



BUCHAREST SECURITY CONFERENCE



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## Plenary Sessions and Panels

**29 September**

**1<sup>st</sup> Session (plenary): Building Resilience on the Euro-Atlantic Frontier. Projecting Stability in the Eastern Neighborhood**

The plenary session "*Building Resilience on the Euro-Atlantic Frontier. Projecting Stability in the Eastern Neighborhood*" will address the decisions of the NATO Summit in Warsaw from 2016 from the viewpoint of their degree of fulfillment, given the fact that 2017 is the year of their implementation. We will try to decipher the implications and the further necessary measures to strengthen the cohesion of the Alliance as well as the specific roles and contributions of the East and Central European member countries.

The Warsaw Summit decisions reinforced NATO's mission and core tasks, proving that the commitments assumed at the Wales Summit were fulfilled as the Alliance takes further action to protect the territory and population of the Alliance, to project stability beyond its borders and to continue its adaptation. To address the arc of insecurity and instability along NATO's periphery and beyond, one must consider the entire range of security challenges and threats, every region prone to conflict whether we deal with state and non-state actors, from military forces or terrorist, cyber, hybrid attacks. Important benchmarks are crystallizing for the next years. Can we identify the "known unknowns" and the directions in which the security environment, risks and threats on the Euro-Atlantic Eastern frontier will continue to evolve?

Furthermore, as far as our region is concerned, *The Joint Declaration on Allied solidarity and common responsibility* adopted during the Summit of States of Central and Eastern Europe, in November 2015, underlines the need to adopt measures that can support the Alliance to adapt "to the fundamentally changed current security environment."

## 2<sup>nd</sup> Plenary Session: From the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea – The Defence and Deterrence Posture on the Euro-Atlantic Border

When it comes to regional cooperation and the advancement of the interests specific to the Eastern frontier, Romania has been one of the most active promoters of the Black Sea region's importance for the Euro-Atlantic security. The Bucharest format (B9) and the Three Seas Initiative (3SI) reflect attempts at fostering cooperation between neighbors from the area, to establish the region as a central nexus for the stability of the Alliance's members and to bring attention to the increased challenges that it faces.

The plenary session "From the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea – The Defence and Deterrence Posture on the Euro-Atlantic Border" will respond to the following question: Is there a specific Euro-Atlantic security and defence agenda of the Eastern Flank? What are the evolutions and steps taken towards this goal? The results of the Three Seas Initiative Summit in Warsaw underlie the importance of some key areas for cooperation – infrastructure, energy, communications, economy. Also, the Joint Declaration adopted in November 2015 talks about the Central and Eastern European states decision to increase their responsibilities in ensuring security in the area between the Baltic and the Black Sea and to "actively contribute to shaping the strategic allied response to the threats and security risks we face together in the East on the long term". Which are the current risks and threats faced by the Eastern Flank countries? Is there a common view of the Eastern Flank NATO members? Are these security concerns different from those shared by "Western allies"? What type of relationship is there between the United States' perceptions and the views of Eastern Flank countries? What are the evolutions on the Eastern and Southern Flanks since 2016? The Warsaw Summit Communiqué establishes in Article 40 an enhanced forward presence on the eastern part of the Alliance, "to unambiguously demonstrate, as part of our overall posture, Allies' solidarity, determination, and ability to act by triggering an immediate Allied response to any aggression".

- The Eastern Flank countries are confronted with different manifestations of the hybrid war that Russia is conducting in this region – undermining the European security architecture. NATO has "agreed a strategy on NATO's role in Countering Hybrid Warfare, which is being implemented in coordination with the EU" in order to counter hybrid warfare as part of collective defence, still bearing in mind the fact that "the primary responsibility to respond to hybrid threats or attacks rests with the targeted nation" as mentioned in the Warsaw Summit Communiqué. What are the political, economic, military and ideological elements of this

hybrid war? How can one define the actions impacting at the elites level, the manipulation, disinformation etc. – as detailed inter alia by the Berlin Security Conference last year.

- In 2016, Three Seas Initiative (3SI) was launched, intending to interconnect 12 Eastern European States, with focus on infrastructure and energy security, seeking to enhance the energetic autonomy of those states from Russia. We intend to examine its impact on the Euro-Atlantic landscape, together with its particular influence to Romania, as the host of the next 3SI Summit in 2018. Therefore, What is the role of Romania in the mentioned initiative?

### **Defence Industry Forum (in parallel)**

As a political military alliance, NATO bases its deterrence strategy on the combination of conventional and nuclear capabilities. While the nuclear forces stand as a supreme guarantee of security for Allies, the conventional forces are still needed in order to address a broader range of threats, while representing an important element of NATO's cohesion.

