMENT Approved for public release; distribution is unlimited.					
13. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES					
14. ABSTRACT The fall of the Berlin Wall and the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact led to a fundamental change in the security situation in Europe and the world in the beginning of the 1990s. In this context, NATO also changed its policy. One outcome of this change was the establishment of formal partnerships with different countries in Europe and the bordering areas (North Africa and the Caucasus region): The "Partnership for Peace" (PfP) program, the "Mediterranean Dialogue" (MD), the "Istanbul Cooperation Initiative" (ICI), and finally the "Partners Across the Globe" (PAG). This monograph shows the development of NATO's partnership policy over the last two decades and explains the main tools and achievements. Furthermore, it demonstrates that the partnership policy was successful in many regards: It made some former Warsaw Pact members and other European countries ready to join NATO; it supported the promotion of democratic ideas in Eastern European, Central Asian, and Caucasus countries; it enabled partners to meet NATO standards; it allowed partners to participate in NATO exercises; it gave our partners the opportunity to gain a defined level of interoperability; and it enabled – as the ultimate goal – partners to participate successfully in NATO-led operations. Finally, this monograph shows the necessity to further develop the partnership policy in order to adapt it to the changing security situation in Europe.					
15. SUBJECT TERMS NATO; Partnership for Peace; Mediterranean Dialogue; Istanbul Cooperation Initiative; Partners Across the Globe; Partnership Interoperability Initiative; Defense and Related Security Capacity Building Initiative					
16. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF:			17. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT (U)	18. NUMBER OF PAGES 61	19a. NAME OF RESPONSIBLE PERSON LTC (GS) Philipp F. Leyde
a. REPORT (U)	b. ABSTRACT (U)	c. THIS PAGE (U)			19b. PHONE NUMBER (include area code) [REDACTED]

Monograph Approval Page

Name of Candidate: LtCol Philipp F. Leyde

Monograph Title: NATO's Partnerships: Initiatives, Institutions, and Ideas

Approved by:

_____, Monograph Director
Christopher Marsh, PhD

_____, Seminar Leader
William J. Gregor, PhD

_____, Director, School of Advanced Military Studies
Henry A. Arnold III, COL, IN

Accepted this 26th day of May 2016 by:

_____, Director, Graduate Degree Programs
Robert F. Baumann, PhD

The opinions and conclusions expressed herein are those of the student author and do not necessarily represent the views of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College or any other government agency. (References to this study should include the foregoing statement.)

Fair use determination or copyright permission has been obtained for the inclusion of pictures, maps, graphics, and any other works incorporated into this manuscript. A work of the United States Government is not subject to copyright, however further publication or sale of copyrighted images is not permissible.

Abstract

NATO's Partnerships: Initiatives, Institutions, and Ideas, by LtCol Philipp F. Leyde, German Army, 61 pages.

The fall of the Berlin Wall and the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact led to a fundamental change in the security situation in Europe and the world in the beginning of the 1990s. In this context, NATO also changed its policy. One outcome of this change was the establishment of formal partnerships with different countries in Europe and the bordering areas (North Africa and the Caucasus region): The "Partnership for Peace" (PfP) program, the "Mediterranean Dialogue" (MD), the "Istanbul Cooperation Initiative" (ICI), and finally the "Partners Across the Globe" (PAG). Over the last two decades, these partnerships have developed all in all well and are mostly a success story with regard to achieving the goals of being interoperable, improving cooperation, and enhancing mutual understanding, even if they developed not equally well.

This monograph shows the development of NATO's partnership policy over the last two decades and explains the main tools and achievements. Furthermore, it demonstrates that the partnership policy was successful in many regards: It made some former Warsaw Pact members and other European countries ready to join NATO; it supported the promotion of democratic ideas in Eastern European, Central Asian, and Caucasus countries; it enabled partners to meet NATO standards; it allowed partners to participate in NATO exercises; it gave our partners the opportunity to gain a defined level of interoperability; and it enabled – as the ultimate goal – partners to participate successfully in NATO-led operations. Finally, this monograph shows the necessity to further develop the partnership policy in order to adapt it to the changing security situation in Europe.

Contents

Acronyms	v
Introduction	1
Partnership Frameworks.....	3
The Euro-Atlantic Partnership: The Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council and the Partnership for Peace Program.....	3
Mediterranean Dialogue	5
Istanbul Cooperation Initiative.....	8
Partners Across the Globe	10
Distinctive Partnerships	12
Russia.....	12
Ukraine.....	15
Georgia.....	16
Main Partnership Tools and Mechanisms	18
Individual Partnership Action Plan.....	18
PfP Planning and Review Process.....	19
Operational Capabilities Concept Evaluation and Feedback Program.....	21
Partnership Cooperation Menu	22
Individual Partnership and Cooperation Program.....	22
Political-Military Framework for Partner Involvement in NATO-led Operations.....	23
Building Integrity Program.....	23
Partnership Interoperability Initiative	24
Defense and Related Security Capacity Building Initiative	25
Development of Partnership Policies.....	26
Madrid Summit 1997	26
Washington Summit 1999	27
Istanbul Summit 2004	29
Bucharest Summit 2008	30
Lisbon Summit 2010.....	31
Chicago Summit 2012.....	35
Wales Summit 2014.....	38
Possibilities for the Future Development	42
Conclusion	49
Appendix	50
Bibliography	55

Acronyms

ANP	Annual National Program
ANSF	Afghan National Security Forces
AU	African Union
BI	Building Integrity
CAI	Cooperative Airspace Initiative
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
DCBI	Defence and Related Security Capacity Building Initiative
EAPC	Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council
EAPMC	Euro-Atlantic Partnership Military Committee
EAPWP	Euro-Atlantic Partnership Work Program
EOP	Enhanced Opportunities Partners
EU	European Union
GCC	Gulf Cooperation Council
ICI	Istanbul Cooperation Initiative
ICP	Individual Cooperation Program
IFOR	Implementation Force
IPAP	Individual Partnership Action Plan
IPCP	Individual Partnership and Cooperation Program
IPP	Individual Partnership Program
ISAF	International Security Assistance Force
MAP	Membership Action Plan
MC	Military Committee
MD	Mediterranean Dialogue
MENA	Middle East North Africa
MLM	Military Liaison Mission
NAC	North Atlantic Council

NACC	North Atlantic Cooperation Council
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NDPP	NATO Defence Planning Process
NGC	NATO-Georgia Commission
NLO	NATO Liaison Office
NRC	NATO-Russia Council
NRF	NATO Response Force
NUC	NATO-Ukraine Commission
OCC	Operational Capabilities Concept
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
OUP	Operation Unified Protector
PAG	Partners Across the Globe
PARP	Planning and Review Process
PCM	Partnership Cooperation Menu
PfP	Partnership for Peace
PG	Partnership Goal
PII	Partnership Interoperability Initiative
PMF	Political-Military Framework
PSE	PfP Staff Element
RAP	Readiness Action Plan
RS	Resolute Support
SAQ	Self-Assessment Questionnaire
SFOR	Stabilization Force
SNGP	Substantial NATO-Georgia Package
TCP	Tailored Cooperative Package
TMD	Theater Missile Defence
UN	United Nations

VJTF	Very High Readiness Joint Task Force
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction

Introduction

After the reunification of Germany in 1990, the end of the Cold War, the declaration of an end to the Warsaw Pact in 1991, and the dissolution of the Soviet Union in the same year, NATO faced a very different security situation than it did during the decades of the Cold War. In order to reflect this changed strategic environment and the new challenges, the Alliance decided at the London Summit in 1990 to initiate new relationships with all countries in Central and Eastern Europe. This change in NATO policy was reflected in the Strategic Concept of 1991 in which dialogue and cooperation occupied an important place with the aim, among others, “of preventing crises or, should they arise, ensuring their effective management.”¹ Mutual understanding, transparency, predictability in security issues, and confidence among all European states should be improved through dialogue, consultation, and practical cooperation. “Two conclusions can be drawn from this analysis of the strategic context. The first is that the new environment does not change the purpose or the security functions of the Alliance, but rather underlines their enduring validity,” the document stated. Secondly, “the changed environment offers new opportunities for the Alliance to frame its strategy within a broad approach to security.”²

Partnerships were an essential means to integrate Central and Eastern Europe, Central Asia, and the Caucasus into European security structures. Both subsequent Strategic Concepts (1999 and 2010) continued to emphasize the significance of partnerships for the security and stability of the Euro-Atlantic area.³ In its actual Strategic Concept NATO even defines

¹ NATO, “The Alliance’s New Strategic Concept,” Official Text, November 8, 1991, accessed December 23, 2015, www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_23847.htm.

² Ibid.

³ See 1.) NATO, “The Alliance’s Strategic Concept,” Press Release NAC-S(99)65, Brussels: NATO, April 24, 1999, accessed December 29, 2015, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_27433.htm and 2.) NATO, “Active Engagement, Modern Defense: Strategic Concept,” Brussels: NATO, November 19, 2010,

“Cooperative Security” as one of its core tasks. Therefore, NATO’s partnership policy always intended and still intends to achieve a win-win situation for both NATO and its partners.

In order to achieve its partnership goals, NATO founded two partnership formats in 1994: Partnership for Peace (PfP) and the Mediterranean Dialogue (MD). In 2004, NATO launched an additional partnership format in the broader Middle East region: the Istanbul Cooperation Initiative (ICI). The last and geographically broadest initiative is called Partners Across the Globe (PAG) and was initiated in 2006 with what were initially called “contact countries.” NATO maintains distinctive partnerships with Georgia, Russia, and Ukraine, because those countries have a specific strategic relevance for the Euro-Atlantic Alliance. Over the years, NATO developed many different tools, mechanisms and individual programs in order to transfer its theoretical ideas and objectives into practical cooperation and to support and enhance the partnerships.

The challenge for the management of the partnership policy is that in each format there are partners who are more and others who are less willing and capable to intensify their cooperation with NATO. Additionally, the security environment has changed significantly in recent years and the partnership policy has had to be adapted appropriately. Therefore, in the more than two decades since the launching of the first partnerships, these partnerships were widened to other regions and evolved significantly. The most substantive change in the policy was the launching of the Partnership Interoperability Initiative and the Defense and Related Security Capacity Building Initiative in 2014.

The question is if the actual partnership policy is appropriate to meet today’s challenges or if it requires fundamental restructuring to effectively address the contemporary security environment. Addressing this question is the main purpose of this monograph. The analysis first

accessed August 10, 2015, http://nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_68580.htm.

outlines the different partnership frameworks, including the distinctive partnerships with Russia, Ukraine, and Georgia, as well as their history. It then explains NATO's different partnership tools with which the Alliance realizes the practical cooperation with its partners. Thirdly, it considers the development of NATO's partnership policy during the last decades. Finally, it proposes ideas for possible further developments of the partnership policy in a changed security environment. Although the European Union (EU) has strong links with NATO it is not considered here separately.

Partnership Frameworks

The Euro-Atlantic Partnership: The Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council and the Partnership for Peace Program

In order to cope with the new strategic environment, NATO institutionalized its relations with former Soviet bloc countries in Europe, the Caucasus, and Central Asia at the Rome Summit in 1991 by establishing the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC).⁴ It was a forum for dialogue whose aim was to strengthen the security of the Alliance and to secure democracy. NATO intended to support the new countries' reform efforts and to give practical assistance during the difficult times of transition.

In the first years after the Cold War, NATO enlargement was difficult to imagine primarily because of Russia's resistance and the seeming lack of a security threat, secondly because of the lack of interoperability and capabilities of the newly-independent states in Eastern Europe. Therefore, NATO launched within the framework of the NACC the Partnership for Peace (PfP) at the Summit in Brussels in 1994 with the focus on practical cooperation. In the very

⁴ Members of the NACC in 1991: NATO allies and Bulgaria, the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, and the Soviet Union. The following countries joined the NACC in 1992: all members of the newly-founded Commonwealth of Independent States (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan), Albania and Georgia. Austria, Finland, Slovenia, and Sweden had observer status.

beginning, PfP focused on the first line of former Warsaw Pact members in addition to Finland and Sweden.⁵ The PfP Framework Document, signed in January 1994, underlines that security and stability in the Euro-Atlantic region can only be achieved through cooperation and common action.⁶ The main objectives are to facilitate transparency in defense issues, to ensure democratic control of partner governments and their defense forces, to prepare countries for civil disasters and other emergencies, to maintain the ability to participate in operations under the authority of the UN, to develop military relations with NATO, and to develop in the long term the capability of forces to better operate together with NATO forces.⁷ In order to achieve these objectives, NATO decided to develop a program of exercises and other activities. Additionally, each partner country would develop an individual partnership program in close coordination with NATO. The intent of PfP was to provide a framework for NATO members and its PfP partners to reinforce cooperation, interoperability, and transparency.

In 1997 the allies established the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC) during the Madrid Summit, replacing the NACC. Today, the EAPC comprises 50 countries: The 28 NATO members and the 22 PfP countries. Cooperation takes place in many different areas within the framework of the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Work Program (EAPWP).⁸

⁵ PfP members in 1994: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Finland, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Sweden, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan. Current (2016) PfP members: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Austria, Belarus, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Finland, Georgia, Ireland, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Malta, Moldova, Montenegro, Russia, Serbia, Sweden, Switzerland, Tajikistan, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan. Details see Appendix.

⁶ See NATO, "Partnership for Peace: Framework Document," Press Release Annex to M-1(1994)002, Brussels: NATO, January 11, 1994, accessed August 10, 2015, <http://nato.int/docu/comm/49-95/c940110b.htm>.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ These areas include crisis management, peace support operations, regional issues, arms control, issues related to the proliferation of WMD, terrorism, defense issues, civil emergency planning, armament cooperation, nuclear safety, civil-military coordination of air-traffic management, and scientific cooperation. Additionally, the practical cooperation and the exchange of expertise include combatting terrorism and border security.

The EAPC is a multilateral forum for dialogue and consultation whereas the PfP program is the principal mechanism for practical bilateral cooperation between NATO and PfP partners. The main aim of the Euro-Atlantic Partnership is dialogue and consultation. But Euro-Atlantic Partnership is not only about cooperation, but is also based on values. Partners have to commit to international law like the UN Charter or the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, to the peaceful solution of conflicts, to fundamental freedoms, justice and peace through democracy, and to refrain from the threat or use of force against other states.

PfP also played an important role in preparing partners for possible membership. Therefore, by using this chance some of the PfP partners meanwhile became NATO members.⁹ The remaining partners have different ambitions and goals. Some of them reform their defense capabilities and structures, while others are able to contribute significantly to NATO-led operations and to the NATO Response Force (NRF) and want to improve their interoperability. Still others are interested in developing a common European security order.

