



“NATO Talk around the BRANDENBURGER TOR”
ATA 54th General Assembly



54th ATA General Assembly Report

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Mister Chairman of the ATA, Mr. Secretary General,
Excellencies,
Honorable guests and members of a vibrant ATA family,
Meine Dammen und Herren,
Chers amis,

Opening remarks

It is an honor and privilege for me, in the capacity of General Rapporteur to present the report of the 54th General Assembly of the Atlantic Treaty Association held in Berlin – Federal Republic of Germany.

It is also a challenge because it is for the fourth time I have been asked to fulfill this role in recent years, and I am sure lots of you are already hoping for a new face in this “unelected” position or for a change of approach ... jokes, controversies, stories from backstage. But I will do my best not to disappoint you in order not to spoil what has been a perfect General Assembly meeting organized by our gracious hosts, and to leave unaffected a warm and hospitable three days in Berlin. I will be on good behavior and only aim to provide you with “a sense of what we have been doing here for the past days”.

We meet at a time when symbols are important to guide our steps from the past towards the future. Yesterday was Armistice Day – peace after WW1 and a few days ago we celebrated the Fall of the Berlin wall – freedom, and remembered Krystalnacht.

But we are also very much active in a midst of an active European and Euro Atlantic agenda. Under the baguette of the French Presidency, the General Affairs and External Relations Council held a joint meeting this week between the 27 foreign affairs and defence ministers to examine among initiatives with regard to ESDP, the situation in the Western Balkans and the situation in Afghanistan. The NATO Secretary General was invited for the first time to attend this meeting. An upcoming EU-Russia Summit emphasizes the importance of this relationship and shortly in Washington the Summit of the G 20 will meet to look into the world financial crisis. For those who do not know the G20, its members include Italy, France, the United Kingdom, Germany and the EU. An active EU on the global stage.

First of all, I would like to extend my most sincere thanks, on behalf of us all to the German ATA: Mr. Christian Schmidt, President of the German Atlantic Association, Dr. Karl Lamers. The new ATA President (I will speak later about the new ATA president), Mr. Johannes Lay, Michael Simon, and their young team Patrick Mangelsdorff and Janika Bratvogel. To all colleagues and staff, translators and their families, thank you.

I would like to extend special thanks to the Federal Minister of Defense, the six host embassies that greeted our forums: the United States, The United Kingdom, France,

Hungary, Ukraine and the Russian federation. Also the Adlon and the Maritim Hotels made our stay in Berlin a comfortable one.

Our hosts have made the 54th ATA GA a memorable and significant one. Firstly, the organization was impeccable and the presence of distinguished personalities, Chancellor Merkel, the Secretary General of NATO, even the voice of “Charles de Gaulle” was heard in Berlin, speakers and analysis from throughout our Euro Atlantic world, journalists and commentators to generate media coverage, was nothing less than world class. We all know how difficult this is and also how important this is to our organization.

Secondly, Berlin was represented by “the gate” – The Brandenburg Gate –. Our organization has renewed itself, by electing new officials – a new President in the person of Dr. Karl Lamers, two vice presidents in the persons of Fran Burwell from the US and representing a young ATA associated member Montenegro, Mr. Savo Kentera. Please allow me to thank the outgoing former Vice-Presidents, Mr. Arian Starova, Albania and Mrs. Julie Lindhout, Canada, for the tremendous job they have done. The YATA organization was invigorated with the reelection of their excellent President Giuseppe Belardetti and 3 new Vice Presidents, from Hungary, Portugal, Bulgaria. But with renewal of officers there also comes a renewal of purpose and agenda for the future, and a closure of the past.

On the agenda of our council and assembly was the new eastern dimension, the Black Sea region, the South Caucasus: a general Assembly was decided to be held in Ukraine next year. A powerful and strong statement on Georgia was adopted. Activities and initiatives ranging from the Balkans to Afghanistan, from energy security to “mosaic cooperation”, mirrored the agenda of the Bucharest NATO summit, with only months left before the Strassbourg NATO 60th anniversary. Old members and challenged chapters renewed their vows with the association: Poland and Austria. And finally, like the rest of the world, the ATA struggled with the economics of our activities and increases in the cost of staying active and involved. And that struggle will continue with the great support of our treasurer admiral Poulet.

