

Georgia Defence Security Conference | GDSC
Tbilisi 2016



MINISTRY OF DEFENCE OF GEORGIA

AGENDA
TBILISI 2016

10TH



MINISTRY OF DEFENCE OF GEORGIA

PARTNERS:



CONCEPT NOTE

It has been twenty five years since the collapse of the Soviet Union, the emergence of fifteen new countries, and the end to the global struggle between the two nuclear superpowers and their allies. The global march of open societies in the 1990s, the expansion of NATO and the European Union (EU) to include most of the Warsaw Pact nations, the sharp increase in international trade and investment, and the Information Revolution led to an explosion of wealth not seen in human existence since the Neolithic Revolution.

These extraordinary gains in freedom, wealth, and global integration produced their own contradictions: disintegration in some states, the rise of powerful, extremist sub-state entities, and the appearance of revisionist actors. Over the past several years these contradictions have waxed, posing new challenges for the transatlantic community. The great promise of the Arab Spring has been realized only (and not fully) in Tunisia. Elsewhere it has led to state disintegration and civil war. Disorder in the Middle East and North Africa has created a vast refugee flow to Europe, threatening the unity of the EU and perhaps the visa-free arrangements of the Schengen zone.

NATO and the EU face the dangers of a revanchist Kremlin, which has challenged the post-Cold War peace in Europe, first with its war on Georgia in 2008 and, since 2014, its war on Ukraine. Moscow's ongoing occupation of Georgia, as well as seizure and militarization of Crimea have greatly complicated the security picture in the Black Sea. Moreover since last September, Moscow has

demonstrated its out of area capabilities with its intervention in Syria. While designed to protect the weak regime of President Assad, Moscow's military campaign of concentrated bombing of the Western-supported militias and surrounding civilian population is displacing hundreds of thousands of Syrians and exacerbating Europe's refugee crisis. The intervention in Syria has also led to new tensions between Turkey and Russia.

Managing these new challenges is no simple matter, but the solidarity of the transatlantic community and the creative talents and cooperation of its members is central.

It is with this in mind that the Ministry of Defence of Georgia in partnership with the Atlantic Council of the United States will host the tenth annual Georgia Defence and Security Conference May 24-25. Every year, around 300 guests gather at GDSC to discuss the threats and opportunities facing the transatlantic and global community and put forward strategies to tackle such challenges. This year, participants will convene at a strategic moment in advance of NATO's Warsaw Summit.

GDSC will bring together decision-makers, thought leaders, and civil society representatives to exchange views through interactive and thought-provoking plenary sessions and breakout discussions designed to stimulate original and constructive insights about the greatest challenges facing the international order today. The conference will engage high-level participants in creative and bespoke discussions and constructive

debates on wide-ranging security-related issues, with a special focus on the road to the 2016 NATO Warsaw Summit.

The conference agenda will include conversations with Georgia's highest political leadership and leaders of Georgia's parliamentary factions. The President, Prime Minister, Speaker of the Parliament, and other political leaders will interactively engage with the participants of the conference to address the foreign policy and security challenges facing Georgia and the Black Sea region. These leaders will also elaborate on Georgia's commitment to deeper Euro-Atlantic integration and the imperative of progress towards this goal.

The conference will spotlight four interactive themes. Day one will be dedicated to NATO, with the special view on the upcoming Warsaw summit. Our discussions will focus on the main items on the Summit agenda. Day two will focus on three themes most relevant to contemporary security challenges: security in the wider Black Sea region as an indispensable part of the Euro-Atlantic security architecture; threats to the international order and its implications for small states; and unconventional dimensions of warfare.

Each main topic will kick off with parallel sessions in which participants will be engaged in

open discussions and present their arguments. The positions generated within these separate discussions will later inform conversations among all panelists and moderators of each session in joint mind-clash and wrap-up plenaries. Each theme/session will have a prominent host organization, which will make a significant contribution to organizing the content and layout of discussions.