In order to facilitate the partners' contact with NATO, NATO established Contact Point Embassies in each partner nation which enables the contact of the respective nation with NATO.

Mediterranean Dialogue

During the Cold War some Western countries competed with the USSR for influence in the Mediterranean region. NATO assessed the security in the strategically important Mediterranean region rather as an extension of the East-West conflict but did not play an active role in it. After the Cold War, NATO realized the interdependence of European and Mediterranean security and stability and recognized the close links between them. This was the reason for NATO to build closer and institutionalized contact with several Mediterranean countries by founding the Mediterranean Dialogue (MD) in 1994 in which five North African

⁹ See Appendix.

countries (Algeria, Egypt, Mauretania, Morocco and Tunisia) along with Jordan and Israel were brought together.

The overall aim of the Mediterranean Dialogue partnership framework is “to contribute to regional security and stability, achieve better mutual understanding [and] dispel any misconceptions about NATO among Dialogue countries.”¹⁰ The practical cooperation of the MD is based on the same objectives as those of PfP. The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 did not change the cooperation with the Mediterranean partners fundamentally, but they highlighted the need for closer cooperation in order to face common challenges like terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD). Fortunately, the instruments and mechanisms for this cooperation were already in place due to the contacts, procedures, and mechanisms established over the preceding years. Over time, the MD intensified in depth as well as in width: The number of activities grew from only a few to a few hundred written down in the annual Work Program.

In November 2002 during the NATO Summit in Prague a so-called substantial “package” was endorsed to increase the political and practical dimensions of the MD. This should be achieved by strengthening high-level contacts, conducting more regular consultations, giving MD partners the opportunity to participate in selected EAPC/PfP activities, and further intensifying practical cooperation.¹¹ NATO allies agreed that it was necessary to be able to respond to emerging threats in the Mediterranean region. Therefore the Alliance aimed at upgrading the MD process.

After the Arab Spring and the associated optimism for more stable democratic states in

¹⁰ NATO, “NATO Mediterranean Dialogue,” last modified February 13, 2015, accessed December 22, 2015, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_60021.htm.

¹¹ Examples for enhanced practical cooperation activities are: military education, training and doctrine; military medicine; defense reform; terrorism; proliferation of WMD; border security; civil emergency planning.

the Mediterranean region, recent events undermined stability and security in this region.¹² New risks and challenges arose. Because of the interdependence of security in Europe and in the Middle East North Africa (MENA) region it is of vital importance how to approach the region and how to contribute to its stabilization.

Even if the efforts that had been made were significant, in most of the partnership's history the MD was less effective than PfP and remained a step behind. One reason for this relatively slow development is the fact that some allies have different views about what to achieve within this framework.¹³ Other reasons could be that in the MD a link between partnership and possible future NATO membership like in some East European states never existed, the priority of cooperation was lower than the cooperation with PfP countries, NATO's focus was more on the Balkans, and a common vision and shared interests were missing.¹⁴ Additionally, in many Arab countries NATO had and still has a negative image and is often seen by its populations as the "military arm of the US policy in the Mediterranean."¹⁵ The consequence was a discrepancy between the needs of the MD partners and the offers of NATO and a limited influence of the Alliance. Reichborn-Kjennerud says, "NATO needs first and foremost to establish what its goals towards the region are, to provide a clearer sense of what it wants from its partnerships."¹⁶ The Arab-Israeli and the Israel-Palestinian conflicts aggravate the relations in the

¹² For example: war in Syria, exchange of missiles between Israel and Hamas, unstable power transition in Libya and Egypt.

¹³ See Alberto Bin, "NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue: A Post-Prague Perspective," *Mediterranean Politics* 7, no. 2 (Summer 2002): 115-119.

¹⁴ See Helle Malmvig, "From Diplomatic Talking Shop to Powerful Partnership? NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue and the Democratization of the Middle East," *Danish Institute for International Studies Brief*, Danish Institute for International Studies (May 2004).

¹⁵ Pierre Razoux, "The NATO Mediterranean Dialogue at a Crossroads," *Research Paper, Research Division - NATO Defense College*, Rome, no. 35 (April 2008): 3.

¹⁶ Erik Reichborn-Kjennerud, "NATO's Problematic Partnerships in the MENA Region," *Mediterranean Quarterly* 25, no. 2 (Spring 2002): 7.

Mediterranean region and have made it more difficult to find a common ground for practical cooperation. Additionally, NATO needs to articulate the added value of the cooperation for its partners and it has to be more attractive for them.

Nevertheless, the main objectives of the MD were largely achieved: Security and stability were reinforced, political bridges were built, mutual understanding between NATO and MD partners was deepened, and synergies were gained through activities like exercises, training, and seminars. The number of joint activities increased significantly during the 21 years of its existence and range from ordinary military contact to information exchange on antiterrorism and maritime security, and to joint crisis management exercises. The cooperation culminated in the participation of Egypt, Jordan, and Morocco in NATO-led operations in Afghanistan, the Balkans, and Operation Active Endeavour in the Mediterranean. A great achievement of MD was to bring “the most unlikely interlocutors around the same table to discuss matters that were long considered taboo.”¹⁷

Istanbul Cooperation Initiative

The United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Bahrain and Kuwait belong to the Istanbul Cooperation Initiative (ICI) which is based on bilateral relationships. Founded in 2004, this relatively young partnership framework opens a new range of relationships for NATO with countries that did not yet have a great knowledge about NATO. Its main aim is to strengthen security and regional stability through a new transatlantic engagement. The initiative respects the following principles: It takes the ideas and proposals originating from the countries of the region into account; it is based on mutual interests of NATO and the ICI partners, respecting their diversity and specific needs; NATO can use tools which were originally developed for other partnership frameworks like MD or PfP while considering the specific needs and desires of the ICI countries; the

¹⁷ Razoux, 2008, 2.

participation of the ICI partners in the initiative and their intensity of cooperation depends on their level of interest and their capabilities; finally, the aim of ICI is not to get membership in NATO or PfP, nor does it provide security guarantees.

The aims could be achieved particularly through practical cooperation and activities, for example by delivering defense reform expertise or developing the ability of participating countries' forces to operate with Alliance forces in the area of fighting against terrorism, restricting the flow of WMDs, or the illegal trafficking of arms. In order to achieve the aims of the initiative, the following priority areas have been created: Provide advice on defense reform, defense budgeting, defense planning and civil-military relations; promote military-to-military cooperation to contribute to interoperability by inviting interested countries to observe or participate in selected NATO or PfP exercises or training and education activities or by encouraging additional participation in NATO-led peacekeeping operations; fight against terrorism through information sharing and maritime cooperation; contribute to the work of NATO on threats posed by WMDs; promote cooperation in areas where the Alliance can add value, for example in the fields of border security and the fight against illegal trafficking; and promote cooperation in the areas of civil emergency planning.

The ICI is open to all interested countries in the region who agree to the above-mentioned principles. Membership in this initiative will be considered by the NAC on a case-by-case basis. Saudi Arabia and Oman declined to be part of ICI. One reason for Oman was the fact that the participation in ICI could be seen as a NATO-GCC Alliance against Iran which would be contrary to the good political relationship of Oman with the rulers of Iran. Saudi Arabia probably does not want to be part of ICI because it is not willing to be put on the same level as the many other smaller Gulf States which depend very much on foreign support for their security. Saudi Arabia does not generally refuse cooperation with NATO, but prefers to participate on a bilateral basis on activities like courses, seminars, and conferences.

All ICI partners have close bilateral relations with NATO allies, but they participate only in relatively few cooperative activities offered by NATO.¹⁸ One obstacle for the cooperation between NATO and ICI partners can be seen in the fact that they prefer to cooperate on a bilateral basis. That can be seen as “a result of the wide geopolitical divergences and traditional mistrust between GCC countries.”¹⁹

Much has been achieved through ICI: Gulf countries are among the most active partners in NATO-led operations, which shows that the Gulf States are not against cooperation with NATO per se, but within the framework of ICI.²⁰ One problem of ICI – as for MD – was the lack of a vision that NATO wants to achieve with the new partners and the missing incentives for partners to engage with NATO. Additionally, the biggest and most powerful country in the region, Saudi Arabia, is not a member of ICI. Therefore it is probably true, as Samaan wrote in 2012, that “eight years after NATO initiated its engagement with the Gulf countries, the results have been modest, not to say disappointing.”²¹ The Gulf region is probably one of the most critical regions for NATO and it is likely to remain so. The most challenging problems are maritime security, the risk of proliferation of WMDs, state failure, and terrorism.

Partners Across the Globe

Dialogue with countries in the whole world helps NATO manage its operations. Since 1998, NATO has invited countries outside of the formal frameworks to participate in exercises, conferences, and workshops and allowed them access to different partnership activities on a case-

¹⁸ Bahrain, Kuwait and Qatar host for example U.S. military bases, the United Arab Emirates provide the French Navy with a base in Abu Dhabi. All ICI partners signed a complex arrangement of security contracts with France, the United Kingdom and the United States.

¹⁹ Jean-Loup Samaan, “NATO in the Gulf: Partnership Without a Cause?” *Research Paper, Research Division - NATO Defense College*, Rome, no. 83 (October 2012): 5.

²⁰ Bahrain and the United Arab Emirates participated for example in ISAF, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates contributed to the Operation Unified Protector in Libya.

²¹ Samaan, 2012, 1.

by-case decision of the NAC. These countries were called “contact countries”. After the terrorist attacks of September 2001, NATO discovered the increasing importance of the Asia-Pacific region also for the security of the Western world. The Asia-Pacific democracies Australia, New Zealand, Japan and South Korea not only shared common values but also similar security interests such as extremist terrorism, proliferation of WMDs, access to energy, piracy, and cyber threats.

Therefore, next to the above mentioned formal partnership frameworks, NATO expressed at the Riga Summit in 2006 the growing value of working with the “contact countries”. At the Bucharest Summit in 2008, it emphasized the importance of the now called “Partners Across the Globe (PAG)”: Afghanistan, Australia, Iraq, Japan, the Republic of Korea, Mongolia, New Zealand, and Pakistan. The focus was on practical cooperation and followed less a geographical aspect than a functional approach. NATO reached out to partners in the world who were willing and able to work together and address security challenges with NATO. Intensifying relations with Australia, South Korea, Japan, and New Zealand “can be considered as a manifestation of the desire for the transformation of NATO from a collective defense organization to a global security organization.”²²

NATO cooperates with its PAG on an individual basis and decided to develop “Tailored Cooperation Packages” (TCP) with those partners which focused on different activities such as exercises, intelligence and technological exchange, and training. In principle, these partners have access to all NATO partnership activities and choose those areas of cooperation where they wish to engage on a basis of mutual benefit. The cooperation of NATO with the PAG is mainly focused on NATO-led operations. Different PAG states contributed either with troops or by funding to NATO-led operations in the Balkans, in Afghanistan, and in Libya. The “Political

²² Arif Bağbaşlıoğlu, “Relations With ‘Global Partners’ in the Framework of NATO’s New Partnership Policy,” *Security Strategies Journal* 10, no. 20 (October 2010): 58.

Military Framework (PMF) for partner involvement in NATO-led operations” constitutes the basis for these contributions.

PAG did not become a formal partnership framework. The reason for this decision was the fact that some allies were concerned that a formal global network could turn away the focus of the United States from Europe and the principle of collective defense. Additionally, closer cooperation with countries in the Asia-Pacific region could lead to frictions with China.²³ Nevertheless, even if a new formal partnership framework had not been launched, NATO stated at the Riga Summit that NATO’s challenges are more global than regional in nature, that the relations with likeminded nations in the world are of importance and mutual interest and that – even if NATO’s core mission remains Article 5 – NATO should have the ability to support and conduct operations even far from its home territory because future attacks might arise from outside of the Euro-Atlantic region.²⁴

Distinctive Partnerships

Russia

The relations between NATO and Russia were established after the end of the Cold War when Russia joined the NACC in 1991 and the PfP program in 1994. In 1997, the NATO-Russia Founding Act was signed and provided the formal basis for relations between NATO and Russia. The overall objective of this document was that “NATO and Russia ... will build together a lasting and inclusive peace in the Euro-Atlantic area on the principles of democracy and cooperative security.”²⁵ The signing of this treaty implied a completely new relationship between

²³ See Gülnur Aybet and Rebecca R. Moore, ed., *NATO in Search of a Vision* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2010) and Arif Bağbaşlıoğlu, “Relations With ‘Global Partners’ in the Framework of NATO’s New Partnership Policy,” *Security Strategies Journal* 10, no. 20 (October 2010): 49-83.

²⁴ See NATO, “Comprehensive Political Guidance,” November 29, 2006, accessed December 29, 2015, http://nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_56425.htm.

²⁵ NATO, “Founding Act on Mutual Relations, Cooperation and Security between NATO

the former adversaries after decades of the Cold War. Even if it is not assessed as a legally binding act, it should not be seen only as a simple declaration. This document rather expresses the will of both sides to end the Cold War hostilities and to substitute them with mutual commitment to peaceful relations. The understanding that NATO and Russia share strategic priorities and face common challenges was the driving force behind the cooperation of NATO and Russia. In order to facilitate regular contacts and cooperation, Russia established a diplomatic mission to NATO in Brussels in 1998, and NATO opened an Information Office in Moscow in 2001 and a Military Liaison Mission (MLM) in 2002.

After NATO's intervention in Kosovo in 1999, Russia interrupted its cooperation within the framework of PfP and the Founding Act and the latter lost its functionality. But with the establishment of the NATO-Russia Council (NRC) in 2002 dialogue and cooperation were restored and further intensified. The NRC served as a framework for consultation on current security issues and directed practical cooperation in different areas. The cooperation was developed through different working groups and committees. Both NATO and Russia agreed upon these groups and committees in the annual work programs.²⁶ In August 2008 formal meetings of the NRC and cooperation in some areas were suspended until spring 2009 as a result of Russia's military action in Georgia. The North Atlantic Council (NAC) condemned Russia for recognizing South Ossetia and Abkhazia as independent states.²⁷ At the Lisbon Summit in 2010,

and the Russian Federation," May 27, 1997, accessed October 20, 2015, http://nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_25468.htm.

