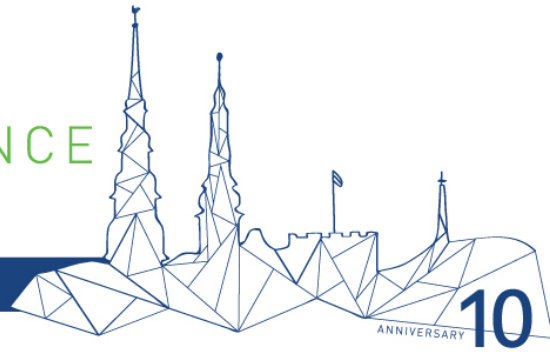




# THE RĪGA CONFERENCE 2015

National Library of Latvia | November 6-7, 2015



## ONLINE PROGRAMME

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### DAY 1 FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 6

15:00 – 15:10

Welcoming remarks by **H.E Mr Raimonds Vējonis**, President of the Republic of Latvia

Opening remarks by **Mr Raimonds Bergmanis**, Minister of Defence of the Republic of Latvia

### RISE OF GEOECONOMICS

15:10 – 16:30

Opening Discussion

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Europe has survived one of the most serious financial crises in its history. EU growth is low and unemployment remains discouragingly high in certain countries. How can the EU preserve its role and influence in the new geopolitical and geo-economic conditions? If Europe needs to strengthen its position in global markets, then an ambitious trade and investment agenda have to be implemented sooner rather than later. Closer engagement with EU's strategic partners is instrumental for economic growth and Europe's global position. The Trans-Atlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) has both great economic value and geostrategic significance. How much will political considerations influence economic outcomes of the TTIP? Will the TTIP provide a future agenda for trade and investment ensuring a stronger position of the EU and the United States global markets? And what do we foresee with regard to other important economic and political powers, like Russia, India and China?

## Speakers:

**H.E. Mrs Laimdota Straujuma**, Prime Minister of the Republic of Latvia

**H.E. Mr Arseniy Yatsenyuk**, Prime Minister of Ukraine

**Mr Valdis Dombrovskis**, Vice-President of the European Commission

**Mr Anthony L. Gardner**, U.S. Ambassador to the European Union

Moderator: **Dr Daniela Schwarzer**, Senior Director of Research, Director of the Europe Program at the German Marshall Fund of the United States

## THE EURO'S LIFELINE?

16:35 – 16:55

Coffee Break Conversation

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The re-election of the Stryza Party in Greece (Alexis Tsipras' leftist party) was just one of the many upsets in the growing anti-Euro trend throughout the Eurozone. Euro value stagnation, ineffective management of smaller economies and reluctance to renegotiate all lend credence to rumours of a weakening Eurozone. However, actions taken have stabilized markets, as well as provided economic security for thousands of Europeans. What then is the future of the Eurozone? We assess the current state of this economic experiment, and if European unity will decide to stay strong in times of tribulation or collapse to economic needs.

## Speakers:

**Mr Philip Stephens**, Associate Editor, Financial Times

**Ms Elisabeth Braw**, Contributor, Politico

## NATO IN DEFENCE OF GLOBAL STABILITY

17:00 – 18:30

Panel Discussion

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There is a perception that NATO is now facing challenges to which it is ill-equipped to respond - the threat of hybrid war, waves of refugees, and the undiminished scourge of ISIL, the so-called "Islamic State". For NATO, strengthening defence capabilities and showing that it is agile enough to act in real-time is imperative. Russia's aggressive military posture and on-going provocations mean that NATO's Readiness Action Plan has to be brought up to a new level. What parts of the toolkit require adaptation to address the new reality? How well prepared are we to respond to conventional and asymmetric threats? What results can we expect from the Warsaw Summit?

