



The following conference took place on March 17th, 2011, at the InterContinental Hotel in Warsaw. It was organized by the **Foundation Institute for Strategic Studies** based in Kraków:

**IV Forum on Euroatlantic Security
NATO after the implementation of
the New Strategic Concept**

An International Think-Tank Debate on the NATO's Future

The **NATO Headquarters, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland, Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Institute of International Relations of the University of Warsaw** and **Euro-Atlantic Association** partnered with the Foundation Institute for Strategic Studies to bring this conference to the public.

In addition to leading representatives of Polish and foreign media, the conference brought together respected representatives of academicians from Poland and abroad, government institutions and NGOs, as well as members of the armed forces and students.

The welcome speech for the conference was given by the President of the Institute for Strategic Studies, **Anna Szymańska-Klich**. At the beginning she thanked the partnering associations for participation in the organization of the event. Then she recalled that the last year we handed to NATO our, Polish expert's paper with the ideas of what should the New Strategy of the Alliance contain. Many of this postulates were included to the New Strategic Concept so we can give our thanks to the Secretary General Rasmussen. Today's NATO works on the executive documents to the implemented strategy. We, as experts, as the representatives of the civil societies of the Central-East European countries want to know how this work is going, whether can we feel secure, if

the Alliance is prepared to react on the new type of challenges. We are also curious if the implemented political guidance will sufficiently accent the need of a visible assurance in our territories. We hope that this issues will be presented today.



Photo 1: Welcoming remarks by Anna Szymborska-Klich

Prof. Roman Kuźniar from the Institute of International Relations of the University of Warsaw, expressed his view that the Forum on Euroatlantic Security is a good tradition of meetings of the Polish and foreign experts that gives the opportunity to see what is going on in NATO which is so important to our security.

President of the Republic of Poland, **Bronisław Komorowski** started his speech recalling times when not only Poland, but also the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary and Lithuania were entering to NATO. Simultaneously to the warm welcoming there was feeling of wariness on what the accession could mean to the new members, to the Europe and to the world. Also Poles were asking themselves whether they will manage, if it's real to find ourselves amid the exclusive group of strong and secure countries. Security is a process and we were witnesses of the change of the character of threats. Instead of the

real possibility of military conflict of two political blocks we are facing now the problem of regional conflicts caused by passing from totalitarian to democratic systems. The North-African situation is an example. The implemented New Strategic Concept is the answer to this changes and confirms the leading role of NATO in the world's security system. A reasonable compromise has been elaborated between the collective defense, crisis management and cooperative security and maintains the importance of the 5th article of The Washington Treaty.

Secretary General **Andres Fogh Rasmussen** outlined the key principle of NATO maintained in the New Strategic Concept – the territorial defense of its populations. We all realize that territorial defense in today's world means dealing with emerging security challenges like missile attack, cyber attacks, terrorism or proliferation of the weapon of mass destruction. Central and Eastern Europe give today a tremendous optimism for what can be achieved in North Africa and the Middle East.



Photo 2: Anders Fogh Rasmussen and Bronisław Komorowski

He listed three priorities of the Alliance that will strengthen security of Europe. The NATO has to strengthen its defense, its cooperation with the EU and its partnerships with other nations, in particular with Russia. Poland has played a major role in enforcing European security since it joined the Alliance 12 years ago. Having on mind its Presidency of the Council of the EU in the second part of 2011 we can expect even more important role and has the opportunity to help bring NATO an the EU closer together and also to bring Russia closer to Europe.

Then started The Round Table entitled: *"Evaluation of the results from Lisbon from the viewpoint of the basic tasks of the Alliance"* moderated by **Andrzej Jonas**, Editor-in-Chief of the weekly magazine *"The Warsaw Voice"*. Firstly, the floor went to the Polish Minister of National Defense **Bogdan Klich** who started by welcoming his colleagues from the Central and South European countries. Later he pointed out the role of the cooperation between the EU and NATO in coping with the new challenges and admitted that the Central and South Europe countries need a visible assurance which is the presence of NATO's institutions and military infrastructure.



Photo 3: Invited Defense Ministers

As the first from the invited foreign ministers, the floor took Mr. **Anyu Angelov**, Minister of Defense of Bulgaria, who stated that taking in consideration what is now happening in North Africa and the Middle East we have consider to start calling the New Strategic Concept as an old one, because at the moment of its drafting no one could predict such political and social development like is taking place right now, for example in Libya. He also opined that NATO's Headquarter has to elaborate a contingency plan for the territories of member states from South-Eastern Europe.