²⁶ Key areas of cooperation in the context of NRC are such as: the NRC Helicopter Maintenance Trust Fund (with the aim to help the Afghan Armed Forces to operate and maintain their helicopter fleet), the NRC Counter-Narcotics Training Project, NRC Action Plan on Terrorism, Cooperative Airspace Initiative (CAI), cooperation in the area of theatre missile defense (TMD), NRC Missile Defense Working Group, dialogue on a growing range of issues related to the non-proliferation of WMD, military-to-military cooperation, countering piracy, submarine crew search and rescue at sea, dialogue on doctrinal issues, strategy and policy, defense industrial cooperation, logistics, civil emergency, scientific cooperation, terminology and language training.

²⁷ NATO, "Statement," Press Release (2008)104, August 19, 2008, accessed December

NRC leaders emphasized the importance of NATO–Russia dialogue and partnership. They decided to deepen the cooperation, because both sides seemed to have realized that common security interests exist. As Arif Bağbaşıoğlu expressed it: “NATO wanted to see Russia on its side not on the opposite side in case of new threats.”²⁸

When Russia intervened in Ukraine on March 2, 2014 the NAC “condemn[ed] the Russian Federation’s military escalation in Crimea and expresse[d] its grave concern regarding the authorization by the Russian Parliament to use the armed forces of the Russian Federation on the territory of Ukraine.”²⁹ When Russia conducted the so-called referendum in Ukraine’s Autonomous Republic of Crimea – which violated the Ukrainian Constitution and international law – NATO suspended all practical civilian and military cooperation with Russia. But NATO decided to maintain political contacts at the level of ambassadors and above. “The Allies continue to believe that a partnership between NATO and Russia, based on respect for international law, would be of strategic value.” Further, they “regret that the conditions for that relationship do not currently exist.”³⁰ At the Wales Summit, NATO agreed on the Readiness Action Plan (RAP) and the implementation of the Very High Readiness Joint Task Force (VJTF) with which it aims at enhancing its readiness against possible threats to member states. With the RAP NATO shows its political determination to assist its eastern members, but simultaneously attempts to avoid offending the NATO-Russia Founding Act in which NATO, among others, committed itself not to station NATO units permanently east of Germany.³¹ All in all, relations between NATO and

28, 2015, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_29950.htm.

²⁸ Arif Bağbaşıoğlu, “Beyond Afghanistan – NATO’s partnership with Central Asia and South Caucasus. A tangled partnership?” *Journal of Eurasian Studies*, no. 5 (2014): 91.

²⁹ NATO, “North Atlantic Council statement on the situation in Ukraine,” Press Release (2014)033, March 2, 2014, accessed October 20, 2015, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_107681.htm.

³⁰ NATO, “NATO’s relations with Russia,” last modified November 11, 2015, accessed December 21, 2015, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_50090.htm.

³¹ See NATO, “Wales Summit Declaration,” Press Release (2014)120, Brussels: NATO,

Russia have changed very much over the past two decades.

Ukraine

Relations with Ukraine were established when Ukraine joined the NACC in 1991 and PfP in 1994. With the signing of the “Charter on a Distinctive Partnership” between NATO and Ukraine and the creation of the NATO-Ukraine Commission (NUC) at the Madrid Summit in 1997, the cooperation deepened. With this charter NATO and Ukraine, among others, recognize the fundamental security changes in Europe after the end of the Cold War, aim at strengthening the mutual trust and cooperation between NATO and Ukraine, stress the transformation NATO has undertaken in the years after the end of the Soviet Union, welcome the progress Ukraine has made in developing its democratic institutions, and express their will to further intensify their cooperation.³² The NUC “is the decision making body responsible for developing the NATO-Ukraine relationship and for directing cooperative activities. It also provides a forum for consultation between allies and Ukraine on security issues of common concern.”³³ This was strongly underlined by the fact that Ukraine is the only partner that contributed to all NATO-led operations. The NUC meets regularly at the level of ambassadors and military representatives and periodically at the level of foreign and defense ministers and chiefs of staff. Occasionally Summit level meetings with the heads of state and government take place. In the NUC the current security situation in Europe is discussed as well as the situation in Afghanistan and the Balkans, the fight against terrorism, and other regional security issues. Since 2008 NATO and Ukraine have

September 5, 2014, [http:// www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_112964.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_112964.htm), Paragraphs 7, 8, 16-23.

³² NATO, “*Charter on a Distinctive Partnership between the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and Ukraine*,” Brussels: NATO, July 9, 1997, accessed December 27, 2015, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_25457.htm.

³³ NATO, “NATO-Ukraine Commission,” last modified May 21, 2014, accessed October 20, 2015, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_50319.htm.

developed an ANP (Annual National Program) in order to further enhance the cooperation.³⁴ Key areas of cooperation between NATO and Ukraine are peace-support operations, defense and security sector reforms, military-to-military cooperation, defense technical cooperation, civil emergency planning, security-related scientific cooperation, and public information.³⁵

In response to the Russia-Ukraine conflict in 2014, the allies “condemned Russia’s ‘annexation’ of Crimea and its continued and deliberate destabilisation of eastern Ukraine in violation of international law.”³⁶ Furthermore, they “continued to express their full support for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine within its internationally recognised borders.”³⁷ NATO has intensified its support for Ukraine and reinforced the existing cooperation.³⁸ For example, it deployed an advisory support team to Kyiv and helped to coordinate the provision of humanitarian assistance as well as medical capabilities. Additionally, Trust Funds have been launched to support new initiatives in areas including command, control, communications and computers (C4), logistics and standardization, cyber defense, military career transition, and medical rehabilitation.

Georgia

The first relations between NATO and Georgia started in 1992 when Georgia joined the NACC. Two years later it became a member of PfP. Since 1999, Georgia has participated in the PARP with the main aims being to improve interoperability with NATO forces, to conduct

³⁴ This ANP focuses on five areas: political and economic issues, defense and military issues, resources, security issues, and legal issues.

³⁵ For details see NATO, “Relations with Ukraine,” last modified: December 8, 2015, accessed December 19, 2015, http://nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_37750.htm.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ See NATO, “Wales Summit Declaration,” Press Release (2014)120, Brussels: NATO, September 5, 2014, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_112964.htm, Paragraphs 24-29.

reforms in the security sector, and to achieve democratic control of the armed forces. Moreover, Georgia participates in the Building Integrity (BI) Program, partnership trust funds and other partnership tools. In 2008, NATO allies agreed at the Bucharest Summit that Georgia will become a NATO member state. This decision was reconfirmed at all following Summits.

After the crisis with Russia in 2008, NATO expressed its support for Georgia's territorial integrity, independence, and sovereignty and agreed in September of the same year to establish the NATO-Georgia Commission (NGC). This commission aims at intensifying the political dialogue and cooperation between NATO and Georgia, at assisting Georgia to recover from the conflict with Russia in 2008, at supporting Georgia's reform efforts with a focus on key democratic and institutional goals, and at supporting the aspiration for becoming a NATO member.³⁹ The NGC meets regularly with all allies and Georgia on different levels up to the Summit level. It provides a forum for consultation mainly on the reform process in Georgia and security issues of common interest. In parallel with the NGC, the "Military Committee with Georgia" was created which focuses on military cooperation with the main objectives being to implement the military aspects of the Annual National Program, to increase interoperability and to intensify strategic planning and defense reforms. The ANP contains the key areas of cooperation. Priorities for Georgia include "transforming its public and private sectors in order to promote democracy, good governance, the rule of law and sustainable social and economic development, as well as reforming the defense and security sector."⁴⁰

In order to optimize the cooperation, NATO established the NATO Liaison Office (NLO) in Tbilisi. The main tasks of the NLO are to provide advice and assistance to the government of

³⁹ For details see NATO, "Framework document on the establishment of the NATO-Georgia Commission," Press Release (2008)114, Tbilisi, Georgia: NATO, September 15, 2008, accessed December 20, 2015, http://nato.int/cps/en/natohq/news_46406.htm.

⁴⁰ NATO, "Relations with Georgia," last modified December 8, 2015, accessed December 21, 2015, http://nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_38988.htm.

Georgia on reform efforts and on the planning and implementation of cooperation activities, to facilitate bi- and multilateral projects and to conduct liaison in order to deepen cooperation and mutual understanding.

At the Wales Summit in 2014, NATO agreed upon a substantial package for Georgia with a twofold aim: to strengthen Georgia's ability to defend itself and to further develop its efforts towards NATO membership. Georgia was one of the largest non-NATO troop contributors to ISAF and one of the biggest contributors to "Resolute Support", the follow-on mission in Afghanistan. Additionally, it participates in the Operation Active Endeavour in the Mediterranean and in the 2015 rotation of the NRF.

Main Partnership Tools and Mechanisms

NATO's most important priorities of cooperation with its partners are interoperability, building capacity, and supporting defense and security related reforms. In order to improve these capabilities and to strengthen cooperation with its partners, NATO developed many different partnership tools and mechanisms. Most of the tools were initially established for the PfP format, but are now open for partners of all frameworks. The partnership tools comprise for example Individual Partnership Action Plans (IPAP), the PfP Planning and Review Process (PARP), Operational Capabilities Concept (OCC) Evaluation and Feedback Program, and Individual Partnership and Cooperation Program (IPCP).

Individual Partnership Action Plan

Individual Partnership Action Plans (IPAPs) were implemented in 2002 at the Prague Summit. An IPAP is developed by NATO together with the interested partner country and offers the opportunity for this partner to deepen its cooperation with NATO. An IPAP defines the cooperation objectives for reforms on security and defense issues as well as on political matters and the priorities of the concerned partner, and it ensures that all mechanisms contribute to

achieving these objectives. The defined objectives fall in six general categories.⁴¹ IPAPs are developed on a two-year basis and are reviewed periodically. The development of an IPAP is open to all partners upon approval of the NAC.

An IPAP gives NATO the opportunity to provide specific advice on defense and security-related reform. It facilitates bilateral support by allies or other partners or the coordination of efforts of other international institutions. Those partners who would like to intensify their relations with NATO but are not yet prepared for participation in the Membership Action Plan are qualified for an IPAP. In 2004, Georgia was the first partner to have an IPAP approved.

PfP Planning and Review Process

In 1994, NATO decided to develop a Planning and Review Process (PARP) which was then launched in 1995. The PARP aims at providing a base for and developing interoperable and capable partner forces which might participate in NATO training, exercises, and operations. It is the basis for a more intensified integration of partners into the planning and decision processes and supports the force-planning of partners.⁴² It assists “partners to develop effective, affordable and sustainable forces as well as to promote wider defense and security-sector transformation and reform efforts.”⁴³

PARP is a biennial voluntary process. A partner which is interested in it must first

⁴¹ General categories: Political and security issues; defense, security and military issues; public information; science and environment; civil emergency planning; and administrative, protective security and resource issues.

⁴² In principle, PARP matches the NATO defense planning process (NDPP). However, there are some differences: While the NDPP aims at all possible operations including Article 5 operations PARP only aims at preparing partner forces for non-Article 5 operations. Additionally, the principle of self-differentiation allows the partners to decide whether to participate in the process or not. Lastly, NDPP is a process that aims at being able to fulfill all possible task of the Alliance collectively whereas PARP is a process between NATO allies and one single partner in order to define the goals of this one partner.

⁴³ NATO, “Partnership Tools,” last modified November 13, 2014, accessed August 11, 2015, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_80925.htm: 4.

complete a PARP survey.⁴⁴ This survey is the basis for the development of the Partnership Goals (PG) which are defined by both NATO allies and the respective partner nation and tailored to the needs of the partner. The implementation progress of the agreed PG are continuously reviewed and analyzed by a PARP Assessment. Both the PG and the PARP Assessment are approved by the ambassadors of all allies and the concerned partner nation. PARP is the main tool to assess to which degree the implementation of the defense-related objectives defined in the IPAPs has been achieved.

PARP is a process between NATO allies and each participating partner country. That means that there are simultaneously as many distinct PARP processes as partners who decide to participate in the process. In the beginning, PARP was open only to PfP partners.⁴⁵ Since 2011 (as agreed upon at the NATO foreign ministers' meeting in Berlin in April 2011), partners of all partnership frameworks can participate in the PARP process if NAC approves it on a case-by-case basis. Participation in PARP is a prerequisite for joining the MAP. Countries that wish to become a NATO member have to participate in the MAP. However, participation in the MAP does not automatically lead to membership.

In the meantime, PARP is not only a tool for improving interoperability and increasing transparency, but also to support reform efforts and the development of new capabilities. It also provides planning mechanisms for partners which are EU members to develop capabilities for and contributions to EUs military capabilities reflecting the fact of each nation having only a single set of forces. Additionally, PARP has extended to the wider security sector by covering objectives also for Ministries of Interior, Finance, Border Guard Services, or Emergency Services.

⁴⁴ Content of a PARP survey is: Forces and capabilities available to NATO, defense plans, the structure of the partner's forces and the budgetary plans.

⁴⁵ In 1994, 15 PfP partner nations participated in the PARP process.

Operational Capabilities Concept Evaluation and Feedback Program

The aim of the Operational Capabilities Concept (OCC) Evaluation and Feedback Program is to improve the operational capabilities of PfP partner forces and their interoperability with NATO forces by establishing additional peacetime means and mechanisms. With this, the ability of allies and partners to operate together in future NATO-led operations can be optimized through closer military cooperation and NATO gains more flexibility and predictability about possible future partner contributions to operations. The training and cooperation during peacetime give the partner and allied forces a solid base for this future cooperation in operations and facilitates the integration of partners in a NATO-led force.

In the OCC process some fundamental principles have to be respected: There will be no automatization for participation of a partner in a NATO-led operation, and the decision whether a partner contributes to such an operation remains a case-by-case decision by the allies and the respective partner; training remains a national responsibility; the OCC process is open to all partners; and NATO must remain able to fulfil the full range of its mission also without partners; the Alliance will not depend on the partners' contributions, but those contributions may facilitate the conduct of an operation or release the burden of the allied forces.

The OCC process consists of the following elements: Firstly, a so called pool of partner forces and capabilities which will potentially contribute to a NATO-led operation has to be identified. Multinational formations can be included in this OCC pool of forces, if all participating nations agree to it. Subsequently, peacetime working relations will be developed in order to facilitate the preparation and integration of these forces into allied forces. The training then starts with the aim that the "earmarked" partner forces meet NATO standards. The whole training and evaluation process normally lasts a few years and is divided in four different levels that the respective forces have to pass.⁴⁶ The capabilities of the forces will be verified by the

⁴⁶ The different levels are: SEL 1 (Self Evaluation Level 1), NEL 1 (NATO Evaluation

partner country as well as by a NATO evaluation team.

