

Atlantic Council Survey: The Future of NATO

Does the sixty-five-year-old alliance still matter today? We asked a select group of future transatlantic leaders from NATO member and partner Nations to weigh in.

In advance of the 2014 NATO Summit in Wales, United Kingdom, the Atlantic Council asked a select group of future leaders (ages twenty-five to thirty-five) in NATO member and partner countries about the role of the Alliance today. CEOs, elected officials, civil society leaders, PhD researchers, legislative staff, veterans, and active duty military officers were among the respondents.

While none of the respondents thought NATO should cease to exist or that the United States would be better off leaving the alliance, they were less certain about whether NATO can adapt to the changing geopolitical and military landscape they envision in the future—and just who will foot the bill for future operations.

Unless otherwise noted, figures indicate number of responses.

1. The Eastern Partnership and Russia

What will be Putin's next step?

(Mark all that apply)



- 38** Continue covert support for rebels in eastern Ukraine
- 29** Limited military intervention to save rebels from defeat by Ukrainian forces
- 27** Attempt to divide NATO by supporting independence movements and reaching out to ethnic Russians living in NATO territory
- 12** Welcome Transnistria into Russian Federation
- 11** Negotiated settlement with Kyiv
- 6** Intervene in Kazakhstan to protect ethnic Russians
- 3** Full-scale invasion to take all of Ukraine
- 1** Initiate limited conflict with Finland/Sweden to prevent them from getting closer to NATO membership

Can Europe deter Russia from committing further aggression in Eastern Europe without US assistance?

10 Yes
36 No
5 Unsure

NATO should take a larger and more vocal role in responding to the crisis in Ukraine.

32 True
14 False
5 Unsure

If Russia committed covert actions similar to its actions in Ukraine against a NATO country, do you feel confident that NATO would react swiftly and effectively?

22 Yes
17 No
12 Unsure

Five years from now, Ukraine will be a stable and functional democracy.

11 Agree
20 Disagree
20 Unsure

Should Ukraine join NATO?

Yes  **10**

No  **27**

Maybe  **12**

NATO will normalize its relations with Russia within the next ten years.

17 Agree

20 Disagree

14 Unsure

Should the United States and NATO establish permanent bases in Eastern Europe despite its 1997 agreement with Russia to refrain from doing so?

26 Yes

19 No

6 Unsure

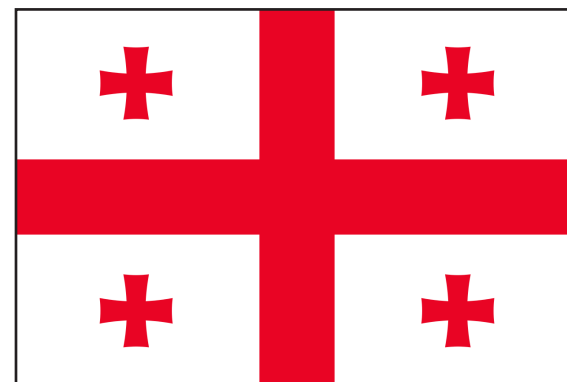
If Georgia does not become a member of NATO within the next five years, it will:

17 Continue to push for NATO membership

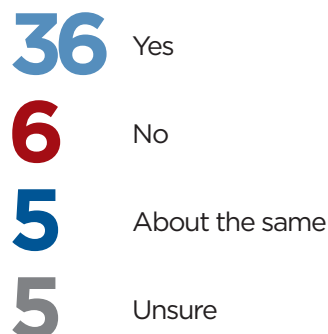
8 Give up on NATO aspirations but still be Westward-oriented

2 Give up on Western integration

2 Unsure



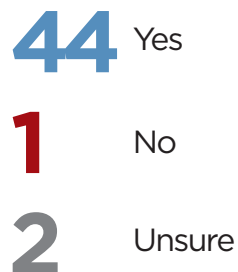
It has been more than 20 years since the Soviet Union was dissolved, and more than 10 years since the 9/11 terrorist attacks. Do you think NATO members are safer in 2014 than they were in 1991?



