

SDA Evening Debate

On the eve of Bucharest



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A *Security & Defence Agenda* Report

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SECURITY & DEFENCE AGENDA

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Contents

<u>Agenda</u>	4
<u>Executive Summary</u>	5
NATO Expansion and Membership Action Plans (MAPs)	5
Energy and Cyber Security	6
Missile Defence	7
Kosovo	7
Afghanistan	8
<u>NATO Ambassadors' Opening Remarks</u>	10
Sorin Dumitru Ducaru, Romanian Ambassador to NATO	10
Victoria Nuland, United States Ambassador to NATO	12
Baron Frans van Daele, Belgian Ambassador to NATO	14
<u>Question and Answer Session</u>	17
<u>List of Participants</u>	26
<u>About the SDA</u>	34

‘On the eve of Bucharest’

SDA evening debate

Wednesday 12 March 2008, 17:30-19.30

Marriott Renaissance Hotel, Rue de Parnasse 19, 1050, Brussels

Introduction to the Summit by:

Sorin Dumitru Ducaru, Romanian Ambassador to NATO

Key remarks by:

Victoria Nuland, United States Ambassador to NATO

Baron Frans van Daele, Belgian Ambassador to NATO

Moderator:

Caroline Wyatt, Defence Correspondent, BBC

The Ambassadors addressed some of the upcoming NATO Bucharest Summit priorities including an assessment of the situation in Afghanistan and Kosovo, operational sustainability, possible future NATO enlargement (especially in the Balkans), NATO’s response to threats such as cyber security, coordination of intelligence and counterterrorism efforts, missile defence, and the enhancement of global partnerships.

Executive Summary

The moderator for this Security and Defence Agenda debate, BBC Defence Correspondent **Caroline Wyatt**, opened proceedings by asking if NATO's Bucharest Summit in Romania could deliver. She added that this was a "crucial time for NATO" and possibly "make or break time for the international community's role in Afghanistan".



Moderator and BBC Defence Correspondent
Caroline Wyatt

NATO Expansion

Romania's Ambassador to NATO, **Sorin Dumitru Ducaru**, whose country will be hosting the NATO summit in Bucharest on 2-4 April, was the first ambassador to speak. In addition to the possibility that Croatia, Albania and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia will be admitted to NATO at the summit, he said that "we look forward to the upgrading of partnerships with three different countries, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro and Serbia". He added that, in Serbia's case, such an upgrade will depend on "their interests or focus". Ducaru also said that the request for Membership Action Plans (MAPs) from Georgia and Ukraine would be discussed. MAPs are a first stage on the way towards a country joining NATO.

“This is a crucial time for NATO”.

Caroline Wyatt

NATO Membership Action Plans (MAPs)

US Ambassador to NATO, **Victoria Nuland** said that "no non-NATO country will have a veto on the decision" regarding Georgia and Ukraine and that it is not a question of whether the two countries are on a Euratlantic path, but about the timing of their accession. "Romania has no hesitation in supporting MAPs for both countries at the summit. [...] With MAP comes more accountability and scrutiny", said Ambassador Ducaru. For Belgium's Ambassador to NATO, **Baron Frans van Daele**, there is no doubt that both



Romanian Ambassador to NATO Sorin Ducaru

countries have Euratlantic potential and this is “no hollow phrase”. “There is widespread feeling that decisions will be taken by NATO and not dictated by the outside world”, he added. As to the optimum moment to give out MAPs to the countries, he said that different countries had different analyses. The question is whether giving out MAPs would bring more or less security to the alliance, or, more or less confrontation, he noted.

“There is widespread feeling that decisions will be taken by NATO and not dictated by the outside world”.

Sorin Ducaru

Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia’s NATO Membership Aspirations

With regard to the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia’s apparent eagerness to join the alliance, Nuland said that “the name issue is a difficult issue. UN negotiator [Matthew] Nimetz has been working with Skopje and Athens and has intensified efforts with talks every two weeks. The US has pledged to facilitate and support talks and we hope to have a solution before Bucharest”.

Energy and Cyber Security

Nuland referred to energy security, cyber security and missile defence as among the 21st century threats facing NATO. The discussion on cyber defence at the summit will revolve around



US Ambassador to NATO Victoria Nuland

the NATO Centre of Excellence in Estonia, best practices and lessons learned. While stressing that cyber defence and energy security were essentially member state competences, van Daele expressed the belief that energy security is a legitimate concern for NATO. For example, the physical security of supply lines (e.g. sea lanes) could fall under NATO jurisdiction. Nuland sees energy security as less about supply and more about protecting energy infrastructure. She also pointed to NATO Allies' common air and maritime pictures as helping NATO countries to protect critical infrastructure.