OCC is an appropriate tool for preparing forces of partner countries to cooperate with allies in operations. It also enables them on a strategic level to transform their defense forces. It takes into account other initiatives like PARP and supports the MAP by improving the interoperability of partner forces with Alliance forces. During the OCC process resource implications have always to be taken into account. It is unavoidable that the implementation depends in part on the national defense budgets of the respective country. That does not mean that the standards will be different depending on the resource situation of the partner country, but that a respective nation will be supported in different ways to achieve the agreed-upon goals.

Partnership Cooperation Menu

The Partnership Cooperation Menu (PCM) has been accessible to all partners since 2012. It comprises more than 1,400 activities, ranging from training activities in maritime operational planning to exercises in preparation for operations, courses on arms control, non-proliferation and terrorism, crisis response operations, conferences, workshops, expert team visits, and seminars. These activities are categorized in 37 defined Areas of Cooperation (AoCs) and offered by NATO bodies (for example the Strategic Commands, the NATO Defense College, or the NATO School Oberammergau), allied or partner nations and give interested partners the opportunity to choose in which activities they want to participate depending on their interests, ambitions, and capabilities.

Individual Partnership and Cooperation Program

The Individual Partnership and Cooperation Program (IPCP) is a two-year program based

Level 1), SEL 2 (Self Evaluation Level 2), and NEL 2 (NATO Evaluation Level 2). The self-evaluation will be conducted by the respective partner nation itself whereas the NATO level evaluation will be done by a team of evaluators coming from NATO countries and/or other partner nations.

on the PCM. It is jointly developed by NATO and each partner country that requests to develop one. It is a two-year program based on the PCM that takes into account the specific needs and interests of the respective partner country. It is the basis of the cooperation between the respective partner and NATO. Since 2010 it is open to all partners.

Political-Military Framework for Partner Involvement in NATO-led Operations

The first Political-Military Framework (PMF) for partner involvement in NATO-led operations was signed at the NATO Washington Summit in 1999. It was adapted in 2011 after the Lisbon Summit. The PMF sets the basis and defines the principles and modalities for partners wishing to participate in NATO-led operations. It establishes a structural role for NATO's operational partners concerning political consultations, decision making, operational planning and command arrangements. An operational partner is defined as "a country that contributes forces/capabilities to a NATO-led operation, or supports it in other ways that the NAC formally accepts, on the basis of political-military advice, as a contribution."⁴⁷ The PMF is part of a bigger effort to enable partners to participate more intensively in decision making and planning and to develop a more operational role for PfP. Furthermore, the political consultation in PfP should be increased. Through the PMF, partners have a bigger say in the preparation of operations and their planning but NATO members still keep the last word in decision-making in NATO-led operations. The involvement of partners in the planning for NATO-led operations can be realized through national liaison officers or representatives at the MC level.

Building Integrity Program

The Building Integrity (BI) program aims at reducing the risk of corruption in the defense

⁴⁷ NATO, "Political military framework for partner involvement in NATO-led operations," NATO, last modified April, 15, 2011, accessed August, 11, 2015, http://www.nato.int/nato_static/assets/pdf/pdf_2011_04/20110415_110415-PMF.pdf.

establishments of partners by promoting good practices, and strengthening transparency, accountability, and integrity. Partners participate on a voluntary basis in the BI program which is open to the partners of all partnership frameworks. The program was established by the EAPC in 2007, and at the Chicago Summit in 2012 all allies agreed on the development of a BI Education and Training Plan. In 2012, “BI was earmarked as an instrument to help promote democratic values and human rights, contribute more generally to security and stability, and to help develop or enhance interoperability.”⁴⁸

The BI mechanism comprises the BI Self-Assessment Questionnaire (SAQ) and Peer Review Process, tailored programs, education and training activities, and publications. The SAQ represents the first step in the process and is the basis for the Peer Review Report. Subsequently, the tailored programs aim at meeting the specific needs of the respective country and finally the education and training activities are the key of the program in order to achieve sustainable changes. In parallel, publications are produced to support the entire process.

Partnership Interoperability Initiative

Many of our partners participated in different NATO-led operations, especially ISAF in Afghanistan, and stood alongside the allies. During this time both NATO and its partners very much improved their interoperability and gained a lot of experience in cooperating with each other. Nowadays, in the light of a decreasing operational intensity, it is increasingly difficult to retain the level of interoperability NATO achieved with its partners during that former period. Therefore, at the Wales Summit in 2014, NATO launched the “Partnership Interoperability Initiative” (PII) in order to further intensify the cooperation with those partners who are capable and willing to contribute to future NATO-led operations and to the NRF – independent of their

⁴⁸ NATO, “Building Integrity (BI) Program,” last modified June 24, 2014, accessed December 27, 2015, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_68368.htm: 1.

partnership format. As a result, 25 partners of all partnership formats are participants in the PII. The PII was launched because of the fact that the different partnerships did not meet anymore perfectly the needs and expectations of the partners mainly because of the big differences in their ambition, capabilities and will to contribute to NATO-led operations or to the NRF and to participate actively in NATO activities. One practical tool that has been initiated through the PII is the Interoperability Platform. This platform brings together allies and those partners who are interested in intensified cooperation and which have already demonstrated their commitment to reinforce their interoperability with NATO.⁴⁹

Additionally, inside this PII a group of the so-called “Enhanced Opportunities Partners” (EOP)⁵⁰ was created who are part of the Interoperability Platform and have made and still make particularly significant contributions to NATO-led operations. With the EOP, NATO discussed how to further deepen the dialogue and the practical cooperation within the PII. It is a program that deepens NATO’s cooperation with its most interoperable partners. Examples for intensified cooperation are assured approval for selected NATO exercises, the possibility to man more positions at NATO headquarters, and a strengthened political dialogue.

Defense and Related Security Capacity Building Initiative

The Defense and Related Security Capacity Building Initiative (DCBI), as with the PII, was endorsed in September 2014 at the Wales Summit. It aims at “reinforcing NATO’s commitment to partner countries and helping the Alliance project stability without deploying large combat forces, as part of the Alliance’s overall contribution to international security,

⁴⁹ Up to now 25 partners belong to the interoperability platform: Armenia, Australia, Austria, Azerbaijan, Bahrain, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Finland, Georgia, Ireland, Japan, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Moldova, Mongolia, Montenegro, Morocco, New Zealand, Serbia, Republic of Korea, Sweden, Switzerland, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Tunisia, Ukraine, United Arab Emirates. For details see Appendix.

⁵⁰ Enhanced Opportunities Partners: Australia, Finland, Georgia, Jordan, and Sweden.

stability and conflict prevention.”⁵¹ With this initiative NATO supports, advises, assists, trains, and mentors countries that require defense capacity-building support. NATO is able to provide strategic-level advice on defense and related security reform, institution building, and assist in developing defense capabilities and local forces. This is particularly done by education and training. The support can also be provided in areas like logistics, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration, civil emergency planning, or cyber defense. Close cooperation with other international organizations like the United Nations, the European Union and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe is foreseen. At the Wales Summit NATO agreed that Georgia, Jordan, and the Republic of Moldova will be the first beneficiaries of this initiative. In the meantime, it was extended to Iraq and further extensions to other interested partners or even to non-partners or international or regional organizations are possible.

Development of Partnership Policies

In the following section the most significant developments and changes in the partnership policies allies decided upon at the different NATO Summits are outlined. Thereby, only those Summits are considered at which decisive decisions concerning partnerships were taken.

Madrid Summit 1997

As already mentioned above, NATO inaugurated the EAPC during the Madrid Summit in 1997. Furthermore, it introduced the enhanced PfP. This enhancement improved for example the development of the political consultation and operational and decision-making aspects of the partnership. At the Summit, the NAC was tasked to develop a package of measures to increase the role of PfP in the future. The result of those measures was an expanded political dimension of EAPC and intensified cooperation under PfP. The EAPC has proven to be a useful forum for

⁵¹ NATO, “Partnership Tools,” last modified November 13, 2014, accessed August 11, 2015, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_80925.htm.

political consultations while PfP remains the principal mechanism for practical cooperation. Additionally, the Euro-Atlantic Partnership provides a framework for further areas of cooperation like humanitarian demining, coordination of disaster relief, and humanitarian assistance. Furthermore, the enhanced and more operational partnership will enable the partners in particular through OCC to work with the Alliance in future operations.

Another tool of NATO's partnership, the PMF, was also initiated at the Madrid Summit (and endorsed at the Washington Summit) and defines principles and modalities for partner involvement in political consultations, decision making, and operational planning. It enables partners to participate in the planning and execution of NATO-led PfP operations.⁵²

As an additional result of the Madrid Summit, new procedures have been developed to expand and adapt PARP. The enhanced PARP remains an important tool for intensifying interoperability and capabilities declared available for PfP activities. The main changes were the addition of PARP Ministerial Guidance as well as the extension of the planning horizon to six years. Partnership Goals will be developed biennially on the basis of the ministerial guidance. They support the partners in developing capabilities to work together with allies and also assist those who are interested in becoming a NATO member to prepare their forces for this aim. Furthermore, the Summit debuted the NATO-RUS Permanent Joint Council and the NATO-Ukraine Commission (NUC).

Washington Summit 1999

The Washington Summit was held in April 1999 at the height of the NATO bombing of Yugoslavia. After the failure of several attempts to solve the crisis in Kosovo peacefully, NATO decided to intervene militarily with an air campaign starting on March 24, 1999. It was the first

⁵² For details see NATO, "Political military framework for partner involvement in NATO-led operations," last modified April, 15, 2011, accessed August, 11, 2015, http://www.nato.int/nato_static/assets/pdf/pdf_2011_04/20110415_110415-PMF.pdf.

time that NATO engaged outside of its own territory in order to avoid a humanitarian catastrophe caused by Serbia through attacking parts of the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) and the Kosovar population. The campaign remained controversial because a mandate of the UN Security Council did not exist. Concerning NATO internally, on March 16, 1999 the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland joined the Alliance as the first new members since the end of the Cold War.

In addition to the measures of the Madrid Summit, at the Washington Summit, NATO heads of state and government approved different measures to define the role of the Alliance in the 21st century. Two aspects that gained in importance were “crisis management” and “partnership and cooperation.” NATO aimed at achieving an enhanced and more operational partnership. On the one hand, this addressed future challenges of NATO multinational operations and on the other hand improved the interoperability between Alliance and partner forces. Furthermore, the Summit approved a new Strategic Concept which emphasized the importance of partnerships and raised “partnerships” into one of its fundamental security tasks: “To promote wide-ranging partnership, cooperation, and dialogue with other countries in the Euro-Atlantic area, with the aim of increasing transparency, mutual confidence and the capacity for joint action with the Alliance.”⁵³

The Summit also launched the MAP as a signal of NATO’s “open door policy” to provide guidelines for potential members. This MAP contains a list of political, economic, defense, resource, security, and legal requirements for becoming a member. With this link of partnership and possible membership the allies had a good control over which partner was ready for membership and which membership would be in the Alliance’s interest. Additionally, the PMF was endorsed and the OCC for NATO-led PfP Operations was implemented. The aim was to

⁵³ NATO, “The Alliance’s Strategic Concept,” Press Release NAC-S(99)65, Brussels: NATO, April 24, 1999, accessed December 29, 2015, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_27433.htm.

increase the training and education within PfP and to reflect the more operational nature of PfP resulting from the enhancement process. Moreover, lessons learned from IFOR and SFOR were taken into account. One of those lessons, for example, was the need for more interoperability with partners because of increasing multinationality on lower levels. Additionally, it was recognized that future operations would likely be conducted outside NATO territory and be longer in duration than it was foreseen in the past.

Furthermore, PfP Staff Elements (PSE) had been established within the International Military Staff (IMS) of NATO HQ and in other NATO military staffs and commands. The aim of the establishment of the PSE posts was to intensify the military cooperation within PfP and to allow partner nations' officers and NCOs to work within NATO HQ and NATO command structure. The PSE posts are to be manned exclusively with officers and NCOs from partner nations. That means that those partner countries' officers and NCOs are working side by side with Alliance's officers in the heart of NATO. In the beginning, 39 officers from 13 partner nations served in these posts. Today, about 90 PSE posts are established in the NATO command structure.

Istanbul Summit 2004

The global security environment NATO faced in 2004 was substantially different from the situation in 1999: The horrible terrorist attacks against the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001 were a terrible shock not only for the United States but for the whole world. The subsequent military intervention in Afghanistan started on October 7, 2001 with US air operations and continued when ISAF assumed responsibility to ensure security in Kabul and its environment on December 22, 2001 on the basis of the UN Security Council resolution 1386. Additionally, on March 20, 2003 the US-led coalition started the invasion of Iraq based on the assertion that Iraq possessed WMD, and posed an immediate threat to the United States. Concerning NATO internally, seven new members joined the Alliance on March 29, 2004: Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia,

Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia.

In the light of this changed security environment, in 2004 NATO faced new threats which included terrorism and the proliferation of WMD. NATO was engaged in fighting terrorism and in strengthening security and stability in many regions in the world. NATO met these threats and challenges by the conduct of military operations and activities, the engagement with partners, and transformation of military capabilities. With regard to partners NATO decided to cooperate more closely in common security issues with the EU, states in Europe, Central Asia, the Caucasus, the Mediterranean, and the Middle East. It was agreed at the Istanbul Summit in June 2004 that relationships with those partners should be strengthened in order to cooperate more effectively in coping with the new challenges.

NATO established “a more ambitious and expanded framework for the Mediterranean Dialogue.” The objectives included “enhancing the existing political dialogue, achieving interoperability, developing defense reform, and contributing to the fight against terrorism.”⁵⁴ Additionally, NATO launched the ICI in order to cooperate more closely with single countries in the Gulf region.⁵⁵

Bucharest Summit 2008

An important event in the security environment during the years before the Bucharest Summit were the cyber-attacks on Estonia starting in April 2007 against the parliament, banks, ministries, newspapers, etc. Estonia accused Russia of being involved in the attacks but no evidence of this was ever found. Following these attacks, the NATO Cooperative Cyber Defence Centre of Excellence was established in Tallinn.

⁵⁴ NATO, “A More Ambitious and Expanded Framework for the Mediterranean Dialogue,” Brussels: NATO, June 28, 2004, accessed August 26, 2015, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_59357.htm.

⁵⁵ For details see chapter “Istanbul Cooperation Initiative”.