Croatian Minister of Defense Dr. **Davor Božinović** stressed the role of NATO in the further stabilization of South-East Europe. The security of this region, in his opinion, is inseparable from the security of the Transatlantic area. Consequently NATO must remain regionally engaged, using the full spectrum of its policies and tools.

His Estonian colleague Mr. **Jaak Aaviskoo** recognized that the strategic objective of spending 2% of national income on the defense issues reflects not only commitment to national security but also to partners within the NATO. The alliance has also to pay more attention on intelligence and related contingency planning in order to not be taken by surprise as we were in 2008 while the Russian aggression in Georgia or as we are now by the situation in Africa. We have to be smarter and wiser to be better prepared for challenges that will emerge.

In the opinion of Dr. **Csaba Hende**, Minister of Defense of Hungary, the Lisbon summit has proved that NATO is modern, dynamic and flexible organization. The practical implementation of the general guidance has already begun, but it will require months of hard work of the allies to finish the job completely.

Another participant of the Round Table, Dr. **Artis Pabriks** – Minister of Defense of Latvia – concluded that it is much more difficult to live in a multipolar world rather than in a bipolar world, as we lived in the times of the Cold War, when it was easier to predict the challenges to tackle with. He also concluded that our continent to be an important global player has to cooperate not only within NATO but also with partners like China, India, Japan and Korea.

In turn, Mrs. **Rasa Juknevičienė** who heads the Ministry of National Defense of Lithuania focused on the energy security which importance was admitted during the Lisbon Summit. She strongly believes that NATO should be more developed on the field of energy security without delay.

State Secretary at the Ministry of Defense of Albania, Mr. **Arjan Starova**, stressed the importance of NATO's open door policy to the stabilization and security in the Balkan region. He also expressed his mind that the Alliance, in order to be effective in resolving crisis situations in the world, has to keep cooperating with its worldwide partners.

This part of the Forum was also attended by Mr. **Viorel Oancea**, State Secretary at the Ministry of the National Defense of Romania and by Dr. **Jiří Šedivý**, Vice-Minister of Defense of the Czech Republic, who unfortunately were not able to share their views with the audience, because of the agenda of the governmental meetings with the Polish authorities.

After the words of the ministers, the floor was given to the invited experts: Prof. **Andrew Michta**, The Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, **Robert Pszczel**, Director of the NATO Information Center in Moscow and **Dr. Jamie Shea**, Deputy Assistant Secretary General, Emerging Security Challenges Division, NATO. Moderation of this part of the conference was in hands of **Andrzej Jonas**.

Jamie Shea started by concluding that we have given to NATO the vision for the 21st century, but we have to turn NATO into the security organization fit for the 21st century and there are great challenges related with this objective. Firstly, we have to rethink our approach to defense, find a good balance between conventional and nuclear forces that we already possessed before, and new tools like missile defense or bodies prepared to fight the cyber attacks. Secondly, we have to take into the consideration the fact that some of the new challenges do not fit in doctrines that many of us grow up with e.g. cyber threats. The next issue is a reduction of military budgets of NATO members what can cause a decline of military forces. How the NATO will preserve his global network

of partners with whom we have acted together is also an issue of a great importance. He concluded with a paradox: because of military budget's cuts in alliances such as NATO, it will become even more indispensable than in the past, but will not be easier to manage or even more difficult to manage that they were.



Photo 4: Invited experts

Then spoke Prof. **Andrew Michta** who pointed out that in America there are questions on the sense of NATO's members solidarity. European countries are reducing its military expenses and this is quite problematic to the American leaders thinking in terms of the common purpose. Also the enlargement of the Alliance is an unfinished business, looking at Georgia, we see a living proof that the process of NATO enlargement, the movement of democratic institutions to the East, has in effect stopped and as a transatlantic community we have to reinitiate this process.

Third expert, **Robert Pszczel** claimed that NATO has to rethink the way in which is using its resources. We also have to be conscious that global threats from the definition can't be solved only by NATO. There is a need of cooperation with the UN, UE but also with other partners from the international community. With all this turbulence going on the world today, like Libya's situation, like terrorism or even like the recent catastrophe in Japan the key signification of NATO is stronger than never.