Missile Defence

On missile defence, Nuland said that the US is working “with certain Allies to develop a long-range missile system that includes a radar in the Czech Republic and a handful of interceptors in Poland”, but that there remains a “threat from short and medium range missiles that could emanate from Iran, so our hope is that NATO will accelerate its work on its medium- and short-range problem and that we will be able to bolt the two efforts together”. She also expressed her hope that Russia will cooperate with, and add to, this missile defence effort.



Belgian Ambassador to NATO Frans van Daele

On missile defence, van Daele said: “What if the US bilateral project goes ahead and has consequences when countries like Bulgaria, Romania, Turkey and Greece are not covered? If that arises, what should NATO do? This is complex technically and financially and is far from being worked out. There is a lot of work to be done after the summit”. He also noted that “there is broad consensus to implicate Russia in this type of defence”.

Kosovo: International Recognition and Peacekeeping

Van Daele argued that “recognition is a process. Many countries have recognised Kosovo, other have not. It is a national decision. Countries are at liberty to choose the right moment, especially when domestic policies are



The Ambassadors' opening statements

involved. But the direction it [Kosovo] is going in is clear”.

Nuland contended, “Thanks to UNMIK, the UN Mission (in Kosovo), thanks to KFOR, the NATO (peacekeeping) mission, we have beaten the predictions”.

“Thanks to UNMIK ... thanks to KFOR ... we have beaten the predictions”.

Victoria Nuland

“There have been no refugee flows out of Kosovo, there have been virtually no ethnic clashes (and)...no incidents at any of the Serb patrimonial sites. Obviously it's difficult. Obviously we've had protests. Obviously we've had some

incidents that have had to be managed. But...we have a very important responsibility which is to ensure that all Kosovars - Kosovar Albanians, Kosovar Serbs, other minorities - have the chance to live together in security and peace and to support the development of multi-ethnic structures”.

Afghanistan

On Afghanistan, Nuland said that NATO must ensure “that commanders have the forces they are asking for”, and that the US was committing 3,200 more troops and would be “asking all Allies to dig deep”. Accelerating the training of the Afghan National Army and police was also important in her view.

Van Daele added, “Efforts are being made to build an Afghan National

Army. There are 50,000 soldiers at present and we hope to bring that to 80,000. It is their country and they must take control of it". Belgium will be sending training teams to train Afghan soldiers, he added. He referred to success stories such as the huge increase in the number of children going to school, the fact that 80% of the Afghan population are within 5km of basic health services and that trade and shops are flourishing everywhere except in the south where the most military activity is going on.

“Efforts are being made to build an Afghan National Army. There are 50,000 soldiers at present and we hope to bring that to 80,000. It is their country and they must take control of it”.

Frans van Daele

In pacified areas of Afghanistan and where the economy has started picking up, van Daele claimed that the production of poppies has gone down. “We have moved from eight to 14 poppy-free provinces [out of 34 in total] in a year and we think that we can move to 20. Only when security improves do we have the chance to get rid of this scourge”. Where insecurity prevails, poppy production tends to increase.

“Only when security improves do we have the chance to get rid of this scourge”.

Frans van Daele

The BBC's Defence Correspondent Caroline Wyatt commented that she was in Helmand province in southern Afghanistan at Christmas, and that it looked like a “full harvest” this year.

Counterinsurgency in Afghanistan

Ducaru said that there was “no way that the Taliban can win militarily against a force like NATO”; but he added that “we must do better on co-ordination between the UN, NATO, EU and World Bank”. Nuland argued that, “in counterinsurgency, you need to clear, hold and build in that order”, and that the challenge was to do the holding and building fast enough. For Nuland, “There are not enough clean and strong and equipped Afghan police... We estimate that around 3,000 more police trainers are needed”.

“[There is] no way that the Taliban can win militarily against a force like NATO”.

