



THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY  
THE ELLIOTT SCHOOL  
OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS



*The British American Security Information Council, Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists,  
The Elliott School of International Affairs, NATO Watch, and Strategy International*

## The Shadow NATO Summit III

### Commitments, capabilities and connectivity: Implementing NATO's new Strategic Concept

A Two-Day Civil Society Shadow Conference ahead of NATO's Chicago Summit

**May 14-15, 2012**

The Elliott School of International Affairs, The George Washington University, 1957 E Street, NW  
Lindner Family Commons, Room 602

**Washington, DC**

### AGENDA

#### **MAY 14**

**8:30 – 9:00 REGISTRATION AND COFFEE**

**9:00 – 9:15 WELCOME**

**Dr. Douglas Shaw**, Associate Dean, The Elliott School of International Affairs

**Mr. Paul Ingram**, Executive Director, BASIC

**Dr. Kennette Benedict**, Executive Director, Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists

**Dr. Ian Davis**, Director, NATO Watch

#### **Part I: Commitments**

**9:15 – 10:45 SESSION I: Afghanistan: Shaping the next phase of transition**

Most NATO and international troops will have left Afghanistan by 2014. Will Afghan security forces be ready to tackle the security challenges facing Afghanistan during and after the transition? How can peace and justice be balanced in a reconciliation process? What legacy will the international community leave behind?

**Chair:** **Mr. Steve Clemons**, Washington editor at large, *The Atlantic*

**Speakers:** **Amb. James Dobbins**, Director, International Security and Defense Policy Center, RAND National Defense Research Institute and former U.S. envoy to Afghanistan

**Ms. Rangina Hamidi**, human rights activist and president of Kandahar Treasure, the first women-run business in Kandahar

**Ms. Candace Rondeaux**, Senior Analyst - Afghanistan, International Crisis Group

**Dr. Ann Jones**, writer (*Kabul in Winter 2006* and *War Is Not Over When It's Over*, 2010)

**10:45 – 11:00 TEA/COFFEE BREAK**

**11:00 – 12:30 SESSION II: Lessons from Libya: Is military intervention a legitimate tool of crisis management?**

What are the main strategic lessons to be drawn from NATO's mission in Libya? Is the development of a Comprehensive Approach to Crisis Management a priority for NATO or merely an idealistic addition to the core collective defense agenda? Should the Alliance implement the U.N. Responsibility to Protect (R2P) agenda and direct resources towards the development of a comprehensive approach to genocide prevention?

**Chair:** **Dr. Joanna Spear**, Director of the Elliott School's Security Policy Studies Program at The George Washington University; BASIC Board Member

**Speakers:** **Amb. Nancy E. Soderberg**, President, Connect U.S. Fund; former Senior Deputy National Security Adviser and Ambassador to the U.N. during the Balkans and Rwandan genocides  
**Ms. Phyllis Bennis**, Director, New Internationalism Project at the Institute for Policy Studies  
**Mr. Tom Malinowski**, Washington Director, Human Rights Watch

**12:30 – 1:30 BUFFET LUNCH**

**1:30 – 3:00 SESSION III: Emerging security challenges: NATO's response to terrorism, proliferation, piracy and cyber attacks**

New security challenges, ranging from cyber attacks to failing states, cannot be deterred by the threat of military retaliation, nor will military operations be the appropriate response in most cases. Instead, the emphasis must be on prevention and enhancing resilience. The creation of an Emerging Security Challenges Division is intended to send a strong political message that, for the first time, NATO is systematically bringing together work on terrorism, cyber attacks, threats to energy supply and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Can NATO play a meaningful role in addressing such challenges?

**Chair:** **Ms. Lorelei Kelly**, Research Fellow, Open Technology Initiative, New America Foundation

**Speakers:** **Mr. Philip Worré**, Executive Director, ISIS Europe  
**Dr. Jean-Loup Samaan**, NATO Defense College  
**Mr. Geneve Mantri**, Director, Terrorism and Counterterrorism, Amnesty International USA  
**Dr. Sean Lawson**, Assistant Professor, Communication, University of Utah

**3:00 – 3:30 TEA/COFFEE BREAK**

## **Part II: Capabilities**

**3:30 – 5:00 SESSION IV: Smart defense and burden sharing: Closing the U.S.-Europe capabilities gap with a human security approach**

Defense budgets are being cut across NATO. Under NATO's new 'Smart Defense' initiative, allies are being encouraged to prioritize, specialize and seek multinational solutions. How is this working in practice? Is the U.S.-European 'capabilities gap' a result of European NATO countries spending too little on defense or the United States spending too much? To help close this gap, should NATO move towards a human security approach, contributing to the protection of every individual human being and not focus merely on the defence of territorial borders?