## Speakers:

**Mr Jānis Garisons**, State Secretary of the Ministry of Defence of the Republic of

Latvia

**Dr Patrick Keller**, Coordinator of Foreign and Security Policy, Konrad Adenauer Foundation

**General Sir Richard Shirreff**, former Deputy Supreme Commander NATO Europe

**Amb Kurt Volker**, Executive Director of The McCain Institute for International Leadership, Arizona State University

Moderator: **Dr Žaneta Ozoliņa**, Vice Chairman of Latvian Transatlantic Organisation, Professor of the Department of Political Science, University of Latvia

## **CATCHING UP TO THE NEXT GENERATION OF WARFARE?**

18:35 – 19:15

Coffee Break Conversation

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As technology has evolved rapidly in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, so has the concept of modern warfare. Digital and remote forms of attacks blur the lines of conflict zones and the definition of combatants. 4<sup>th</sup> Generation Warfare (4GW) tactics are both desirable and feared, and act as a fission between Russian-NATO relations. With Daesh and others mastering 4GW, how can NATO quickly and effectively adapt to the new generation of warfare?

### **Speakers:**

**Dr András Rácz**, Senior Research Fellow, Finnish Institute of International Affairs

**Ms Elīna Lange-Ionatamišvili**, Senior Expert, NATO Strategic Communications Centre of Excellence

## **NIGHT OWL SESSIONS**

Sessions are held under the “Chatham House Rule” and are therefore not available for online broadcast.

## **WHAT WILL BRING MOLDOVA AND GEORGIA CLOSER TO THE EU?**

21:00 – 22:30

**OFF THE RECORD**

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The 4th Eastern Partnership Summit in Riga reconfirmed the importance of the Eastern neighbourhood in EU foreign policy. While the EU membership perspective for Eastern partners with Association Agreements remained off the table, acknowledgement of European aspirations was reflected in the Summit Declaration. The EU currently faces numerous foreign policy challenges, including with respect to refugees as well as threats

posed by ISIL and a revisionist Russia. Such constellations of circumstances mean that the EU could become distracted and lose its strategic focus on Europe's East. How should Moldova and Georgia use the Eastern Partnership with the EU to ensure their common destiny and future together with the European Union?

**Speakers:**

**H.E. Ms Natalia Gherman**, Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Foreign Affairs and European Integration of the Republic of Moldova

**Dr David Bakradze**, State Minister of Georgia on European and Euro-Atlantic Integration

**Amb Pirkka Tapiola**, Head of the EU Delegation to Moldova Mr Victor Chirilă, Executive Director of the Foreign Policy Association (APE), Moldova

**Mr Kakha Gogolashvili**, Director of EU Studies at the Georgian Foundation for Strategic and International Studies

Moderator: **Roland Freudenstein**, Deputy Director and Head of Research at the Wilfried Martens Centre for European Studies

## **BELARUS: A 'SPECIAL CASE' FOR WESTERN FOREIGN POLICY?**

21:00 – 22:30

OFF THE RECORD

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The illegal annexation of Crimea, military operations in eastern Ukraine and recent economic difficulties have impacted Belarus's perception of stability. While Russia's financial support to Belarus has been reduced, Belarus has been searching for ways to warm up its connections with the West. It provided a platform for the negotiations on Ukraine and released political prisoners. The Kremlin's demand for opening of a Russian military airbase on the territory of Belarus has not received what could be described as an outpouring of public support and this move highlights the question of how much Belarus's future is being shaped from within and without. Given then signs and tendencies toward increasing dependency, does Belarus really exhibit its own capacity to manoeuvre on foreign policy? With an eye to recent developments, have prospects for Belarus nonetheless improved for specific areas and aspects of cooperation with western partners?

**Speakers:**

**Mr Andrejs Pildegovičs**, State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Latvia

**Dr Alexei Pikulik**, Academic Director of Belarusian Institute for Strategic Studies

**Mr Balázs Jarábik**, Visiting Scholar at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

**Dr Pavol Demeš**, Senior Non-Resident Fellow at the German Marshall Fund of the United States

**Mr Andrei Sannikov**, Coordinator, “European Belarus” civil campaign

Moderator: **Dr Constanze Stelzenmüller**, Robert Bosch Senior Fellow with the Center on the United States and Europe at Brookings