Sorin Ducaru

Afghanistan Vision Statement

An Afghanistan vision statement is due to be discussed and possibly published at the end of the Bucharest summit. Paul Ames from Associated Press asked if the Afghanistan vision statement was a change in the way business is being done or if it was just a PR exercise. Van Daele believes that there is more to the Afghanistan vision than a PR exercise and that it will lead to measures. For Nuland, the vision statement should take stock of where things stand, remind the public “why we are there”, state that Afghanistan is a “long-term commitment, that we’ve got to be patient”, and set out the achievements as well as set benchmarks for a three-to-five year period so that the public and Afghans know what to expect.

“In counterinsurgency, you need to clear, hold and build in that order”.

Victoria Nuland



Sorin Ducaru said that the summit was coming at a time of “new challenges and threats to international security”.

NATO Ambassadors’

Opening Remarks

The moderator for this Security and Defence Agenda debate, the BBC’s Defence Correspondent Caroline Wyatt, opened proceedings by asking if NATO’s Bucharest Summit could deliver. She added that this was a “crucial time for NATO” and possibly “make or break time for the international community’s role in Afghanistan”.

Romania’s Ambassador to NATO Sorin Dumitru Ducaru

Ambassador Ducaru said that the summit was coming at a time of “new challenges and threats to international security” when there were “huge expect-

tations on NATO”, in Afghanistan, Kosovo and elsewhere. He stressed the importance of NATO’s ‘open door’ enlargement policy and of NATO partnerships. Ducaru also referred to the contributions to Afghanistan from the UN, the EU and the World Bank plus the NATO-Russia Council and NATO-Ukraine Council as being on the “huge menu” of discussions in Bucharest.

Three potential new NATO member states, Croatia, Albania and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, have all been in Membership Accession Plans for several years and may, subject to the agreement of all existing NATO countries, join the alliance at the Bucharest Summit.

“Beyond enlargement, we look forward to the upgrading of partnerships with three different countries, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro and Serbia”, said Ducaru. He added that, in Serbia’s case, such an upgrade will depend on “their interests or focus”. As for Georgia and Ukraine, both of which have formally requested MAPs, he said that Romania “feels a sense of their ambition and commitment in very positive terms”.

He then passed the floor to the US Ambassador to NATO Victoria Nuland, whom he described as the “Snow White of the 27 [NATO] dwarves”, and to Belgium’s Ambassador to NATO, Frans van Daele, whom he characterised as “experienced, wise and tactful” and as someone who “fully understands the transatlantic relationship”.

“Beyond enlargement, we look forward to the upgrading of partnerships with three different countries, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro and Serbia”.

Sorin Ducaru



Victoria Nuland pointed out, “If we didn’t have NATO today, we would have to invent it”.

US Ambassador to NATO Victoria Nuland

Ambassador Nuland said that, for the US, the summit is “enormous” as it is “an opportunity to demonstrate not only that NATO is delivering in the transatlantic space...but it is increasingly becoming a global security provider”. “If we didn’t have NATO today, we would have to invent it”. Further, she pointed out that there was a need for “21st century politico-military capabilities for 21st century threats and challenges”.

“Putin will be at this summit... and we continue to reach out bilaterally to Russia”.

Victoria Nuland

On NATO enlargement, Nuland’s view is that Albania, Macedonia, and Croatia “have worked enormously hard” and that including them within the Alliance would help “definitively bring peace to the Balkans”. The US believes that the question of Georgian and Ukraine requests for MAPs is “one of the most important decisions” to be made at the summit, but that it is a matter not of whether but when those requests are granted. Getting the agreement of all 26 NATO countries on this issue is one of the “big questions” facing the summit. She reminded that, while a number of countries are asking about the reaction of Russia, NATO also has a strong and rich relationship with Russia. “Putin will be at this summit...and we continue to reach out bilaterally to Russia”, said Nuland.

She then referred to energy security, cyber security and missile defence as among the 21st century threats facing NATO. Missile defence is important for Nuland because the US sees Iran and others seeking missiles that might some day strike the centre of Europe or reach the US.

“There is still a threat from short and medium-range missiles that could emanate from Iran, so our hope is that NATO will accelerate its work [on missile defence]”.

Victoria Nuland

We’re working with “certain Allies to develop a long-range missile system that includes a radar in the Czech Republic and a handful of [missile] interceptors in Poland”, she said, but added that “there is still a threat from short- and medium-range missiles that could emanate from Iran, so our hope is that NATO will accelerate its work” on

this. Her wish is that the US and NATO efforts can be bolted together, and that Russia cooperates with and adds to this effort.

On Iraq, Nuland referred to the fact that over 6,000 Iraqi military personnel have been trained by NATO and expressed the hope that this training effort could be expanded because Iraqis are requesting additional trainers.