And we succeeded in getting these things done in record time.

The election of a new president was a momentous event in our family, as candidates and members were once again faced with a decision. The electoral process, paralleling a equally close election in the United States to which many referred as a “momentous victory” ... *yes you can* was a resounding voice heard in the ATA this week in Berlin.

Under the auspicious voice of Charles de Gaulle, who in his words turned to the crowd and said “Je vous ai compris”, our colleague Theo Georgiou threw his support behind Dr. Karl Lamers, thus bringing consensus to the ATA and as Yoda would say in Star Wars “bringing unity to the force”. In his more than twenty years, Theo has served as ATA Chairman, President of GAAEC (in this capacity hosting two GA assembly meetings in Athens), he has opened the way for the creation of ATA chapters in the

Balkans, and in my own country Romania for which I personally thank him for, in the Caucasus, and is now promising to blaze new paths in the Mediterranean dialogue dimension.

Thank you Theo, for the work that you have done for the ATA and for a better understanding in Euro Atlantic and European cooperation. Thank you for bringing unity to the ATA family once again.

Finally, a new president has taken the torch from Bob Hunter, who leaves after 5 years of dedicated service to the ATA and YATA – leaving our organizations reinvigorated, reloaded --- and in the words of the Secretary General of NATO – raising ATA's profile and making it relevant. "ATA is a unique NGO – an indispensable instrument to familiarize audiences – especially young audiences – with NATO."

Taking over the position of ATA President from Ambassador Robert Hunter who has devoted his efforts over the past five years in leading the association's challenging programs, will not be an easy task for Dr. Lamers. As NATO Secretary General said, we should all thank "Ambassador Hunter for his commitment and many years of hard work".

Thank you Bob for five years of excellent work and for empowering this organization and the YATA to show NATO and out audiences that we can make a difference. Yes we can.

Thus in Berlin a new Presidential term begins. Dr. Karl Lamers promised to share with us all the great experience he has accumulated over the years in his many capacities as deputy Chairman of the defense Committee of the German Bundestag, Vice-President of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly (PA) and Chairman of the Parliamentary Assembly (PA), and Chairman of the Parliamentary Assembly's Sub-Committee on NATO Partnership.

I would like to pick up on Dr. Lamers' words when he quoted Immanuel Kant, that "peace was not an ideal but a task", and reassure our civil societies and new generations that we have all embraced this task with devotion and will support you and your bureau in your work.

My role, as General Rapporteur is to provide you with a brief summary of the main topics which have been the subject of the sessions and provide a sense of what we have been doing. And believe me, I will be brief as the closing ceremony and lunch are knocking at the door.

To begin, we were honored this year by the presence of **Dr. Angela Merkel, the German Chancellor** who held an inspiring opening speech of the 54th ATA General Assembly and emphasized upon the fact that she looked forward to strengthening the

trans-Atlantic relationship with the new American Administration of Barack Obama, the newly elected American President, who would attend NATO's April 2009 summit.

Chancellor Merkel's overall message conveyed the idea of solidarity among the Alliance members and of a renewed partnership with Russia, leaving aside differences for mutual cooperation in places such as Afghanistan where a common agenda is shared. "We need each other. We are partners," adding that together Russia and NATO were a stronger force against terrorism, nuclear proliferation and other security challenges. The chancellor also emphasized the need for developing a new strategic framework if the alliance and better synergistic cooperation between NATO and the European Union.

The concept of the event we all participated in, "NATO Talk around the Brandenburger Tor" best describes the innovative communication platform developed by the German Atlantic Association, ATA and NATO's Public Diplomacy Division. A gate being opened to our civil societies to come and explore, discuss and reflect, particularly challenging to the young generation, whom we invite to contribute to issues being discussed "around the Brandenburg gate" in embassies and visible locations. A masterful display of creativity indeed and we call on PDD to continue this kind of support for the ATA and YATA, as in recent times budgets and support towards our activities have diminished considerably.