The defence industry represents a crucial component of the defensive architecture of a state. Therefore, this panel will gather experts from the defence industry, discussing about the present threats, vulnerabilities and strengths of the NATO allies in terms of military capabilities in the present days. Also, it will be discussed the role of the EU Army under the lead of Germany and France, which are supporting a European Defence Fund, destined to cyber defence capabilities, such as drones and robots. As in NATO and the EU are included some from the most industrialized countries, leaders in military innovation, with strong and high tech military industrial complexes, we need to discuss about the role of the military industrial build-up in an age where technology has gained a more important role. Therefore, what is the role of the defence industry in the 21<sup>st</sup> century? What are the lessons to be learned from the great players in defence industry? How can the 21<sup>st</sup> century military industry can be optimized?

### **The New Fields of Battle of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century and New Intelligence Challenges: Cyber Warfare and Propaganda (Roundtable 1 in parallel)**

The 2014 Wales Summit acknowledged cyber threats as becoming “more common, sophisticated, and potentially damaging”, calling for the establishment of an Enhanced Cyber Defence Policy in order to provide the necessary capabilities for protecting the Allies' national networks. The panel “Cyberwarfare: The new field of battle

of the 21<sup>st</sup> century" will start from the significant achievements in the cyberwarfare domain, as *The Cyber Defence Pledge* adopted in Warsaw ensures that members of the Alliance "will be capable of defending themselves in cyberspace as in the air, on land and at sea", working together and contributing to the success of Allied operations. Given those circumstances, and the fact that the targeted country has the primary responsibility to respond to a hybrid threat/attack Romania, together with the other countries from the Eastern Flank, have to identify how best to adapt their national security strategies to the new developments in the security environment on the Eastern and Southern flanks. Also, this panel will address the evolutions in cyber defence after a year since the decisions taken at the Warsaw Summit, when cybersecurity was declared operational space, as the terrestrial, air and naval realms.

The recent terrorist attacks generated a series of debates on possible intelligence failure, detection and prioritization of threats, surveillance, information gathering and sharing among the NATO members. The new challenges that this kind of threats pose for the security of member states make the cooperation and trust among NATO countries crucial for combating this phenomenon and preventing new acts of terror from disrupting the lives of citizens and undermining regional stability.

Intelligence, Surveillance and Reconnaissance (ISR) capabilities and comprehensive intelligence arrangements were agreed upon in the Warsaw Summit Communiqué in order to "understand, track and, ultimately, anticipate, the actions of potential adversaries". Also the Alliance established the capabilities necessary to ensure that responsiveness is commensurate with the highest readiness forces. Moreover, the *NATO EU Joint Declaration* emphasizes the urgent need to "bolstering resilience, working together on analysis, prevention, and early detection, through timely information sharing and, to the extent possible, intelligence sharing between staffs; and cooperating on strategic communication and response". What would be a proper approach and how can we initiate a thorough review towards a more efficient intelligence-sharing framework? What are the evolutions and points achieved since the precedent edition of the Bucharest Security Conference? This effort might gain a new dynamic through the new Intelligence and Security Division and the new Assistant Sec Gen for Intelligence and Security to be appointed by NATO.

## **Security Evolutions in the Eastern Neighborhood (Roundtable 2 in parallel)**

The security agenda of this region should be reconsidered. We are dealing today with a different reality from what we had on the field 10 years ago. This refers to Russian

actions: Which are the required policy responses and those of CBMs? The Alliance decided in Warsaw to “develop tailored forward presence in the southeast part of the Alliance territory”, measures that will contribute to “the Alliance’s strengthened deterrence and defence posture, situational awareness, and peacetime demonstration of NATO’s intent to operate without constraint”, sending a strong signal of support to regional security in the Black Sea region. What actions are needed regarding cooperation in the Wider Black Sea Area since we have witnessed a real setback of cooperation among the countries of this region?

### **The implications of the Three Seas Initiative (dinner)**

The 3SI was launched in 2016 aiming at fostering cooperation between countries bordering the Adriatic, Baltic and Black Sea in the areas of trade, infrastructure, energy and politics. However, the 12 countries that are part of this initiative are eager to boost economic ties with countries outside this format as well, which raises new opportunities but challenges as well.

The round table “The Security Implications of the Three Seas Initiative” will be focused on the Three Seas Initiative, especially on energetic and economic realms, with their indirect influence on the political realm. The 3SI initiative has been initiated in 2016, as a project originated from the determination of twelve states to integrate their economic and infrastructure ties. The Three Seas Initiative reunites the Baltic countries, Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Austria, Slovenia, Croatia, Romania and Bulgaria. The aforementioned initiative, highly supported by the United States, represents an important security project, especially that it seeks to drive away the Eastern-European countries from the dependence of the Russian natural resources. Therefore, the present initiative raises more questions. Does it represent a distinct economic project in NATO and the EU? What is the role of Romania in this project, given the fact that will organize the next 3SI Summit in 2018?