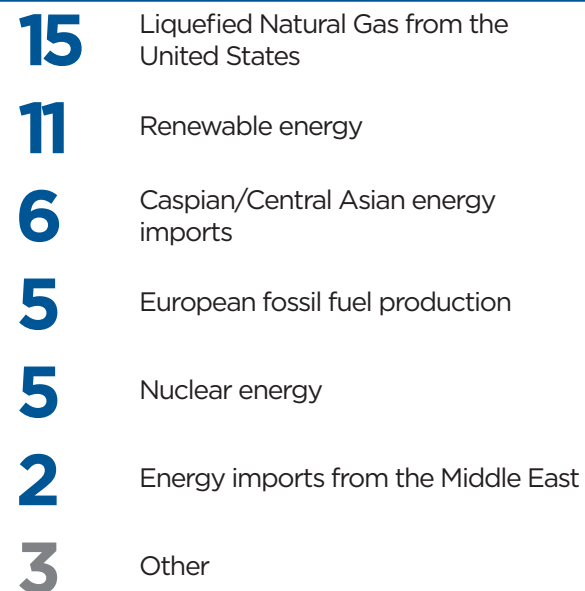
Do you expect any major disruptions in Russian energy supplies to Europe over the next two years?



Should decreasing dependence on Russian energy imports be a priority for European policymakers?



If European policymakers seek to decrease energy imports from Russia, the single most promising source that could be quickly increased over the next 5-10 years is:



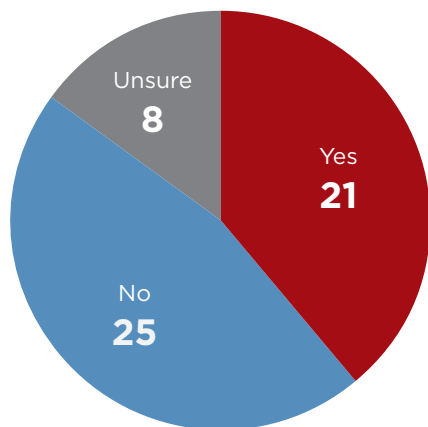
2. Afghanistan

After the International Security Assistance Force mission in Afghanistan ends:

- 24** The situation will dramatically deteriorate, with a real possibility for prolonged civil war
- 19** The situation will remain roughly the same
- 3** Radical forces, such as the Taliban and/or Al Qaeda, will reestablish control over a majority of the country
- 2** The country will stabilize
- 6** None of the above



Should NATO have a large military presence in Afghanistan after 2014?



3. Middle East and North Africa

Should NATO play a larger role in helping Libya deal with its security crisis?

- 29** Yes
- 10** No
- 5** Unsure

Did NATO contribute to Libya's instability by not following up on its 2011 intervention with additional support?

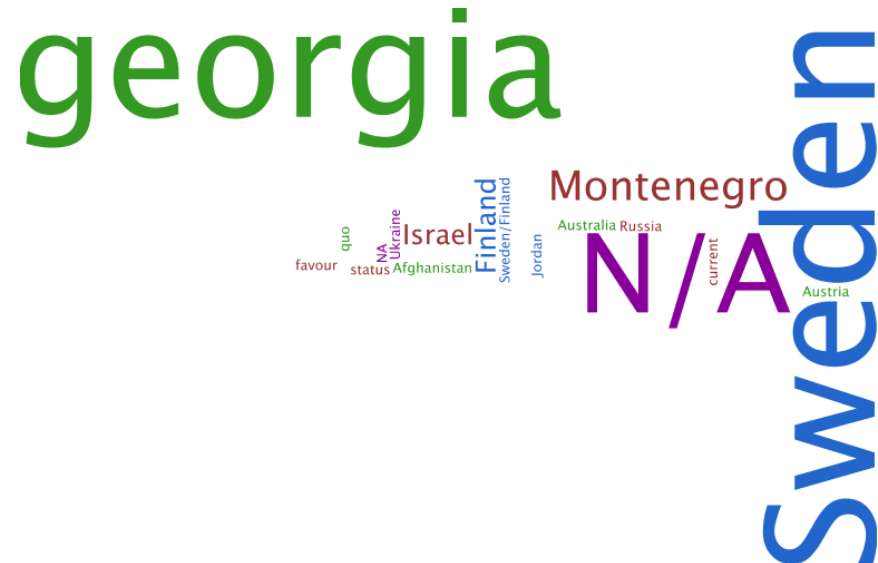
- 33** Yes
- 5** No
- 6** Unsure

Do you think NATO will be pulled into an operation in the Middle East in the next five years?

