



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

DRAFT AGENDA

** invited*

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**, 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

Ms. 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: **Lt.-Gen. Charles Bouchard (ret.)***, former Commander of the NATO military operation 'Unified Protector' in Libya
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
Mr. 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: **Amb. Robert Barry**, former U.S. ambassador to Bulgaria and Indonesia; BASIC Board Member

Speakers: **Ms. Julianne Smith**, Principal Director (Europe and NATO), Office of the Under Secretary of Defense (Policy), and Special Assistant to the Secretary for the NATO Summit
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 DDPR, and what are the likely outcomes next week? Is there enough clarity on who is being deterred? Is NATO considering the appropriate capabilities for 21st 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, Bureau of Arms Control, Verification and Compliance, State Dept
Amb. Francois Rivasseau, member of UN Secretary-General's disarmament advisory board
Mr. Ted Seay, arms control, disarmament, and non-proliferation specialist; 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

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. Steven Croley*, Special Assistant to the President and Senior Counsel to the President in the Office of White House Counsel

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

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