As the **Secretary General of the NATO Jaap de Hoop Scheffer** said in his opening speech "the Brandenburg Gate provides a particularly fitting background for a discussion on the future of NATO. For decades, this gate used to be a symbol of division and of political paralysis. An impressive gate right in the middle of a huge brick wall – but a gate that no one was allowed to pass through – one of the cruelest ironies of the Cold War.

A symbol that closed the door to the past, and opened widely the door to the future we all embrace.

The concept consisting in six discussion panels, lively and frank, held in six Embassies, dealing with the key challenges facing NATO, offered our members and guest the possibility of experiencing a lively and interactive debate between policymakers and journalists, researchers and representatives of the civil society.

We all know that ATA is seen as a "bridge between NATO and the public opinion", and I quoted the NATO Secretary General "...a bridge that enables transparent dialogue ...enhances consensus...educates our societies and young generations about security in the 21st century". And our societies share the same values, values that brought us together as allies and are at the origin of our solidarity.

The ATA efforts are aimed at finding the new ways to bridge across issues, different approaches and generations.

The past three days sessions have been fruitful and have fostered debates over the ever more challenging evolutions the Atlantic Alliance will be faced with in the near future, from military and non-military activities, and climate changes and energy security issues, to cyber defense strategies, to the world financial crisis. A relevant and diverse discussion of issues facing the alliance.

Lively debates of conceptual, practical and political nature, have been devoted to NATO going out of area with what are essentially civil crisis management purposes. Clearly there is a limit to what NATO and other institutions can do to bring prosperity and democracy to countries beyond its borders.

Being primarily a political organization making use of military means, NATO, an Alliance of 26 – and soon 28 – democracies, stands for shared values of democracy, freedom, peace and tolerance. ATA's mission is to convey to the public at large, to the opinion leaders as such and the younger generation, those values. I would like to proudly reiterate the NATO Secretary General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer for saying in his speech that **“ATA is a very unique NGO”**. And we are proud to be unique.

Opening remarks

After the opening remarks of Chancellor Merkel and Secretary General de Hoop Scheffer, it was time to get down to business. Yesterday, our friend **Jamie Shea**, Head of Policy Planning from the Private Office of NATO Secretary General, presented us an overall picture of the international security environment and why the Alliance is so important in shaping, building and consolidating democracies. Also, NATO must find its own answers for the new security issues that are appearing on the agenda of the world leaders, such as arms control, the status of the Non-Proliferation Treaty. We should turn “my issue” approach to the “our issue” approach.

The former ATA President and US Ambassador to NATO, **Bob Hunter**, reiterated the need to speak a common language, share the same culture and security system. During 911 people belonging to 71 nations lost their lives, thus fighting organized crime and terrorist organizations becomes an international issue, transgressing national borders and geo-regions.

General Dr. H.C. **Klaus Naumann**, former Inspector General of the German Armed Forces moderated the panel on “NATO's Long Term Future” and together with the panelists spoke about the need of collective defense and regional alliances.

The “NATO talk around the BRANDENBURGER TOR” concept consisted in six discussion panels, lively and frank, held in six Embassies and dealt with the key challenges facing NATO.

1. “The US, Europe, NATO and the challenges of the Eastern dimension”, hosted by the Embassy of the United States

2. “Reforming NATO”, hosted by the British Embassy
3. “NATO in Afghanistan: Advancing security and promoting peace”, organized at the Hungarian Embassy
4. “European Security and Defense policy (ESDP) and NATO” , organized at the French Embassy
5. “Ukraine’s role in addressing new security challenges in the Euro-Atlantic Area”, hosted by the Ukraine Embassy
6. “Red lines of the Russian Foreign and Security Policy”, hosted by the Russian Embassy

At the US Embassy, Forum A addressed “The US, Europe, NATO and the challenges of the Eastern dimension”. Rapporteur: Brooke Heaton, former YATA Vice-president for Communication and Programming

Dr. Michael Stürmer, the moderator introduced the panel discussion by noting that NATO will celebrate its 60th anniversary next year. It will be a time for celebration but also reflection. We know that NATO is bigger, but is it better? NATO faces limitations on its expansion, notably geographic issues, but also on its very principles. In the post-Cold War, upon what strategies and principles shall NATO act? Importantly, what is Russia’s role in the transatlantic community - partner or an antagonist? There are clear issues such as nuclear proliferation, but also unsolved questions, such as the meaning of Article 5 today.