On Afghanistan, she said that NATO must ensure that “commanders have the forces they are asking for”, that the US was committing 3,200 more troops while “asking for all Allies to dig deep”. Accelerating the training for the Afghan National Army and police was also important in her view. A public statement on Afghanistan is expected to emerge from the NATO Bucharest Summit. Nuland said that this should be a “real vision statement which reminds our



The panel during Sorin Ducaru's remarks.

publics, reminds all of our kitchen tables why we went to Afghanistan in the first place, because it is about the threat to all our security if that country ever returns to being a cradle for terrorism". For her, the vision statement should cite the progress made and give benchmarks to measure achievement in the future, including a growing role for Afghans to play in strengthening their own security.

Strengthening the NATO-EU relationship is also a key objective for the US, according to Nuland, given the need to work together closely in Kosovo, Afghanistan, the Middle East and Africa. NATO and EU countries must take a lead in promoting stability, economic development and good governance.

"If we can't get beyond the 'frozen conflict' that has characterised the NATO-EU relationship we will not be able to maximise the soft and hard power we now need", claimed Nuland.

"If we can't get beyond the 'frozen conflict' that has characterised the NATO-EU relationship we will not be able to maximise the soft and hard power we now need".

Victoria Nuland



Frans van Daele expressed the view that this NATO summit will be less predictable than previous ones.

Belgium's Ambassador to NATO Frans van Daele

Ambassador van Daele expressed the view that this NATO summit will be less predictable than previous ones. US President George Bush's last summit will coincide with the invitation and probable presence of Russia's outgoing President Vladimir Putin. "A lot will depend on the duet between the two presidents", said van Daele. "The visit of US Defence Secretary Robert Gates and US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice to Moscow next week will have a bearing on several subjects in Bucharest", he added.

On the running battle of words concerning whether NATO should have a regional or global vocation, he said that this was "an artificial distinction", because "security is Euratlantic whether the threats are closer to the borders or further away".

“Security is Euratlantic whether the threats are closer to the borders or further away”.

Frans van Daele

For van Daele, foreign policy needs both hard and soft power. “The right kind of mixture between the two ingredients will be at the forefront of the agenda”, he said. “Look at the comprehensive policy in Afghanistan, which is not just a military approach but a wider approach”.

With regard to the debate unilateral or multilateral engagement, he said that NATO “tries to have UN Security Council mandates and tries to work closely with them and the same goes for the EU”.



A participant takes notes during the debate.

“I am not saying that things are perfect with the EU but they are better compared to a few years ago. [High Representative for the EU’s Common Foreign and Security Policy] Javier Solana talks of ‘effective multilateralism’. Things could be better but they are better than they were”.

“The Taliban have been unable to mount conventional attacks so they are using asymmetric warfare”.

Frans van Daele

On Afghanistan, van Daele argued there is “broad consensus [among NATO countries] that there is a need to make clear to public opinion how far we have got and what we need to do”. He asserted that it is important for the public to be aware that NATO is engaged in Afghanistan for reasons of “security, solidarity and values”, that it is not acting alone but with the international community and that it is working under a UN mandate with non-NATO members.

He added that 70% of military activity is taking place in around only 10% of Afghan territory. “The Taliban have been unable to mount conventional attacks so are using asymmetric warfare”.

“Efforts are being made to build an Afghan National Army. There are 50,000 soldiers at present and we hope to bring that to 80,000. It is their country and they must take control of it”, he said. He cited important successes such as taking a Taliban stronghold near Musala and referred to NATO sending training teams to Afghanistan as well as equipping the Afghan army and modernising their equipment. Belgium will be sending training teams to train Afghan soldiers, he said. “It’s certainly not an easy job but things are going in the right direction”.

“It’s certainly not an easy job but things are going in the right direction”.

Frans van Daele

The main idea is for the military to secure an environment in which civilian reconstruction and governance can take hold. Positive examples include:

- 7m children (including 2m girls) go to school compared to 1.2m (and no girls) in 2001.
- 80% of the Afghan population are within 5km of basic health services.
- Trade is flourishing everywhere except in the south where the most military activity is going on.

Van Daele believes that NATO enlargement is important because it finally stabilises Europe’s security architecture and that enlargement is “all about exporting stability”.

“It looks quite possible, although it is not yet decided, that we will add three new members to NATO [at Bucharest]”.