At the Bucharest Summit in April 2008, the allies “welcome[d] Ukraine’s and Georgia’s Euro-Atlantic aspirations for membership in NATO” and agreed “that these countries will become members of NATO.”⁵⁶ MAPs would be the next step on the way to NATO membership for these two countries. Furthermore, NATO underlined the enduring value of its partnerships in general and especially encouraged the partner countries in the Balkans to intensify their cooperation with the Alliance.

Lisbon Summit 2010

After the Bucharest Summit in 2008, the security environment changed again: In August 2008 the Russo-Georgian War had started with the Russian military intervention in Georgia which caused a temporary breach in the relationship between NATO and Russia. Regarding the ISAF mission the Afghan government, ISAF and the High Representative of NATO decided at the Afghan Conference in Afghanistan in July 2010 to grant security responsibility to the Afghan national security forces (ANSF). Simultaneously, a reduction of ISAF forces was sought. In Iraq, the United States renamed “Operation Iraqi Freedom” to “Operation New Dawn” and withdrew all its combat forces from the country with the last combat brigade leaving Iraq in August 2010. Concerning NATO internally, NATO welcomed two new members on April 1, 2009: Albania and Croatia; this was the last enlargement of the Alliance, now comprising 28 countries.

In response to the changed strategic political environment during the eleven years since the last Strategic Concept was endorsed, NATO adopted its new Strategic Concept at the Lisbon Summit in November 2010 that included NATO’s three new core tasks: Collective Defense, Crisis Management and Cooperative Security.⁵⁷ It should enable NATO to defend its members

⁵⁶ NATO, “Bucharest Summit Declaration,” Press Release (2008)049, April 3, 2008, accessed January 2, 2016, http://nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_8443.htm.

⁵⁷ NATO, “Active Engagement, Modern Defense: Strategic Concept,” Brussels: NATO, November 19, 2010, accessed August 10, 2015, http://nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_68580.htm.

against all upcoming threats, to manage all existing and future crises and to work with other international organisations and nations. NATO concluded that the “promotion of Euro-Atlantic security is best assured through a wide network of partner relationships with countries and organisations around the globe. These partnerships make a concrete and valued contribution to the success of NATO’s fundamental tasks.”⁵⁸ The result is that international stability should be enhanced.

Concerning the partnership policy, the Alliance’s heads of state and government agreed “to further enhance our existing partnerships and to develop new ones with interested countries and organisations.”⁵⁹ Partnerships are one tool to enhance Euro-Atlantic security and stability. They contribute to strengthening NATO’s common values and are important for the success of many NATO-led operations. Partnerships are also a means of supporting reform efforts, of sharing expertise, of preparing interested countries for membership, and of promoting transparency. The main objectives are to promote regional security and cooperation, to facilitate mutually beneficial cooperation, to enhance support for NATO-led operations, to enhance awareness of security developments, to build confidence, and to achieve mutual understanding.⁶⁰

NATO emphasized the need to intensify political dialogue and practical cooperation with its partners and intended to further develop EAPC/PfP as the essential framework for political dialogue, practical cooperation, and military interoperability. Because of the increasing importance of the Mediterranean and the Gulf region for peace and stability, NATO intended to strengthen the MD in order to build mutual confidence and to face the security challenges in this

⁵⁸ NATO, “Active Engagement, Modern Defense: Strategic Concept,” Brussels: NATO, November 19, 2010, accessed August 10, 2015, http://nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_68580.htm.

⁵⁹ NATO, “Lisbon Summit Declaration,” Press Release (2010)155, Brussels: NATO, November 20, 2010, accessed August 26, 2015, http://nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_68828.htm.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

region, and to also increase its cooperation with ICI partners. Finally, NATO decided to engage more intensely not only with the partners in the formal frameworks, but also with the PAG.

In order to achieve those improvements, the allies decided to streamline the partnership mechanisms, which have evolved since the beginning of the partnerships and proved in principal to be appropriate. However, the allies wanted to make the partnerships more flexible, to harmonize the different partnership programs, and to open all cooperative activities to all partners, regardless of their partnership framework. This meant that the number of partnership activities accessible to partners of MD, ICI and PAG increased significantly. As the last improvement NATO aimed to optimize the training mechanisms and to support partners in building capacities. The value of partners' contributions to NATO-led operations had been underscored as a sign that partners promote international security and stability. On the basis of lessons learned, especially during the cooperation in ISAF and KFOR, NATO would review the PMF for NATO-led operations.

NATO stated that the strategic partnership between NATO and EU should be improved. Furthermore, the cooperation with the OSCE as an important regional security organization should be intensified, especially in areas like conflict prevention and resolution, post-conflict rehabilitation, and in addressing new security threats. NATO also emphasized keeping the door open to all European democracies which share the same values as the Alliance members. They also have to be willing and able to accept the obligations and responsibilities of membership and to contribute to the security of the North Atlantic area. The document mentioned explicitly the partner countries Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, and Serbia as countries with which the cooperation should be intensified and which could be potential new members.

Additionally, it was agreed that the partnerships with Georgia and Ukraine should be developed. The agreement made at the Bucharest Summit in 2008 that Georgia would become a

NATO member was reaffirmed. Political dialogue and practical cooperation with Georgia should be promoted. While respecting the “non-bloc” status of Ukraine, NATO continued to provide support to Ukraine for the implementation of domestic reforms. Main efforts of cooperation should be high-level political dialogue as well as reform and practical cooperation through the ANP. NATO assessed the cooperation with Ukraine as mutually beneficial and as a possibility to contribute to security and stability in the Euro-Atlantic area.

NATO emphasized at the Summit that the cooperation with Russia had a strategic importance. The aim of the cooperation in the framework of the NRC is to build a lasting and inclusive peace in the Euro-Atlantic area. NATO remains committed to the principles and goals written down in the NATO-Russia Founding Act and sees a true strategic partnership between NATO and Russia. NATO welcomed closer cooperation in Afghanistan and actively aimed to pursue cooperation on missile defense. The Alliance also intended to discuss different other possible areas of cooperation with Russia, including implementing OSCE principles, military deployments, arms control, information sharing, transparency on military doctrine, and posture in short-range nuclear weapons.

The reform of the partnerships policy had been expected, because the existing mechanisms no longer seemed appropriate due to the changed security environment and the partnership structures, which had become increasingly complex during the sixteen years of partnership policy. In order to achieve those aims, NATO foreign ministers approved subsequent to the Lisbon Summit the so called “Berlin Package” during their meeting in April 2011 in Berlin.⁶¹ It comprises three main aspects for the new partnership policy: for it to become more efficient and flexible; for the management of the partnerships to be streamlined;⁶² and for the

⁶¹ The “Berlin Package” consists of the following NATO documents: “A More Efficient and Flexible Partnership Policy” and the “Political Military Framework for Partner Involvement in NATO-led Operations”.

⁶² Up to 2011, the partnerships have evolved so much that the different mechanisms,

procedures for all partners who want to participate in NATO-led missions to be clarified. The new partnership policy lists eight strategic objectives without specifying any priorities, for example promoting regional security, promoting democratic values, and enhancing awareness on security developments. Decisions about the concrete resource allocation will be made with consideration of the partner sharing NATO's values, its contribution to operations or its strategic importance. As an important improvement of the management of the partnership mechanisms, NATO created the single Partnership Cooperation Menu (PCM) which lists more than 1,400 activities and is now open to all partners.⁶³

Chicago Summit 2012

At the Chicago Summit in 2012 NATO made clear that it will remain committed to its Strategic Concept of 2010 and keep its three core tasks: Collective Defense, Crisis Management, and Cooperative Security. Allies underlined that “partnerships play a crucial role in the promotion of international peace and security.”⁶⁴ They are the key element of one of NATO's core tasks: Cooperative Security. The partnership policy continues to provide the framework for political dialogue and practical cooperation, enables NATO and the partners to share experiences, facilitates the distribution of common values, and contributes significantly to NATO's operations and missions. NATO intends to actively pursue the implementation of the “more efficient and flexible partnership policy.” This shall be done by “reinforcing the Euro-Atlantic Partnership

acronyms and tools became increasingly confusing. NATO developed for example individual programs with each partner in which the aims that should be achieved with the respective partner were defined. These individual documents had different names, different contents and different formats for each partnership format: For PfP partners they were called “Individual Partnership Programs” (IPP), for MD partners “Individual Cooperation Programs” (ICP), and for ICI partners and PAG “Tailored Cooperative Packages” (TCP).

⁶³ For details see chapter “Partnership Cooperation Menu”.

⁶⁴ NATO, “Chicago Summit Declaration,” Press Release (2012)062. Brussels: NATO, May 20, 2012, accessed August 26, 2015, http://nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_87593.htm.

Council, the Mediterranean Dialogue, the Istanbul Cooperation Initiative, and our relationships with Partners Across the Globe, while making full use of flexible formats; further developing our political and practical cooperation with partners, including in an operational context; and through increasing partner involvement in training, education, and exercises, including with the NATO Response Force.”⁶⁵

NATO expressed its appreciation of partner contributions to cooperation activities and Trust Funds as well as to NATO-led operations. Additionally, NATO emphasized the importance of joint training and exercises with partners to maintain interoperability and interconnectedness with partner forces, especially when not engaged together in operations. Subsequently, NATO decided to continue the open door policy as it was agreed upon in 2010. Especially the progress of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia,⁶⁶ Montenegro,⁶⁷ Bosnia and Herzegovina,⁶⁸ and Georgia⁶⁹ were stressed and much appreciated. NATO expressed its gratefulness for the

⁶⁵ NATO, “Chicago Summit Declaration,” Press Release (2012)062. Brussels: NATO, May 20, 2012, accessed August 26, 2015, http://nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_87593.htm.

⁶⁶ NATO welcomed the reform efforts of Macedonia and assured to further support those efforts and to encourage the implementation. NATO also encouraged the efforts to build a multi-ethnic society and appreciated Macedonia’s contributions to NATO operations and its role in regional cooperation activities. As soon as a solution of the name issue had been found NATO will extend the invitation for membership to Macedonia.

⁶⁷ NATO appreciated Montenegro’s significant progress toward NATO membership, its contribution to security in the Balkans and beyond and the increasing support for NATO membership amongst its population. Additionally, NATO emphasized the implementation of important political, economic and defense reforms in Montenegro.

⁶⁸ NATO welcomed the significant political progress Bosnia and Herzegovina had made and encouraged all actors to continue to further implement the necessary reforms for the Euro-Atlantic integration. NATO encouraged the leaders of Bosnia and Herzegovina to start its first MAP cycle as soon as possible and appreciated its contribution to NATO-led operations.

⁶⁹ NATO reaffirmed its decision that Georgia will become a member of NATO and welcomed the progress Georgia had made since the Bucharest Summit through reforms and implementation of its ANP. NATO will continue to support Georgia implementing democratic, judicial, and electoral reforms. NATO appreciated the substantial contribution of Georgia to NATO-led operations, especially as the second largest non-NATO troop contributing nation to ISAF.

contributions of those four countries to NATO-led operations. NATO also supports the Euro-Atlantic integration of Serbia.⁷⁰ After 15 years of distinctive partnership with Ukraine, NATO underlined its decision to continue cooperation with Ukraine, to assist with the implementation of reforms in the framework of the NUC and the ANP. Simultaneously, NATO encouraged Ukraine to address existing shortcomings of its judicial system and to ensure free, fair and inclusive parliamentary elections in 2012.

The relationship with Russia remained of strategic importance. The aim was to build a stable and secure space of lasting peace in the Euro-Atlantic area. The principles of the NATO-Russia Founding Act remained the basis for the cooperation. NATO stressed that even if progress in cooperation with Russia had been made, there was still need for improvement of trust, transparency, and predictability. The build-up of Russia's military presence in Georgia was especially concerning for NATO. Therefore, Russia was requested to grant free access for humanitarian assistance and international observers. The NRC was seen as the central forum for political dialogue and practical cooperation. Main aspects were issues related to Afghanistan, expanded counter-terrorism cooperation, growing counter-piracy cooperation off the Horn of Africa, further improvement of trust and reciprocity, and areas like defense matters, strategy, doctrines, military postures, military exercises, and arms control and disarmament.

Because of the rapidly changing security situation in the Mediterranean region at the time, the strengthening of partnership relations with the countries of this region became more and more important. The Libya crisis illustrated the benefits of the cooperation with the partners in this region.⁷¹ Therefore NATO aimed at consulting more regularly through the MD and ICI.

⁷⁰ NATO welcomed Serbia's progress in building a stronger partnership with NATO and assured the further support for realizing reforms and deepen the political dialogue as well as practical cooperation.

⁷¹ Jordan, Morocco, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates participated in the Operation Unified Protector (OUP) and were already before starting the operation used to NATO procedures due to former participation in training and exercises with NATO members in the preceding years.

Additionally, it was agreed that bilateral consultations should be conducted on a 28+n basis.⁷² NATO declared its willingness to support those partners in areas as security institution building, defense modernization, capacity development, and civil-military relations. The main aims of cooperation with the MD are strengthening mutual understanding, political dialogue, practical cooperation, and interoperability. NATO stressed the importance of proactivity of the MD partners in exploiting the opportunities offered by NATO. Furthermore, NATO declared that the MD remains open for additional partners, for example Libya. The political dialogue and the practical cooperation with ICI should also be strengthened. This partnership format also remains open for new interested members.

Wales Summit 2014

The main change in the security environment following the Chicago Summit was Russia's illegal annexation of Crimea. This fundamentally altered NATO's relation with Russia and led to the launching of the RAP and the VJTF.⁷³ During his visit in Estonia directly before the Wales Summit, U.S. President Obama gave a clear message to Russia that its behavior is not acceptable. He intended to reassure the Baltic States that NATO would be ready to adhere to its treaty obligations.

In the light of this security situation, at the Wales Summit in 2014 NATO again reaffirmed its commitment to the three core tasks written down in its Strategic Concept: Collective Defense, Crisis Management and Cooperative Security. NATO underlined once again the importance of its partnerships for enhancing international security: The partners served with allies in Afghanistan, made significant contributions to the cooperation activities and supported

Additionally, Sweden contributed to OUP, but this partner does not belong to a partnership framework of the Mediterranean.

⁷² Meaning: 28 = all NATO members; n = one partner or a group of several partners.

⁷³ For details see chapter "Distinctive Partnerships: Russia".

NATO to build a security network. The values that are shared among NATO allies and international security will be strengthened through this cooperation. The engagement with relevant countries and international organizations will be in accordance with NATO's Berlin Partnership Policy. NATO aimed at deepening both the political dialogue and the practical cooperation. NATO therefore argued in favor of strengthening the relationship with its partners by building defense capacities and interoperability, supporting transparency and integrity in the defense sectors, and deepening multinational training and cooperation.