## **STRENGTHENING UKRAINE’S EUROPEAN ROOTS**

21:00 – 22:30

**OFF THE RECORD**

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Challenges to Ukraine’s sovereignty and integrity are the result of both its own internal weaknesses and external aggression. Russia has annexed Crimea, sponsored separatists and terrorists in Donbas and is doing things to purposefully inhibit and injure Ukraine’s economic potential. Ukraine has managed to withstand these assaults with some international support, but it’s in desperate need for more injections of international assistance. The Ukrainian government has managed to make important steps forward, but progress is still insufficient. The government’s administrative capacity has to be increased and corruption addressed vigorously to meet expectations of the Ukrainian nation. The ruling coalition ought to be more focussed on European values, while Europe needs to do its part in provision of financing for national currency stabilization and elimination of the remaining EU import quotas on Ukrainian goods. What is not being done that must now be done to secure Ukraine’s European future?

### **Speakers:**

**H.E. Mr Geoffrey R. Pyatt**, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of United States of America to Ukraine

**Dr Peter Balás**, Head of Support Group for Ukraine, European Commission

**Ms Orysia Lutsevych**, Manager, Ukraine Forum, Chatham House, the United Kingdom

**Mr Oleh Rybachuk**, Chair and Co-founder of Centre UA

Moderator: **Ms Alyona Getmanchuk**, Director of the Institute of World Policy, Ukraine



DAY 2  
SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 7

## **CAN THE SANCTIONS AGAINST RUSSIA BACKFIRE?**

09:30 – 09:55

Morning Coffee Break Conversation

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The World Bank lauded the Bank of Russia's efforts to stabilise the economy at the time of increasing inflation, rising unemployment and contracting economy. However, with the Western sanctions still in place, Russia is signing various agreements with third parties to improve its economy – China and India are just some of the examples. Should the West be worried that Russian market could become more independent from the West?

### **Speakers:**

**Mr Uffe Ellemann- Jensen**, Honorary President, Baltic Development Forum

**Ms Maria Logan**, Head of International Programmes, Open Russia

## **QUO VADIS 21<sup>st</sup> CENTURY RUSSIA?**

10:00 – 11:30

Morning Discussion

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For almost a quarter century, the West had been building what it considered to be mutually beneficial cooperation with Russia. The endeavor was driven by the idea to create a common area of security, prosperity and cooperation in Europe. The West supported Russia to become deeply and widely engaged in global affairs. Russia became part of the G-8, joined the World Trade Organisation. The EU and Russia became strategic partners. The West was looking at win-win cooperation in which Russia would come closer to its set of values with democracy, rule of law, and open societies. We have been researching and encouraging democracy in Russia, but somehow neglected the rise of authoritarian rule and the return to Cold War strategies that posit spheres of influence. Russia rejected the cooperation offered by the European Union and NATO. It chose confrontation with the West instead of a natural partnership. What are Russia's strategic choices in 21st century and where will these choices lead Russia and its neighbours?

### **Speakers:**

**H.E. Mr Toomas Hendrik Ilves**, President of the Republic of Estonia

**Dr Celeste A. Wallander**, Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director, Russia and Central Asia, National Security Council, The White House

**Dr Artem Malgin**, Vice-rector for General Affairs, Moscow State University of



International Relations (MGIMO)

**Dr Mark Galeotti**, Professor of Global Affairs at the Center for Global Affairs,  
NYU School of Professional Studies

Moderator: **Mr Craig Kennedy**, Partner, Creative Engagement

## **KEEPING STRONG INTERNALLY THROUGH EXTERNAL BORDERS?**

11:35 – 11:55

Coffee Break Conversation

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Struggling to keep up with and accommodate the influx of refugees from war-torn Syria, Hungary decided to build a wall on its Serbian border. Shortly after, Germany, Sweden, Denmark, and others Schengen Member States started 'temporarily' closing their borders. These are all borders that were opened just 25 years ago, after decades of strict regulation; what has to be done to strengthen external borders to ensure that Schengen area isn't put into the dustbin of history?