He stressed the importance of increased cooperation between the EU and NATO and added that, “We are in favour of a stronger and more effective NATO if it is within a stronger EU pillar”.

“It looks quite possible, although it is not yet decided, that we will add three new members to NATO [at Bucharest]”.

Frans van Daele

Question and Answer Session

Ukraine and Georgia's NATO Membership and Action Plan (MAP) Aspirations

Question from the floor: Are the strong objections from Russia the only reason that countries are hesitating to give a MAP to Ukraine and Georgia in Bucharest? What can the two countries do before Bucharest to get a 'yes'? How do you assess their chances?

"Romania has no hesitation in supporting MAPs for both countries at the summit. It is to do with commitment, coherence and reforms – this is what each country should be working on up to and after Bucharest. With MAP comes more accountability and scrutiny", said Ambassador Ducaru.

Ambassador van Daele said there is no doubt that both countries have a Euroatlantic potential and this is "no hollow phrase".

"There is a widespread feeling that decisions will be taken by NATO and not dictated by the outside world", he added. As to the optimum moment to



Cecilia Szenes from the Hungarian Delegation to NATO asks a question from the floor.

“With MAP comes more accountability and scrutiny”.

Sorin Ducaru

give out MAPs to the countries, he said that different countries had different analyses. The question is whether giving out MAPs would bring more or less security to the alliance, or more or less confrontation, he said.

Ambassador Nuland answered with “three things on which all 26 agree: NATO’s door has got to stay open; no non-allied country will have a veto over this decision; and it’s not a matter of

whether these countries are on the Euratlantic path, it's simply a matter of the timing". Moreover, Ukraine and Georgia would do well to talk about their commitment to democratic reforms in Allied capitals.

As for Russian opposition to the MAPs, she said that "every single time NATO has enlarged over the last 15 years we have had the same turbulence and every single time we have done as much as we can to reassure Russia that countries that are becoming more democratic and more stable on her borders in no way threaten her". Nuland's view is that NATO is about working with Russia and that "NATO should not be a four letter word in Moscow any more".

"NATO's door has got to stay open".

Victoria Nuland

Question from the floor: [German Foreign Minister] Frank Walter Steinmeier is cautious about inviting Ukraine into a MAP because it might worsen relations between Russia and the EU. Do you share that view?

Van Daele reacted by saying that Steinmeier's points are important considerations and that "we should have careful and ongoing discussion". He subscribed to what Nuland had just said in the end.

Mark John, Reuters, asked whether, from the US point of view, Georgia and Ukraine should be given MAPs at Bucharest or later?

Nuland said that, as US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice explained, "We are working to build a strong consensus in NATO and we are encouraging our Georgian and Ukrainian friends to con-



The debate as seen from the rear of the room



Frans van Daele listens to input from the floor.

tinue to make their strongest case in capitals so that we can have unity at Bucharest”.

EU-NATO Relations

Question from the floor: What can we expect in the second part of the year regarding the EU and NATO?

On EU-NATO relations, Nuland said that “there’s a growing appreciation certainly among the 26, but among the

“We are working to build a strong consensus in NATO and we are encouraging our Georgian and Ukrainian friends to continue to make their strongest case in capitals so that we can have unity at Bucharest”.

Victoria Nuland

32, that the current situation is not helping the transatlantic community” and that “the combined capacities of these two great organisations” will be needed in Kosovo, Afghanistan, Africa and the Middle East. For her, progress was being made on the EU-NATO issue, such as French President Nicolas Sarkozy’s talk of France fully rejoining NATO’s structures, which could lead to both a stronger EU and a stronger NATO. Nuland also noted the way in which a new government in Cyprus is reaching out to restart peace talks and that thinking had moved towards the “common good rather than in zero sum terms”.

“A strong EU as well as a strong NATO is in our interest, and you see that across the spectrum, Democrats and Republicans”, she concluded.

“A strong EU as well as a strong NATO is in our interest”.

Victoria Nuland

Ducaru mentioned that how international organisations work together on key international security issues would be addressed in the context of the Bucharest Summit.



Victoria Nuland stressed that EU-NATO competition was a thing of the past.

Van Daele expressed the view that “the tectonic plates [between the US and Europe] are moving together”. He conceded that there were problems with Cyprus and Turkey but said that “positives were developing to improve this cooperation”.