At the time of the Wales Summit, PfP was 20 years old. It still is an excellent platform for cooperation up to the Caucasus and Central Asia. Allies and partners again committed to the common values and principles which are the basis of PfP and as important as ever. NATO also reaffirmed the commitment to MD and ICI and underlined that both partnership frameworks are complementary, but distinct, and emphasized that they will stay open for interested countries which share our common values.⁷⁴ In the light of the actual security situation in the Mediterranean area and the implications for the security situation in Europe, the MD is more important than ever for NATO. Therefore, allies support its MD partners wherever possible including with IPCPs.

The cooperation with ICI partners and PAG is also to be intensified. The tools which were created in the Berlin Partnership Policy are already used by many partners, but they should be used more often by all partners. The cooperation of NATO with the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) and the Arab League as important players in the region should be intensified as well.

The ISAF mission as a combat operation in Afghanistan ended in 2014. Many of the partners participated in this mission and contributed to the international force. It was an excellent

⁷⁴ NATO emphasized in the Wales Summit Declaration for example its readiness to support Libya with advice on defense and security institution building and to develop a long-term partnership which could possibly lead to membership in the MD.

opportunity to improve the interoperability and to intensify the practical cooperation in the field. After the end of ISAF, the reduction of the international force in Afghanistan, and the beginning of the follow-on mission “Resolute Support” (RS), NATO decided to focus more on preparing and training together with its partners. Therefore, NATO launched the Partnership Interoperability Initiative (PII) with the Interoperability Platform. This newly established partnership tool comprised 25 partners who are interested in improving the interoperability of their forces with NATO forces. The first meeting with representatives of these 25 Interoperability Platform members (see Appendix) took place during this Summit. Additionally, the first meeting with the five Enhanced Opportunities Partners (EOP) (see Appendix) who are part of the Interoperability Platform and made and still make particularly significant contributions to NATO-led operations was held.

Another initiative which was launched during the Summit was the Defense and Related Security Capacity Building Initiative (DCBI). The main aim of this initiative is to project stability without employing large NATO combat forces. With this, the Alliance desires to contribute to international security and conflict prevention. Georgia, Jordan, the Republic of Moldova, and Iraq are the first beneficiaries of this initiative. It will stay open as well for interested partners and non-partners as for international or regional organizations which want to build their defense capacities. In the Wales Summit Declaration NATO mentioned Libya explicitly not only as a possible future member of MD but also of this initiative, if the conditions allow it.

In article 10 of the Washington Treaty⁷⁵ the Alliance’s Open Door Policy is defined. Being a great success for security and stability in the Euro-Atlantic area this policy remains valid.

⁷⁵ Article 10 Washington Treaty: “The Parties may, by unanimous agreement, invite any other European State in a position to further the principles of this Treaty and to contribute to the security of the North Atlantic area to accede to this Treaty. Any State so invited may become a Party to the Treaty by depositing its instrument of accession with the Government of the United States of America. The Government of the United States of America will inform each of the Parties of the deposit of each such instrument of accession.”

All partners who share NATO's values, who are willing to assume the responsibilities of membership, and whose membership would contribute to strengthening the security situation in Europe, are invited to aspire to join NATO. Each decision concerning a possible new member will be a case by case decision of the NATO allies. The allies especially mentioned Montenegro, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina as additional possible future NATO members.

NATO welcomed the democratic development of Georgia and encouraged the partner to continue its reforms. In the light of those developments, the large contribution to ISAF, and the offer to participate in the NRF, NATO reaffirmed its decision made at the NATO Summit in 2008 that Georgia is welcome to become a member of NATO. In order to further strengthen this partnership, NATO endorsed a "Substantial NATO-Georgia Package" (SNGP).⁷⁶ This package includes defense capacity building, training, exercises, liaison, and enhanced interoperability. Those measures aim at strengthening Georgia's defense and interoperability capabilities and supporting Georgia to progress in its preparations towards NATO membership.

Concerning the situation in Ukraine, NATO continued to condemn Russia's intervention in Ukraine and demanded that Russia withdraw its forces from Ukraine. It clearly underlined that Russia violated international law and breached its commitments. Simultaneously, it determined that NATO does not represent any threat to Russia. Nevertheless, the allies stated that NATO continues to regard a partnership with Russia, based on respect, trust, and international law, of strategic value. The Alliance emphasized that it will stay committed to its support of Ukraine. "An independent, sovereign, and stable Ukraine, firmly committed to democracy and the rule of law, is key to Euro-Atlantic security."⁷⁷ NATO expressed that it will continue to support

⁷⁶ NATO, "Substantial NATO-Georgia Package," Factsheet, accessed December 21, 2015, http://www.nato.int/nato_static_fl2014/assets/pdf/pdf_2015_12/20151209_151209-factsheet-nato-georgia-package.pdf.

⁷⁷ NATO, "Wales Summit Declaration," Press Release (2014)120, Brussels: NATO,

Ukraine's reform efforts through the ANP and that additional work has been made to promote interoperability and transform the security and defense sectors.⁷⁸

Possibilities for Future Development

All in all, the partnership policy is a success story with more than twenty years' history: Many newly-founded democracies in Eastern Europe and the Caucasus region were supported on their transition path; the cooperation with partners in crisis regions could be intensified; the cooperation with many partners in NATO-led operations was deepened; NATO was able to spread democratic ideas and values via its partnership policy especially in former Warsaw Pact countries; and lastly, some of the former partners are today Alliance members.⁷⁹ Nevertheless, NATO's differentiation in regional partnership frameworks which I described above was not equally successful: In the case of PfP it was very successful, in the case of MD and ICI less successful, and in the case of PAG very promising. The newly-launched PII and DCBI take the actual demands and expectations into consideration. In the light of significantly decreasing defense budgets in many of the allied countries, security concerns which will probably originate from outside the North-Atlantic area in the future, security threats of more global nature,⁸⁰ and capable partners who are able and willing to support NATO with important resources, nobody doubts that partnerships will remain an important part of NATO's contribution to international security and therefore a core task of the Alliance. But partnerships are hard work. The incentive of future membership becomes less and less attractive for actual partners because most of them, especially in the MENA region, the Gulf area and the PAG, don't intend to become NATO

September 5, 2014, [http:// www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_112964.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_112964.htm).

⁷⁸ For details see chapter "Distinctive partnership with Ukraine".

⁷⁹ For detailed dates see Appendix.

⁸⁰ For example cyber threat, maritime security, energy security, proliferation of WMD, and counterterrorism.

members – nor does NATO intend to offer them membership. With NATO enlargement the partnerships changed. While in the beginning many partners aimed at improving their interoperability in order to become members, today most partners develop their interoperability in order to be able to participate in NATO-led operations and NRF. Many partners with high ambitions became members. Some who do not want to become members, even if they have high ambitions and modern armed forces, have little similarities with those partners with smaller agendas and goals. All frameworks consist of a very diverse mix of countries. Up to now, the different partnership formats mainly follow a regional approach, but the more capable partners do not necessarily belong to the same partnership format.⁸¹ Consequently, NATO has to think about the goals, the structure and the prioritization of the partnerships. Prioritization does not necessarily have a firm regional focus.

One problem of the MENA region with its complex security situation is the separation in two distinct partnership frameworks: MD consisting mostly of North African countries and ICI consisting of four Persian Gulf states. The reason for this division was the assumption that both groups of countries have different security interests. Furthermore, the ICI was initiated ten years later than the MD. But obviously the interests of the partners of both partnership formats are closely interlinked. Another issue for the further progress of these partnerships is the fact that many of these partners have close ties with single NATO allies because of their linked history and receive more bilateral cooperation than cooperation with the Alliance as a whole. Therefore, NATO implemented in its Strategic Concept of 2010 cooperative security as one core task in order to signal the importance of its partnerships, including ICI and MD. NATO confirmed this approach in 2012 (Chicago Summit) and 2014 (Wales Summit) and offered support to its partners through individualized programs (IPCP). Therefore, even if many partners prefer the bilateral

⁸¹ Evidence for this is the fact that the participants in the PII come from all different partnership frameworks. Details see in Appendix.

approach, NATO should continue the multilateral approach. This is the most suitable way to promote mutual confidence, to realize a regular strategic dialogue with all partners of the region, and to be able to concentrate the Alliance's efforts and its resources on a common goal. NATO should make sure that both political dialogue, including strategic long-term goals and policy issues, and practical military-to-military cooperation have their place in the partnership policy. Only the inclusion of both aspects will enhance the efforts of NATO's partnerships. Nevertheless, even if the partnerships in the MENA region were not as successful as was initially hoped their utility proved valid during the Operation Unified Protector in Libya. These achieved efforts reveal the increasing importance of interoperability and the different ambitions of partners of all partnership formats.

Another reason why some partners in the MENA region are sometimes slightly reluctant in intensifying their relations with NATO is the fact that some governments in the region realized that NATO can contribute to security against external threats of the countries but also can foster internal unrest and instability for the regimes by questioning the legitimacy of specific governments, doubting the application of democratic procedures, etc. Therefore, it is important to make clear what is the added value for the partners in the region to cooperate with NATO, which role does NATO want to play in the region, and what are its goals: Will NATO just train, advise, and assist in order to promote MENA military forces or will it play a political role by constructing partnerships around values of individual liberty, democracy, the rule of law, and human rights? One fact must also be clear: NATO can only be one part of bringing stability to the MENA region. A comprehensive approach is necessary, for example cooperation with the EU or OSCE.

In order to improve the partnership organization in the MENA region, Razoux proposes dividing the MD in two parts: one area grouping around the Maghreb (Algeria, Mauritania, Morocco, and Tunisia) and another around the Mashreq (Egypt, Israel, and Jordan).⁸² On the one

⁸² For details see Pierre Razoux, "How to revitalize the dialogue between NATO and the

hand, with this separation the specific political and geographical problems and interests could better be taken into account. The cooperation only with the Maghreb countries would probably be easier, because the Israeli-Palestinian conflict would not hamper the cooperation. On the other hand, this division would make it more difficult to bring Libya into the MD framework because it represents a kind of bridge between the Maghreb and Mashreq. Furthermore, NATO would create an additional partnership framework which would not contribute to streamline and facilitate the partnership policy. Therefore, this idea doesn't seem to be a practical way to substantially improve the partnership organization.

Not only the MD, the other partnership frameworks are also very diverse. One solution to optimize the partnerships structure could be to completely dissolve the partnership formats and to cooperate only on a bilateral basis (28+1) with all 41 partner nations. A big advantage of this model would be that NATO could optimally focus on the individual needs of each partner country. It could best concentrate on the requests, desires, capabilities, and possible contributions of the partners. But the disadvantage of this idea is that the organization and the management of the cooperation with each single partner would be very complicated and time consuming because meetings, documents and procedures would have to be organized and defined separately for each partner country bilaterally. That would consume too many resources and time and the coordination would be too complicated. Additionally, there would be much less cooperation among the partners themselves. Therefore, this idea does not seem to improve the partnerships.

The biggest challenge in the existing structure of partnerships is the fact that in each format there are partners who are more and others who are less willing and capable to intensify their cooperation with NATO. After the end of the ISAF operation in Afghanistan and in the light of the actual global security challenges, the most important goals of NATO's partnership policy

Maghreb countries," *Research Paper, Research Division – NATO Defense College*, (December 2010).

should be to keep the achieved level of interoperability with partners, to meet to the best extent possible their expectations and to utilize as best as possible their different capabilities. With the newly-founded PII, which contains partners of all different partnership frameworks, NATO has already started to streamline and optimize its partnership policy. This initiative takes into account partners' diversity and focuses more on capabilities and ambitions than on regional affiliation. This is a move in the right direction. In the last two decades, the regional differentiation and the different goals of PfP, MD, ICI and PAG were very suitable and logical and completely met the demands of the period after the Cold War. But today, even if the focus of NATO shifts back to "collective defence" as a core priority after the Russian aggression in Ukraine, NATO faces challenges which are more global in nature. Therefore, the partnerships should also have a more global focus and structure.

In order to better be able to face the global security challenges together with our partners and to better respect their demands and capabilities, I propose to reorganize the partnership policy as follows: The original partnership formats PfP, MD, ICI, and PAG, mainly based on regional affiliation, should be dissolved. Instead, the new partnership structure should be organized in three different levels/groups in order to better respect the different capabilities and the willingness of the 41 partners: a) a basic level that gives the respective partners the opportunity to engage in political dialogue, to improve mutual understanding, and to cooperate militarily on a relatively small degree; b) a level open to partners who intend to improve their capabilities and their interoperability with NATO; c) a level open to partners with the highest ambitions which aim at contributing to NATO's efforts that goes beyond the present partnership cooperation.⁸³ The first level could be called "worldwide partners," the second "interoperability partners," and the third

⁸³ This proposal follows roughly the ideas of Johan Raeder. For details see Johan Raeder, "Thinking of the Future of NATO Partnerships," in *Advancing US-Nordic-Baltic Security Cooperation*, eds. Daniel S. Hamilton, Andras Simonyi, and Debra L. Cagan (Washington, DC: Center for Transatlantic Relations (CTR), 2014), 62-63.

“enhanced partners.”

The future partnership policy should continue to respect the following principles: 1) Self-differentiation. Every partner has different ambitions which it should have the possibility to develop within its own financial, military, political and social capabilities. One consequence is that there will not be a “one-size-fits-all” format. 2) Transparency and confidence building. NATO should nowhere be seen as even the slightest threat. Its activities should not be misunderstood. One prerequisite for this is the necessity of defining a clear strategy about what NATO wants to achieve in the different regions in the world and where it does not want to play a role. One challenge for further intensifying partnerships, especially in the MENA region, is the negative view of Western policies which parts of their populations have. Therefore, public diplomacy will be an increasingly important aspect of NATO’s partnership policy.