MP Eckart von Klaeden pointed to the election of Barack Obama as signalling new possibilities in transatlantic relations. However, Europe also will be expected to contribute to this new relationship. This same week, Russian President Medvedev called for the stationing of Russian missiles in Kaliningrad. While the US has made it clear that the proposed missile defence shield in Poland and the Czech Republic represents no threat to Russia, the Atlantic community must recognize that war is still a real possibility in Europe, from the Balkans to the recent Georgian-Russian conflict. EU-NATO relations show that there are levels of interdependence, particularly on economic issues. But there are clearly new areas of tension, such as US-EU containment, NATO expansion to the borders of Russia and now the proposed missile defence shield. A new energy nationalism has emerged in Russia that sees Moscow leveraging power via the exportation of oil and gas.

Ambassador Jerzy Nowak pointed to the problematic question of NATO’s Eastern dimension. The recent 5 day conflict between Georgia and Russia calls for a new dialogue with Russia. This dialogue should be frank and void of diplomatic games. Russia does not disguise its desire to expand its sphere of special interest. For a historic nation, like Poland, this situation may not appear the same to other Europeans. For Eastern Europe, Russian hegemony is not attractive.

Solutions? The EU must engage in dialogue with Russia. Address the issue of NATO expansion in the aftermath of the war in Georgia, to avoid creating a gray zone in terms of law. There should be massive support for Ukraine, Georgia and Moldova and partnership talks with Russia must be restarted.

A diplomatic conference on EU security architecture is not necessary and could be used to cover up the reality of the Russian-Georgian conflict. It would also legitimize the idea of a concert of powers and also the idea of seeking zones of influence. This is not acceptable. There is clearly political will for dialogue and a need to discuss issues of the international order. We are at a crossroads. We must consider both interests and emotions. Both are important.

US Ambassador to NATO Kurt Volker began with a reflection of the results of the US elections that offered incredible results. Both McCain and Obama presented the opportunity for a strong leader and in his concession speech, McCain signalled the broad support for Obama and the opportunity for new unity. This will be possible not only in the US but also in the transatlantic relationship. There is a new enthusiasm in Europe and a chance to build consensus on challenges, particularly at the 60th NATO Summit in Strasbourg where we can adapt and react to a new security environment. NATO has evolved from looking at existential threats to regional conflicts and now asymmetric threats like terrorism. NATO must adapt and take care of the full spectrum of the Atlantic community's security needs recommended the Ambassador.

There are some new issues. First – NATO must look at Afghanistan and ensure its stabilization and security. Second, the transatlantic community must find a renewed balance, particularly in terms of relations with Russia. There are responsibilities on both sides, but there are huge opportunities.

The process of seeking a Europe “whole, free and at peace” is not finished.

We must engage Russia and we must understand that Russia has and will pursue its own interests. We want Russia to share in our prosperity and we must engage in dialogue. Recent suppression of the free market, NGOs, civil society, free elections, the murder and disappearances of journalists, rising corruption, and the increasing use of energy for strategic control show a downward spiral and isolation of Russia. This is further witnessed in the recent conflict with Georgia and the pressuring of Estonia. We must have a dialogue, but of a different kind and must see Russia continue to develop to a constructive path.

At the Embassy of the United Kingdom – Forum B addressed the topic of: REFORMING NATO – Rapporteur: Giuseppe Belardetti, YATA President

NATO reforms will be a priority for the incoming NATO 60th Anniversary Summit. NATO indeed, must continue the transformation process to meet the Challenge of the XXI century, by reaffirming the political implication of the transatlantic link. As **Ambassador Stewart Eldon, UK Ambassador to NATO** said “this will contribute to maintaining the Alliance the credible and able-to-deter Alliance that it is”.

The reform process must be effectively conducted by NATO authorities and supported by National Governments. This process must include a renewed comprehensive approach toward Afghanistan, the identification of NATO priorities and a reform of the military command and political structure.