- 30** Yes
- 3** No
- 11** Unsure

4. Membership, Enlargement, and Partnerships

If you had to admit one country to NATO, which one would it be?
(Write N/A for no response)



It would be a mistake for NATO to end its open door policy toward its aspirants.

32 Agree

10 Disagree

2 Unsure

If Scotland votes for independence, it should be allowed to join NATO as a separate member.

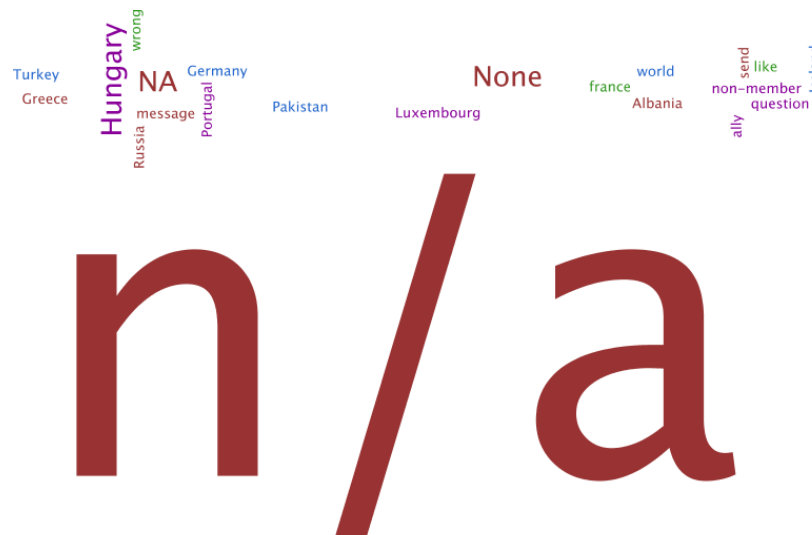
30 Agree

8 Disagree

6 Unsure

If you had to kick one country out of NATO, which one would it be?

(Write N/A for no response)



Turkey should become a member of the EU.

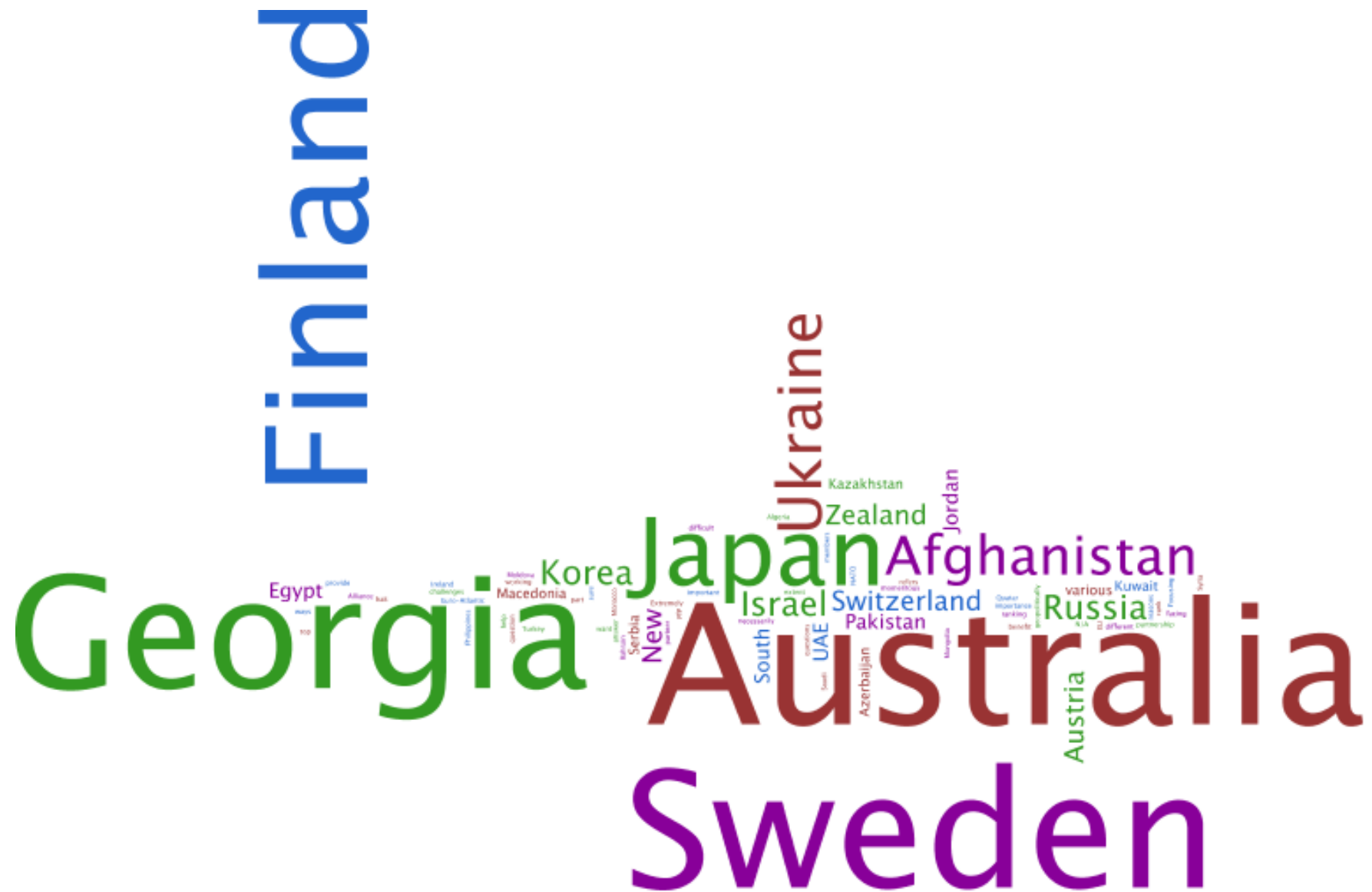
- 16** Agree
- 9** Disagree
- 12** Yes, but not now
- 7** Unsure