### **30 September**

### **Plenary Session: The Role of the EU in the New International Structure. The NATO-EU Partnership**

The principle of cooperative security is one of NATO’s core tasks, starting with its inception based on the Washington Treaty and continuing with its reaffirmation with

each Summit. The cooperation with the EU is particularly important in order to better manage the capabilities of member states and encouraging their cooperation efforts, while preventing duplication of tasks and deployments.

Sharing 22 member countries, NATO and the EU are two of the most important organizations for ensuring the European defence and stability through a “comprehensive approach” to crisis management and operations. NATO-EU collaboration must be the rule, not the exception, in the sense that they are distinct organizations, but defence is essential for both. We must bear in mind the fact that EU has a series of instruments – economic, diplomatic and normative that NATO doesn't use. The common challenges that NATO and the EU faced forced them realize that NATO is important for the EU in the same degree that the EU is important for NATO, a fact materialized at the 2016 NATO Summit in Warsaw, where the two organizations identified areas that needed enhanced cooperation. Several questions are raised regarding the NATO-EU cooperation. How can those two organizations influence each other in their process of cooperation? What evolutions and developments in the NATO-EU cooperation can be deciphered since the 2016 Warsaw Summit? How does this cooperation influence the Euro-Atlantic security and moreover, the security processes on the Eastern and Southern flanks?

### **Energy Security: Finding Solutions for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century (Roundtable 3 in parallel)**

Energy security has proven to be an important determinant of stability for certain countries, as it can be looked at as both an asset and a liability – with the prospect of exposing certain vulnerabilities that can impact other aspects of a country's security.

Energy in the 21<sup>st</sup> century represents an important issue that concerns every industrialized country, especially those with high degree of industrialization or in their course of achieving a high degree of industrial capabilities. One of the most problematic issues is the fact that important states from the European Union are dependent on the Russian supplies of fossil fuels. On the other hand, the United States emerged in the last years as an exporter of gas. Until the present moment, there were made some progresses in green energy and ecological sources of energy. It seems that renewable energy can represent one alternative in assuring energetic independence and security. Therefore, can the renewable and green energy be regarded as a crucial alternative for the fossil fuels in the 21<sup>st</sup> century? Can energy security be ensured mostly or entirely on renewable energy? Can we assess the impact of the renewable energy on the military realm?

## **Our Unfinished Business in the Western Balkans (Roundtable 4 in parallel)**

NATO has reiterated its Open doors policy, which assures countries which are vulnerable to security threats that they can benefit from the security umbrella of this military alliance. The cooperation with the Western Balkans was given central stage in this regard and steps to increase security and stability in the area are seen as part of the strategy for the wider region. The most recent example is Montenegro's accession as the 29<sup>th</sup> Ally. However, the shadows of the past left a legacy of a conflict-prone area, as was the case with the Serbia intervention. Regional challenges are still pressing for enhanced cooperation, increased steps towards integration and tailor made approaches for different security challenges that might affect the area.

The Western Balkans are once again a melting pot as in the past. Today, after twenty-five years after the fall of the Communist Yugoslavia, the road to democracy is not fully finished, while the Western-Balkan countries inherited from the ethnic, religious and nationalist tensions from the 1990s wars. The fact that democracy building is a problem in the Western Balkans, the countries in the region cannot fulfill their political and economic reforms that can pave the road for the EU membership. Another major issue is the Russian interference in the region through investments, propaganda and support for favorite political figures. The security architecture in the Western Balkans is more important for the reason that Albania, Croatia and the recently accepted Montenegro are NATO allies and the regional developments can affect, or at least influence, the Alliance. Moreover, the region is the chess table between the EU and Russian influence. Therefore, how situation in the Western Balkans influence the NATO and EU interests in the region? Can NATO and the EU bring their contributions in order to help those countries to follow their path to political-economic reforms and Euro-Atlantic integration of the whole region? How can the Russian influence in the region be tackled? Are there any solutions for the regional challenges posed by the old ethnic, religious and nationalist tensions?

## **The Present Security Environment: Possible Theoretical Answers (Roundtable 5 in parallel)**

The theoretical panel seeks to encourage experienced and young researchers to deepen the debate in order to clarify the meaning of the "Euro-Atlantic frontier" as a geo-political, political, military and security reality from a theoretical point of view. Since for the present security environment to find a unitary, comprehensive theoretical answer is not an easy task, the theoretical panel is designed for providing possible

explanations for nowadays international phenomena. We seek to investigate and find out how the International Relations theories and, more broader, Political Science theories, can explain the present security situation on the Euro-Atlantic frontier and, if possible, to draw some conclusions and to answer some questions. Therefore, what are the theoretical answers that can be drawn from the analysis of the present security environment? How can we analyze the Euro-Atlantic frontier? What are the answers of the main International Relations theories for the present security environment? Do they still have explanatory power for nowadays international phenomena?