### **Speakers:**

**Mr Roland Freudenstein**, Deputy Director and Head of Research at the Wilfried Martens Centre for European Studies

**Ms Dace Akule**, Director, Public Policy Center "Providus"

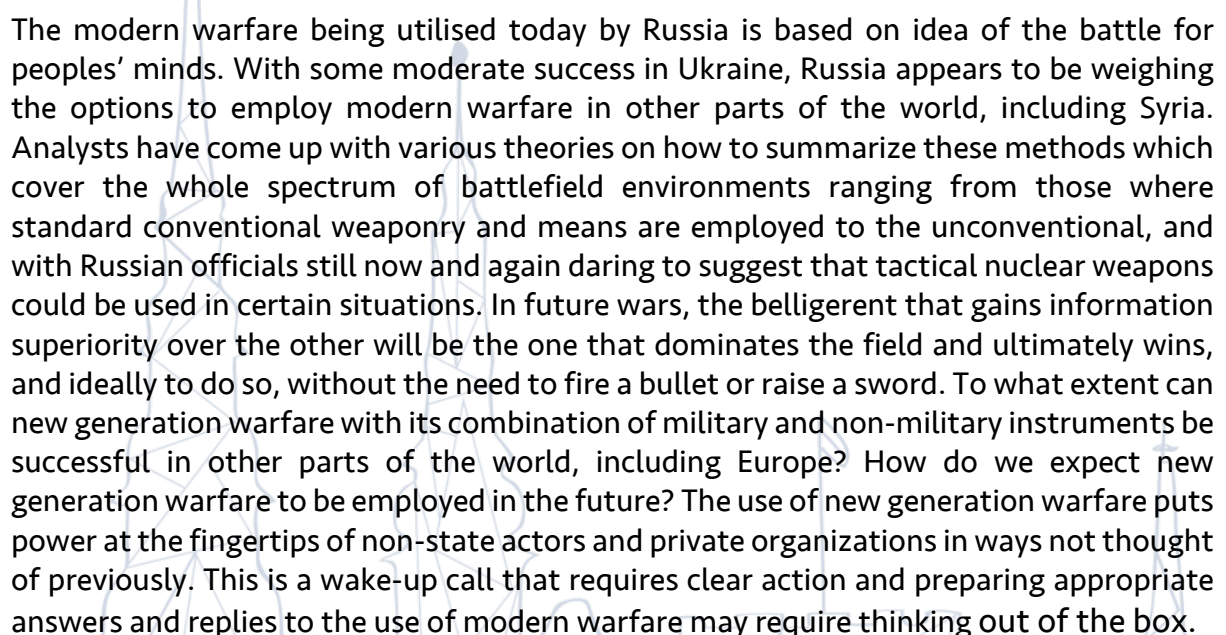
## **RESPONDING TO 'NEW GENERATION' WARFARE**

12:00 – 13:30

Discussion

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The modern warfare being utilised today by Russia is based on idea of the battle for peoples' minds. With some moderate success in Ukraine, Russia appears to be weighing the options to employ modern warfare in other parts of the world, including Syria. Analysts have come up with various theories on how to summarize these methods which cover the whole spectrum of battlefield environments ranging from those where standard conventional weaponry and means are employed to the unconventional, and with Russian officials still now and again daring to suggest that tactical nuclear weapons could be used in certain situations. In future wars, the belligerent that gains information superiority over the other will be the one that dominates the field and ultimately wins, and ideally to do so, without the need to fire a bullet or raise a sword. To what extent can new generation warfare with its combination of military and non-military instruments be successful in other parts of the world, including Europe? How do we expect new generation warfare to be employed in the future? The use of new generation warfare puts power at the fingertips of non-state actors and private organizations in ways not thought of previously. This is a wake-up call that requires clear action and preparing appropriate answers and replies to the use of modern warfare may require thinking out of the box.