If Turkey does not become a member of the EU in the next five years, its orientation will be:

- 16** A continuation of current policies
- 10** More closely aligned with Muslim-majority countries in the broader region
- 8** Inwardly focused due to domestic strife
- 7** Stay closely aligned with its Western allies
- 3** Pursuing the revival of Ottoman power

What are NATO's top five most active and important non-member partners in order?



5. Funding

The United States should devote more funding to NATO.

14 Yes

16 No

15 Unsure

European member states should devote more funding to NATO.

42 Yes

0 No

3 Unsure

If NATO members don't meet the 2 percent benchmark, they should have certain rights of membership taken away from them.

8 Strongly agree, with reservations

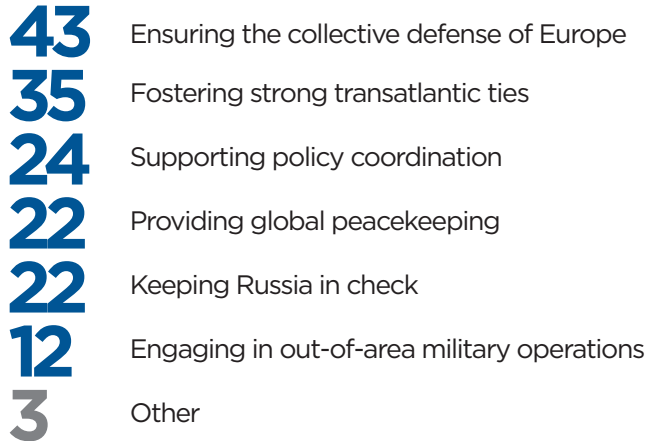
36 Agree, with reservations

8 Disagree

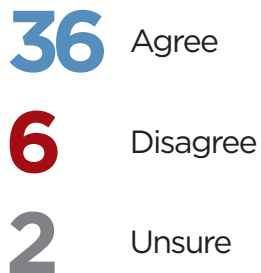
3 Unsure

6. NATO's Role and Future

NATO's core mission should include which of the following?



NATO is an essential part of my country's national security.



On a scale of 1 to 10, rate NATO's relevance to US security. On the same scale, rate NATO's relevance to European security.
1 = least relevant.
10 = most relevant

US:

Mean: 6.7
Median: 7
Mode: 8

Europe:

Mean: 9
Median: 9
Mode: 10

Over the next twenty years, the European Union's foreign policy effectiveness and cohesion will:

- 22** Increase significantly
- 17** Remain roughly the same
- 4** Decrease significantly
- 3** Unsure

The European Union should rely primarily on _____ for its security in the twenty-first century.

- 18** NATO military forces and capabilities
- 17** Developing permanent and unified EU military forces and capabilities
- 10** National level military forces and capabilities
- 0** US military forces and capabilities
- 3** Unsure

7. Threats and Capabilities

Nuclear weapons are an integral component of NATO and will remain so in the future.