In addition to various networking and side events, participants are encouraged to join preselected thematic dinners to conclude day one (upon separate invitations). These dinners will set the scene for interactive conversations for the following day. The informal nature of all of these discussions is designed to combine business with pleasure and a heavy touch of Georgian culture.

This year, GDSC falls on the 25th anniversary of the Independence of Georgia so guests are kindly invited to also join the special celebratory events on May 26.

GUIDELINES FOR PANELISTS AND MODERATORS

PARALLEL SESSIONS AND PLENARIES

At each panel speakers and moderators will split in two interactive sessions (A and B) to engage in a discussion about two adjacent topics. At sessions each panelist is expected to make a 5-7 minutes introductory statement focusing either on one of the suggested Food for Thought topics or briefly touch upon every topic. Afterwards, moderator will guide the discussion between the panelists.

The A and B session of each panel will run in parallel mode and will last 1 hour.

After the sessions all participants will be asked to reconvene for the plenary wrap up, where moderators of both sessions will engage the panelists in a discussion with the audience. The moderators from sessions A and B will briefly summarize discussions within sessions and involve the audience into an interactive dialogue and Q&A with panelists.

Note: On the first day, following the parallel sessions, there will be a mind-clash instead of the wrap up. A special moderator will be assigned to the panel to facilitate discussions between the panelist and the audience on 'if' or 'when' NATO enlargement will happen again.

THEMATIC DINNERS ON MAY 24

Each Dinner will be hosted by a Georgian high official. The Tamada and guest speaker will be assigned by the host to set the tone of the conversations around the table. Tamada is responsible for shaping informal discussions at the dinner. Guest speaker will give a short (5-7 minutes) key note address on a topic relevant to the thematic dinner.

NATO DAY, TUESDAY, MAY 24

Please don't forget to stop by the NATO-Georgia
Substantial Package (SNGP) Implementation
stand at the main hall

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12:30 – 13:15 **Registration & Networking Lunch**

13:15 – 13:30 **Organizers' Welcome**

Tinatín Khidasheli, Minister of Defence of Georgia

Damon Wilson, Executive Vice President, Atlantic Council US

Keynote speech by **Giorgi Kvirikashvili**, Prime Minister of Georgia

13:30 - 15:00 **NATO Day Warm-Up Plenary**

From Wales to Warsaw: moderated by **Damon Wilson**, Executive Vice President, Atlantic Council US

Mainstream Security Trends: Capabilities, Interoperability - **Tinatín Khidasheli**, Minister of Defence of Georgia

View from Brussels - **James Appathurai**, Deputy Assistant Secretary General

View from across the Atlantic - **Michael Carpenter**, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense, US

Expectations for Warsaw summit - View from Warsaw – **Marek Ziółkowski**, Undersecretary of State of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland

Strategic Security Challenges to NATO - GEN **Sir Adrian Bradshaw**, Deputy Supreme Allied Commander Europe, Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE)

15:00 – 15:15 **Grab your coffee and find your session**

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15:15 – 16:15 Interactive Theme hosted by ACUS: more NATO more security?

Participants are asked to split in two interactive sessions to imitate opponents and proponents of Georgia’s membership into NATO. Arguments generated during the discussions will be later presented by the panelists and moderators of each session at the mind clash plenary.