## Speakers:

**Admiral (retired) Igor Kabanenko**, President of the Ukrainian Advanced Research Project Agency

**Dr Jānis Bērziņš**, Director of the Center for Security and Strategic Research, National Defence Academy of Latvia

**Professor Julian Lindley-French**, Senior Fellow, Institute of Statecraft, The Netherlands

**Dr András Rácz**, Senior Research Fellow, Finnish Institute of International Affairs  
Moderator:

**Dr Hans Binnendijk**, Senior Fellow at the Center for Transatlantic Relations at the Johns Hopkins University Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies

## FREEDOM OF DISINFORMATION: SHOULD THE MEDIA BE ON A TIGHTER LEASH?

13:35 – 14:55

Coffee Break Conversation

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One of the chief values of the Western society is the freedom of press and information. Yet, these freedoms have begun to act as a double-edged sword. Academics claim that in modern warfare, information, or misinformation, rather, will be the main tool used for weakening and defeating the enemy. If it becomes apparent that these values are being abused domestically, is censorship justified for security purposes? How can a system of freedom of expression be kept in check?

## Speakers:

**Dr Marta Dyczok**, Associate Professor, University of Western Ontario

**Mr Hugh Benedict Nimmo**, Freelance Analyst, former NATO Press Officer for Russia and Ukraine

**Dr Sergey Utkin**, Head of Department of Strategic Assessment, Centre for Situation Analysis, Russian Academy of Sciences

**Mr Vasyl Myrochnychenko**, Co-Founder, Ukraine Crisis Media Center

**Mr Maksym Kryvoruchko-Eristavi**, Co-Founder, Hromadske International



## INSIDE THE PROPAGANDA WAR: CHANNELING INFLUENCE

15:00 – 16:30

Panel Discussion

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Words can change the world. They let cannons roar. Or they bring peace. Communication is a powerful weapon of modern world influence. The Information Age has in many ways overthrown the controlled flow of news and narratives. This panel discussion aims to reveal propaganda and brainwash tools in hybrid warfare and recruitment of foreign terrorists or militant rebels. How and why does propaganda work? What is the antidote to disinformation and manipulation? ISIL and the Kremlin-controlled media are using the right to freedom of expression against the very existence of pluralistic democracies. How should liberal democracies cope with challenges posed by aggressive propaganda, disinformation and manipulation?

### Speakers:

**Mr Jānis Sārts**, Director of the NATO Strategic Communications Centre of Excellence

**Dr Gerlinde Niehus**, Head of the Engagements Section, NATO

**Mr James Sherr**, Associate Fellow at the Russia and Eurasia Programme, Chatham House

**Ms Galina Timchenko**, Editor-in-Chief, Meduza

Moderator: **Mr Timothy Judah**, Special Correspondent, The Economist, United Kingdom

