



General Assembly
of the Atlantic
Treaty Association

Assemblée Générale
de l'Association
du Traité Atlantique

Assemblea Generale
dell'Associazione
del Trattato Atlantico

THE FUTURE OF EURO-ATLANTIC SECURITY

Rome, Conference Centre of the Istituto Superiore di Polizia, Ministry of Interior
November, Tuesday 30 – December, Saturday 4, 2004

GENERAL REPORT

Mr. Chairman,
Your excellencies,
Honorable guests and members of the ATA family,

It is an honor and a challenge to address the final part of this historic Atlantic Treaty Association's 50th Annual General Assembly.

But first ... a word of praise and gratitude for our Italian colleagues – **Comitato Atlantico Italiano**. I would like to congratulate them for the fine hospitality and especially successfully reminding us of the historical meaning of the place where we find ourselves today ... Rome – the eternal city is a long lasting proposition like the Euro-Atlantic values we all share – democracy and liberty, peace and prosperity, rule of law, individual rights, market economy, and security and stability through cooperation ... and the Italian Republic – one of the founding members of the North Atlantic Alliance fifty years ago ... is a symbolic reminder of continuity and relevance, of sacrifice and dedication to today's common European and Atlantic destiny.

As a representative of the generations benefiting from the work and spirit of transatlantic cooperation, I want to salute and to thank **Senator Emilio Colombo** and the Comitato Atlantico Italiano for their decades of dedication to this cause, and **Fabrizio Luciolli** and his team for the tremendous work involved in making us feel at home.

Fittingly we began yesterday the ATA business with our Council meeting in the House of Democracy – the **Italian Chamber of Deputies** – and continued the General Assembly session in the House of Italian Public Order – the **Ministry of Interior** and the Police Academy. These institutions represent a tradition in this country and our modern societies that remind us that values need to be defended and protected. The marriage between democracy and security is also found in our Atlantic Alliance and in this the Atlantic Treaty Association plays an important role.

In many ways, the ATA is one of the two pillars on which the political and military decision-making process of the Alliance remains well anchored to our democratic processes. Through the NATO Parliamentary Assembly and through the Atlantic Treaty

Association, channels of communication and dialogue give us and our constituencies – the democratically elected parliaments and our civil societies – a voice vis-à-vis NATO and offer the Alliance on the other hand valuable partners.

In a speech delivered to the Norwegian Atlantic Committee in Oslo, NATO's Secretary General said then and I quote "*I believe that voluntary organizations can be especially helpful at the present time. We are confronted by many difficulties and uncertainties and there is a good deal of misunderstanding. It is therefore more than ever necessary that the people of all the member countries should be told the truth.*" I believe the words of Lord Ismay are as true today as they were on May 15, 1956 – two years after the ATA was founded.

We have heard many ways to describe the mission of ATA today and in the future ... to strengthen the transatlantic link, to provide transparency, to strengthen dialogue, to enhance cooperation, to build consensus and to provide vigorous debate ... debate aimed at spreading knowledge and information, at educating our societies and our young citizens about security in the 21st century and the place of the transatlantic link in this context.

There is also much symbolism in our halfway point – our golden anniversary of 50 years. The Roman God Janus reminds us of doorways and new beginnings as we have gathered to look towards the future and ponder about "Il Futuro de la Sicurezza Euro Atlantica." ("L'avenir de la Securite Euro-Atlantique", "The Future of Euro-Atlantic Security".)

The role of the rapporteur is to provide a brief summary of the main themes which will have been the subject of the conference and to provide a sense of what we have been doing. At the same time, to give you everything would run counter to the scope and time frame of this role as well as spoiling the pleasure of listening to the distinguished speakers brought together by the Comitato Atlantico.

1. We heard in the opening statements of the conference on Wednesday a series of political realities and challenges presented by our governmental and military leaders.

There is no coincidence that we meet today in Italy – a cradle of modern Western and Euro-Atlantic civilization – and one of the most committed members of the North Atlantic Alliance. **Senator Emilio Colombo**, in his opening remarks, presented the message of the Italian President Carlo Azeglio Ciampi to our conference which underscored the continuing importance after 50 years of NATO to Europe and to the world for ensuring that a future and common peace is achieved and for addressing the threats that menace our way of life – our values and institutions.