<p>Session A NATO Enlargement If?</p> <p>Panelists:</p> <p>Juozas Olekas - Minister of National Defence of the Republic of Lithuania</p> <p>LtGen Ben Hodges – US Army Europe Commander</p> <p>Dr. Mgr. Jakub Landovsky - Deputy Minister of Defence of the Czech Republic</p> <p>Amb. Levan Dolidze, Founder and Director of Centre for Security and Development of Georgia</p> <p>Moderated by Tom Clark - Chief Political Correspondent; Global News, US</p> <p>Food for thought:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extending Security Umbrella for Peace • Open Door Policy in Action • Georgia – A Reliable Partner 	<p>Session B NATO Enlargement When?</p> <p>Panelists:</p> <p>Hannes Hanso - Minister of Defence of the Republic of the Republic of Estonia</p> <p>Amb. Alexander Maisuradze - Georgia’s Permanent Representative to NATO</p> <p>John A Heffern – Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary U.S Department of State</p> <p>Amb. John Herbst – Director of the Dinu Patriciu Center for Eurasia, the Atlantic Council</p> <p>Moderated by Amb. Batu Kutelia – Board Member, Atlantic Council of Georgia</p> <p>Food for thought:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New Members Import New Problems • Elephant in the Room • Major Obstacles and Window of Opportunities
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16:15 – 16:45 Coffee Break
Back to plenary

16:45 – 18:00 Plenary mind-clash
Discussion between panelists of Session A and B moderated by **Mikheil Darchiashvili**, Former Deputy Minister of Defence of Georgia

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18:00 – 19:00

Georgia’s political consensus on NATO integration

guided by **Damon Wilson**, Executive Vice President, Atlantic Council US
Keynote Address by the Chairman of the Parliament of Georgia, **David Usupashvili**

Discussions with the Members of the Parliamentary Parties:

Giorgi Volski, Chairman of the Georgian Dream Faction

The United National Movement Faction - TBC

Irakli Chikovani, Free Democrats Faction

19:00 – 19:30

Time to refresh and prepare for the dinner

19:30

Departure - Find your bus

Busses will be provided at the main entrance of the hotel to take participants to the preselected thematic dinner (Upon invitations only). The themes match with the common security day’s main topics for informal discussion and aim at warming up interactive discussions the next day.

20.00– 22:30

Dinner

<p>Black Sea Security Dinner Accompanied by Georgian folk Music</p> <p>Hosted by Tinatín Khidasheli, Minister of Defence of Georgia</p> <p>Tamada: Amb. Vasil Sikharulidze, Atlantic Council of Georgia</p> <p>Guest Speaker Bogdan Aurescu Presidential Advisor for Foreign policy, Romania</p>	<p>World Order Dinner Accompanied by Classic Music</p> <p>Hosted by David Usupashvili, Chairman of the Parliament of Georgia</p> <p>Tamada: Damon Wilson, Atlantic Council US</p> <p>Guest Speaker John A Heffern, Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary U.S Department of State</p>	<p>Hybrid Warfare Dinner Accompanied by Jazz Music</p> <p>Hosted by Amb. David Bakradze, State Minister of Georgia on European and Euro-Atlantic Integration</p> <p>Tamada: Amb. John Herbst, Director of the Dinu Patriciu Center for Eurasia, the Atlantic Council</p> <p>Guest Speaker MG Vakhtang Kapanadze, Chief of General Staff of Georgian Armed Forces</p>
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**SECURITY ARCHITECTURE DAY,
WEDNESDAY, MAY 25**

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09:00 – 09:30

Opening Remarks

Dr. Hans-Gert Poettering, President of the European Parliament ret. and Chairman of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (pre-recorded video)

Ewan Lawson - Senior Research Fellow, Military Influence, RUSI

Bruno Lété - Senior Officer for Foreign & Security Policy, GMF Brussels office

Keynote speech by **Mikheil Janelidze**, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Georgia

9:30 – 9:45

Grab your coffee and find your session

9:45 – 10:45

Interactive Theme Hosted by GMF: Spotlight on the Wider Black Sea Region

Participants are asked to split in two interactive sessions to engage in an 'out of box' discussion about two adjacent topics. The moderators of each section will later compare notes in a joint plenary and will engage the audience into moderated discussions.