The PII with the interoperability platform as well as the DCBI are perfect starting points for the new approach, representing the second level. The EOP could represent the third level while all other partners remain in the first group. This seems to be a pragmatic and appropriate way for the future. Already in 2006, the then-American NATO ambassador Nuland appealed openly for the dissolution of EAPC but the US government rapidly distanced itself from this idea and explained that it was only the personal opinion of the ambassador and not the official US position.⁸⁴ But today, ten years later in a changed security environment and with a different focus in the partnership policy, this idea seems to be worth thinking about. The model aims at attracting militarily strong countries to NATO. With this cooperation NATO will not only export democracy as it did in the beginning of its partnership policy, but also try to integrate the support of partners into NATO. That reflects the “evolution of NATO from a Eurocentric defense alliance

⁸⁴ Karl-Heinz Kamp, “‘Global Partnership’: A New Conflict Within NATO?” *Analysen und Argumente aus der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung*, no. 29/2006 (May 2006).

to a globally operational and militarily effective security institution.”⁸⁵ On a regular basis a review should be conducted in order to perceive if a partner wants to change from one to another group. If this is the case the allies have to decide if the respective partner has the necessary capabilities to do so and if the Alliance wants him to change the group.

The above mentioned tools like PARP, OCC, IPCP, etc. could be kept in order to show the partners that NATO keeps the well-known basis of its partnership policy. The dissolution of the traditional partnership formats, especially the very successful “label” PfP has to be explained to NATO’s partners and to the public by sound declarations: They will not be dissolved because of their ineffectiveness; on the contrary they will be transformed to another form of partnerships because they were successful and very well suited for the last 20 years or so, but today the new structure is better suited to face the new global security challenges.

In the new partnership structure the cooperation with NATO’s PAG has the biggest potential: First, NATO becomes a more and more global actor and the threats are equally global as already elaborated above. Secondly, among the PAG are some powerful, willing, and relatively rich partners who have a high technology standard. Additionally, countries like Australia, Japan, the Republic of Korea, or New Zealand not only face similar security challenges, but also share the same values as NATO allies. They have all contributed to NATO-led operations. In order to benefit from the capabilities of those countries, they should be more intensively integrated in the new partnership structure as outlined before and a vision of NATO’s involvement in the Asia-Pacific region should be developed. Closer cooperation with these partners would doubtless be a win-win situation for both NATO and its partners. Up to now, the potential of the PAG has not been exploited as far as it could. Especially, a more regular political dialogue about Asia-Pacific security matters should take place.

⁸⁵ Karl-Heinz Kamp, “‘Global Partnership’: A New Conflict Within NATO?” *Analysen und Argumente aus der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung*, no. 29/2006 (May 2006): 4.

Because of the very different characteristics, interests, capabilities, and contributions to NATO-led operations of partners even in the same existing partnership framework, the classification in the new three different levels would much better meet the political and military requirements than the actual existing partnership frameworks.

Conclusion

NATO's partnerships were launched after the end of the Cold War and have evolved very much in the last 22 years. The aims of the different partnerships changed a lot over the years according to the evolving security situation and the role of NATO in the world. In the beginning, the main objective was to promote democracy and stability in the former Warsaw Pact nations and to prepare them for NATO membership. Over the years, NATO enlarged its partnerships by initiating the MD, ICI, and PAG. The mechanisms and tools also increased. All in all, the partnerships are a success story. But despite some adaptations and the streamlining of the partnership mechanisms and tools, the partnership frameworks no longer perfectly meet the needs and desires of both NATO and its partners. In the light of the actual security environment in the world nobody doubts that cooperation with partners is important in the future and therefore it remains one of NATO's three core tasks. But the diversity of the partners in all existing partnership formats is so large that the efficiency of the partnership policy is not ensured any more. Therefore, this monograph proposes to dissolve the existing partnership formats and to create three groups of partners who are independent of any geographical orientation and more aligned with their capabilities and willingness. The proposed partnership structure takes into account the newly-launched PII and DCBI and the capabilities of the partners. With the implementation of this policy NATO will be able to optimize its efforts of cooperation with its partners and to gain more profit of the allocated resources. NATO has to explain this shift of its partnership policy with sound public diplomacy and should generally intensify its public diplomacy efforts especially in those partner countries in which its objectives and its strategy are not very well known.

Appendix

Table 1. Partnership for Peace Member States (in 2016)

State	Signing date PfP	State	Signing date PfP
Armenia	05.10.1994	Moldova	16.03.1994
Austria	10.02.1995	Montenegro	14.12.2006
Azerbaijan	04.05.1994	Russia	22.06.1994
Belarus	11.01.1995	Serbia	14.12.2006
Bosnia and Herzegovina	14.12.2006	Sweden	09.05.1994
Finland	09.05.1994	Switzerland	11.12.1996
Georgia	23.03.1994	Tajikistan	20.02.2002
Ireland	01.12.1999	The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	15.11.1995
Kazakhstan	27.05.1994	Turkmenistan	10.05.1994
Kyrgyzstan	01.06.1994	Ukraine	08.02.1994
Malta	26.04.1995	Uzbekistan	13.07.1994

Table 2. Former Partnership for Peace Member States, Now Members of NATO

State	Signing date PfP	Date of NATO membership
Albania	23.02.1994	01.04.2009
Bulgaria	14.02.1994	29.03.2004
Croatia	25.05.2000	01.04.2009
Czech Republic	10.03.1994	16.03.1999
Estonia	03.02.1994	29.03.2004
Hungary	08.02.1994	16.03.1999
Latvia	14.02.1994	29.03.2004
Lithuania	27.01.1994	29.03.2004
Poland	02.02.1994	16.03.1999
Romania	26.01.1994	29.03.2004
Slovakia	09.02.1994	29.03.2004
Slovenia	30.03.1994	29.03.2004

Table 3. Mediterranean Dialogue Member States

State	Signing date
Algeria	03/2000
Egypt	02/1995
Israel	02/1995
Jordan	11/1995
Mauritania	02/1995
Morocco	02/1995
Tunisia	02/1995

Table 4. Istanbul Cooperation Initiative Member States

State	Signing date
Bahrain	28.06.2004
Kuwait	28.06.2004
Qatar	28.06.2004
United Arab Emirates	28.06.2004

Table 5. Partners Across the Globe

Afghanistan
Australia
Iraq
Japan
Republic of Korea
Mongolia
New Zealand
Pakistan

Table 6. Interoperability Platform Members

Armenia	Mongolia
Australia	Montenegro
Austria	Morocco
Azerbaijan	New Zealand
Bahrain	Serbia
Bosnia and Herzegovina	South Korea
Finland	Sweden
Georgia	Switzerland
Ireland	The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia
Japan	Tunisia
Jordan	Ukraine
Kazakhstan	United Arab Emirates
Moldova	

Table 7. Enhanced Opportunities Partners

Australia
Finland
Georgia
Jordan
Sweden

Table 8. Defence Capacity Building Recipients

Georgia
Iraq
Jordan
Moldova

Figure 1.

Partnership formats: PfP, MD, ICI, PAG

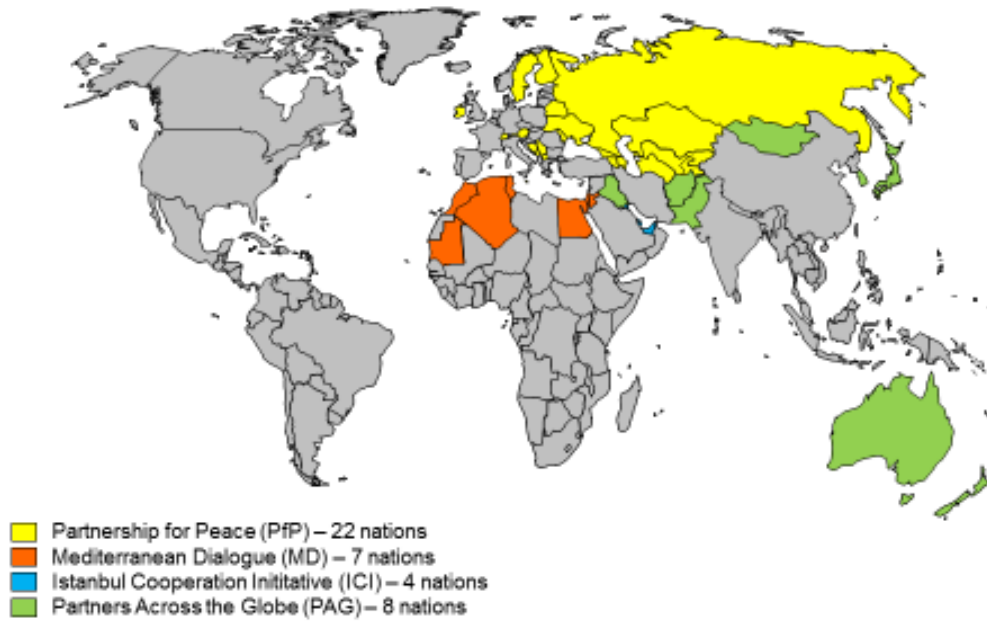


Figure 2.

Interoperability platform

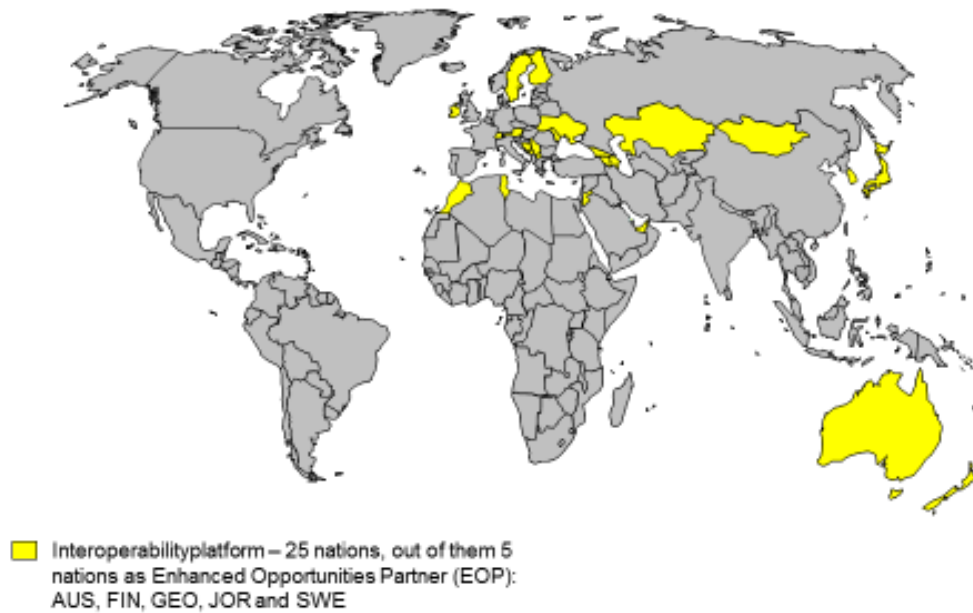
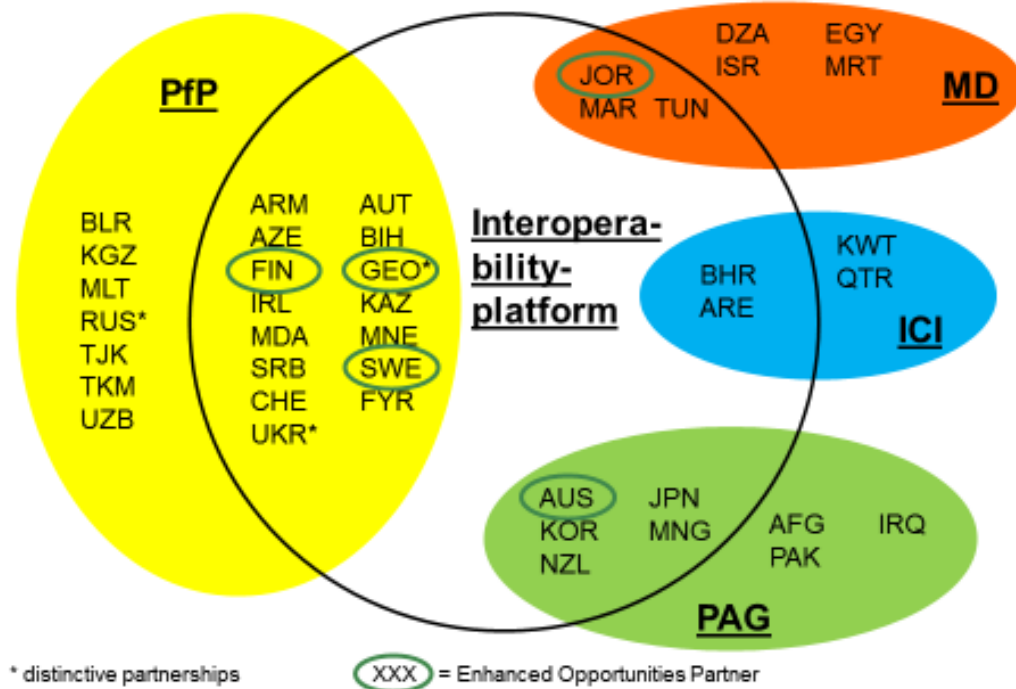


Figure 3. Partnership formats: PfP, MD, ICI, PAG, Interoperability platform



Bibliography

- Adolfsson, Peter V. "Sweden and the Partnership for Peace." Monograph, School of Advanced Military Studies. Fort Leavenworth, Kansas: United States Army Command and General Staff College, 2001.
- Appathurai, James. "The Future of NATO's Partnerships". *Danish Institute for International Studies (DIIS) Report*, no. 2014:01 (February 2014): 35-46.
- Aybet, Gülnur, and Rebecca R. Moore, ed. *NATO in Search of a Vision*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2010.
- Bağbaşıoğlu, Arif. "Beyond Afghanistan – NATO's partnership with Central Asia and South Caucasus. A tangled partnership?" *Journal of Eurasian Studies*, No. 5 (2014): 88-96.
- Bağbaşıoğlu, Arif. "Relations With 'Global Partners' in the Framework of NATO's New Partnership Policy." *Security Strategies Journal* 10, no. 20 (October 2010): 49-83.
- Bin, Alberto. "NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue: A Post-Prague Perspective." *Mediterranean Politics* 7, no. 2 (Summer 2002): 115-119.
- Borawski, John. "Partnership for Peace 'Plus': Joint Responsibility for Euro-Atlantic Security." *Defense Analysis* 15, no. 3 (December 1999): 323-332.
- Bradshaw, Ben. "The Increasing Importance of the NATO Mediterranean Dialogue." *The RUSI Journal* 147, no. 3 (June 2002): 58-59.
- Brown, John S. "Historically Speaking – Partnership for Peace Turns 20." *Army Magazine* 64, no. 10 (October 2014): 69-70.
- Davis, Christopher R., "NATO's Next Strategic Concept: How the Alliance's New Strategy will Reshape Global Security," *Strategic Studies Quarterly* (Winter 2010): 32-49.
- Dokos, Thanos. "NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue: Prospects and Policy Recommendations." Lecture, conference organized jointly by the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP) and the NATO's Office of Information and Press, Athens, January 17-19, 2003.
- Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council. *Aide-Mémoire: NATO's Partnership Policies, Programmes, Mechanisms and Tools*, Notice AC/340(EAPC)N(2015)0011, September 2, 2015.
- Flockhart, Trine. "Changing Partnerships in a Changing World". *Danish Institute for International Studies (DIIS) Report*, no. 2014:01 (February 2014): 17-34.
- François, Isabelle. *NATO Partnerships and the Arab Spring: Achievements and Perspectives for the 2012 Chicago Summit*. Washington, DC: National Defense University Press, 2011.
- Frühling, Stephan and Benjamin Schreer. "Creating the Next Generation of NATO Partnerships." *The RUSI Journal* 155, No. 1 (February/March 2010): 52-57.
- Ivanov, Ivan Dinev. "The Effect of NATO Partnerships on Alliance's Smart Defense."