“The EU started creating its first military tools a couple of years ago, with Belgium very much in the vanguard. This military toolbox is a necessary complement to the EU’s Common Foreign and Security Policy”. He stressed the importance of close and continuous consultation between the EU, US and Canada and added that the four meetings per year of EU and NATO foreign ministers were important moments for the ministers to sound each other out and to “keep the tectonic plates moving”.

“The tectonic plates [between the US and Europe] are moving together”.

Frans van Daele

BBC Defence Correspondent Caroline Wyatt asked if there was a danger of duplication between the EU and NATO, especially given that military resources are scarce.

Van Daele claimed this is not an argument he hears much any more and that duplication had been prevented in the past, for example via the Berlin Plus agreements, but conceded the issue needs to be revisited. In his view, this will probably occur next year “because the world has changed, threats have changed and civ-mil cooperation has changed”.

Nuland said that this was a “deeply 90s question” and very much an issue of the past. The important thing for her was to ensure that that “there’s more capacity growing” and that “our scarce resources are used well”.

Ducaru said that interoperability was key and that this was growing already with the two organisations using the same procedures.

“The world has changed, threats have changed and civ-mil cooperation has changed”.

Frans van Daele

Poppy Production in Afghanistan

Geert Cami, one of the co-founders of the Security & Defence Agenda, asked how the problem of drugs and poppy production was being tackled and whether a movie by a Dutch MP designating the Koran as a fascist book has security implications.

Regarding the movie, van Daele argued that the Dutch government has done a “superb job” in limiting the collateral damage but that it remains to be seen what damage there might be.

In parts of Afghanistan which have been pacified and where the economy has started picking up, he said that the production of poppies has gone down. “We have moved from eight to 14 poppy-free provinces [out of 34 in total] in a year and we think that we can move to 20. Only when security improves do we have the chance to get rid of this scourge”. Where insecurity prevails poppy production tends to



increase.

BBC Defence Correspondent Caroline Wyatt commented that she was in Helmand province in southern Afghanistan at Christmas and that it looked like a “full harvest” this year.

Ducaru said that there was “no way that the Taliban can win militarily against a force like NATO”. He added that “we must do better on coordination between the UN, NATO, EU and World Bank” and that “we are not doing enough to tell the story”.

Nuland asserted that it is important to look at what happened a year ago, with “The Taliban... predicting that they would take mass swaths of new territory, Kandahar east. Not only did that not happen, but NATO forces in Afghanistan have pushed the Taliban out of villages and districts”.

“The Taliban... [predicted] that they would take mass swaths of new territory, Kandahar east. Not only did that not happen, but NATO forces in Afghanistan have pushed the Taliban out of villages and districts”.

Victoria Nuland

“In counterinsurgency, you need to clear, hold and build in that order and that the challenge was to do the holding and building fast enough”. For Nuland, “there are not enough clean and strong and equipped Afghan police. We estimate that around 3,000 more police trainers are needed”. She is confident that the new UN civilian representative for Afghanistan will help matters.

Cyber Defence, Energy Security and Missile Defence

Question from the floor: Should we expect policies on cyber defence, energy security and missile defence?

With regard to cyber defence and energy security, van Daele said that energy and information were “national competences”, but that NATO and the EU should still be involved. He claimed that energy security is a legitimate concern for NATO, comprising issues such as the physical security of supply lines (e.g. sea lanes). Cyber defence is “a younger subject that came to the foreground after the cyber attacks on Estonia”, which were a “wake-up call”. The consensus lies in the need to “exchange best practices and learn



A participant challenges the panel on one of the issues.



Frans van Daele responds on cyber defence and energy security.

from each other”, said van Daele.

On missile defence, van Daele expressed the feeling that NATO countries agree that there is a potential threat to be addressed, but that some countries envisage that threat materialising earlier than others. With regard to US bilateral negotiations with Poland and the Czech Republic, “NATO appreciated being kept fully informed”.

“What if the US bilateral project goes ahead and has consequences in that countries like Bulgaria, Romania, Turkey and Greece are not covered? If that arises, what should NATO do? This is complex technically and financially and is far from being worked out. There is a lot of work to be done after the summit”, van Daele argued.

“There is broad consensus to implicate Russia in this type of defence. We are informed of the US’s moves and know of its openings and the openings it is still making to Russia to convince it to become a partner in this type of defence”, he said.

Van Daele stressed how important it was to bring Russia closer to the Euratlantic security structure. “Russia has developed a new assertiveness. Everyone agrees that it has a legitimate place in the security order in Europe but how that will happen will stay on the table in the coming years”.