After the lunch, took place the first panel entitled "*Is Central Europe safer after Lisbon?*". This part of the conference included comments from General (ret.) **Klaus Naumann**, former Chairman of the NATO – Military Committee, Prof. **Bolesław Balcerowicz**, Institute of International Relations o the University of Warsaw, Prof. **Adam Daniel Rotfeld**, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland, Member of the NATO "*Wise Man Group*" and Dr. **Artur Gruszcak**, Institute of Political Studies and International Relations of the Jagiellonian University.



Photo 5: Members of the first panel

Chairman of the panel, **Prof. Halizak** asked the panelists to answer the question - what happens? Will NATO fail? He also said that the population of many countries still do not feel safe.

As the first, question faced **General Naumann**. At the beginning of his speech, he said that the countries of Central and Eastern Europe are safe and that the Strategic Concept is the answer to the posed questions in this session. "No one on earth can defeat NATO. It is adequately prepared to defend the NATO - Treaty area". But the general also noted that most countries are prepared for the conventional war. Implementation of New Strategic Concept is essential for NATO to actually be prepared for the twenty-first century challenges such as terrorism or cyber attacks. NATO must ensure that all Member States have the capability to defend the entire territory. In the medium term, the most important task is, according to General Naumann, greater strategic mobility and ability to defend against nuclear and biological weapons. At the end of his speech, the general stressed that Europe is necessary to keep Americans on its territory, since it is a partner with global reach.

After General Naumann, spoke **Prof. Boleslaw Balcerowicz**. He pointed out the important contexts in discussions about the safety of East and Central Europe. He mentioned that the sense of security is highly differentiated within NATO. The second context is, according to professor, military threats - such as the destabilization of a country, or blurring the Alliance. Finally, what is extremely important for Central and Eastern Europe: the issue of Russia. Prof. Balcerowicz pointed out that Russia considers NATO, and particularly some of its operations (such as missiles located near its territory) as a threat. However, in Lisbon, NATO stressed that Russia is not a threat, and even pointed to the Russian Federation, as the number one partner.

Then spoke **Prof. Adam Daniel Rotfeld**. He stated that Central Europe is safer, but not totally safe, "the perception of the threat is far more important than reality". He also believes that from the perspective of Central and Eastern Europe Strategic Concept reflects the final step towards overcoming the partition of Europe, "there are no anymore old and new members. We are very actively involved in the process of creating new

documents". In his speech, Professor Rotfeld stressed that Russia is not united, there are different views, and academics are rather positive about NATO. Professor likened the New Strategic Concept for the kind of "New Testament" of the Alliance (the Washington Treaty states in this comparison, the Old Testament). Professor Rotfeld considered that the problem of NATO was recent developments in crisis and lack of common and rapid response to unconventional situations. He also stressed the importance for Central and Eastern Europe the element of solidarity in the decision making.

As a last spoke **Dr. Gruszczak**. At the beginning he drew attention of the audience to change of perception of safety. He believes that the answers to some of the new threats can be found in the New Concept. He stressed that it may be appropriate to change the view of NATO - which is still perceived as a military alliance, especially in Central and Eastern Europe. Because of such view there was pressure on the strengthening of Article V, which is associated with a conventional defense. But there is a growing threat of unconventional - non-military danger, such as natural disasters, etc. Alliance's primary task at this point is, according to Dr. Gruszczak, to anticipate and prevent crises before they escalate into larger conflicts. Pro-active approach to the crisis. At the end of his speech, doctor emphasized that "the concept of Lisbon is not a magic wand". The NATO is hard to achieve a rapid transformation, but the new concept can help in the gradual reform of the Alliance.

At the end of the session, fell a **question from the floor** to General Naumann: "Is there a feeling in NATO, that by exposing Article V Europeans are assigning the defense issues at all other than at themselves? "

General Naumann said that "as long as we will lose money on past programs, you will be right. Also, Europeans must focus on what we need tomorrow". General considered as the goal the independence of Europe in defense matters - so that it could defend itself - with the help of the Americans, but not just thank to them.

After a short break, the second discussion panel entitled "*European Security: in search for Russia's place*" took place. Debate moderator for this panel was **Marek**

Ostrowski, Head of the Foreign Department of the Polish weekly magazine "*Polityka*". **Alexander Alekseev**, Ambassador of the Russian Federation to the Republic of Poland, **Rüdiger Freiherr von Fritsch**, Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to Poland, **Dr. Jerzy M. Nowak**, Vice-Chairman of the Executive Council of the Euro-Atlantic Association, **Dr. Adam Kobieracki**, Director of the Department of Security Policy at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland and **Robert Pszczel**, Director of the NATO Information Center in Moscow, all shared their knowledge with the participants of the conference.