However, threats against our societies are complemented by a natural desire by the Euro Atlantic system to project and enhance the evolution of institutions and values beyond north American and European shores, to the next generation of states and citizens, who have or are freeing themselves from the bondage of tyranny, underdevelopment and oppression, and who need support in consolidating their societies very much the way we did after World War II. We heard **Ambassador Robert Hunter's** vision of NATO and the ATA role in supporting this effort in areas such as the Balkans, Afghanistan, Iraq, and in the Mediterranean basin – by using the tools of

education, by speaking to the young generation of citizens who are preparing to inherit the world of tomorrow. NATO has led the way this summer through the Istanbul cooperation initiative – enlarging the framework of NATO’s approach to “out of area” - and together with the ATA through the IPASS student summit in Istanbul. Building on this, the ATA education strategy is a commitment to continuing this in the future.

Both Ambassador Hunter and this morning’s first speaker, **US Ambassador Mel Sembler** shared their view on the prospects of putting behind us – as Americans and Europeans – and as Atlanticists at heart, past difficulties and disagreements and choosing to listen and to dialogue as a way of reinvigorating the transatlantic link in a new world context. Addressing the fault lines that can divide us further across the Atlantic and across Europe – the capability gap and the cooperation vs. competition dilemma – need top be high on our agendas, and agenda that can become long lasting if built on a strong and renewed NATO and on sturdy and vibrant US-Europe ties. An remarkable ideas echo from our speakers on the quality of our friendship and shared common values, which preceded our status as allies.

In the context of a **changed world following the end of the Cold War**, the new NATO and the new Atlanticism has a opportunity to be reinvented.

Again the ATA comes to the forefront as a form that enhances transatlantic dialogue, not only among politicians and parliamentarians, but also between our societies. As the **Honorable President of the Chamber of Deputies Pierferdinando Casini** underlined the ATA’s scope as an association of 40 members, goes beyond the mandate of NATO membership to one of linking our people in a true family of shared values. It is not by coincidence that this theme resounds throughout the speeches and interventions that we have heard over three days: The importance of values.

Our conference has also brought forward the tremendous changes in the international security structure since the end of the Cold War. We have adapted and need to continue adapting, as **Defense Minister Antonio Martino** outlined. From global war and a defensive posture we have moved towards global threats and terrorism. Our defense alliance is evolving more and more towards a security organization, for the internal – homeland security needs to be complemented by an ability to reach across the world to address the threats in their incipient form. Our military forces are truly becoming “symbols of peace and security” in countries like Afghanistan, Bosnia Herzegovina and Macedonia, assisting in pre and post conflict stabilization process.

But magic is short of supply without the proper resources. **Professor Martino** was echoed by NATO SACEUR **General James Jones** that resources need to be put behind our political and military decisions from Prague to Istanbul to recently - in the Carpathian Mountains - NATO defense minister’s meeting mentioned by **Ambassador Sembler** in Romania, members are taking comments seriously. The NRF is operational according to initial tenets - high readiness, anytime, anywhere. Words such as interoperability, usability, rapidity of deployment, force generation, expeditionary and combined operations, are to become realities only through proper funding.

“NATO is as relevant in the 21st century as it was in the 20th” said the SACEUR, as NATO’ allied command transformation brings fundamental changes and a rate of change that is profound for NATO and member countries, echoing the transition from a defensive alliance to one characterized by speed, precision and multinational capacity.

The **Secretary General of NATO Jaap de Hoop Scheffer** joined other speakers in encouraging debate and dialogue as part of the normal process within an alliance of like minded states. Divergences and differences of opinion should not be taken as the final word, but rather as part of a process at the end of which we continue on the same path “together”. The Secretary General also emphasized the importance with which the Alliance is watching the situation in Ukraine, a country bordering NATO and the European Union, and a country with which NATO has a strategic partnership. The evolution of democracy and territorial integrity, and the need to find a peaceful solution to the current electoral stalemate are in the interests of NATO. Here again is the responsible role that NATO takes vis-à-vis its partners and neighbors.

Furthermore, in addition to encouraging debate, the need to shape the political environment and consensus in the alliance is based on genuine cooperation and a multilateral approach by NATO in developing a synergy with the security network of international institutions such as the UN, OSCE and EU. The latter was visibly exemplified as the Secretary General and SACEURS departed for Sarajevo to participate in yesterday’s ceremony marking the ending of the NATO Stabilization Force – SFOR in Bosnia and Herzegovina – the nine years I mentioned earlier on - and the handover by NATO to the European Force. NATO will continue to provide support to the 7000 strong European peacekeeping force under the Berlin Plus Agreement – the framework for NATO-EU cooperation.