For Nuland, the Summit’s discussion of cyber defence may result in the creation of a NATO Centre of Cyber Security Excellence in Estonia, and an exchange of best practices and lessons learned. She sees energy security as less about supply and more about protecting energy infrastructure. NATO

“Russia has developed a new assertiveness. Everyone agrees that it has a legitimate place in the security order in Europe but how that will happen will stay on the table in the coming years”.

Frans van Daele



Paul Ames of the Associated Press asked about the Afghanistan vision statement.

should utilise its common air and maritime pictures” to help nations secure their energy infrastructure”.

On missile defence she contended that, “As [the US] moves forward with our bilateral track we want to make sure that the NATO track keeps pace” and that “we have maximum coverage for allied population and territory, not just for my nation... ideally, in partnership with Russia”.

“As [the US] moves forward with our bilateral track we want to make sure that the NATO track keeps pace”.

Victoria Nuland

Former Yugoslav Republic Of Macedonia’s NATO Membership Aspirations

Question from Gerd Niewerth, Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung: How can the name dispute between Greece and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) be resolved. If it cannot, can FYROM be invited to join NATO?

The name issue is “obviously a difficult issue”, said Nuland. “UN negotiator Matthew Nimetz has been working on this with Skopje and Athens for a number of years. He’s intensified his efforts... The United States has pledged to try to facilitate and support those talks. We all hope, I think, that a solu-

tion can be found before April 3rd in Bucharest”.

Recognition of Kosovo and KFOR Operations

Question from the floor: The EU and NATO are divided on the recognition of Kosovo. What do NATO leaders say? Is the KFOR operation in Kosovo set to stay?

Van Daele said KFOR will stay as long as it needs to implement its mandate from UN Security Resolution 1244. A decision on this was taken by foreign ministers on 7 December and countries confirmed that they would maintain the strength of troops there. “Recognition is a process. Many countries have recognised Kosovo, others have not. It is a national decision. Countries are at liberty to choose the right moment, especially when domestic politics are involved. But the direction it [Kosovo] is going in is clear”.

“Thanks to UNMIK, the UN mission, thanks to KFOR, the NATO mission, we have beaten the predictions”, said Nuland. “There have been no refugee flows out of Kosovo. There have been virtually no ethnic clashes. There have

been no incidents at any of the Serb historical patrimonial sites... Obviously we’ve had some incidents that have had to be managed”. But Nuland stated that Allied leaders at Bucharest should affirm their responsibility for all Kosovars, Albanian and Serb, to be able to “live together in security and peace.”

Afghanistan Vision Statement

Question from Paul Ames, Associated Press: Is the Afghanistan vision statement a change in the way business is being done or is it just a public relations exercise? How important is it that FYROM is not left out?

Van Daele expressed the belief that there is more to the Afghanistan vision than a PR exercise. “We’ll be doing our best to explain why we are there, what we have done and what still remains to be done”, said van Daele. For Nuland, the vision statement should “take stock, remind ourselves, remind our publics why we’re there”, and state that Afghanistan entails a “long-term commitment, that we’ve got to be patient”. The vision statement must also set out the achievements and “set some benchmarks for ourselves for the coming three- to five-year period” so that the public and Afghans know what to expect.

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Geert Cami, SDA's Managing Director, opens proceedings



The floor during the opening statements



Participants discuss the issues



The welcome cocktail



Networking before the debate

About the Security & Defence Agenda



The Security & Defence Agenda (SDA) is the only specialist Brussels-based think-tank where EU institutions, NATO, national governments, industry, specialised and international media, think tanks, academia and NGOs gather to discuss the future of European and transatlantic security and defence policies in Europe and worldwide.

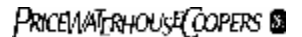
Building on the combined expertise and authority of those involved in our meetings, the SDA gives greater prominence to the complex questions of how EU and NATO policies can complement one another, and how transatlantic challenges such as terrorism and Weapons of Mass Destruction can be met.

By offering a high-level and neutral platform for debate, the SDA sets out to clarify policy positions, stimulate discussion and ensure a wider understanding of defence and security issues by the press and public opinion.

SDA Activities:

- Monthly Roundtables and Evening debates
- Press Dinners and Lunches
- International Conferences
- Reporting Groups and special events

The Security & Defence Agenda would like to thank its partners and members for their support in making the SDA a success



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