## NATO'S LONG TERM ADAPTATION – WHAT'S ON THE HORIZON?

16:35 – 16:55

Coffee Break Conversation

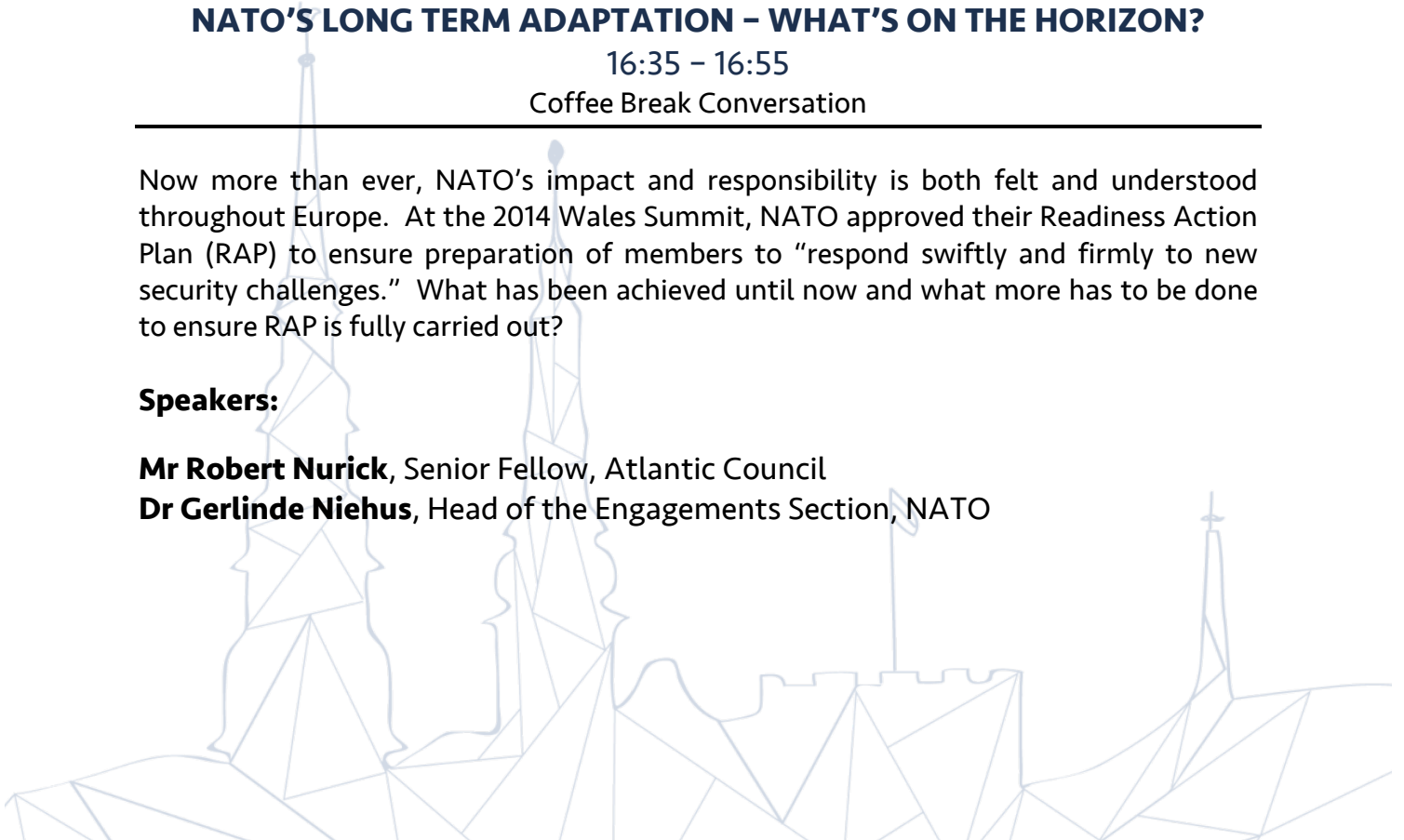
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Now more than ever, NATO's impact and responsibility is both felt and understood throughout Europe. At the 2014 Wales Summit, NATO approved their Readiness Action Plan (RAP) to ensure preparation of members to "respond swiftly and firmly to new security challenges." What has been achieved until now and what more has to be done to ensure RAP is fully carried out?

### Speakers:

**Mr Robert Nurick**, Senior Fellow, Atlantic Council

**Dr Gerlinde Niehus**, Head of the Engagements Section, NATO



## **FUTURE EUROPEAN ORDER**

17:00 – 18:30

Concluding Discussion

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International politics has reached the point of no return. The world will never be the same as it was before the Arab Spring, changes in the Middle East and rise of the so-called “Islamic State” (ISIL) and the exodus of refugees to Europe. It will never be the same as it was before Russia eroded confidence in the international treaties through its seizure of the Crimean Peninsula. European borders were re-drawn with Russia’s use of military and non-military force, both covert and visible for all to see, spreading instability and boosting the potential for broader conflicts. Insufficient action to confront ISIL may increase the danger of terrorism and migration flows worldwide. Elimination of ISIL and addressing the root causes of the existing conflicts along with the restoration of an international legal system may require reshaping the European order as we know it. How can Europe protect its principles and freedoms against illiberal ideologies endangering the values and the rules on which the euro- Atlantic order is based?

### **Speakers:**

**H.E. Mr Miroslav Lajčák**, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign and European Affairs of Slovakia

**Mr Carl Bildt**, former Swedish Foreign Minister

**Mr Jean-Marie Guéhenno**, President and CEO, International Crisis Group (ICG)

Moderator: **Dr Sylke Tempel**, Editor-in-Chief, Internationale Politik

Concluding Remarks by **H.E. Mr Edgars Rinkēvičs**, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Latvia