But the Balkans were also present among us on Wednesday, as three heads of state – **President Alfred Moisiu of Albania, President E. Branko Crvenkovski of Macedonia** and **President Stejpan Mesic of Croatia** – also known as the Adriatic Group and next in line for NATO enlargement – expressed through their presence the appreciation for NATO’ role in bringing political consensus, multiethnic cooperation and security to the Western Balkans. Like their former Vilnius Group colleagues, by now NATO members, Bulgaria and Romania, these countries are already acting like de facto NATO allies in support of NATO’s missions in Afghanistan and Iraq.

And regarding the continuation of the process in the Balkans, I reiterate the words of **Minister Solomon Passy**, that all of us strongly supports the candidacy of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia Montenegro in NATO’ partnership for peace, which this year celebrated 10 years since its conception.

Foreign Affairs Minister Gianfranco Fini underscored this very role, as a society stabilizer and as institution builder in the Balkans, that makes this alliance of democracies reconfirm its modern role. The new chief of Italy’s diplomacy referred to NATO as a precious instrument that has gained in significance and importance as a precious instrument. Echoing the most “shared common values”, as we are defined not by what we do but by what we are”.

2. With the Plenary Session on Thursday and today, we looked in depth at several themes within the committee structure outlined by our constitution – political, military, economic and education

Panel 1: Reconstruction and democratic development

NATO's role in reconstruction and democratic consolidation of post-conflict societies is essential. Besides providing security and stability in the Euro-Atlantic area, NATO must consolidate democracy in its neighboring regions, in order to maintain a peaceful environment – **Pierre Lellouche, President of NATO Parliamentary Assembly.**

Political, economic and military actions are of vital importance in this process. But increased cooperation between governmental and non-governmental organizations also plays a primary role in enhancing awareness of public opinion on activities and on the reasons for which they are pursued. In this context, the ATA and the NATO PA are ambassadors of democracy. The priorities of parliamentarians from NATO countries are contributing to the resolution of conflicts in regions such as the Balkans, Caucasus and Central Asia, and strengthening the relation between the West and the Arab-Muslim world and between Europe and the United States.

Despite positive trends for regional stability in the Balkans, there still exists a great number of threats, such as religious and ethnic intolerance. There is increased need for reform of security systems in the former Yugoslav area. "The Balkans produce more history than they can consume. Right now we are trying to produce a future that we can consume", as underlined by **Gen. Milan Zaric, Deputy Minister of Defense, Serbia & Montenegro.**

In Central Asia, NATO is committed to the promotion of long-term security, particularly in Afghanistan, in view of the renewed political momentum generated by the historical undertaking of organizing the first elections in the country. They will set the tone for the identification of the next steps to take, as well as for their effective implementation and sustainment – **Daniele Riggio, NATO Information Officer.**

Other important aspects in nation-building operations are transparency in receiving international aid and understanding aid channels, in order to avoid the negative impact of free flow of destructive techniques – **Stanislav Tkachenko, Vice-Rector of St. Petersburg State University.**

Thus, reconstruction is a long-term process, which requires long-term commitment, whether in the case of a post-conflict society or a collapsed state is very important and should be treated as a priority by the Atlantic community – **Daniel Nelson, Dean at the University of New Haven.**

Political Committee – The new NATO and its partnerships

Italian Minister for Regional Affairs Enrico La Loggia underscored the growing security challenges make it ever more vital for NATO member and partner countries to work closely together. The Alliance committed to building a common security

architecture based on the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council and Partnership for Peace. These structures stand for a truly successful cooperation, not only in military issues, but also political and economic. The ultimate goal is “convergence and compatibility, not creating a new world order” –

In short time we will celebrate 10 years of Mediterranean Dialogue. Also, relations with Russia and Ukraine have been consolidated, as they constitute key partners of the Euro-Atlantic area – **Maurizio Moreno, Italian Perm Rep to NAC**. Still, “Russia has to create an alliance with the Alliance”, as pointed out by **Amb. Adamishin of the Russian Association for Euro-Atlantic Cooperation**. The Berlin Plus agreements stand for the basis for practical work in crisis management between NATO and the European Union.

In facing regional and global threats, the international community has to develop new techniques: new problems cannot be solved by means of old methods. Democracy is prone to current challenges and thus we have to closely work together in order to overcome the issues that prove to threaten our societies and fundamental principles.

