

# Concept Paper

Annual Consultation 2017  
Kharkiv, Ukraine

## A New Security Policy for Eastern Europe?

NATO and the Different Security Demands

Hybrid Warfare and Propaganda

Cyber War and Its Challenges

Future  of  
Freedom  
Annual Consultation for East and Southeast Europe

Organized by

Friedrich Naumann  
STIFTUNG **FÜR DIE FREIHEIT**

***“It is important that we all follow the rules that are already there. Behave responsibly and safely”***

Jens Stoltenberg, NATO Secretary General  
Statement following a meeting of the NATO-Russia Council, Dec.19, 2016

### **Rationale**

Superficially, the analysis of the current security environment in Europe would not reveal anything that is not already known as a fact. Reality would speak for itself. In its modern history, since the Cold War, Europe has never been more challenged internally and externally to preserve its liberal values, identity, integrity and peace. And while several years ago it was almost impossible to imagine to what extent terrorism will spread into Europe or that borders in Europe will again be changed by force, nowadays we face new challenges and are confronted with constantly and very often asymmetrically changing realities. It is becoming much harder to assume what will happen next.

Russia's annexation of Crimea was not only a fundamental violation of international law and the concept of Partnership for Peace<sup>1</sup> but also a first change of borders by military force since World War II. Moreover, failing states, civil war, the spread of terrorism, organized crime, the refugee crisis, inevitably have an impact on the European security environment, making it more complex and vulnerable. In addition, the ongoing occupation of territories by foreign forces in Eastern Ukraine, Transnistria and the Caucasus can anytime ignite the spark between Russia and the West.

The anxiety is further aggravated through statements by the new U.S. president Donald J. Trump disparaging NATO as “obsolete” and the EU as dispensable as solely a “vehicle for Germany”. In the same policy line, the US defense secretary delivered an ultimatum to NATO allies to fulfill their defense spending commitments in support of the common defense efforts.<sup>2</sup> Across the Atlantic, the U.S. commitment to global leadership looks weaker than ever before also because of Mr. Trump's new strategy of “America First”. The words of the new president mark an extraordinary departure from the norms of the postwar transatlantic relationship. For decades, the US and its partners in Europe have promoted liberal democratic values through various institutions and alliances strengthening human rights, open markets, free trade and also mutual defense and security.

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<sup>1</sup> [http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics\\_50349.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_50349.htm)

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/15/world/europe/jim-mattis-nato-trump.html? r=0>

Cornerstone for the security of most European states is the membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Eastern Europe has its specific profile when it comes to regional stability and security. During the first post-Soviet decades several armed conflicts resulted in lack of stable peace and contributed to the uncertain security status of the Eastern European countries. A significant contribution to the stabilization of the region was the expansion of NATO to the East with the accession of Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Romania in 2004 and to the Western Balkans with the admission of Albania and Croatia in 2009. Bosnia and Herzegovina, Georgia and Macedonia were officially recognized as aspiring members and Montenegro is in the process of joining the Alliance. The dialogue with Serbia on its Euro-Atlantic integration has significantly improved. Even though the NATO enlargement can be regarded as a general improvement of security in the region, the Ukrainian conflict indicates that tensions can occur when former soviet states turn towards the West.



Source: The Business Insider

In the meantime the strategic importance of Turkey challenges the NATO-Turkey relations, especially after the threat of compromising the nuclear US-NATO facility in Incirlik during the failed coup attempt in Turkey in July 2016. The US military presence in Southeast Europe is also evident in Bulgaria, Kosovo and Romania.<sup>3,4</sup>

The European Union's security role in Eastern Europe is limited to diplomatic and economic aspects of foreign relations. The decision to establish an EU Advisory Mission for Civilian Security Sector Reform in Ukraine<sup>5</sup> was indeed a step forward to a broader commitment to the Eastern European security, but the military aspects of the Ukraine crisis emphasized that deterrence and defense of the Eastern Flank must be treated with utmost consideration. The geopolitical clashes in the Caucasus and Eastern Europe contributed to the creation of a