37 Agree
6 Disagree
4 Unsure

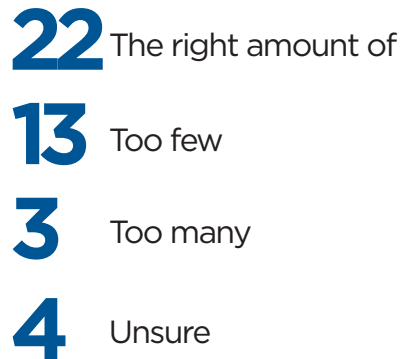
In 2011, US Defense Secretary Robert Gates said NATO nations were “apparently unwilling to devote the necessary resources to make the necessary changes to be serious and capable partners in their own defense.” Do you agree with this assessment?

27 Agree
4 Disagree
14 Unsure

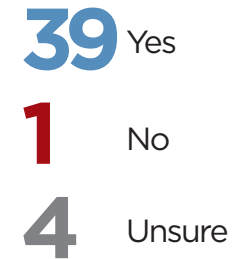
The new Framework Nations concept will:

20 Become the new way NATO can do business and allocate resources in a smarter way
8 Be another NATO initiative that sounds good in theory but fails in practice
4 Allow NATO members to take the lead in a specific area of Alliance activity they wouldn't otherwise lead
3 Further divide NATO into clusters of countries with strong capabilities and countries with weak capabilities
12 Unsure

The United States has _____ military personnel in Europe.



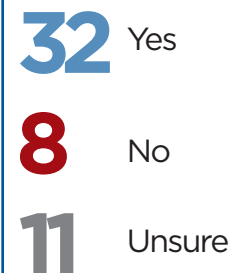
In 1993, Senator Richard Lugar said NATO must go “out of area or out of business.” Since then, NATO forces have been deployed in Bosnia, Kosovo, Afghanistan, Iraq, the Gulf of Aden, and Libya. Do you think NATO should continue to support deployable forces for operations outside North America and Europe?



NATO should have both defensive and offensive cyber capabilities.



Should Article 5 apply to cyberattacks?



What are NATO's top five most active and important non-member partners in order?



Which of the following NATO missions would you approve?

(Check all that apply)

- 28** Syria peacekeeping mission
- 26** Peacekeeping, border monitoring in Israel/Gaza
- 20** Sending NATO forces into Ukraine to quell violence, stabilize the country
- 10** Preventing Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapon
- 10** Blocking large-scale migration across NATO borders
- 6** None of the above

Where will the next large-scale NATO operation take place?

- 28** Middle East
- 26** Europe
- 20** North Africa
- 10** Unsure

In 2020, German foreign policy will be primarily determined by:

- 28** German leadership in the European Union
- 9** Berlin's preference for the status quo
- 5** Germany's relationship with Russia
- 4** The transatlantic relationship
- 2** The Franco-German relationship
- 1** Other

8. Economic Issues

Should NATO play an active role in fostering economic ties among members and partners, such as through the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP)?

28 Yes

11 No

5 Unsure

If TTIP doesn't pass, it will _____.

26 Have somewhat negative impacts for the Alliance

13 Not have much impact

3 Seriously damage Alliance cohesion and future strength

1 Have no negative impact at all

2 Unsure

9. Gender Equality

Should promoting a greater role for women within NATO be a high priority for the Alliance?

32 Yes

8 No

11 Unsure

NATO's efforts to implement UN Security Council Resolution 1325 – which recognizes the disproportionate impact that war and conflicts have on women and children, and highlights the fact that women have been historically left out of peace processes and stabilization efforts – _____.

26 Are important and should be continued

13 Are currently not sufficient and should become a significantly larger focus for the Alliance

5 Should not be a major priority for NATO

The aggregate results of the survey reflect data for how the group as a whole responded, but individual responses are anonymous. The names and affiliations of delegates are included here. The survey results reflect the composite responses of the group and do not necessarily reflect the view of individual delegates, the Atlantic Council, or delegates' employers/organizations.