Panel 2 : Military / Economic Committee – Capabilities development and transatlantic interoperability

Adm. Sir Mark Stanhope, Deputy Supreme Allied Commander Transformation – The new military command structure of NATO is leaner, more flexible, more efficient, and better able to conduct the full range of Alliance missions. When sharing some of the personal experiences he acquired in the field, Sir Stanhope mentioned seeing hundreds of boys flying kites, forbidden during the Taliban regime. This vision indicates the progress achieved in providing freedom to the area. Sir Stanhope also underscored the lack of clear benchmark stating how much interoperability is actually satisfactory. Currently, however, this task is focused on the NRF as a headmark of interoperability. While achieved at brigade level, the nations must cooperate to obtain interoperability at lower levels as well.

Panel 3 : Education Committee – The contribution of the Mediterranean cultures to stability

The Mediterranean represents a key area for Euro-Atlantic security and stability, both in view of its strategic position and its proximity to regions prone to violence, suffering and simmering conflicts: the Middle East and North Africa. In order to maintain a safe and secure environment for both Southern Europe and these regions, inter-agency cooperation must be as efficient as international cooperation. Thus, activities of NATO and the EU in security and defense issues are complementary, not contradictory and competitive – **Adm. Ferdinando Sanfelice di Monteforte, NATO COMNAVSOUTH**.

According to **Dr. Anja Dalgaard-Nielsen of the Danish Institute for International Studies**, notwithstanding the efficiency of NATO actions, such as civil emergency planning, counter-terrorism (Active Endeavor) or prevention against CBRN attacks, the EU can better manage homeland security of both European countries and the United States. One of the possible measures would be the issuing of binding standards, which would significantly enhance efficiency of activities of counter-terrorism or prevention

against non-conventional attacks. In this particular field, NATO has no comparative advantage.

In **Dr. Laure Borgomano-Loup's** presentation of the NATO Defense College, culture plays an important role in shaping perceptions on security, influencing the security strategies of the particular governments and the attitudes of the population. Secondly, culture is important in the prevention of potential future crises.

Dr. Yasemin Taskin, Correspondent of "Sabah", pointed out to the importance of the intercultural dialogue, of a deep knowledge of the other cultures as a basis for mutual understanding. There is a vital need for shared cultural policies, not only at a political and academic level, but through the civil society as well, and this is why organizations such as ATA are increasingly important.

The plenary session was closed by **Dr. Jean Fournet, NATO Assistant Secretary General for Public Diplomacy**. His presentation provided an overview of the various actors involved in building a broad understanding of NATO and its importance in the current security environment. Publications, dialogue and the direct involvement of the press in ongoing events and activities is vital for public understanding and support.

Conclusion

I would like to quote again from a former NATO Secretary General.

"NATO lacks many things to be a perfect organization ... [chiefly] the confidence of public opinion which, aware of the importance of its role, is determined to give NATO its active Support." (**Paul Henri Spaak, September 2, 1958**) . This comes from an address to the delegates of the Atlantic Treaty Association in Boston, four years after the ATA was founded.

The ATA is preparing to take up the challenge of Secretary General Spaak and Mr. Fournet in the years to come, as we renew and transform our organization and our national chapters to meet the challenges of the 21st Century. More focus on our publics will be given, and not only governmental institutions and NATO, but the youth segments, the think tank community, the mass media, the business community, and other segments of our societies, to extend and deepen our ability to communicate and stimulate vigorous dialogue. Education will play an important role in the ATA for varied age segments, and through different interactive and simulation programs. Fundraising and marketing will show the way for the ATA to become a "leader" in this field in the years to come. More details from the ATA and YATA leadership on these issues.

In conclusion,

An important aim of this assembly, in the words of Bob Hunter, was to inspire our membership to do great things. Today we are not only celebrating a milestone and our birthday, we are looking forward towards the future of Euro Atlantic Security and to the role that the ATA will continue to play at the international level as well as in our countries and regions.

Inspiration comes from great ideas and a vision of a strong transatlantic partnership in the 21st century as in the 20th. The rest comes from hard work and determination, and we have shown that we are committed to doing it.

Happy Birthday ATA and the much younger YATA!

Congratulations to the organizers.

And thank you for your attention.

Alex Serban
Executive President - Casa NATO – Euro-Atlantic Council Romania
General Rapporteur – ATA 50th General Assembly

[Check against delivery – December 3, 2004]