NATO long term strategy towards Afghanistan is to have a sustainable and credible transition. NATO has to realize that there is no security without development.

Counter-insurgency successful strategies don't stem from direct military action but from a comprehensive approach with other international actors, the international community and NGO with civil, human and legal skills.

Secondly, NATO has to identify the major threats and challenges it will be able to tackle in the current XXI security scenarios.

Thirdly, a comprehensive reform of the military and civilian structures of NATO will contribute to the enhancement of NATO goals. The need for a comprehensive approach will contribute to further development of relations with other international organizations, such as EU. The scarcity of resources, due to the international financial crisis and to the absence of the necessary national investments, required NATO to rethink the dimensions of its forces.

A parallel reform that might be needed is the International Command revision, as the current structure is not flexible and deployable. A reform of international staff, by reducing the existing 300 committees and making the Secretary General a modern Chief Executive will contribute in speeding up NATO efficiency, by making merit and not tradition the cornerstone of NATO policy-making process. NATO commands, as well as National Force posture, do not reflect the needs of the Alliance, which must be more flexible and deployable than before.

An intense debate on the need of an updated strategic concept emerged and the development of a new trans-Atlantic declaration that summarize all these items of discussion has been envisioned as the only consensual step that could be taken towards the conclusion of a successful NATO transformation process.

Other panelists included:

Hugh Mortimer, Deputy Head of Mission of the UK to Germany,

Prof. Michael Clarke, Director of the Royal United Services Institute for Defence and Security Studies (RUSI),

Ambassador Steward Eldon, Permanent representative of the UK to NATO, PD.dr.

Habil Markus Kaim, Head of the Research Division European and Atlantic Security , German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP),

Lt.Gen. (ret) Kersten Lahl, President of the Federal College for Security Studies (BAKS), MP Christian Schmidt, Dr. Constanze Stelzenmuller, Director of the Berlin Office German Marshal Fund

The Embassy of Hungary hosted Forum C: “NATO in Afghanistan: Advancing Security and promoting peace” – Rapporteur: Mads Thomsen Soondergaard, former YATA Secretary General

H.E. Ambassador Dr. Sandor Peisch welcomed the delegates and opened the debate by saying that “it was an important task for the Alliance and for the people of our countries to bring peace, security and prosperity to Afghanistan.”

Leading on the panel **H.E. Ambassador Prof. Anton Bebler** characterized the Afghanistan issue as being a much wider problem, not just a military one. Given the numerous obstacles for success, it makes it extremely unwise for NATO to build its future on the outcome of the ISAF mission in Afghanistan.

Dr. Ágnes Vadai followed Prof. Bebler’s presentation by commenting that Afghanistan does not pose a direct threat, but it is the root to a lot of indirect threats. In order to contain or eliminate these threats the limited resources available for the good of the Afghan people need to be distributed much better. You need to take into account, due to the complexity of the country that if a strategy works in one place it might not work 20 kilometers away.

A pessimistic view on the challenges in Afghanistan was given by **Professor Christopher Coker**. To begin with, NATO should never have taken on the responsibility in Afghanistan, instead a US-led coalition should have. The main problem is that NATO did not know the nature of the war before engaging in it. Prof. Coker compared Afghanistan to the saying on Wall Street: “A long term investment is a short term investment that went wrong.” The ISAF mission should have been a short term investment, but turned into a long term investment that NATO cannot win. He concluded that NATO-members have to ask themselves: Are we a part of the problem, rather than part of the solution?

H.E. Ambassador Prof. Dr. Maliha Zulfacar concluded the presentations with a positive view on the improvements in Afghanistan, especially in the civil society. The reconstruction has been successful so far, but still a lot is needed to be done. The ambassador gave a strong statement about the hope for a better life in Afghanistan and the willingness to work for it. Her Excellency stressed that the Afghans are grateful for the assistance of the international community and for the commitment from the ISAF forces. If you want to get a realistic picture of the progress being made in Afghanistan you have to ask the Afghan people.

The panel agreed that the biggest task for NATO and the international community was defining the terms of a successful mission in Afghanistan.