Session A

Security Challenges in the Wider Black Sea Region

Panelists:

Aurel Fondos - State Secretary of the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Moldova

Stefan Alexandry Tinca - State Secretary of the Ministry of National Defence, Romania

Amb. Irakli Menagarishvili - Director of the Strategic Research Centre of Georgia

Michael Cecire - Associate Scholar, Foreign Policy Research Institute, US

Moderated by **Bruno Lété** - Senior Officer for Foreign & Security Policy, GMF Brussels office

Food for thought:

- Growing Militarization of the Black Sea
- Russian-Turkish Strained Relations and its Repercussions
- NATO's Role in the Black Sea Regional Security

Session B

Opportunities in the Wider Black Sea Region

Panelists:

Dr. Ariel Cohen - Director, Center for Energy, Natural Resources and Geopolitics at the Institute for the Analysis of Global Security

Kakha Gogolashvili, Director of EU Studies, Georgian Foundation For Strategic and International Studies (GFSIS)

Amb. Basat Öztürk - General Director for International Security Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey

Lincoln Mitchell - Scholar at the Arnold A. Saltzman Institute of War and Peace Studies, Columbia University

Moderated by: **Andrea Keerbs** - IRI Office, Tbilisi, Resident Country Director

Food for thought:

- Opportunity for EU Energy Diversification
- The Growing Role of Iran: the Future of the Black Sea Energy Policy
- New Silk Road – Opportunities for Further Cooperation

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- 10:45 - 11:00** **Short break**
Back to plenary
- 11:00 - 12:15** **Wrap Up Interactive Theme Hosted by GMF: Spotlight on the Wider Black Sea Region**
Discussions with the audience moderated by **Bruno Lété** - Senior Officer for Foreign & Security Policy, GMF Brussels office and **Andrea Keerbs** - IRI Office in Tbilisi, Resident Country Director. Both moderators will shortly summarize discussions within sessions A and B and engage the audience into an interactive dialogue and Q&A with the panelists.
- 12:15 – 13:45** **Networking Lunch**
Find your Session

Side Event

- 12:15 -14:45** **Working Lunch and roundtable discussion**
Transforming Defence – The Role of Reserve in the National Security
Keynote Speech by **Tinatin Khidasheli** - Minister of Defence of Georgia

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13:45 – 14:45

Interactive Theme Hosted by RUSI: International Security and the Age of Unconventional Warfare

Participants are asked to split in two interactive sessions to engage in an ‘out of box’ discussion about two adjacent topics of unconventional conflicts. The moderators of each section will later compare notes in a joint plenary and will engage the audience into moderated discussions

<p>Session A The role of State Actors in Unconventional Warfare</p> <p>Panelists:</p> <p>MG Vakhtang Kapanadze - Chief of General Staff of Georgian Armed Forces</p> <p>Dr. Werner Fasslabend – Former Defense Minister of Austria, President of Austrian Institute for European and Security Studies</p> <p>Dr. Dakota Wood - Senior Research Fellow for Defense Programs, the Heritage Foundation</p> <p>Dr. Igor Sutyagin - Senior Research Fellow, the Royal United Services Institute (RUSI)</p> <p>Moderated by Ewan Lawson - Senior Research Fellow, Military Influence, RUSI</p> <p>Food for thought:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How do conventional armed forces operate in unconventional ways? • What tools do state actors use to conduct unconventional warfare and in what way? • What are the freedoms and constraints for states to counter the challenges of unconventional warfare? 	<p>Session B The role of Non-state Actors in Unconventional Warfare</p> <p>Panelists:</p> <p>Dr. Anna Dolidze – Deputy Defence Minister of Georgia</p> <p>Ihor Dolhov - Deputy Minister of Defence of Ukraine for European Integration</p> <p>Dr. Fares A. Braizat – CEO-NAMA Strategic Intelligence Solutions, Jordan</p> <p>Nicolas Tenzer – Chairman of CERAP, French Republic</p> <p>Moderated by Amb. Diana Janse - Senior Foreign Policy Advisor at nya Moderaterna Industry International Affairs</p> <p>Food for thought:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How do non-state actors utilise unconventional warfare tactics? • What can states do to counter these challenges? • Does the law of war need to be altered to adapt to non-state actors' use of unconventional warfare tactics?
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14:45– 15:00