Jerzy M. Nowak started his speech by saying that there is a need of creation an Euro-Atlantic and Euro-Asian security Community. One of the major obstacles in shaping good NATO-Russia relations is the lack of trust in the military area. The trilateral cooperation of Germany, Poland and Russia would be stimulating the development of security in Europe.



Photo 6: Members of the second panel

In turn, H.E. **Rüdiger Freiherr von Fritsch** pointed out that NATO needs Russia just as Russia needs NATO so, in consequence, win of one part does not have to mean lose of the other part. From NATO perspective cooperation with its partners, especially with the Russian Federation, is crucial in the world of complex and globalized threats like terrorism, cyber crime or even energy security.

Another participant of the panel, H.E. **Alexander Alekseev** said that what Russia wants is Europe without dividing lines. In his belief any country in the Euro-Atlantic area has to enjoy the same rules, rights and obligations without any connections with membership in any security system. The mutual cooperation between NATO and Russia can avoid many complications, including the lack of trust which is the main problem existing between the two parties.

Dr. **Adam Kobieracki** expressed his view that NATO and Russia both agree on the need of Europe without dividing lines and that we are not enemies. But now we need to go further, deeper than this only-declarative level. He is convinced that there is no direct threat to European security at the moment, but if we don't focus on the arms control such threats will start reemerging on the horizon. The conventional arms control is also needed to rebuild trust and confidence in relations with Russia.

Robert Pszczel drew attention to the existing NATO – Russia Council as a body that has the structures, the procedures and the right philosophy of work and what we need to do is use them rather than thinking on the new ways of cooperation. He opined that we do not have to be pessimistic thinking on NATO - Russia relations. Nevertheless, nothing will happen automatically, we need to work on it, avoid the rhetoric that does not help as well as fight the stereotypes which exists on both sides.

At the end of the panel guests were referring to the question and remarks made by some members of the audience.

Robert Pszczel spotted two stereotypes that affects the relations between the Alliance and Russia. From the Russian point of view NATO is essentially a military organization and this has obviously nothing to do with the reality, because it's a political-military organization where all taken decisions are result of the political consensus amid member states. On the contrary many in NATO define the Russian Federation anno domini 2011 as a new version of the Soviet Union, which for anyone who spends one week in Russia is nothing but a nonsense. Overcoming this two stereotypes will let to benefit both sides.

Dr. **Adam Kobieracki** referring to the words of Alexander Alekseev admitted that every country has a right to modernize its armed forces, but also stressed that we are at such a low level of trust and mutual confidence that this causes questions about the real motives of such actions.

Ambassador **Alekseev** expressed his viewpoint that the Lisbon spirit has to be reinforced and that to make a progress in relations NATO – Russia we need to implement a step-by-step approach.

Ambassador **Freiherr von Fritsch** concluded that there is no alternative to strategic partnership with Russia. To achieve mutual trust we have to discard zero-sum logic, pass from agreeing on mutual ideas and visions to making visible steps toward cooperation. We also need to understand that security is more than only a military matter.

Expressing his final views Dr. **Jerzy M. Nowak** said that comparing now with the times when he was completing his tasks as an Ambassador to NATO three and half years ago, there is only one visible change. This unique development is a little bit more willingness than before to search a proper place to Russia, which is quite a lot. There is a danger that we might be lost in current questions, sometimes not the most important ones, and losing from sight strategic objectives of a great new deal which is absolutely indispensable if we want really to move ahead.

Summing up the panel **Marek Ostrowski** quoted Secretary General Rasmussen, who said that: *"...for the first time this two sides will be cooperating to defend themselves.*

The NATO's nations and Russia have to agree then while we face many security challenges we pose no threat to each other...".

Mrs. **Anna Szymańska-Klich**, concluding the IV Forum, denoted that the main issue of this conference was how NATO looks after the implementation of the New Strategic Concept, and the answer is: not too bad. We have built good bases, but now we need to work harder, calculate expenses wiser and make the communication between NATO and the EU faster. NATO maintains the importance of the article V of the Washington Treaty which is good but we expect more. The Alliance has to work on the solutions of the shape of the future missile defense system in dialogue with Russia, and this dialogue has to replace the existing deficit of trust. Let's avoid the next Forum as a seminar on the opportunities that we have lost. She mentioned that we should work hard in order to not disinherit the Lisbon spirit. Concluding, the President of the Foundation Institute for Strategic Studies thanked the conference's participants for an interesting discourse.