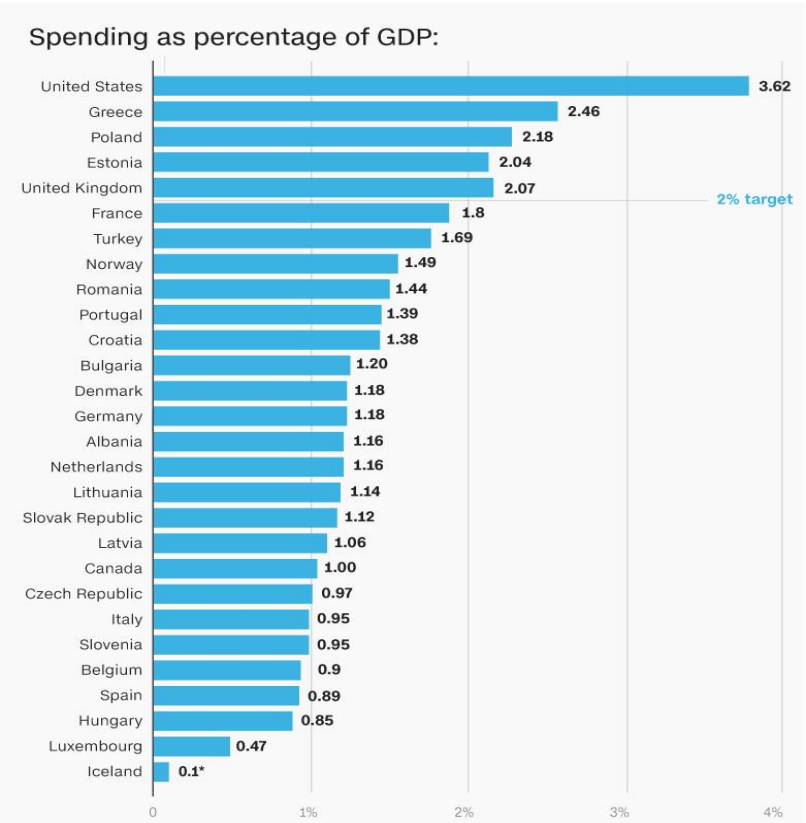
<sup>3</sup> <https://southfront.org/military-analysis-us-military-presence-in-europe/>

<sup>4</sup> <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-nato-shield-idUSKCN0Y30JX>

<sup>5</sup> COUNCIL DECISION 2014/486/CFSP of 22 July 2014

security vacuum, which made evident that Europe cannot longer rely on soft power without sufficient defense capabilities and that European security shall not by default be guaranteed by NATO.

While the Eastern challenges to NATO posed by Russia were addressed in Wales, with the approval of the Readiness Action Plan aimed at an immediate response to changes in the security environment on NATO's borders<sup>6</sup>, the majority of NATO members indeed still fall below the target of 2 percent of GDP for defense expenditures.<sup>7</sup> Bearing in mind that 22 of the NATO member states are also EU member states, it is obvious that the expectations on



the more active involvement of the European Union into the development of European defense capabilities are high. Smarter military expenditures, more defense cooperation to ensure interoperability and to avoid duplication of capabilities as well as shared burden and responsibility are to be part of the European Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP). However, since the British vote to leave the EU last June, the EU has not only stopped to expand but for the first time in its history is faced with shrinking membership. The EU is in crisis given the current challenges, ranging

Source: NATO

from the Brexit over asylum seekers and immigration to the maintenance of the Euro and also the future of its own security.

And times of crisis are times of opportunities and times of reform and change. During its Congress in Warsaw in December 2016 the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats in Europe, for instance, has adopted a Resolution on the EU-NATO Defense Cooperation calling on the EU member states for progressive framing of a European Defense Union within the next multiannual political and financial framework of the EU.<sup>8</sup> The idea of common European defense force is actually not a new one. It dates back to the years of establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community. But both then and now it is still a challenging task to fulfill, because states continue to consider defense primarily as a matter of national

<sup>6</sup> [http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official\\_texts\\_112964.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_112964.htm)  
<sup>7</sup> Defence Expenditures of NATO Countries (2009-2016), Communique PR/CP(2016)116 [http://www.nato.int/nato\\_static\\_fl2014/assets/pdf/pdf\\_2016\\_07/20160704\\_160704-pr2016-116.pdf](http://www.nato.int/nato_static_fl2014/assets/pdf/pdf_2016_07/20160704_160704-pr2016-116.pdf)  
<sup>8</sup> [http://www.aldeparty.eu/sites/eldr/files/news/13179/warsaw\\_2016\\_alde\\_party\\_-\\_adopted\\_resolutions\\_all.pdf](http://www.aldeparty.eu/sites/eldr/files/news/13179/warsaw_2016_alde_party_-_adopted_resolutions_all.pdf)

sovereignty. In addition the threats from East and South are not equally perceived among member states.