**Chair:** Dr. Ian Davis, NATO Watch  
**Speakers:** Ms. Julianne Smith, Deputy National Security Advisor to the Vice President of the United States  
Amb. András Simonyi, Managing Director of the Center for Transatlantic Relations at SAIS  
Mr. John Feffer, Co-Director of Foreign Policy In Focus at the Institute for Policy Studies  
Dr. Marios Efthymiopoulos, President, Strategy International

**5:00 – 6:30** EVENING RECEPTION

## **MAY 15**

**8:30 – 9:00** TEA/COFFEE

### **Part II: Capabilities (continued)**

**9:00 – 10:30** SESSION V: The Deterrence and Defense Posture Review

What is the purpose of the DDP, and what are the likely outcomes next week? Is there enough clarity on who is being deterred? Is NATO considering the appropriate capabilities for 21<sup>st</sup> century scenarios, and what considerations should determine the right mix between nuclear and conventional capabilities? What role does missile defense play?

**Chair:** Dr. Kennette Benedict, Executive Director and Publisher, Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists  
**Speakers:** Ms. Anita Friedt, Director, Office of Policy and Regional Affairs, U.S. State Department  
Mr. Walter Slocombe, former U.S. Undersecretary of Defense for Policy  
Amb. Steven Pifer, Director of Arms Control Initiative, Brookings Institution  
Mr. Paul Ingram, Executive Director, BASIC

**10:30 – 10:45** TEA/COFFEE BREAK

**10:45 – 12:15** SESSION VI: - The future of U.S. tactical nuclear weapons in Europe

What is the future for U.S. tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, given a growing consensus that they have no military purpose? What are the possible trade-offs with Russia? How does NATO escape the trap of requiring reciprocity in a complex game of balance? How can alliance burden-sharing be preserved?

**Chair:** Dr. Fiona Hill, Director, Center on the United States and Europe, Brookings Institution, Washington DC  
**Speakers:** Mr. Harry Heintzleman, IV, Deputy Director of the Office of Euro Atlantic Security Affairs, Bureau of Arms Control, Verification and Compliance, State Department  
Amb. Francois Rivasseau, member of UN Secretary-General's disarmament advisory board  
Mr. Ted Seay, BASIC Consultant, former arms control adviser to U.S. Ambassador to NATO  
Mr. Daryl Kimball, Executive Director, Arms Control Association

**12:15 – 1:15** BUFFET LUNCH

## Part III: Connectivity

### 1:15 – 2:45      **SESSION VII: NATO-Russia, the Middle East and beyond: Towards partnerships that enable reform**

NATO partnerships in all their increasing diversity, include relations with Russia, Ukraine, Georgia, the ongoing Partnership for Peace, the Mediterranean Dialogue/ICI states and 'contact' countries. NATO's new Strategic Concept acknowledged the importance of partnerships and the need to create further or enhanced mechanisms for partnership with non-member countries and other relevant international organizations. NATO also committed to a fresh impetus in its engagement in the Middle East and North Africa. What should be done to make NATO's policy of partnership appear reliable to the 'Arab street'?

**Chair:**            **Dr. Isabelle François**, Distinguished Senior Visiting Research Fellow, Center for Transatlantic Security Studies, National Defense University

**Speakers:**      **Amb. Kurt Volker**, Managing Director and Senior Fellow of the Center for Transatlantic Relations (SAIS)

**Dr. Celeste Wallander**, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Russia/Ukraine/Eurasia, Office of the Under Secretary of Defense (Policy)

**Dr. Hall Gardner**, Professor and Chair, Department of International and Comparative Politics, The American University of Paris

**Mr. Sarwar A. Kashmeri**, Senior Fellow, International Security Program, Atlantic Council, and Author, "NATO 2.0: Reboot or Delete" (2011)

### 2:45 – 3:15      **TEA/COFFEE BREAK**

### 3:15 – 4:45      **SESSION VIII: Transparency and NATO reform: engaging with the U.S. public and lawmakers**

For NATO to live up to the reason for which it was created—to safeguard the freedom, common heritage and civilization of their peoples, founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law (North Atlantic Treaty, 1949)—it must be open, transparent and accountable to the public. Yet NATO is the only major intergovernmental body not to have even a basic information disclosure policy and the Alliance continues to be a closed and secretive organization distant from the general public. How might mechanisms for Congressional and public accountability and oversight be strengthened?

**Chair:**            **Mr. Michael Stopford**, Executive Vice President, Senior Global Corporate Strategist at Weber Shandwick; former Deputy Assistant Secretary General, Strategic Communications, NATO Public Diplomacy Division

**Speakers:**      **Ms. Antonella Cerasino**, Head of NATO Countries, Public Diplomacy Division

**Mr. David Shaman**, former World Bank Official

**Dr. Ian Davis**, Director, NATO Watch

### 4:45 - 5:00      **CONCLUDING REMARKS**

**Mr. Paul Ingram**, Executive Director, BASIC

**Dr. Ian Davis**, Director, NATO Watch

*We are grateful to the following organizations for their financial support:*

*The Marmot Trust, NATO Public Diplomacy Division, and the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation.*

-----

For more information, contact: Dr. Ian Davis, NATO Watch, [idavis@natowatch.org](mailto:idavis@natowatch.org); +44 7887 782389