**Short Break
Back to plenary**

15:00 – 16:15

Wrap Up Interactive Theme Hosted by RUSI: International Security and Growing Role of the Unconventional Means of War

Discussions with the audience moderated by **Ewan Lawson**, Senior Research Fellow, Military Influence, RUSI and Amb. **Diana Janse** - Senior Foreign Policy Advisor at nya Moderaterna Industry International Affairs. Both moderators will shortly summarize discussions within sessions A and B and engage the audience into an interactive dialogue and Q&A with the panelists.

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16:15 – 16:45

Coffee break
Find your Session

16:45 – 17:45

Interactive Theme Hosted by Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung: What happened to the rules based World Order?

Participants will split into one of two groups. The first will look at the challenges to world order posed by Kremlin revisionism and how to respond - with bridges, walls, push back, or a combination of the three. The second will look at the impact of these challenges for small states and how the West should respond to the needs of small states. The moderators of each section will later compare notes in a joint plenary and will engage the audience into moderated discussions.

Session A**European Security – Bridges, Walls and/or Pushback**

Panelists:

Lamberto Zannier - Secretary General, OSCE**GEN Mikhail Kostarakos** - Chairman of the European Union Military Committee**Amb. David Bakradze** - State Minister of Georgia on European and Euro-Atlantic Integration**Silvia Stöber** - Journalist, Federal Republic of GermanyModerated by **Dr. Daniel Twining** - Director at the German Marshall Fund of the United States

Food for thought:

- Russia and European Security: Divide and Rule - Is the New Iron Curtain Possible in Europe Today?
- The Future of the Borders in Europe – Migration Crisis vs. Border Liberalization
- From Paris to Damascus – Terrorism in the Age of Porous Borders
- The Future of Euro-Atlantic Strategic Partnership

Session B**Security Challenges for Small Countries**

Panelists:

Inarā Murņiece - Speaker of the Parliament of the Republic of Latvia**Eka Tkeshelashvili** - President of the Georgian Institute for Strategic Studies**Roman Jakic** - Former Minister of Defence of Slovenia**Amb. Ian C. Kelly** - Ambassador of the United States of America to GeorgiaModerated by **Jelena Milic** - Director of the Center for Euro-Atlantic Studies, Belgrade

Food for thought:

- Return of the Geopolitics and the Spheres of Influence?
- Falling Oil Prices – Bane or Boon for Russia's Small Neighbors?
- Sanctions: an Effective Security Policy Tool Against Russia?
- Can EU Afford to Lose Strategic Eye on the Eastern Neighbors?

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17:45 – 18:00

Short Break
Back to plenary

18:00 – 19:15

Wrap Up Interactive Theme Hosted by Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung: What happened to the rules based World Order?

Discussions with the audience moderated by **Dr. Daniel Twining** - Senior Fellow and Director at the German Marshall Fund of the United States and **Jelena Milic** - Director of the Center for Euro-Atlantic Studies, Belgrade. Both moderators will shortly summarize discussions within sessions A and B and engage the audience into an interactive dialogue and Q&A with the panelists.

19:15 – 20:00

Conference Summary

guided by **Jill Dougherty**, CNN foreign affairs correspondent, fellow at the Harvard Kennedy School of Government

Conversation with **Giorgi Margvelashvili**, President of Georgia and **Giorgi Kvirikashvili**, Prime Minister of Georgia

20:00 - 20:30

Time to refresh and prepare for the dinner

20:30– 22:30

Dinner/Reception accompanied by the concert

Georgian Wine Tasting

Keynote speech by **Lamberto Zannier** - Secretary General, OSCE

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