The possibility of Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO) as provided by the Treaty on EU could serve as a common ground for enhancing resilience from within by pooling and sharing of military resources. PESCO is a specific CSDP mechanism allowing EU Member States, with the necessary military capabilities, to voluntarily make more binding commitments to one another for increased defense cooperation.<sup>9</sup> In this manner PESCO could strengthen the European pillar of NATO. Its implications could possibly be seen in the implementation of the decision taken at the NATO Summit in Warsaw on the deployment to the Eastern Flank of multinational forces provided by the Allies on a voluntary, rotational basis as further enhancement of the Alliance's deterrence power in Central and Eastern Europe.<sup>10</sup> The deployment of multinational forces is also to be seen as an indirect implication of the collective defense role of NATO.

At the same time it is important for both the EU and NATO, that communication channels with Russia on military and non-military issues remain open, especially for the purpose of effectively countering hybrid threats. Furthermore, the EU and NATO jointly committed to an enhanced cooperation regarding hybrid warfare<sup>11</sup>, which along with its military and nonmilitary domain is conducted also on a psychological level using the cyber space as a technical tool. Disinformation and fake news, intelligence leaks and others aim at the distraction of attention, changing perceptions of society and compromising governments and public figures, as recently the Russian government was accused for interference in the USA Presidential Elections. Western democracies, their ideology and values are specifically targeted because of the threat they represent for Kremlin's policy. Building distrust in the Western values would leverage the Russian influence.

Cyberspace is officially considered as a domain of warfare<sup>12</sup>. Greater co-operation in the cyber area can lead to important synergies in the achievement of a comprehensive intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance image of the cyberspace, or to the improvement of cyber defense and security capability of the EU-NATO member states and Eastern European partners.

To what extend will these measures lead to new security dynamics in Eastern Europe we are about to see, but as liberals we are obliged to stand for freedom and democracy and to make sure that the Europe we live in is capable of preserving its common values.

### **The Objectives of the Consultation**

It is in this light that the Regional Office for East and Southeast Europe of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom (ESEE) has decided to hold its annual consultation on the "Future of Freedom" in Kharkiv, Ukraine. This year's theme is "**A new security policy for Eastern Europe?**"

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<sup>9</sup> Implementation of the Lisbon Treaty provisions on the Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP), European Council Briefing, February 2016

<sup>10</sup> Warsaw Summit Communiqué, Issued by the Heads of State and Government participating in the meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Warsaw 8-9 July 2016, Press Release (2016) 100

<sup>11</sup> Joint Declaration signed by the President of the European Council, the President of the European Commission, and the Secretary General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization

<http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2016/12/06-eu-nato-joint-declaration/>

<sup>12</sup> [http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics\\_78170.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_78170.htm)

The main aims of the consultation are as follows:

- to analyze current European security and geopolitical trends, its causes and effects
- to identify possible threat and conflict scenarios
- to look for alternatives to the current security arrangements
- to debate and discuss various liberal options and solutions as far as the future security policy is concerned

During the various discussions the following questions need to be addressed:

1. What could be the definition of security?
2. To what extent we ourselves pose a threat to the security in Eastern Europe?
3. Is Eastern European security possible without Russia?
4. Is there another regional security system conceivable, for example Baltic-Black Sea Union?
5. Are there specific liberal options for ensuring security in and for Eastern Europe?

### **Who Should Attend?**

First and foremost, representatives from FNF partner parties, parties who are members of the ALDE party security, foreign policy experts from these parties, international officers, active politicians, candidates and staff of partner parties involved with security issues. Participants from other partner organizations are welcome if they are involved in research, advocacy, human rights protection, humanitarian work, conflict resolution as related to security and foreign policy issues (including internally displaced persons, humanitarian aid, etc.).

Participation is not an empty phrase to us. Therefore, we expect all participants to be present for the whole event and at all sessions. Moreover, we expect contributions to the debates and active involvement into the discussions. Furthermore, sharing of experiences and results from professional work is being expected.

### **Venue and proposed program**

The Consultation will take place in the city of Kharkiv, Ukraine from May 28 to May 31. The program will include field visits to the cities of Sloviansk/Kramatorsk to meet and discuss with representatives of local media, military, and refugees (to be determined).