2014 Summit Participants:

Ms. Aarya Nijat

Founding Partner, Duran Consulting

Mr. Abdul Basir Yosufi

Senior Advisor to the Minister, Afghan Ministry of the Interior

Mr. Sami Jabarkhail

International Recruiter, Texas A&M University-Commerce

Mr. Bledar Feta

Research Associate for South East Europe Programme, Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy; Political Analyst, Oxford Analytica

Mr. Rabah Ghezali

Managing Director, Government Affairs & Public Advocacy, NYSE Euronext

Mr. Bakhtiyar Hajiyeu

Director, Human Capital Consulting; Co-Founder, Positive Change Youth Movement

Mr. David-Jan Bosschaert

Vice President, Flemish Youth Parliament

Mr. Georgi Michev

Chief Expert, Transformation Branch, Crisis Management and Disaster Response Centre of Excellence, Ministry of Defense of Republic of Bulgaria

Ms. Marta Rzechowka

Captain, Canadian Armed Forces

Mr. Hrvoje Ćurić Hrvatinic

Diplomat, Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs of the Republic of Croatia

Ms. Michaela Bendikova Dodge

Policy Analyst for Defense and Strategic Studies, The Heritage Foundation

Ms. Sofie Dalgaard

Assistant, Economic Diplomacy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark

Mr. Patrik Maldre

Specialist, Cyber Security Policy, Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Ms. Pauliina Törmä

Analyst, Prime Minister's Office, Government of Finland

Mr. Martin Michelot

Nonresident Fellow, The German Marshall Fund of the United States

Mr. Tobias Bunde

Head of Policy and Analysis, Munich Security Conference

Mr. Nikolas Katsimprass

Lecturer, Negotiation and Conflict Resolution
Columbia University

Ms. Nino Gogoladze

National Programme Manager, OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities

Mr. Daniel Lederer

Director, Milestone Institute Budapest

Ms. Elena Cesca

Parliamentary Assistant, Italy's Delegation to the NATO Parliamentary Assembly

Mr. Federico Casprini

Independent Consultant, Federico Casprini Analysis & Consultancy

Ms. Anda Bergmane

Senior Desk Officer, Defence Planning Section Latvian Ministry of Defence

Ms. Alirde Pipikaite

Head of International Practice, Fabiani & Company

Mr. Vasile Rotaru

Postdoctoral Researcher, National School of Political Studies and Public Administration (Bucharest)

Ms. Rowinda Appelman

President, Youth Atlantic Treaty Association

Mr. Lars Ragnar Aalerud Hansen

Advisor, Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Ms. Marte Ziolkowski

Information Adviser, Norwegian Atlantic Committee

Ms. Joanna Kaminska

Advisor/Parliamentary Administrator, Foreign Affairs Committee, European Parliament

Mr. Alexandre Marques Pinho

Subject Matter Expert, NATO Centre of Excellence; Vice-President, DECIDE

Mr. Radu Magdin

CEO, Smartlink Communications

Mr. Boris Ecker

Political Officer, Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs of the Slovak Republic

Ms. Katja Gersak

Co-Founder, Regional Dialogue; Advisor, Centre for European Perspective

Mr. Sergio Ortiz Martin

Director and Project Manager, Youth Mediterranean Dialogue

Ms. Mona Samadi

Academic Dean and Associate Professor of International Law, Stockholm School of Theology

Mr. Emre Tunçalp

Managing Partner, Sidar Global Advisors

Ms. Beyza Unal

PhD Candidate, Adjunct Instructor, and William J. Fulbright Fellow, Old Dominion University

Mr. Vasyl Myroshnychenko

Partner, CFC Consulting

Ms. Claire Yorke

Doctoral Researcher, King's College London

Ms. Eimear O'Casey

Risk Analyst, Control Risks

Mr. Henry Collis

Senior Policy Advisor, Office of Cyber Security and Information Assurance, UK Cabinet Office

Ms. Hannah Iqbal

Forced Migration Researcher and PhD Candidate Cardiff University

Ms. Ashlee Godwin

Deputy Editor, RUSI Journal, Royal United Services Institute for Defence and Security Studies

Mr. Andreas Stradis

PhD Candidate and Teaching Assistant, University of Bristol

Mr. Scott Erwin

Engagement Manager, McKinsey & Company

Mr. Michael Hermann

National Security Legislative Assistant, Office of Congressman James Langevin (D-RI)

Ms. Gina Maria Jones

Senior Strategic Planner, Defense Intelligence Agency

Mr. Mark Simakovsky

Russia Country Director, Office of the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Russia, Ukraine, and Eurasia, US Department of Defense