At the French Embassy – Forum D dealt with European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) and NATO – Rapporteur: Samuel Pires, YATA Vice-President Outreach

A panel composed of General Henri Bentégeat, H. E. Ambassador Joachim Bitterlich, Mr. Jean Francois Bureau, Admiral Ferdinando Sanfelice di Monteforte, and Stefan Kornelius as discussion leader, gathered in the French Embassy in Berlin to discuss the

issue of the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) and the relations between the European Union (EU) and NATO.

It was regarded as a fact that the ESDP has evolved in the past few years, especially through the action of French President, Nicolas Sarkozy, who has invigorated the ESDP as the current President of the EU, although **Ambassador Joachim Bitterlich** noted that the Europeans need to define a strategy to reform structures and create a General European Headquarters as a mean to pave the way for an European Army in 5 to 10 years, an idea contested by **Admiral Monteforte**.

The panellists agreed on the complementary nature of EU and NATO, something which in the past was regarded as mostly theoretical, but has found a practical reflex in the latest missions. Despite this, **General Bentégeat** affirmed that both organizations must analyze which are their strongest capabilities and how they complement each other, especially in what regards an improved resources management, and Mr. Bureau stated the need to take NATO-EU relations to a broader official level.

Mr. Francois Bureau, Assistant Secretary General of NATO underscored the spirit of the Bucharest NATO Summit in putting NATO and EU relations on the table. Issues such as Afghanistan, Russia, the Western Balkans are on both agendas.

Ukraine – Forum E: Ukraine’s role in addressing new security challenges in the Euro-Atlantic Area”, hosted by the Ukraine Embassy - Rapporteur: Pawel Osiej, ATA Project Director

Ambassador Natalia Zarudna started the discussions of the panel by mentioning the transformation that the entire European continent has witnessed: the disappearance of the former Soviet Union and the re-birth of several sovereign countries. Her personal experience is emblematic: being born in USSR, she today lives in a free country. Ukraine’s determination to become a member of the NATO and the European Union will not be deterred; no effort towards this goal will be spared. Within the context of the wider Black Sea region, Ukraine aims to become a security provider, not only a security consumer.

Prof. dr. Rainer Lindner, from the Research Division Russian Federation/CIS of the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP) pointed out that Ukraine should not be regarded as an obstacle for the Western world but rather a challenge. The present young generation of Ukrainians, representing the future of the country, looks towards the West, embraces its values of democracy and freedom.

Dr. Karl-Heinz Kamp, Director of the Research Division of the NATO Defense College, Rome expressed his personal view, rather than a NATO stand point and added that during the Bucharest Summit, the Membership Action Plan (MAP) was brought into discussion at an early stage of the debates over the future membership of Ukraine and Georgia. Needless to say that new members should bring added value and not added problems.

The guiding principles of the enlargement should be that of strengthening the Alliance, by means of security commitments, thus rendering credibility to the process. The enlargement construction is not a means to punish or to please Russia. Accession to the Alliance will come when the time for that is right.

Mr. Borys Tarasjuk, MP, Chairman of the European Integration Committee of the Ukraine Parliament, former Ukrainian Secretary of State supported Ambassador Zarutna's stand by adding that Ukraine's role already is that of a net contributor to security in the Euro-Atlantic area, from several perspectives : hard security contribution , conflict resolution, soft security contribution. It assumed this role immediately after re-gaining independence; it participated in actions in the Balkan region, Africa and Pacific.

Mr. Christian Schmidt, MP, Parliamentary State Secretary to the Federal Minister of Defense, President of the German Atlantic Association mentioned in his speech that the panel was being hosted by a future member of the NATO, according to the Bucharest Summit.

NATO's transformation process is not only a military issue, but rather a political one, thus the question over the role that Ukraine can play in the security of the Euro-Atlantic region is a legitimate one.

On the path towards membership however, several commitments must be fulfilled, not only militarily, but politically as well. How security can be increased in the region is a strategic issue, not only from the Ukrainian point of view.