- Conference paper, annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, August 29 – September 1, 2013.
- Hecht, Tobias. “From Consolidation to Globalization: The Changing Nature of NATO Partnerships.” American Institute for Contemporary German Studies. Accessed December 21, 2015. <http://aicgs.org/publication/from-consolidation-to-globalization-the-changing-nature-of-nato-partnerships/>.
- Herd, Graeme P. and Daniel Kight. “Future Visions of NATO Partnerships and Cooperation Programs.” *Connections: The Quarterly Journal* 6, no. 3 (2007): 1-9.
- Kamp, Karl-Heinz. “‘Global Partnership’: A New Conflict Within NATO?” *Analysen und Argumente aus der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung*, no. 29/2006 (May 2006).
- Kamp, Karl-Heinz. “NATO Enlargement Reloaded.” *Research Paper, Research Division - NATO Defense College, Rome*, no. 81 (September 2012).
- Kamp, Karl-Heinz, and Heidi Reisinger. “NATO’s Partnerships After 2014: Go West!” *Research Paper, Research Division - NATO Defense College, Rome*, no. 92 (May 2013).
- Keohane, Robert O., Joseph S. Nye, and Stanley Hoffmann, ed. *After the Cold War: International Institutions and State Strategies in Europe, 1989-1991*. Cambridge, MA, and London, England: Harvard University Press: 1993.
- Kramer, Franklin D. *Transatlantic Nations and Global Security: Pivoting and Partnerships*. Washington, DC: Atlantic Council, March 2012.
- Kramer, Franklin D. *NATO Global Partnerships: Strategic Opportunities and Imperatives in a Globalized World*. Washington, DC: Atlantic Council, March 2013.
- Kujat, Harald. “Transforming the Alliance.” *NATO’s Nations and Partners for Peace* 49, no. 4 (2004): 40-49.
- Kupchan, Charles A. “Strategic Visions.” *World Policy Journal* 11, no. 3 (Fall 1994): 112-122.
- Lake, Anthony. “From Containment to Enlargement: Current Foreign Policy Debates in Perspective.” Speech, John Hopkins University, School of Advanced International Studies, Washington, DC, September 21, 1993.
- Larsen, Henrik Boesen Lindbo. “Cooperative Security: Waning Influence in the Eastern Neighbourhood”. *Danish Institute for International Studies (DIIS) Report*, no. 2011:02 (2011): 91-98.
- Lute, Douglas. “The Wales Summit: Strengthening NATO Partnerships”. November 20, 2014. Accessed August 10, 2015. http://nato.usmission.gov/sp_11202014.html.
- Malmvig, Helle. “From Diplomatic Talking Shop to Powerful Partnership? NATO’s Mediterranean Dialogue and the Democratization of the Middle East.” *Danish Institute for International Studies Brief*, Danish Institute for International Studies (May 2004).

- Maranian, Stephen J. "NATO Interoperability: Sustaining Trust and Capacity within the Alliance." *Research Paper, Research Division - NATO Defense College, Rome*, no. 115 (June 2015).
- Maru, Mehari Taddele. "'Resetting' AU-NATO relations: from ad hoc military-technical cooperation to strategic partnership." *Research Paper, Research Division - NATO Defense College, Rome*, no. 102 (June 2014).
- Moore, Rebecca R. "Lisbon and the Evolution of NATO's New Partnership Policy." *Perceptions* XVII, no. 1 (Spring 2012): 55-74.
- Nordenman, Magnus, "NATO beyond Afghanistan: A U.S. View on the ISAF Mission and the Future of the Alliance," *Polish Quarterly of International Affairs* 23, no. 2 (April 2014): 13-25.
- NATO. *A More Ambitious and Expanded Framework for the Mediterranean Dialogue*. Brussels: NATO, June 28, 2004. Accessed August 26, 2015. http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_59357.htm.
- NATO. *Active Engagement, Modern Defence: Strategic Concept*. Brussels: NATO, November 19, 2010. Accessed August 10, 2015. http://nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_68580.htm.
- NATO. *Active Engagement in Cooperative Security: A More Efficient and Flexible Partnership Policy*. Brussels: NATO, April 15, 2011. Accessed December 27, 2015. http://www.nato.int/nato_static/assets/pdf/pdf_2011_04/20110415_110415-Partnership-Policy.pdf.
- NATO. *Building Integrity (BI) Programme*. Last modified June 24, 2014. Accessed December 27, 2015. http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_68368.htm.
- NATO. *Bucharest Summit Declaration*. Press Release (2008)049. April 3, 2008. Accessed January 2, 2016. http://nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_8443.htm.
- NATO. *Charter on a Distinctive Partnership between the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and Ukraine*. Brussels: NATO, July 9, 1997. Accessed December 27, 2015. http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_25457.htm.
- NATO. *Chicago Summit Declaration*. Press Release (2012)062. May 20, 2012. Accessed August 26, 2015. http://nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_87593.htm.
- NATO. *Comprehensive Political Guidance*. November 29, 2006. Accessed December 29, 2015. http://nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_56425.htm.
- NATO. *Founding Act on Mutual Relations, Cooperation and Security between NATO and the Russian Federation*. May 27, 1997. Accessed October 20, 2015. http://nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_25468.htm.
- NATO. *Framework document on the establishment of the NATO-Georgia Commission*. Press Release (2008)114. Tbilisi, Georgia: NATO, September 15, 2008. Accessed December

- 20, 2015. http://nato.int/cps/en/natohq/news_46406.htm.
- NATO. *Individual Partnership Action Plans*. Brussels: NATO, 2014. Last modified May 6, 2014. Accessed August 26, 2015. http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_49290.htm.
- NATO. *Istanbul Cooperation Initiative*. June 28, 2004. Accessed August 26, 2015. http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_21017.htm.
- NATO. *Istanbul Summit Communiqué*. Press Release (2004)096. June 28, 2004. Accessed December 21, 2015. http://nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_21023.htm.
- NATO. *Lisbon Summit Declaration*. Press Release (2010)155. November 20, 2010. Accessed August 26, 2015. http://nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_68828.htm.
- NATO. *Membership Action Plan (MAP)*. Press Release NAC-S(99)066, April 24, 1999. Accessed December 29, 2015. http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_27444.htm.
- NATO. *Membership Action Plan (MAP)*. Last modified December 4, 2015. Accessed December 28, 2015. http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_37356.htm.
- NATO. *NATO Mediterranean Dialogue*. Last modified February 13, 2015. Accessed December 22, 2015. http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_60021.htm.
- NATO. *NATO-EU: a strategic partnership*. Last modified September 28, 2015. Accessed December 19, 2015. http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_49217.htm.
- NATO. *NATO-Georgia Commission*. Last modified December 4, 2012. Accessed December 21, 2015. http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_52131.htm.
- NATO. *NATO-Ukraine Commission*. Last modified May 21, 2014. Accessed October 20, 2015. http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_50319.htm.
- NATO. *NATO's relations with Russia*. Last modified November 11, 2015. Accessed December 21, 2015. http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_50090.htm.
- NATO. *NATO's relations with the United Nations*. Last modified July 30, 2014. Accessed December 23, 2015. http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_50321.htm.
- NATO. *NATO's relations with the OSCE*. Last modified August 6, 2014. Accessed December 23, 2015. http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_49911.htm.
- NATO. *North Atlantic Council statement on the situation in Ukraine*. Press Release (2014)033. Brussels: NATO, March 2, 2014. Accessed October 20, 2015. http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_107681.htm.
- NATO. *Partnership for Peace: Framework Document*. Press Release Annex to M-1(1994)002. Brussels: NATO, January 11, 1994. Accessed August 10, 2015. <http://nato.int/docu/comm/49-95/c940110b.htm>.
- NATO. *Partnership for Peace Planning and Review Process*. Last modified November 5, 2014. Accessed August 28, 2015. http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_68277.htm.

- NATO. *Partnership Tools*. Last modified November 13, 2014. Accessed August 11, 2015. http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_80925.htm.
- NATO. *Partnerships: a cooperative approach to security*. Last modified October 16, 2014. Accessed August 11, 2015. http://nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_84336.htm.
- NATO. *Political military framework for partner involvement in NATO-led operations*. April 15, 2011. Accessed August 11, 2015. http://www.nato.int/nato_static/assets/pdf/pdf_2011_04/20110415_110415-PMF.pdf.
- NATO. *Relations with Georgia*. Last modified: December 8, 2015. Accessed December 21, 2015. http://nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_38988.htm.
- NATO. *Relations with Ukraine*. Last modified: December 8, 2015. Accessed December 19, 2015. http://nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_37750.htm.
- NATO. *Relations with partners across the globe*. Last modified September 7, 2015. Accessed December 21, 2015. http://nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_49188.htm.
- NATO. *Statement*. Press Release (2008)104. August 19, 2008. Accessed December 28, 2015, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_29950.htm.
- NATO. *Strategic Concepts*. Last modified November 11, 2014. Accessed December 21, 2015. www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_56626.htm.
- NATO. *Study on NATO Enlargement*. September 3, 1995. Accessed December 29, 2015. http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_24733.htm.
- NATO. *Substantial NATO-Georgia Package*. Factsheet. Accessed December 21, 2015. http://www.nato.int/nato_static_fl2014/assets/pdf/pdf_2015_12/20151209_151209-factsheet-nato-georgia-package.pdf.
- NATO. *The Alliance's Strategic Concept*. Press Release NAC-S(99)65. Brussels: NATO, April 24, 1999. Accessed December 29, 2015. http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_27433.htm.
- NATO. *The Alliance's New Strategic Concept*. Official Text. Brussels: NATO, November 8, 1991. Accessed December 23, 2015. www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_23847.htm.
- NATO. *The Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council*. Last modified March 25, 2014. Accessed December 21, 2015. http://nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_49276.htm.
- NATO. *The Euro-Atlantic Partnership*. Last modified March 18, 2014. Accessed August 27, 2015. http://nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_67979.htm.
- NATO. *The Euro-Atlantic Partnership – Refocusing and Renewal*. June 23, 2004. Accessed December 31, 2015. http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_21015.htm.
- NATO. *The Istanbul Cooperation Initiative (ICI)*. Fact Sheet. Brussels: NATO, April 2014.

- NATO. *The Istanbul Declaration – Our security in a new era*. Press Release (2004)097. Brussels: NATO, June 28, 2004. Last modified November 9, 2010. Accessed August 26, 2015. http://nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_21026.htm.
- NATO. *The North Atlantic Treaty*. April 4, 1949. Accessed December 29, 2015. http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_17120.htm.
- NATO. *Towards a Partnership for the 21st Century*. Official Text. Brussels: NATO, April 25, 1999. Accessed August 28, 2015. http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_27434.htm.
- NATO. *Wales Summit Declaration*. Press Release (2014)120. Brussels: NATO, September 5, 2014. http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_112964.htm.
- Nünlist, Christian, and Martin Zapfe. “NATO after Wales: Dealing with Russia – Next Steps.” *CSS Analyses in Security Policy*, no. 161 (October 2014): 1-4.
- Ponsard, Lionel. *Russia, NATO and Cooperative Security: Bridging the Gap*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2007.
- Raeder, Johan. “Thinking of the Future of NATO Partnerships.” In *Advancing US-Nordic-Baltic Security Cooperation*, edited by Daniel S. Hamilton, Andras Simonyi, and Debra L. Cagan, 49-64. Washington, DC: Center for Transatlantic Relations (CTR), 2014.
- Razoux, Pierre. “How to revitalize the dialogue between NATO and the Maghreb countries.” *Research Paper, Research Division – NATO Defense College*, Rome, no. 64 (December 2010).
- Razoux, Pierre. “What future for NATO’s Istanbul Cooperation Initiative?” *Research Paper, Research Division - NATO Defense College*, Rome, no. 55 (January 2010).
- Razoux, Pierre. “The NATO Mediterranean Dialogue at a crossroads.” *Research Paper, Research Division - NATO Defense College*, Rome, no. 35 (April 2008).
- Reichborn-Kjennerud, Erik. “NATO’s Problematic Partnerships in the MENA Region.” *Mediterranean Quarterly* 25, no. 2 (Spring 2002): 6-32.
- Reisinger, Heidi. “Rearranging Family Life and a Large Circle of Friends: Reforming NATO’s Partnership Programmes.” *Research Paper, Research Division - NATO Defense College, Rome*, no. 72 (January 2012).
- Samaan, Jean-Loup. “NATO in the Gulf: Partnership Without a Cause?” *Research Paper, Research Division - NATO Defense College, Rome*, no. 83 (October 2012).
- Schreer, Benjamin. “Beyond Afghanistan: NATO’s Global Partnership in the Asia-Pacific.” *Research Paper, Research Division – NATO Defense College, Rome*, no. 75 (April 2012).
- Security & Defence Agenda with the support of the US Mission to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. *The Future of NATO’s Partnerships*, by Heidi Hermisson. Edited by Geert Cami. Spring 2014.

- Shearman, Peter, ed. *Russian Foreign Policy since 1990*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1995.
- Simon, Jeffrey. "Partnership for Peace: Charting a Course for a New Era." *Strategic Forum* 206 (March 2004): 1-6.
- Weinrod, W. Bruce, "The Future of NATO," *Mediterranean Quarterly* 23, no. 2 (Spring 2012): 1-14.
- Weitz, Richard. "NATO's Partnership Policy: New Challenges, New Opportunities." *Diplomaatia* 134 (October 2014). Accessed August 12, 2015.
<http://www.diplomaatia.ee/en/article/natos-partnership-policy-new-challenges-new-opportunities/>.