Russia - Forum F: *Red Lines of the Russian Foreign Policy* (Embassy of the Russian Federation) - Reported by Jonathan Nuss, YATA Executive Vice-President

Mr. Alexander Rahr, program Director Russia/Eurasia – German Council on Foreign Relations (DGAP) introduced the panel by emphasizing a speech given by President Putin in Munich, regarding a possible “new *red line* between the West and Russia.” The idea of the *red line* has once again permeated international political discourse due in part to NATO's expansion, the positioning of anti-ballistic missiles in Poland and the war in Georgia.

Ambassador Ulrich Brandenburg, Permanent representative of Germany to NATO articulated that *once again*, in recent history, an abnormal relationship exists between NATO and Russia (the first instance being the Kosovo crisis in 1999). The current situation was exacerbated by Russia's actions towards Georgia, prompting NATO to affirm that the NATO-Russia relationship was no longer characterized by *business as usual*.

Ambassador Brandenburg sees the current moment as a defining one for European security affairs. He stated that: “*no business as usual* ought not mean less...but more business than usual.” Accordingly, he contends that we cannot neglect the relationship

between NATO and Russia and that communication lines must be developed in order to avoid isolation of the parties involved.

Ambassador Dmitry Rogozin, Russian Ambassador to the NATO was explicit in asserting that “there are no *red lines* in the Russian foreign and security policy,” reminding the audience that it was the Russians who tore down the Berlin Wall.

Moreover, Rogozin affirmed that Gorbachev was promised that there would be no new American military bases near the Russian border and that NATO would allow for the possibility of a European dialogue with Russia. Instead, Russia was faced with NATO expansion towards the East, the direct involvement of NATO in the Yugoslav War, the establishment of American military bases in the Baltic Region and Central Asia, and anti-ballistic missiles in the Czech Republic. Therefore, according to him, it is NATO and not Russia that is drawing the *red lines* in Europe

Rogozin articulated that it is not right to fight for the security of one party at the cost of the security of another party. Accordingly, security should sometimes be based on a coalition of interests. He thus proposed the establishment of a collective missile system and a partnership to work towards common goals with NATO in the areas of terrorism, drug trafficking and piracy.

Mr. James Sherr, Head of the Russia and Eurasia Program, Chatham House contends that it is particularly during difficult times that we must emancipate ourselves from Cold War principles – as ultimately they impede our progress. Sherr affirmed that since 1991, Europe has moved towards a post-Cold War view, while Russia has moved to a pre-Cold War view.

Russia today, unlike the USSR does not seek to weaken other players on the international stage – it seeks to create a directorate between the West and itself. This view, Sherr contends, has been officially stated in multiple Russian foreign policy directives since 1993.

In comparing the Russian sphere of influence to that of the EU and NATO, Sherr asserts that both NATO and the EU are built upon tangible interests and members which are bound by consent. Russia appears to follow a different policy and Sherr reminded the audience that spheres of influence which are drawn up without regard for those inside it are a cause of global instability. Furthermore, Russia continues to define threats on a territorial basis. Sherr concluded by stating that Russia and the West should be re-defining their interests, and that “the difference outlined will not go away soon - we need to learn to live with them.”

Professor Andrej Zagorski, Vice-President of the Association for Euro-Atlantic Cooperation contended that is not helpful to talk or think in terms of *red lines*. Furthermore, since the Georgia crisis, Zagorski believes that we have lost an important opportunity for a relationship defined by transparency and trust.

In his concluding remarks, **Mr. Arian Starova**, President of the Atlantic Council of Albania and former Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Albania, stressed that we must move from the *red line* discourse and that we ought to concentrate on international cooperation. He emphasized that Russia should always be considered a strategic partner when dealing with global security challenges.

In conclusion I would like to thank our German colleagues and the whole planning and organizational staff and the German authorities for providing the stage and inspiration, for holding this 54nd General Assembly in Berlin – Talking around the Brandenburg Gate.

Thank you to the speakers, staff, and our translators for making this DIALOGUE.

Thank you for listening and see as many of you as possible in Kiev next year as we and NATO reaches out to the near abroad, to the Black Sea region, and what has become in recent years the new frontier of NATO and the EU! We look forward to seeing you in Ukraine next year.

Thank you Berlin! Thank you Germany!